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A  
DISSERTATION  
Upon the EPISTLES of  
PHALARIS.

WITH  
An ANSWER  
TO THE  
OBJECTIONS

Of the HONOURABLE  
*Charles Boyle, Esquire.*

---

BY  
RICHARD BENTLEY, D. D.  
Chaplain in Ordinary and Library-keeper  
to His MAJESTY.

---

L O N D O N,  
Printed by J. H. for Henry Mortlock at the Phoenix  
in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and John Hartley  
over-against Gray's Inn in Holborn, 1699.

D I S S E R T A T I O N

UPON THE EPISTLES OF

P H A L L A R I A

WITH

A N A N S W E R

Mordear OPPROBRIIS FALSIS, mutemque Colores?  
FALSUS HONOR juvat, & MENDAX INFAMIA terret  
Quem, nisi MENDACEM & MENDOSUM? —

§. I, 16.



Leonard Hotchkis A.M.

T H E  
P R E F A C E.

**I**N the former Edition of this Dissertation, A. D. MDCXCVII, I thought my self oblig'd, to take notice of a certain Passage in a Preface to Phalaris's Epistles, publish'd at Oxford two years before. Which I did in these words :

“ The late Editors of Phalaris have told  
 “ the World in their Preface, That among  
 “ other Specimens of their di-  
 “ ligence, they \* collated the  
 “ King's Manuscript, as far as  
 “ the XL Epistle; and would  
 “ have done so throughout, but  
 “ that the Library-keeper out  
 “ of his singular Humanity  
 “ denied them the further use *it*. This was  
 “ meant as a lash for me, who had the Ho-  
 “ nour then and since to serve His Majesty  
 “ in that Office. I must own, 'twas very well  
 “ resolv'd of them, to make the Preface and  
 “ the Book all of a piece: for they have act-  
 “ ed in this Calumny both the injustice of  
 “ the Tyrant, and the forgery of the Sophist.

\* Collatas etiam cura-  
 vi usque ad Ep. 40. cum  
 MS<sup>to</sup> in Bibliotheca Re-  
 gia, cujus mihi copiam  
 ulteriorem Bibliothecari-  
 us pro singulari sua hu-  
 manitate negavit.

## The PREFACE.

“ For my own part, I should never have  
 “ honour’d it with a Refutation in Print, but  
 “ have given it that neglect, that is due to  
 “ Weak Detraction; had I not been engag’d  
 “ to my Friend to write a Censure upon  
 “ Phalaris; where to omit to take notice of  
 “ that Slander, would be tacitly to own it.  
 “ The true Story is thus: A Bookseller came  
 “ to me, in the name of the Editors, to beg  
 “ the use of the Manuscript. It was not  
 “ then in my custody: but as soon as I had  
 “ the power of it, I went voluntarily and of-  
 “ fer’d it him, bidding him tell the Collator  
 “ not to lose any time; for I was shortly to  
 “ go out of Town for two Months. ’Twas de-  
 “ liver’d, us’d, and return’d. Not a word  
 “ said by the Bearer, nor the least suspicion  
 “ in Me, that they had not finish’d the Col-  
 “ lation. For I speak from Experiment,  
 “ they had more Days to compare it in, than  
 “ they needed to have Hours. ’Tis a very  
 “ little Book, and the Writing as legible as  
 “ Print. Well; the Collation, it seems was  
 “ sent defective to Oxon; and the blame,  
 “ I suppose, laid upon Me. I return’d a-  
 “ gain to the Library some Months before  
 “ the Edition was finish’d: No application  
 “ was made for farther use of the Manu-  
 “ script. Thence I went for a whole Fort-  
 “ night to Oxon, where the Book was then  
 “ printing; conversed in the very College,  
 “ where

## The PREFACE.

V

“ where the Editors resided. Not the least  
“ whisper there of the Manuscript. After a  
“ few days, out comes the new Edition, with  
“ this Sting in the Mouth of it. 'Twas a  
“ surprize indeed, to read there, that our  
“ Manuscript was not perused. Could not  
“ they have ask'd for it again then, after  
“ my return? 'Twas neither singular, nor  
“ common Humanity, not to enquire into  
“ the Truth of the thing, before they ven-  
“ tur'd to Print, which is Sword in the  
“ Hand of a Child. But there's a reason  
“ for every thing; and the Mystery was  
“ soon reveal'd. For, it seems, I had the  
“ hard hap, in some private conversation,  
“ to say, the Epistles were a spurious piece,  
“ and unworthy of a new Edition. Hinc  
“ illæ Lacrymæ. This was a thing deeply  
“ resent'd; and to have spoken to Me a-  
“ bout the Manuscript, had been to lose a  
“ plausible occasion of taking Revenge.

This I then thought was sufficient to vindicate my self from that little Aspersion. But I am now constrain'd by the worse usage, that I have since met with from the same Quarter, to give an account of some Particulars; which then I omitted, partly out of an unwillingness to trouble the Publick with complaints about private and personal injuries, but chiefly out of a tenderness for the Honour of the Editor.

The first time I saw his new Phalaris,

was in the Hands of a person of Honour, to whom it had been presented; and the rest of the Impression was not yet publish'd. This encourag'd me to write the very same Evening to Mr. Boyle at Oxford, and to give him a true information of the whole matter; expecting that upon the receipt of my Letter he would put a stop to the publication of his Book, till he had alter'd that Passage, and printed the Page anew; which he might have done in one Day, and at the charge of Five Shillings. I did not expressly desire him to take out that Passage, and reprint the whole Leaf; That I thought was too low a submission. But I said enough to make any Person of common Justice and Ingenuity have own'd me thanks for preventing him from doing a very ill Action.

I am sorry I have not the Letter it self to produce on this occasion: but I neither took any Copy of it; nor was I carefull to keep the Gentleman's Letter, which I receiv'd in answer. I had no apprehension at that time, that the Business could have been blown to this Height. But the Gentleman, it seems, had something at that time in his view, and was more carefull to keep My Letter, a part of which he has thus publish'd: Mr. Bennet desir'd me to lend him the Manuscript *Phalaris* to be collated; because a Young Gentleman, Mr. Boyle of  
Christ-

*Christ-church*, was going to publish it. I told him, That a Gentleman of that Name and Family, to which I had so many Obligations, and should always have an Honour for, might command any service, that lay in my Power. *These he acknowledges to be civil expressions: and I dare trust my Memory so far, as to aver that all the rest were of the same strain.* Nay, as the Examiner has given us this Fragment of my Letter, because he thought he saw a Fault in't, which I shall answer anon: so if there had been any thing else in that Letter, either in the Words or the Matter, that he could but have cavill'd at; without doubt he would have favour'd us with more of it: for we may easily see his Good Will to me, both from his Preface and his Examination.

Ibid. &  
P. 4.

But what return did he make me for my expressions of great Civility? After a delay of two Posts; on purpose, as one may justly suspect, that the Book might be vended (as it was) and spread abroad in the mean time; I receiv'd an answer to this effect: That what I had said in my own behalf, might be true; but that Mr. Bennet had represented the thing quite otherwise: If he had had my account before, he should have consider'd of it: and now that the Book was made public, he would not interpose, but that I might do my

P. 4.

self right in what method I pleas'd. *This was the import of his Answer, as I very well remember: there was not the least hint, that he had or would stop the publication of his Book, till the matter was farther examin'd.*

P. 4.

*The Gentleman himself, in his late Treatise, has been pleas'd to give some account of the same Letter; and he represents his expression thus: That if the matter appear'd as I had told it, he meant to give me satisfaction as publickly as he had injur'd me. But I am sorry that his Civility comes three years too late. Less than this would have pass'd with me for good satisfaction. But it was not, that He would give me satisfaction, but that I had his free leave to take it: which was in answer to a Paragraph of my Letter, that perhaps I might think my self oblig'd to make a public vindication. And this, as I take it, was so far from being a just Satisfaction, that it was plainly a Defiance, and an addition to the Affront.*

*The Gentleman and I here differ a little about the Expression in his Answer; but I suppose the very Circumstances will plainly discover whose account is the truer. For what probability is there, that He should promise such fair satisfaction; and yet let the Book be publish'd when it was in his power to stop it? If he had writ me word*  
*the*



*the very next Post, that he had stopp'd the Books in the Printing-House, and would suffer no more to go abroad till the matter was fairly examin'd: this had been just and civil. And then if he had found himself misinform'd by his Bookseller, he might have cut out the Leaf, and printed a new one; which in all respects had been the fairest, and cheapest, and quickest Satisfaction.*

*Several persons have been so far misinform'd by false reports of this Story; that they think, the Editor himself desir'd the MS, either by Letter to Me, or by a personal Visit. I heartily wish it had been so; for then all this Dispute had been prevented. But the Gentleman was not pleas'd to honour me with his Commands. If he had favour'd me with one Line, or had sent his desire by any Scholar; I would not only have lent the Book: but, have collated it myself for him. But it was both our misfortunes, that he committed the whole affair to the Care or rather Negligence of his Bookseller: and the first application Himself made to me, was by that complement in his printed Preface.*

*I am surpriz'd, to see an Honourable Person think he has fully justified himself for abusing me, by reasons that he has found out, since the time of the Abuse. For even*

*take*

take his own account ; and when he printed that Preface, he had heard nothing but on one side. And was that like a man of his Character to put a public Affront upon me, upon the bare complaint of a Bookseller, who was the party suspected of the Fault ? What ? never to enquire at all, whether he had not misinform'd him ? when there was such reason to suppose, that he might lay the blame upon Me, to excuse his own Negligence ? when he had such opportunities of asking me, either directly, or by some common Friends ? Turn it over on every side, and the whole conduct of it is so very extraordinary ; that one cannot but suspect there were some secret reasons for this usage, that are not yet brought above-board. Be it as it will ; 'tis in vain to hope to justify that Calumny in his Preface, by such testimonies as he knew nothing of, when he ventur'd to print it. He is fallen under his own reproof, That he wrote his Preface first, and finds reasons for it afterwards.

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When his Phalaris came first abroad, 'twas the opinion of my Friends, who were soon satisfied that the thing was a Calumny, That it was the duty of my Place, as Keeper of the Royal Library, to defend the Honour of it against such an Insult. But yet out of a natural aversion to all quarrels and broils, and out of regard to the Editor himself, I resolv'd

to take no notice of it, but to let the matter drop.

Thus it rested for two Years; and should have done so for ever; had not some Accidents fallen out, which made it necessary for me to give a public account of it. I had formerly made a promise to my worthy Friend Mr. Wotton, to give him a Paper of some Reasons, why I thought Phalaris's Epistles supposititious, and the present Æsopian Fables not to be Æsop's own. And upon such an occasion, I was plainly obliged to speak of that Calumny: for my silence would have been interpreted as good as a Confession. Especially considering with what industrious Malice the false Story had been spread all over England; for as it's generally practis'd, they thought one Act of Injustice was to be supported and justified by doing many more.

The Gentleman is pleased to insinuate, P. 4. 24, that all this is pure Fiction; and that I writ &c. that Dissertation out of revenge, and purely for an occasion of telling the Story: the very contrary of which is true; for I was unwilling to meddle in that Dissertation, because I should be necessitated to give an account of that Story: as it will plainly appear from Mr. Wotton's own Testimony, which I have by me under his hand.

I Do declare, that in the Year 1694, when my *Discourse about Ancient and Modern Learning* was first put to the Press, Dr. Bentley at my desire undertook to write a Dissertation about *Phalaris* and *Æsop*, to be added to my Book. But being called away into the Country, he could not at that time be as good as his word. Afterwards when the Second Edition of my Book was in the Press, I renew'd my request to him, and challeng'd his Promise. He desir'd me to excuse him; because now the case was alter'd, and he could not write that Dissertation without giving a Censure of the late Edition at *Oxford*. But I did not think that a sufficient reason, why I should lose that Treatise to the World, by receding from the Right and Power that he had given me to demand it.

*W. Wotton.*

*The Reader will please to observe, that Mr. Wotton's Discourse was first printed 1694; and Phalaris the Tear after. A plain argument, that the Examiner is quite out in his reckoning; when he pretends, that I first engag'd in that Dissertation, purely to fall foul on his Book. I was so far from harbouring such vengeance in my heart, that*

*that if the Editor or any body from him, had but given me leave to say in his Name, That he had been misinform'd; all this Story, and all the Errors of his Edition had slept quiet in their obscurity.*

*About Nine months after my Dissertation was printed, the Editor of Phalaris oblig'd the World with a Second Piece, call'd Dr. Bentley's Dissertations examin'd. He has begun that elaborate Work with stating an account of this Story in opposition to what I had said of it: and That he does upon the Credit of Testimonies of the Bookseller and the Collator, and of a Third Informant, who overheard some Discourse of mine. I will give a clear and full Answer to every part of their Depositions; and I question not but to make it plain, that the Examiner has been impos'd on, not only by the Author of Phalaris's Letters, but by others that are every way of lower Qualifications than He.*

*The Bookseller avers, That he was employ'd by the Honourable Mr. Boyle, and by Him only, to borrow the MS. of Phalaris from Dr. Bentley. And after about NINE Months Sollicitation says he, it was deliver'd into my Custody, without any time limited for the Return of it. I now perceive, I had more reason, than I was then aware of, when I said in my Dissertation, That a Falshood about Time was*  
*the*

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*the truest and surest method of detecting Impostures. And Mr. B. I hope, will allow that a Chronological Argument will be a good Proof against his Bookseller; though he will not admit it, against his Book. The Bookseller, we see, is positive, that I did not lend him the MS. till after about NINE Months Sollicitation. And Mr. B. himself repeats it, That there was about NINE Months Sollicitation us'd to procure it: and in another place he affirms, That the Bookseller gave him Liberty to assure the World, that he was ready to justify it with his OATH, when it should be duly requir'd of him. Now if, instead of these NINE Months, I make it appear beyond Contradiction, That from my very first Admission to the Office of Library Keeper, to the Time that the Bookseller not only had, but return'd the MS, there was but ONE single Month; I humbly conceive, the World will be satisfied, that not the Word only, but the very OATH of this Witness is little to be regarded.*

*The Royal Patent, which Constitutes me Keeper of His MAJESTY'S Libraries (which may be seen not only in my own Hands, but in the Patent-Office) bears date the XIIth day of April, M DC XCIV. The Words are, In cujus rei Testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes,*  
*Testibus*

Testibus Nobis Iphis apud Westmonasterium, Duodecimo Die Aprilis, Anno Regni Nostri Sexto. *Now I may appeal to any Body, that has ever been concern'd in a Patent; if by reason of the Delays that necessarily attend a thing of that nature, it may not fairly be suppos'd that the remaining part of that Month expir'd, before all could be finish'd. I find in a Book of my private Accounts, that I took the Patent out of the Patent-Office the xviiiith day of that Month: and the several Offices to be attended after that, before I could have admission to the Library, may be allow'd to take up the rest of the Month. But I shall prove the thing directly by Two Witnesses, beyond all Exception, the Worthy Masters of St. Paul's and St. James's Schools, who gave me this Account under their own Hands.*

**S**OME time after the Death of Mr. *Justell*, late Library-keeper to His Majesty, we were desir'd by his Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, then Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, in pursuance of a Command from the Late Queen of Blessed Memory, to take a Catalogue of the Royal Library at *St. James's*. We began it in *October 1693*, finish'd, and had it transcrib'd, and presented to Her Majesty by the *Easter* Following, during all which time

time we had the Key of the said Library constantly in our keeping, as also some Weeks longer. And then as we were directed, we deliver'd it up to Sir *John Lowther*, now the Right Honourable the Lord *Lonsdale*, who was at that time Vice-Chamberlain to His Majesty.

*Jo. Postlethwayt.*  
*Rich. Wright.*

*It is plain then from the Date of a Public Record, join'd with Mr. Postlethwayt's and Mr. Wright's Testimonies, that I had not actual Custody of the Royal Library before May. For in that Year Easter fell upon April the viii<sup>th</sup>. And it's depos'd here, that the Key of the Library was not deliver'd to the Vice-Chamberlain, from whose hands I was to receive it, till some Weeks after Easter. And in the same May I deliver'd the MS to the Bookseller; for, as I had said before, as soon as I had it in my power, I went voluntarily to the Bookseller and offer'd it him. The Bookseller has not yet thought fit to deny, that the Book was deliver'd to him in May; and to save him from the Temptation of denying it hereafter, I will prove by another Record, that the Book was used and restor'd to me again, and lodg'd in His Majesty's Library before the end of that Month.*



*Month. For the Reason why I insisted to have the MS speedily return'd, was because I was oblig'd to make a Journey to Worcester, to keep my Residence there as Prebendary of that Church: and that I was at Worcester by the First of June following; the following Certificate will prove, the Original of which I have by me.*

**I**T appears by the Chantor's Rolls kept to note the Presence of the Dean and Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of Worcester, that Dr: Richard Bentley Prebendary of the said Cathedral Church was present at Prayers in the Quire there on the First day of June in the Year 1694, and continued his Attendance there till September the 26th following, not absenting more than Two Days at any one time all the while. Witness my Hand this 25th Day of May, 1698.

*Andrew Trebeck, Chantor.*

We have seen and examin'd the Chantors Rolls above mention'd, and do find them, as He hath above certified; and we did see him sign this Certificate,

*Jo. Price, Chancellour.*

*Ch. Moore, Pub. Not. Reg.*

*Tho. Oliver, Pub. Notary.*

*I must crave leave to observe to the Reader ; that the Residence Roll for the Month of May, though diligently sought for, could not be found. But if it ever happen to come to sight, I make no doubt, but it will appear by it, that I was present at Worcester some part of that May. For it's great odds, that the First Day of my being there would not fall upon the First of June. The last note of Time, before I took my Journey, that I can now find among all my Papers, is the xvth Day of May. And I find a Letter to me out of Surry, Dated May the xth, that then wishes me a good Journey. All which makes me believe, that I left London upon Monday May the xxist, and that the MS was return'd to me the Saturday Night before.*

*But not to insist upon that ; I suppose it's sufficiently manifest from His Majesty's Patent, Mr. Postlethwayt's and Mr. Wright's Testimonies, and the Residence Rolls of the Church of Worcester, That the MS was deliver'd, us'd, and return'd within the space of ONE Month after I had the custody of the Library. So that the Deposition of the Bookseller, That he could not obtain the MS till after about NINE Months Sollicitation, is demonstrated to be a notorious Falshood: and since he has farther declar'd that it was in his Intention a Perjury ; he has Pillouried himself*

himself for't in Print, as long as that Book shall last.

I have been inform'd by several good Hands, that when the Starters of this Calumny heard, how I could disprove from the very Date of the Patent, this Story of NINE Months Sollicitation; they betook themselves to this Refuge, That though the Patent was not finish'd till about May, yet I had the Power and Trust of the Library for NINE months before. But besides the folly of this Evasion, which is visible at first view (for how could I demand the Key of the Library, before I had a Right to it?) Mr. Postlethwayt and Mr. Wright give a direct Evidence, that they had the Key constantly in their Keeping all the time from October to May; so that I had not the MS. in my Power, till the very time that I lent it. Nay the very Warrant, where His Majesty first nominated me to that Employment, was but taken out of the Secretary's Office Decemb. XXIII, 1693. There were but FIVE months therefore in all from the first Rumour of my being Library Keeper to the Time that they had the MS. And the Bookseller even by this account was plainly guilty of an intended Perjury; when he was ready to Swear, that he used about NINE Months Sollicitation. But suppose it were true, that NINE months had elaps'd

*from the Date of the Warrant to my admission to the Library: yet what an honest and ingenuous Narrative is here of Nine Months SOLLICITATION? That word carries this accusation in't, that I could have lent them the Book if I pleas'd: which appears now to be a mere Calumny and Slander, since it lays that to my Charge, which was not in my Power.*

*By his talking of SOLLICITATION one would be apt to imagine, that he had worn the very Streets with frequent Journeys to solicit for the MS. I had said in my former account, that a Bookseller CAME to me in the Name of the Editors: which is a word of more Concession, than the Pains he was at deserv'd. For to the best of my Memory, he never ask'd me for the MS. but at his own Shop, or as I casually met him. Neither can I call to mind, that either He or his Apprentice came once to my Lodgings or to the Library for't; till the time that he sent for't by my appointment, and receiv'd it.*

*I had said, That I order'd him to tell the Collator, not to lose any time, for I was shortly to go out of Town for two Months. Now this was to be denied by the Bookseller, or else his whole Deposition had signified nothing; for the Blame would still lie at his own Door. He resolutely*  
*affirms*

*affirms therefore, That no time was limit- P. 6.  
ed for the return of it. What can be done  
in this Case? here are two contrary affirma-  
tions; and the matter being done in private,  
neither of us have any Witness. I might  
plead, as Æmilius Scaurus did against one  
Varius of Sucro. Varius Sucronensis ait, Val. Max.  
Æmilius Scaurus negat. utri creditis, 3, 7.  
Quirites? I hope, upon an account my  
Credit will go further than this Bookseller's,  
especially after his manifest Falshood, in his  
Story of the Nine Months.*

*But let us enquire into the Nature of the  
Thing. Is it likely or probable, that I  
should put the MS into his Hands, to be  
kept as long as He pleas'd? without any in-  
timating that after a competent time for  
using it he should restore it again? They  
must certainly have an odd Opinion of their  
Readers, that expect to make such stuff as  
this pass upon them for Truth. Besides it  
appears upon Record, that I took a Journey  
soon after the lending of it: which was not  
a sudden and unexpected one: for the time  
of my Residence had been fixed six months  
before. I must needs know then of my in-  
tended Journey, when I lent the MS to the  
Bookseller: and 'tis very unlikely that I  
should omit to give him notice of it; unless  
it be suppos'd, that I had then a private  
design to disappoint them of the use of the  
MS.*

*But that I had no such design, but on the contrary a true intention and desire to give them full opportunity of using it, I conceive the very circumstances of the affair, besides my own Declaration which I here solemnly make, will put it out of all question. For, I pray, what interest, what passion could I serve by hindring them? I could have no pique against the Editor, whom I had never seen nor heard of before; and who, as soon as I heard of him, both deserv'd and had my respect upon account of his Relation to a Person of glorious Memory. Neither could I envy him the Honour of publishing the MS; or repine that such an opportunity of getting Fame was taken out of my own hands: for I suppose my Dissertation alone is a convincing argument, that I my self had never any design of setting out Phalaris.*

*But I have a better proof still behind of my sincerity in lending the MS: though I cannot produce it, without accusing my self. For its the duty of my Place to let no Book go out of the King's Library without particular Order. This the Learned Dr. Mill and several others know, who having occasion for some Books in the time of my Predecessor, were oblig'd to procure his Majesty's Warrant for them. If it were my design then to keep the Book out of the Editor's hands, what fairer pretense, what readier excuse could*

could be wished, than this? "That I was  
 "ready to serve the Gentleman to the ut-  
 "most of my Power; but it was a Rule with  
 "my Predecessors to let no Book go abroad  
 "without a Royal Warrant. And I durst  
 "not venture to transgress the Rule at my  
 "very first entrance upon my Office. If the  
 "Gentleman would obtain an Order in the  
 "usual method, I would wait upon him the  
 "first moment and deliver the Book. I  
 could have refus'd the MS in this manner,  
 with all the appearance of Civility: but  
 out of a particular desire of obliging the  
 Editor, I ventur'd beyond my Power, and  
 lent the Book privately without any  
 Order. I confess I have justly suffer'd for  
 it since; and the very men I aim'd to ob-  
 lige, were my Enemies, (as they give it out)  
 only on that account. Had I kept my self  
 firm to the Rules of my Office, without strain-  
 ing a point of Courtesie beyond the bounds of  
 my Duty; all their Calumnies had been a-  
 voided. But I hope I shall have caution  
 enough for the future; to know Persons a  
 little better, before I put my self in their  
 Power.

I had said, that I had no suspicion, that  
 the Collation was not finish'd: In oppo-  
 sition to this the Bookseller deposes, that I  
 call'd upon him for the Book upon Satur-  
 day at Noon; and staid while he sent to

the Collator, and word was brought by the Messenger, That it was not collated. *That I call'd then at the Bookseller's Shop, I believe may be true: for having business to dispatch in Paul's Church-yard, and some Friends there to take leave of, before I began my Journey, I took that occasion to call upon this Bookseller, and to mind him of his engagement to restore the Book on Saturday Evening. But that I staid there, till his Messenger return'd from the Collator, I do not remember. But suppose, that I did stay; what then? the Message he says was brought at Noon, that the Book was not then Collated. But the Bookseller well knows; that I did not require the Book, till the Evening, nor was it return'd before. The Collator indeed might be behind hand at Noon, and as I might suppose, want about two or three Pages. But must I needs think him still behind hand at Nine a Clock at Night? That's a sort of Consequence that I am not us'd to make. For if he had not done one page of the Book at Noon; yet he had time more than enough to have finish'd it by the Evening. For, as I said before, it is as legible as Print, being written in a modern Hand, and without Abbreviations; and wants One and Twenty Epistles that are extant in the Printed Copies, which is a seventh part of the whole Book; so that the*

*work*



*work of Collating is so much the shorter. I had a mind for the Experiment's sake, to collate the first Forty Epistles, which are all that the Collator has done. And I had finish'd them in an Hour and Eighteen Minutes; though I made no very great haste. And yet I remark'd and set down above Fifty various Lections, though the Editor has taken notice of One only. Now if 40 Epistles can be collated in an Hour and 18 Min. the whole MS, which contains but 127 Epistles, may be collated in Four Hours. The Collator then, had he been diligent, might have finish'd the whole Collation twice over, between Noon and the close of the Evening, when the Book was return'd.*

*As for the Collator, I am utterly a stranger both to his Person and Character; and have nothing to say to him, but that his Testimony is as useless and imperfect as his Collations. Indeed it's hard to conjecture, to what purpose it is produc'd. The sum of it is, That the MS was sent for before he had finish'd; which is confess'd on all Hands. It had been more to the purpose, if he had told us, what he was doing all that time, that the MS was in his Hands. I say, five or six days; the Bookseller says, a few; Mr. Boyle, not nine. By the shortest account, it now appears, as I said before, that he had more Days to compare*

P. 7.

P. 20.

pare

pare it in, than he needed to have Hours. *And how did he spend the last Afternoon, which was more than sufficient to do the whole work in? Whether he undertook it for a Reward, or out of Kindness; the Editor was not very much oblig'd to him.*

*The Bookseller adds further, That I utterly refus'd to leave the MS with him beyond Saturday, though he beg'd but to have it till Sunday Morning, and engag'd to oblige the Collator, to sit up at it all Saturday Night. How false and silly this is, the sagacious Readers must needs see and acknowledge. This was spoken on Saturday at Noon, by the Bookseller's own Confession. And he had then free leave to keep it, and did keep it till the Evening. And the whole Collation was but the work of four Hours, as I have proved by Experiment. And yet he has the Face to tell the World, that he would engage the Collator to sit up all Night to finish it: when the Whole might be done from the beginning to the end twice over before Candle-light. Why I would not have spar'd it till Sunday Morning, suppose I had been ask'd, there might be several good reasons. I was to take Coach for Worcester by Five a Clock on Monday morning: And I could have no leisure on Sunday to put the Book into the Library. The Key too of the outward Door was then*

*in custody of another ; who perhaps might not be met with upon Sunday. Besides, that there was time enough and to spare before Saturday Evening: and what obligation had I to neglect my own Business to humour others in their Laziness?*

But, *he says, I gave him not the least hopes, that if he applied to me upon my return out of the Country, He should have leave to get the Collation perfected. That I gave him not any hopes of it by an express promise, I verily believe. For how could I do that, when I was fully persuaded, they would finish the Collation, before I went into the Country? But what he saw in me, that forbad him to hope it, if there should be occasion, I cannot imagin. He knew, the Reason why I then demanded the Book, was my Journey into the Country. I was to make so long a stay there, that it was not fit to expose the Book all that while to the Hazard of being lost. I told the Bookseller then, that I was to be absent for Two Months: but it appears now upon Record, that I was Four Months at Worcester. And how many Accidents might have happen'd in that time? Should I who was under a Trust, and accountable to God and Man, run such a risk without any Warrant? The Editor and his Witnesses may calumniate as they please: but I wish I could*

*could as well justify my lending the MS out, as my calling it in.*

- P. 6. *The Bookseller concludes ; That I made some Reflections from time to time, when he spoke to me from Mr. B. but considering his Employment, it may not be proper to add an account of them. So that he puts off that piece of work to one Dr. King of the Commons, as the Examiner styles him. Now what he means by Reflections, or what harm there is in making Reflections, I do not understand. A Great*
- P. 3. *Person, one of the Examiner's Family, made a whole Book of Reflexions, and I never yet heard it was counted a Crime in him. I am as much to seek too for his Meaning, That his Employment makes it not proper for him to add an account of those Reflections. His Employment, as a Bookseller, I think a very reputable one, if He himself be not a Disgrace to't. And if that make it not proper for him to bear false witness against his Neighbour by a pretended account of those Reflexions: methinks the Profession of the Dr. to whom he refers himself, is more improper for that work. The Dr. indeed by his Profession may be enabled to do it with more Cunning, but he would do it with the greater Crime. But let us bear the Dr's Testimony; the Air and Spirit of it is so very extraordinary; the*  
*Virulency*

*Virulency and Insolence so far above the common pitch; that it puts one in mind of Rupilius King, a great Ancestor of the Dr's, commended to Posterity by Horace under this honourable Character,*

Proscripti Regis Rupili pusatq; venenum, Horat. Sat.

The Filth and Venom of *Rupilius King*. I, 7.

*And if the Dr. do not inherit the Estate of Rupilius; yet the whole World must allow, that he is Heir of his Virtues; as his own Writings will vouch for him, his Depositi on here against me, his Buffoonry upon the Learned Dr. Lister, and some other Monuments of his Learning and his Morals.*

I have endeavour'd, *says the Dr.* as far as I can, to recollect what pass'd between Mr. Bennet and Dr. Bentley concerning a MS of the Epistles of *Phalaris*. I cannot be certain, as to ANY OTHER Particulars, than that among other things, the Dr. said, That if the MS were collated, it would be worth nothing for the future. *Now the Reader may please to take notice, That the Dr. here publickly owns, That he cannot be certain, as to any other Particulars: and yet he endeavour'd to recollect, as far as he could; and the Scorn, he says, and Contempt which he has naturally for Pride and Insolence, made him remember that, which otherwise he might have forgot. Now if the Doctor,*

P. S.

Ibid.

even

*even whetted with his Scorn and Contempt, could but call to mind ONE Particular, and if that Particular have nothing at all in't about Mr. B. nor any thing that borders upon Pride and Insolence; what pretense has he for traducing me here, as a proud and insolent man, and an Abuser of Mr. Boyle? If the Dr. as he owns, has but ONE Particular from his Memory, the rest he must have from his Invention. I am oblig'd indeed to the Dr. for he has effectually disprov'd himself in his own Deposition. For he first declares he knows but ONE Particular; and yet presently runs into a Charge, whereof nothing can be made out from that Particular. And would such an Evidence, as this is, pass in Drs. Commons? I am much mistaken, if the Worthy Persons, that preside there, would dismiss such a Witness as this without marks of their Dissatisfaction.*

*To account then for that One Particular that the Dr. is certain of. The Reader must give me leave to tell him a short story. After I was nominated to the Library-keeper's Office (before the Patent was finish'd) I was inform'd, that One Copy of every Book printed in England, which were due to the Royal Library by Act of Parliament, had not of late been brought into the Library according to the said Act. Upon this I made application to the Master of the Stationers*

tioners Company, to whom the Act directed me, and demanded the Copies. The effect whereof was, that I procured near a Thousand Volumes of one sort or other, which are now lodg'd in the Library. While this was transacting, I chanc'd to call upon Mr. Bennet, (whom I had several times oblig'd) and acquainted him with it, not questioning, but he would be very ready to comply, as far as his share went; which was then but very little. But to my surprize he answer'd me very pertly, That he knew not what Right the Parliament had to give away any man's Property; that he hop'd the Company of Stationers would refuse, and try it out at Law; That they were a Body, and had a common Purse; and more to this purpose. Some little time after, calling there again, upon a fresh discourse about the MS Phalaris, which I had formerly promis'd to lend him, as soon as I had power; I ask'd him, Upon what account he could refuse to give the Royal Library its Due settled on it by Act of Parliament; and at the same time expect a Favour out of it, that would make his own Book more vendible, and the MS less valuable? For after the various Lectiōns were once taken and printed, the MS would be like a squeez'd Orange, and little worth for the future. Since therefore he was resolv'd to try the Law a-  
gainst

gainst the Library, he ought in justice to present to it some Book of competent value, to make amends for the damage it would sustain by his using the MS.

*This Discourse I very well remember, and I believe I can bring witness that heard me relate it, long before the Dr's Deposition came abroad; and I take it for certain, that this was the very same Conversation, which Dr. King overheard. 'Tis true, there is some small difference in the account: I said, that the MS would be worth little for the future; and the Dr. says, worth Nothing. But that is no material change, and may be excused in the Dr. who is not over-nice in his Expressions. But do I remember, that the Dr. was present then? no, nor any time else: for I know him not, if I meet him; and perhaps my Pride and Insolence might lie in that, that I did not know a Person of such Known Credit in the World. Allowing then, that this was the free Conference (as the Examiner calls it) which the Dr. overheard, I have a few things to observe in the Narrative that he has made of it.*

P. 5.

P. 9.

*It appears first, that his pert Reflection, which he thought carried such a sting in it, is very silly and insipid. Which I took the more notice of, says he, because I thought a MS good for nothing, unless it were collated.*



collated. *Wonderfull remark, and worthy of such Eves-droppers that are proling after that which does not concern them, and catch at little scraps of other mens Discourses. 'Tis true, Sir, a MS not collated is upon that account worth nothing to the rest of the World: but to the Owner 'tis the better for it, if a Price was to be set on't. And I think, with submission, that a fresh MS newly brought out of Greece, and never yet printed, would sell for more, cæteris paribus, than another already printed. Do you think the Alexandrian MS of as great a value now, since the Edition of the English Polyglot, as when Cyril the Greek Patriarch first presented it to King Charles the First? but what do I talk to him of MSS, who has so little relish and sense of such things, as to declare deliberately, That he does not believe the various Readings of ANY BOOK are so much worth, as that Mr. Boyle should be used so scurvily to obtain them. And this he says, when he is giving Evidence: where all declamings and Rhetorical aggravations above the naked and strict Truth is unlawfull, and borders near upon Perjury. But we must not expect from the Dr. that he should know the worth of Books: for he is better skill'd in the Catalogues of Ales, his \* Hunty Dum-*

P. 8.

\* See his  
Journey to  
London.

*rest of that glorious List, than in the Catalogues of MSS.*

*But, pray, what was that scurvy usage that I gave to Mr. Boyle? The Dr. remembers but ONE Particular, and that has no relation to Mr. Boyle. I am almost persuaded, that Mr. Boyle's Name was not once mention'd in that Conversation. For this talk was not had the last time, when I call'd for the MS; but long before, when my Patent was not yet past, and before I had the custody of the Library. But suppose Mr. B. was nam'd then, I am sure it must be with Respect. For how could I use him scurvily in denying him a MS which was not then in my power to give? Before the time of that discourse, I had promis'd that the MS, when I could come at it, should be at Mr. Boyle's service; and in such words, as Mr. Boyle himself owns to be expressions of great civility: That a Gentleman of that Name and Family to which I had so many Obligations, and should always have an honour for, might command any service that lay in my power. That I really used these expressions even the Bookseller himself is my Witness: for if it had not been true, he would never have let it be printed, without contradicting it. Now how is it credible, that I should use a man so civilly, and yet so scurvily too? A man must*

*must be dos'd with Humty Dumty, that could talk so inconsistently. And how could I abuse a young Gentleman, whom I had never heard of before, without any provocation, in a public place, and before his own Friends? I dare appeal to any, that ever was acquainted with me, if he think me capable of doing so.*

*All the discourse then, that the Dr. overheard, had relation only to the Bookseller. Mr. Boyle was sure of the MS, which I had promised before. But I had a mind to make the Bookseller sensible of his ill manners, in denying Justice to the King's Library, at the same time that he ask'd Favours. And I do further declare, that I was but in jest, when I told him, That he should give a Book to the Royal Library, to recompense for the use of the MS: and I had no design in't, but to mortifie him a little for his pertness about going to Law. For when the time came, that I could lend him the MS: he had it freely, without giving to the Library the value of a printed Sermon. Tho' I remember, when I once told this Story to a very Great Man; his Answer was, That if I was not in earnest, I ought to have been so.*

*The Bookseller says, His Employment makes it not proper for him to give an account of the Reflections I made, as we*

talk'd about *Phalaris*. But I'll help him out for once, and give an account of One, that I very well remember. The Bookseller once ask'd me privately, that I would do him the favour to tell my opinion, if the new Edition of *Phalaris*, then in the Press, would be a vendible Book: For he had a concern in the Impression, and hop'd it would sell well: such a great Character being given of it in . . . Essays; as made it mightily enquir'd after. I told him, He would be safe enough, since he was concern'd for nothing but the sale of the Book: for the great Names of those that recommended it would get it many Buyers. But however under the Rose, the Book was a spurious piece, and deserv'd not to be spread in the World by another Impression. His Employment, it seems, could suffer him to betray this Discourse to some concern'd in the Edition, as I was inform'd from a very good hand; and this I meant, when I said in my former Account, that it was my hard hap in some private conversation to say, the Epistles were spurious, and unworthy of a new Edition. What influence this might have towards the Civility in the Preface to *Phalaris* I leave others to judge. But I dare say, this was all the Reflection, that I had ever made at that time, to Mr. Boyle's disadvantage. Si hoc peccare est, fateor.

If

*If there be no way of gaining his good opinion, but to believe Phalaris a good writer, I must needs submit to my Fate, that has excluded me from his Friendship.*

*Mr. B. is pleas'd to observe, That Mr. Bennet is so little interested in this Dispute, that he may intirely be depended on. So very little; that the best part of his Interest and his Trade lay at stake. For is not this the plain state of the Case? Mr. Boyle commits the Affair of collating the King's MS to his Bookseller. The Bookseller by his own neglect having failed in his trust, for fear of losing the Gentleman's Favour and Custom, lays the fault upon Me. This occasion'd a private grudge against me, which terminated in an affront in print. I verily believe that the Bookseller did not think at first, that Mr. Boyle would have carried his resentment so high: otherwise perhaps he would have invented some other excuse of his negligence. But the Business was afterwards past recalling; and he must go on of necessity, being once engag'd in the Cause. The whole of his Trade and Business seem'd to depend upon Mr. B. and his Friends. The Temptation indeed was strong; and I pray God forgive him.*

*Having now, as I humbly conceive, given a full and satisfactory Answer to all the matters of Fact, that the Examiner's*

*Witnesses lay to my Charge; I am very little concern'd at the Inferences he draws from them, or the Satyr and Grimace that he plentifully sprinkles. All these must drop of themselves, and fall down upon the Author of them, when the Foundation that they stood on is taken away. But however I shall take some short notice of every thing he has said, that is not intirely included in the Testimonies of his Witnesses.*

P. 4.

The Dr. says he, seem'd to be satisfy'd and willing to let the Dispute drop, by his not writing to me any further about it, or discoursing Mr. Bennet concerning it, to whom my Letter plainly refer'd him. *The Doctor, 'tis true, was willing to let the Dispute drop; but whether either or both of these Reasons ought to have made Mr. B. suppose I was satisfied, I leave it to the Judgment of those that know good Breeding.* I had writ him, as himself owns, a very civil Letter, complaining of the fraud of his Bookseller, and representing the matter quite otherwise than he had told it. After a delay of Two Posts, when the Books were spread abroad; in the mean time, I had an Answer giving me leave to take my own Satisfaction, and, as he here says, referring me to discourse with his Bookseller. Now what person of any Courage or Spirit, such as Innocence always gives one, would  
either

P. 19.

*either write again to Mr. B. after this repeated Affront, or go with his finger in his eye to tell his Story to the Bookseller, who was the Principal in the Injury? Mr. B. must sure have an odd cast of his Head, to think that I or any man else would submit to such Indignities. I had done all that became Me in writing him a timely Account of the whole Truth with Expressions of great Civility to him. But when I saw the civility of his Answer, which bid me right my self as I pleas'd, and referr'd me to his Bookseller; I neither thought my Station so little, nor the Editor's so very great, nor the Calumny so terrible, that I should make a second Application after such a repulse. I design'd indeed to drop the Dispute; but not because I either own'd or fear'd, but because I despis'd the Detraction; being conscious that it was false, and well knowing, that if ever I pleas'd, I could make the Authors asham'd on't.*

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P. 4.

P. 21.

*Mr. B. has such an affection for Chicanry and Banter, that he cannot abstain from it, when he ought to be most serious. He pretends to draw up a heavy Charge against me; because I say, the Editors of Phalaris: and in another place, They have collated. How came I, says he, to be multiplied at this rate? Well, I will submit to the Chastisement of this great Aristarchus: though*

P. 18, 19.

P. 17.

*I thought I might have the common liberty of changing Numbers, which is familiar in all the Languages that I know of either Old or New. Who knows not, that οἱ ποιητῶν Πλάτων, οἱ ποιητῶν Ἀριστοτέλην are often put for Plato and Aristotle alone? As certain of your own POETS have said, says the Apostle: and yet he meant only Aratus. And how often do we say We, and yet speak of our selves only; without thinking we are multiply'd; or doubled like Sofia in Plautus's Amphitryo? I do not question but some Examples of this may be found in his own Book, if the matter was worth the search. I am sure, that in another piece of Grimace he is guilty of the very expression, that he would turn to ridicule. I had said, 'Twas a surprize indeed to find there, that our MS*

P. 21. *was not perused. Our MS, says the Examiner, that is, His Majesty's and mine. He fancies himself to have some Interest in't. 'Tis like the Ego & Rex meus of Cardinal Wolsey. Very smart and witty! so that by the same Rule, when Mr. B. himself says, It will be very hard upon our*

P. 43. *Sicilian Prince; we must interpret it Ego & Phalaris meus, I and my Prince Phalaris. And when he so often says, our*

P. 109. *Critic, meaning his Humble Servant; the World is to take it, That he has some Dominion over me; which is an Honour I am*

143. *not*



not worthy of. And when I my self often say, OUR Editors, and OUR Edition, Mr. B. by this rule may infer, That I claim a Share and a Concern in his Edition of Phalaris: which I should take for a Complement more severe, than any thing he has yet said on me.

There's a certain Temper of Mind, that  
 \* Cicero calls PHALARISM, a Spirit like Phalaris's; and one would be apt to imagine that a Portion of it had descended upon some of his Translators. The Gentleman has given a broad hint more than once in his Book, that if I proceed further against Phalaris, I may draw perhaps a Duel or a Stab upon myself. Which is a generous Threat, especially to a Divine, who neither carries Arms nor Principles fit for that sort of Controversie. 'Tis the same kind of Generosity, though in a lower Degree, when he forbids me to meddle with Banter and Ridicule, which even when luckily hit on, are not very suitable to my Character. And yet the sharpest, nay almost the only Arguments that He himself uses, are Banter and Ridicule. So that We Two, as he says, must end this Dispute, but he takes care to allow me none of the Offensive Arms, that himself fights with. These are extraordinary Instances, both of his Candour and his Courage. However I've endeavour'd to take his advice,  
 and

\* Cic. ad Attic. vii, 12. Istum quidem, cujus Phalarismos times, omnia teterimefacturum puto.

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and avoid all Ridicule, where it was possible to avoid it: and if ever that odd Work of his has irresistibly mov'd me to a little Jest and Laughter, I am content that what is the greatest Virtue of His Book should be counted the greatest Fault of Mine.

The facetious Examiner seems resolv'd to vye with Phalaris himself in the Science of PHALARISM. For his Revenge is not satisfied with one single Death of his Adversary, but he will kill me over and over again. He has slain me twice, by two several Deaths, one in the First Page of his Book, and another in the Last. In the Title page I die the Death of Milo the Crotonian,

— Remember Milo's End,  
Wedg'd in that Timber, which he strove  
(to rend.

The Application of which must be this: That as Milo after his Victories at six several Olympiads was at last conquer'd and destroy'd in wrestling with a Tree; so I, after I had attain'd to some small Reputation in Letters, am to be quite baffled and run down by wooden Antagonists. But in the End of his Book, he has got me into Phalaris's Bull: and he has the pleasure of fancying that he hears me begin to Bellow. Well; since it's certain then that I am in  
the

P. 290.

*the Bull, I have perform'd the part of a Sufferer. For as the Cries of the torment-ed in Old Phalaris's Bull, being convey'd through Pipes lodg'd in the Machine, were turn'd into Music for the Entertainment of the Tyrant: So the Complaints which My Torments express from me, being convey'd to Mr. B. by this Answer, are all dedicated to his Pleasure and Diversion. But yet methinks when he was setting up to be Phalaris Junior, the very Omen of it might have deterr'd him. For as the Old Tyrant himself at last bellow'd in his own Bull; so his Imitators ought to consider, that at long run their own Actions may chance to overtake them.*

*But 'tis not enough for him that I die a Bodily Death, unless my Reputation too die with me. He accuses me of one of the meanest and basest of Actions; That when Sir Edward Sherburn put a MS into my Hands, to get it publish'd by Mr. Gravius; desiring me to let him know from whom he had it, that he might make an honour-able mention of him; I conceal'd the kindness of Sir Edward, and took the Honour of it to my self, so that the Book was dedicated to Me, and not one word said of Him. This is both a very black and a very false Accusation, and yet I own I am neither sorry nor surpriz'd to see it in Print.*

*Print.* Not sorry, because I can so fully confute it, that with all ingenuous Readers it will turn to my Applause. Not surpriz'd, because I expected such usage from the Spirit of PHALARISM. I am morally sure, that the very Persons that printed this Story, knew I could give a good Answer to't: for I heard of it by some Common Friends some time before it was printed, who, I question not, gave them an account how I justified my self. But however, it seems, they would not lay aside this Calumny: for as in War sometimes 'tis an useful Stratagem to spread a false Report, though it certainly must be disprov'd in two or three days; so here it was thought a serviceable falsehood, if it could be credited for a few Months. Besides, that it's the old Rule, to accuse strenuously, and something will stick: and 'tis almost the same thing with Men's Reputations, as with their Lives, He that is prodigal of his own, is Master of another Man's.

I had prepar'd a new Edition of Manilius; which design being known abroad occasion'd my Acquaintance with Sir Edward Sherburn, who had formerly translated the First Book of that Poet into English Verse, and explain'd it with a large Commentary. He had got together some old and scarce Editions which he courteously lent me; and be-  
sides

*sides those, he had purchas'd at Antwerp by the means of a Bookseller a whole Box full of Papers of the Famous Gasper Gevartius's, who undertook an Edition of the same Poet, but was prevented by Death. All this Mass of Papers he desir'd me to look over, if perhaps I might find any thing that was useful to the Public. Among the Remains of Gevartius, I found nothing of any moment. But there was one Treatise about Theodorus Mallius written in another hand, but without any name to't, which I thought to be considerable. And by good fortune among a Parcel of Letters, I met with One written in the same Hand with that Treatise, and subscrib'd A. R. and I easily guess'd by the Contents of the Letter, that they meant ALBERTUS RUBENIUS. This gave me a certain discovery of the true Author of that Treatise; and I immediately waited on Sir Edward, and gave him an Account of it; desiring him either to send it to Oxford, to be printed among some Miscellanies; or to Utrecht to the Learned Mr. Grævius; who having printed some Posthumous Works of the same Albertus Rubenius, was the properest Hand to convey This to the World. The latter proposal being embrac'd, I wrote to Holland to Mr. Grævius, giving a Narrative of the whole, and promising in the name of Sir Edward, that if Mr.*

Grævius

Grævius would undertake the Edition, I would presently send him the Book. Within no long time, I receiv'd an Answer from Mr. Grævius; where among other things, says he, Pray present my Humble Service to that Learned and Noble Gentleman Sir Edward Sherburn; and if he pleases to commit Rubenius to my Care, I will immediately put it to the Press, and let the Learned World know to whose Kindness they are oblig'd. I had never heard of his Commentary upon the first Book of Manilius: but since you give such a Character of it, I am sure it must needs be Good, and therefore I will purchase it. I shew'd this Letter to Sir Edward, and so the Book was sent to Holland by a safe hand.

The very next Letter that I receiv'd from Mr. Grævius, was accompanied with half a Dozen Printed Copies of Rubenius. I was much surprized to see the Book printed so soon; but more, when I saw a Dedication to my self; which was an Honour that I should not have expected, if I had been not only the Discoverer, but the Possessor too of the MS. But it troubled me exceedingly, when I found not the least mention of Sir Edward Sherburn there; and I express'd my concern about it to several Friends. Particularly the Right Reverend the Bishop of Norwich, whom I do my self the Honour

to name here, will bear me witness, how extremely I was concern'd at it, when I presented him one of the Copies. And some time after, when his Lordship sent to Mr. Grævius by my means a Collation of the Philosophical Works of Cicero from a very Ancient and Excellent MS (for as his Lordship has one of the Best Libraries of England, so he is as free in communicating it) I appeal to Mr. Grævius himself, who has yet perhaps that Letter by him, If I did not wish him to take care, not to ascribe that Favour to Me; and not to forget to name his Lordship, as he had formerly forgot Sir Edward Sherburn. Another of the Copies of Rubenius I presented to Sir Edward himself; and both lamented to him and excused Mr. Grævius's over-sight, that he had dedicated that to Me, which was rather due to Sir Edward. As for myself, I had no manner of need to make Apology to Sir Edward, since he had read Mr. Grævius's own Letter, where he voluntarily promis'd to make honourable mention of him; and would certainly have done it, if the multiplicity of his Studies and other Affairs had not quite struck it out of his mind. I might appeal to Sir Edward's own Memory for the truth of all this: but that his exceeding old Age and the Infirmities that attend it make him an incompetent Witness: and

*and upon that account I heartily excuse and forgive him All, that His Weakness has furnish'd to the Malice of some others.*

*The Examiner has represented, as if the Good Word that Mr. Grævius has been pleas'd publicly to give me, was solely bottom'd upon that, which I falsely assum'd to my self, the Publication of Rubenius. 'Tis necessary therefore to give the Reader here as much of that Dedication as concerns Me and that Affair; that he may see whether such a Stress is laid upon that Favour, as if that belong to another Man, my little Reputation must all drop with it.*

*Viro Cl. Richardo Benteleio S. P. D.  
Joannes Georgius Grævius.*

*Redit ad te, quam mihi dono miseras, Alberti Rubenii commentatio de Theodoro Mallio sane quam docta & polita. Pro qua, cum illam mecum communicare voluisti, non possum non tibi & meo & rei literariæ nomine gratias agere publice. Plurimum igitur tibi debebunt manes Rubenii, si quis manium sensus est, qui tam egregiam ejus diatriben ex tenebris, in quibus, absque te fuisset, perpetuo quasi sepulta jacuisset, in dias luminis auras protraxisti. — Nec manes tantum Rubenii, sed omnes humanitatis cultores tibi pro*



pro hoc in se merito devinxisti. Hi nunc tuas curas in *Manilium*, *Hesychium*, aliosq; Scriptores desiderant & expectant cupidè. Nam eruditissima illa Epistola, quam subtexuisti *Malalæ Chronicis*, tam multa recondita nos docuit, ut incredibilem expectationem tui ingenii commoverit. Nihil nobis longius est, nihil desideratius, quam ut illa videamus, quorum spem fecisti cum publice omnibus, tum mihi de tuis in *Callimacho* animadversionibus, quarum pulcherrimum Specimen mihi misisti. Hanc ut propediem expleas, Vir Eximie, Deum precor, ut salvus, incolumis, felix ætatem agas, meq; tui studiosissimum amare pergas.

*Now the whole, that Mr. Grævius says here or could say of me in relation to the publishing Rubenius, is this, That himself in Particular, and all the Lovers of Polite Learning, and the very Author Rubenius (if the Dead have any knowledge of what's done here) give me thanks for retrieving the MS. But for the rest of the Dedication, I humbly conceive, the Character he has there given of me has another foundation. I implore here the Reader's Candour, that he would not believe me so vain, as to assume the Commendations, that Mr. Grævius and some other eminent Persons have given me, (to encourage, as I suppose,*

c

my

Hermog.  
P. 429.

*my Beginnings), as if they really were deserv'd by me. But I mention them here on this occasion, to shew that some of the Learnedst Men of the Age have either more Candour or another kind of Judgment, than Mr. B. and his Party. Mr. B. is pleas'd somewhere to send me to Hermogenes's Chapter, Περὶ τῆ ἀνεπαχθῶς ἐαυτὸν ἐπαυεῖν, How a man may commend himself, without Envy or Fulsomness. And I find there, that one may safely do it, when Detraction and Calumny make it necessary.*

*Nay I may freely say, that I deserve almost as well of the Memory of Rubenius; as if all the Honour, which they pretend I rob'd Sir Edward of, had been truly my own. Neither is there one single Word, that Mr. Grævius says of Me with respect to Rubenius, that is not literally true. For it was I that communicated the MS to him; It was I that brought it out of that Darkness, where without Me it might have been buried for ever. For Sir Edward had been Possesser of Gevartius's Papers for several Tears; but he knew no more of that Treatise, and especially who was the Author of it, than if it never had been written. Nay, if I had been such a Plagiary, as Mr. B. would traduce me for, I had it wholly in my Power, not only to rob Sir Edward, but Rubenius Himself of the Honour of that Treatise.*  
For

*For Sir Edward entrusted me with the whole Box of Papers, whereof he knew little or nothing, without either Numbering or Weighing them. So that I could easily have kept back that little Treatise without giving him any notice of it, and have publish'd it afterwards as my own Work. And this alone is a sufficient Disproof of this malicious Calumny. For how is it credible, since I was so ingenuous, as to make Discovery of a Paper, which I could have conceal'd as my own; that at the same time I could be so senselessly dishonest, as to seek to rob him of that Little Honour of being Master of another Man's Work many Tears without knowing what it was?*

*When I first met with this Accusation in Print, it seem'd the easiest way of confuting it, To produce Mr. Grævius's Letter; where in answer to mine he had thank'd Sir Edward for the hopes he had given him of the MS, and promis'd to do him right in the publication. So that presently I look'd among my Papers, but to my grief I could not find it by the most diligent search. The next thing was, to produce my own Letter to Mr. Grævius, where I my self had made honourable mention of Sir Edward and his intended kindness. But I had not that Letter in my Power; for I writ that, as I do others, but once over, without keeping any Copy of it. The only reserve then that*

*I had left, was to write to Mr. Grævius; and to desire a Copy of his Former Letter, if perhaps he had a Transcript of it; or that he would send me either a Copy or the Original of My Letter, if such a Trifle, by good providence, should still be in Being; or at least that he would now do me right by a new Letter, since he could not but remember, when put in mind of it, that I had sent him Rubenius, as Sir Edward Sherburn's Book, and not as my own. And in answer I received a Letter, part of which I here publish without varying a word. And I must own my self oblig'd to Mr. B. that he was pleas'd to start this Calumny so early, while all the Parties are still alive to disprove it.*

Joannes Georgius Grævius, S. P. D.  
 Richardo Bentleio, —

Literis tuis, quas Februario superiore dedisti ad me, quamvis nihil iis acceptius & optatius mihi potuit afferri, serius respondeo; non quod immemor fuerim officii, sed quod Epistolam illam, qua nonnulla fragmentis *Callimachi* adjici volebas, quæ ego Proœmio inserui, cum jam omnia cætera typis essent descripta, diu frustra quæsiui. Nec enim exputare possum, unde illa, quæ tua regas esse, excerpserim. Itaq; non putabam me ante tibi posse satisfacere,

tisfacere, quam illam inspexissem Epistolam, & num me mei oculi, aut memoria fefellerit, inde cognovissem. Quamvis vero mihi non perierit, qui omnia tua custodio diligentius nigris uvis, nescio tamen in quem se angulum Bibliothecæ abdiderit, ex quo nondum potuit erui. Nunc visa tua novissima Epistola, quam pridie, cum ex itinere menstruo fere domum revertissem, inveni domi meæ; diutius cessandum non duxi. Ad priores, pro quibus tibi *Ἰδαρυτερον* debeo, brevi respondebo. Jam ad has, quas XXIX Aprilis exarasti, hæc habe.

In literis, quas *Londini* in ædibus *Episcopi Wigorniensis* scripseras IV Julii 1692 hæc tu ad me. ‘Est apud nos *Edwardus Sherburnus*, Eques Auratus, qui librum  
 ‘ primum *Manilii* Anglice vertit, & commentario doctissimo auxit. Is abhinc annis aliquot apparatus *Gasp. Gevartii* ad  
 ‘ *Manilium* ab ejus hærede emit *Antwerpiæ*,  
 ‘ mihiq; non ita pridem, quem novam ejus  
 ‘ Scriptoris editionem parare inaudiverat,  
 ‘ schedas *Gevartianas* perlegendi copiam fecit. Comperi autem virum Clarissimum  
 ‘ omnem operam in eo posuisse, non qui  
 ‘ *Manilii* textum corrigeret, vel illustraret,  
 ‘ sed qui in felicem suam (mea quidem  
 ‘ sententia) conjecturam de *Theodoro Mallio*  
 ‘ *Cos.* quem *Astronomici* auctorem esse voluit,

'luit,adversus *Barthios & Salmafios & Tri-*  
 ' *stanos & Possinos* defenderet. Nihil tamen  
 ' in medium profert,quod momenti habeat  
 ' quicquam ad opinionem suam stabilien-  
 ' dam, præterquam quæ dudum in lucem  
 ' ediderat in *Papinianis & Variis Lectionibus*.  
 ' Itaq; cum toties repetita cràmbe mihi  
 ' fastidium moveret, mirifice tamen recre-  
 ' atus sum aureolis duabus Epistolis, quæ  
 ' in isto chartarum fasce latitabant, quæq;  
 ' celeberrimum *Grævii* nomen ferebant in-  
 ' scriptum. Illud vero me perculisse fateor,  
 ' quod ad *Gevartii* sententiam de ætate  
 ' *Manilii* videris accedere. *Et quæ sequun-*  
 ' *tur de hac opinione Gevartii, quam damnas.*  
 ' *Post hæc addis* : Erat autem præterea quod  
 ' me Adversaria ista versantem non medi-  
 ' ocri voluptate affecit, Dissertatio scilicet  
 ' bene longa & perquam erudita de vita  
 ' *Fl. Mallii Theodori Cos.* auctore, ut casu  
 ' comperi, *Alberto Rubenio*, cujus *Opuscula*  
 ' *Posthuma* te obstetricante in lucem pro-  
 ' dierunt. Hanc meo iudicio minime dig-  
 ' nam, quæ cum blattis & tineis diutius  
 ' conflictetur, curabo tibi mittendam, si  
 ' ejus Editionem te procuraturum fore pol-  
 ' liceris; & quidem vel una cum aliis qui-  
 ' busdam, vel etiam sola non incommode  
 ' edi poterit:

Hæc ἀπολεξεί in Epistola tua, ex qui-  
 bus luce meridiana clarius patet, non tu-  
 am,

am, sed meam culpam esse, quod, cum Commentationem *Rubenianam* ederem, non meminerim hujus Epistolæ, & propterea non debitas gratias persolverim Viro Nobilissimo *Edvardo Sherburno* pro communicato cum utroq; nostrum hoc *Rubenzii* libello. Ipse aut negligentiam aut oblivionem meam detestor, & culpam deprecor. Meæ responsionis nullum servavi exemplum, æque ut nec aliarum. Illud memini me *Sherburni Manilium*, quem ex tua Epistola cognovi plane mihi ante ignotum, sæpe desiderasse.

Vale, — & tibi persuade, te doctos omnes viros maximi facere, *rumpantur ut ilia Codris*; sed neminem esse qui te majoris faciat, & magis æstimet quam ego te facio.

*After this Letter of Mr. Grævius's I suppose there needs nothing more to silence this sorry Calumny. He has exscrib'd the Words of my own Letter, which in the plainest expressions declare, That the MS was Sir Edward Sherburn's; that he had lent me it to read over; and if Mr. Grævius would promise to publish it, it should be put into his Hands. And though he has no Transcript of that Letter, which he sent me in answer to Mine, where he return'd Sir Edward Thanks, and promis'd to do it publicly; yet he very well remembers it, and*

upon the whole avers, That it was His Fault, and not Mine, *that Sir Edward was not mention'd; and he asks pardon for the omission, whether it happen'd through Negligence or through Forgetfulness.*

*The first part of Mr. Grævius's Letter relates to another Affair that Mr. B. is not concern'd in: and yet it is not so wide from the present Case, as not to deserve a place here. Mr. Grævius in his Præface to the late Edition of Callimachus has these words: In epigrammate XLIX Bentleianæ συναγωγῆς, versum secundum sic legendum esse postea nobis scripsit celeberrimus Bentleius, Τῶρρα μένων αἰγῶν ἔ κρημαῖς ὁ Κύκλωψ. & sic vertendum,*

*Illic manens capras non dimisit Cyclops.*

Hoc est, gregem non dimisit ex pascuis suo tempore. Τῶρρα, Hesychi. Τῶρρα, διὸ δὲ. Idem Τό ρα, ἔπερ δὲ.

*When I read this passage first, it was a very great surprize, to find a Correction ascribed to Me, as communicated by my own Letter; which I could not remember one Syllable of, and which in every part of it is quite against my own Judgment. As the first word Τῶρρα is falsly translated Illic; and the Translation is falsly justified out of Hesychius. For Hesychius interprets it διὸ δὲ, i. e. Quamobrem, and ἔπερ δὲ i. e. Quod quidem: and what do those two words relate*



to Illic? Then the third word Αἰζᾶν seems to be set there as a Doricism for Αἰζῶν. But the Dorians never turn ων into αν in that Declension: for they say τᾶν φεραῶν, not τᾶν φεραῶν. And the Fifth word κειδιμαῖος has no fewer than three faults in it; first it should be accented κειδιμαῖοσ, and not κειδιμαῖοσ: then the Syllable δι here is made short in the Measure; but it's always long, as appears in Aristophanes and others: then it's translated here dimisit, Dismiss'd; but it truly signifies demisit; he let down by a Rope. Besides all these verbal faults, the whole sentence is flat, and unworthy of Callimachus. I declare therefore that I never wrote this, and I utterly disown the whole. And in the Copies that I presented soon after the publication to some Right Honourable Persons, whom I will not name upon so slight an occasion, they will find my Name in that place blotted out, and the Correction left to its unknown Author.

This mistake of Mr. Grævius's was one of the subjects of that Letter of mine; which he answers here in the first Paragraph of His. He says, He sought a long time for that Letter, where (as he thought) I gave direction to insert this Emendation: but it could no where be found. No wonder indeed, that it was sought in vain; for

for there was no such Letter written by Me. But Mr. Grævius, as it seems, by a very natural and very pardonable failing had forgot who it was, that had sent him that Correction. He might have a Schedule of it inclos'd in a Letter; and if the Letter and the Schedule were parted, 'twas a very easie mistake to ascribe it to a wrong Author. And I heartily excuse this little oversight in that excellent Person; as I doubt not but he will excuse this freedom that I publicly disclaim that Correction. For as his incomparable Learning will not allow the least suspicion, that the Correction could be his own; so his singular Ingenuity and Candor will allow me the liberty to renounce what is not Mine. But I would crave leave to make two Inferences from this, with relation to the Examiner. First, I humbly conceive, here's a case exactly parallel with that of Sir Edward Sherburn's. And if such a mistake happen'd without my knowledge in the Edition of Callimachus; the same thing might happen in the Edition of Rubenius. And Secondly, we have a singular instance here of Mr. B's great Capacity to be a Censurer of my Writings; who, though he read (as appears from his Book) my Notes on Callimachus, and my Dissertation on Jo. Antiochenis, on purpose to find faults in them, was not able to discover the Mistakes of this Passage, that lay so thick and so open. I

*I cannot omit this opportunity of correcting and explaining one of the Epigrams of that Poet;*

Τὴν ἀλίην Ἐυδημος, ἐρ' ἧς ἄλα λίθον ἐπελθὼν Callim. E-

Χειμῶνας μεγάλης ἐξέρυγεν δανέων, pig. li.

Θῆκε θεοῖς Σαμώθραξι· λέγων ὅτι τήνδε  
(κατ' εὐχίω,

Ὡ λαοί, σωθεῖς ἐξ ἀλός ᾧδ' εἴθετο.

*Where the MS Reading ἐπελθὼν betray'd not only my self, but the most Ingenious and Learned Madam Daciere into a mistake. We took ἄλα here to mean the Sea, and consequently ἀλίην a Ship: and the Samothracian Gods seem'd to require that Interpretation, for they were suppos'd to deliver from Storms at Sea. But I have since discover'd, that the Epigram has quite another meaning. Ἀλίη signifies a Salt-seller, and ἄλα Salt. And the first Verse is to be corrected thus:*

Τὴν ἀλίην Ἐυδημος, ἐρ' ἧς ἄλα λίθον ἐπέδων.

*And the whole to be thus translated:*

Salinum Eudemus, in quo salem tenuem  
(comedens

Procellas magnas effugit usurarum,  
Donavit Diis Samothracibus; dicens,  
(quod hoc ex voto;

O populi, servatus à sale hic posuit.

*Eudemus here in the Epigram, owing a great many Debts, paid them off by living sparingly upon Bread and Salt, the Diet of poor*

poor People: and in memory of it he dedicated his Salt-seller to the Samothracian Gods. The Epigram is very ingenious, and the Humour of it lies in the double meaning of ἀλίην and ἄλα and ἄλος, and the likeness of ἐπέδων to ἐπεδῶν, and of δανέων to ἀνέμων. And the whole is a Parodia. Suidas quotes a part of it, and from him I had the hint of this true and certain Explication. Ἐπέδων, says he, ἐπεδῶν, εὐωχέμεθα. Τὴν ἀλίην εὐδημιῶ, ἐφ' ἧς ἄλα λιτὸν ἐπέδων χειμῶνας μεγάλας ἐξέφυγε θῆκε θεοῖς Σαμόθραξι. The word δανέων is omitted in Suidas; but there's no question now but it's the true Reading. If Mr. B. when he search'd my Writings to pick holes in them, had but corrected this one Epigram; which none of us, that were concern'd in Callimachus, then understood; he had done himself more true Honour by this single Improvement, as slight as it is, than he has done by his whole Book.

P. 16.

But to return to the affair of Sir Edward Sherburn; the Examiner now proceeds to fortifie his Accusation, and secure it against all Exceptions. But Grævius, says he, it may be was in fault, and forgot to do Sir Edward justice. Is it so then? May it be that Mr. Grævius was in fault? Had I not reason to say above, that I was well assur'd the Authors of this Calumny were conscious,

*scious, that the Blame was Mr. Grævius's? And is not this Fencing and Supposing of theirs a plain indication of it? But 'tis hardly to be imagin'd, says he, that Grævius could forget it, had the Dr. told him plainly, that the MS was put into his hands under that express condition. True indeed! if Mr. Grævius had no more business on his Hands, than the Examiner and his Assistant have. But a Man that considers both the great Variety and great Importance of Mr. Grævius's Own Affairs, would not wonder, if he had forgot, not only to mention Sir Edward Sherburn, (whom he had never heard of but once in my Letter;) but to publish the very MS it self. But with the Examiner's good leave, there was no need at all either of intimating it slightly, or telling it plainly to Mr. Grævius. He does not want any Spur to make him own his Obligations. I had no occasion to make either slight or broad Intimations, what Sir Edward expected: for Mr. Grævius had promis'd of his own accord, before the Book was sent him, that he would do Sir Edward justice. 'Tis true, I cannot produce Mr. Grævius's Letter, because I have unfortunately lost it, and He has no Transcript of it. But the Right Reverend the Bishop of Norwich, who gives me leave to say this in his Name, remembers very well,*  
that

*that I shew'd him the Letter, and that Mr. Grævius there return'd his Thanks to Sir Edward, and promis'd to inform the World who it was that oblig'd it.*

P. 16.

But suppose, *says he*, the omission lay wholly at Grævius's Door, why did not the Dr. send immediately to Sir Edward to excuse it? *See here the true Spirit of PHALARISM. 'Tis no matter, whether a thing be true or false, so it make it for their purpose. I did more than send, for I went immediately to Sir Edward to excuse it; which by his carriage then and some time after I thought I had done effectually; and I presented him then with one of the Copies Mr. Grævius had sent me. Nay I am morally sure, it was in that very Book, which I had given him, that he enter'd the Memorandum, which the Examiner produces.*

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P. 16.

And why, *says he*, did not the Dr. take care to have this Neglect repair'd in the next Holland Journal? *A most wonderful expedient! 'Twas a thing indeed of great consequence to the World, to know whose Box it was that had preserv'd the MS. And yet as mean as the Thing was, and as little as the Honour of it was; I had resolv'd and engag'd to Sir Edward to do him that Right in a fitter place, than a Holland Journal. I had then prepar'd a Manilius for the Press, which had been publish'd*

lish'd already, had not the dearness of Paper, and the want of good Types, and some other occasions hinder'd. And I assur'd Sir Edward, that in that Book I would make him amends for Mr. Grævius's omission. For I had occasion there to have thank'd him upon another account, which I will now mention, that I may be quite out of his Debt. Among those Papers I found a Discourse of the Learned Godefridus Wendelinus's about the Age of the Poet Manilius. There were two Copies of it, one by Wendelinus's own hand, and the other by Gevartius's: and Sir Edward was pleas'd to give me one of them; because I purpos'd either to print the whole or give an Extract of it in my Edition of Manilius. I return him here my Acknowledgments for it; but let Manilius come out when it will, the World I believe will excuse me, if I think I have now paid as much as I owe him.

The Examiner goes on in the honourable work of false Accusation. A Foreigner, says he, of great Note complain'd how ill the Dr. had us'd him in a case near resembling Mine: which not yet having his leave for it, I do not think my self at liberty to publish. The short of which is, That some body complain'd of something which Mr. B. will not tell. I must own, when I read such stuff as this set out in the  
Name

Name of Mr. B. I am forc'd to suspect, do what I can, that there are more Forgeries than Phalaris's Letters. Mr. B. must forgive me, if I think this Paragraph more becomes the Humty Dumty Author, than a Gentleman of Sense and Honour. If such loose and general Accusations must pass for Evidence, who can be Innocent? When the Examiner is at liberty to publish this Story, I make no question but I shall prove it as false, as his Calumny about Sir Edward. In the mean time he has shown his Proficiency in the noble Science of Detraction, when under pretense of saying Nothing he says more than All. For he insinuates a blind story about something and some body, which the Reader is to guess at, and make as black as he pleases. I remember, a certain Foreigner, whose Name I have now forgot, made the modest and reasonable Demand, that I would give him the Alexandrian MS to his Lodgings to be collated quite through, which would require half a Year's constant labour. It was pretty hard to keep one's Countenance at so senseless a Proposal: however I gave him a civil Answer, why I thought the Favour could not be allow'd him. If this be the Man that complain'd to Mr. B. how ill I had us'd him, as the Circumstances make it probable: I do not envy Mr. B. the honour of his Acquaintance of Great Note.

But



But another, *it seems*, applied to Dr. Bentley for a sight of the *Alexandrian MS*, and met with no other Answer, but that the Library was not fit to be seen. *Here's another general Accusation without naming the Person, and upon that account not easie to be disprov'd: but however it has the common Fate of all his Stories and Arguments, That they are false and so may be turn'd upon Himself. For ever since I came to St. James's, I have constantly kept that MS in my own Lodgings, for this very Reason, That Persons might see it, without seeing the Library. I believe there are a Hundred now in England, that have seen the MS since I had the Custody of it; and I appeal to all their Memories, if they did not see it in my Lodgings, and not in the Library.*

*But let us see the Examiner's Comment upon't; A pretty excuse, says he, (that the Library was not fit to be seen) for a Library-keeper to make, who had been four Years in that service. That I could not make this excuse for not shewing the Alexandrian MS, I suppose, it's already sufficiently clear. But I will own, that I have often said and lamented, That the Library was not fit to be seen. If he thinks this such a reproch to the Library-keeper, he has free liberty to make the best*

*on't. But upon whom would this Reflection fall, were it really a matter of Reproach? Our keen Examiner should look before him a little; and not blindly throw about his Abuses, without minding whom they will hit. If the Room be too mean, and too little for the Books; if it be much out of Repair; if the Situation be inconvenient; if the Access to it be dishonourable; is the Library-keeper to answer for't? Would he have Me in the Four years of that service to have erected a new Library at my own Charge? But there's nothing really to be blam'd here, but the Examiner's Pertness. For the Expences and Toils of a long War are but too just an Excuse, that the thoughts of a New Library were not part of the Public Cares: but there's no question, but a few years of Peace under His Majesty's most Happy Government will set us above this Reproach.*

*These, I think, are all the Personal Accusations in the Examiner's Preamble; let us now take a short view of his Complaints against my Book. The first is, That I insinuate there, That the Translation of Phalaris was not his Own; for I said, it was ascrib'd to him, and his Name was set to the Edition, and the Faults in't were no Disparagement to Him, but to his Teachers; and I call them in the Plural Number Editors, Annotators, and Great Genius's.*

*These*

# The PREFACE.

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*These are all the Passages in my Book, that are or can be brought to make out this Inditement. Now the two first of these Expressions are very far from affirming, that he was not the true Author. For this present Book is ascrib'd to Me, and my Name is set to the Edition, and yet I assure him, 'tis my Own. It must be the Third then of those Phrases, That the Faults were a disparagement to his Teachers, which must imply they were not His. But with humble submission, whether this Inference be His or his Teachers, 'tis a weak one. For he Himself owns, That he was then very young, and not only had a Tutor, but a Director of his Studies; and in that case the Faults might be really his Own, but the Disparagement theirs that suffer'd them to pass. In his Dedication there he tells the Tutor, that he was \* assisted by him in the Work: and in his Preface here he says, The Director was consulted by him upon ANY Difficulty. After such a public Declaration, the World will still be of my Opinion, That both the Tutor and the Director were accountable for the Faults in Phalaris, though they were really the Pupils. Mr. B. indeed in his Preface here seems to excuse the Tutor; for he declares, That excepting the Director, no one had a hand in't; nay scarce a line, says he, was ever*

\* Opus  
tuo ope  
adjutum.

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seen by any body else as I know of, till it was finish'd. *But if this be so, how came he to thank the Tutor for assisting the work? Let the Reader please to try, if he can bring these two Passages to meet; for my own part, I have seen so many Contradictions between the Latin Phalaris and the English Examination, that I dare not attempt to reconcile them. But Mr. B. himself offers to do it,*

P. 199. *when he tells us, that the Tutor might otherwise assist him in the Edition, than by collating MSS, translating the Text, and writing Comments. True; he might so: he might be at some charge of the Printing, and make the Book his worthy New-years-gift to the Scholars of his House. But Mr. B. here answers to a Question, that never was ask'd him. For the Query is not, whether the Tutor was to Translate or Comment; but whether he was not to Revise and Correct.*

*Since it's hard therefore to believe both Passages together, I had rather believe the English one, That the Tutor had no hand in the Version of Phalaris. For the World will own, that he has more Wit, more Learning, and more Judgment, than to let such a Translation go through his Hands. Much less can I think him concern'd in the English Examination, which is the faultiest Book in its kind (wh. ch is Critical) that has appear'd upon the Theatre of Learning this*

*Two*

*Two Hundred Tears. If my Answer here do not shew it to be so, let not this Character be regarded: but I know already by Experiment, that the best Judges are satisfied I have prov'd it so; and the rest of the World will by degrees follow their Sentiment. I must own therefore, that the deserv'd Reputation of the Tutor acquits him from all Suspicion, that he had a hand in the Examination. There is only one thing, that his Friends want and desire in him, That he would not suffer some under his Discipline, by entering into a kind of Faction in behalf of a very sorry Book, give occasion to a Rumor that nearly concerns His and the whole Societies Honour.*

*As for the Director of Studies, I entirely agree with Mr. B. that he might consult Him upon ANY Difficulty; and yet all the Errors of the Version might pass him, or be made by him. He is of the same size for Learning with the late Editor of the Æsopian Fables. If they can but make a tolerable Copy of Verses with two or three small faults in it, they must presently set up to be Authors; to bring the Nation into contempt abroad, and Themselves into it at home. This Director is He, who has lately set out Ovid's Metamorphoses with a Paraphrase and Notes: which I did but once dip in, and presently*

Oxon.  
Theat.  
1696.

*found these two Instances of his great Sense and Learning. The passages are in the Speech of Ulysses,*

Lib. xiii.  
v. 253.

Cujus equos pretium pro nocte poposce-  
(rat hostis,  
Arma negate mihi, fueritque benigni-  
(or Ajax.

*That is, Dolon was to have Achilles's Horses for being Scout one single Night: I that took and defeated Dolon, demand but Achilles's Armour, which is of far less value than his Horses. If you deny me That, fuerit benignior Ajax, even Ajax himself, as much as he is my Enemy, would reward my services more generously. But the Director thus paraphrases it; FUERITQUE BENIGNIOR AJAX. Sitque melius de vobis meritus Ajax, quam ego. But how comes benignior to signifie melius meritus? He has put such stuff here upon the Poet, as makes him neither talk Latin nor Sense. But let us see another Instance;*

Ibid. v.  
272.

Reppulit Actorides sub imagine tutus A-  
(chillis  
Troas ab arsuris cum defensore carinis.

*Patroclus, says the Poet, being disguis'd in Achilles's Armour, repuls'd the Trojans from*

from our Ships: which otherwise would have been burnt with those that defended them. Defensore here, by a change of Number familiar among Poets, means Defensoribus; the Græcians, who fought on Ship-board, and by consequence had the Ships been burnt, they also had been burnt with them. But our Paraphrast tacks the words thus together; TROAS CUM DEFENSORE, Trojanos cum Hectore eorum propugnatore; which is silly and absurd upon all accounts: for why should Hector be call'd the Defender here, when it was he that made the Attack? and why should the words, if the meaning of them was as the Director has given it, be so disjointed from one another? Besides that the whole Thought, as he has made it, is poor and flat; and more becoming his own Poems, than Ovid's. And is not this man now a fit Director of Studies? Is he not a rare Instructor to a young Gentleman of a Noble Family and excellent Parts; who, if he had never fallen into such Hands, would have been thought to have deserv'd to fall into Better?

But to return to Mr. B's Complaints; if neither ascribing, nor setting the Name, nor disparagement to his Teachers imply, that I thought his Book was not writ by Himself? the only words that can be accus'd of implying it, are Editors, Annotators,

P. . . . and great Genius's, *all in the plural Number.* But I have given my Own Answer already to this point, and now I'll give Mr. B's. He is pleas'd to confess, That the Director was consulted upon ANY Difficulty: so that we have Two at least concern'd in the Edition of Phalaris; unless Mr. B. will wholly exclude Himself. Had I really therefore understood those words in the Plural Acceptation, I had implied nothing, but what Mr. B. admits to be true. But why must my words be stretcht so far, when they may fairly be suppos'd to mean but One person? For even Mr. B. in his Preface

P. 198. to Phalaris says, QUANTUM SCIMUS, As much as WE know, and NOSTRO LABORE, By OUR Labour; and yet he avers he speaks of none but Himself. And why then might not I mean Him Only by Editors and Annotators? As if it were unusual for the Plural Number to be put for the Singular?

P. 199.

I am clear therefore of this Accusation of robbing Mr. B. of the Right he has to his Phalaris. And if the World has generally believ'd, that some body assisted him in't; my Book is not to answer for't. On the contrary, 'twas the Rumour, that had already obtain'd in the World, that made my Words be so interpreted. For I had left the Thing loose and indefinite, neither denying nor affirming



*firming, that Mr. B. was the Author. And his true Friends took hold of that Handle, which was given out of kindness; and they believ'd it was more for his Honour to renounce the Edition, than to assume it with all its Faults. Mr. B. has been pleas'd to take the other way, and to vindicate it for his Own; and the success that he has had, may be now seen by the event. He has heard more than once from the Press, what the World believes in that matter. And I'm afraid, he has more contributed to that Belief by his Second Performance, than he did by his First. For a man that entitles himself to such a motley heterogeneous Piece, that's not only inconsistent with his First Work, but with it self; that has such variety of Stiles in't, as like one another, as Fustian is to Silk; that is sometimes above and sometimes below it self in the several degrees of Ignorance and Banter; a man, I say, that merrily represents himself to be such a Linsley Woolsey Writer, seems to be of Planudes's Humour: For no body can ever be Silly enough to imagin it, nor can Planudes himself dream of being thus far credited.*

P. 273.

*Mr. B. goes on to accuse me, that I have given him very ill Language; for I call the Story in his Preface, a Calumny, Weak Detraction, Injustice; Forgery, Slander,*

P. 11.

and

and vile Asperſion. *These are the Flowers, he ſays, that I have ſtrew'd throughout every Page almost in the Epistle. Now this every Page almost seems very nearly related to his Booksellers Nine Months; for of CLII Pages, which that Epistle consists of, there are not above a Dozen, that in the least concern Mr. B. or his Edition. But to the rest of the Inditement I must plead Guilty; for I own I then gave those Titles of Honour to his Story, and have repeated some of them now: and whether I have miscall'd it, the World will be judge. But it is not, that I have any love or fondness to those Expressions: I am more sorry, that I had occasion to say them, than Mr. B. can be to hear them. But if Mr. B. will do an Ill Thing, he must excuse me if I give it it's True and consequently an Ill Name. If he give himself the Liberty to say what he pleases, he must expect a return of what will not please Himself. The Comic Poet's Rule is the Common Law in those cases,*

*Si mihi pergit quæ vult dicere, ea quæ  
(non vult audiet.*

P. 11.

*But he ſays, I charge him with the Baſeſt Tricks; which if it were true, I confeſs I ſhould be aſham'd of: for were it never ſo much deſerv'd, that Language is too coarſe to be given by Me. But if the Reader pleaſes to conſult the Place, he will preſently*

*ſee*

*see a Trick in this Accusation. For my words are nothing but a Translation of Mr. B's. Latin Moribus Nequissimis; and they are not applied to Mr. B. but to one Alcibous in the Epistles, who is represented there as a very great Knave.*

*And By the help, he says, of a Greek Proverb, I call him downright Afs. After I had censur'd a Passage of Mr. B's. Translation, that has no affinity with the Original, This puts me in mind, said I, of the Old Greek Proverb, That Leucon carries one thing, and his Afs quite another. Where the Afs is manifestly spoken of the Sophist, whom I had before represented as an Afs under a Lion's Skin. And if Mr. B. has such a Dearness for his Phalaris, that he'll change places with him there, how can I help it? I can only protest that I put him into Leucon's Place; and if he will needs complement himself out of it, I must leave the two Friends to the Pleasure of their mutual Civilities.*

*But is this Mr. B's. way of interpreting Similitudes? Are the Things from whence they are taken to be directly applied to the Persons they are spoken of? If I liken an ill Critic, to a Bungling Tinker, that makes two Holes, while he mends one; must I be charg'd with calling him Tinker? At this rate Homer will call his Heroes, Wolves, Bares, Dogs and*

*and Bulls. And when Horace has this Comparison about Himself,*

Hor. Sat. Demitto auriculas, ut iniquæ mentis  
1, 9. (Asellus,

*Mr. B. may tell him, He calls himself downright Ass. But he must be put in mind of the English Proverb, that Similitudes, even when they are taken from Asses, do not walk upon All Four.*

*I will here crave the Reader's leave, to make one general Apology for any thing, either in my Dissertation or my Defense of it, that may seem too severe. I desire but this Favour or Justice rather, that He would suppose my case to be his Own: and then if he will say sincerely, that he should have answer'd so many Calumnies, with fewer marks of Resentment, I am content to lie under his Censure. But it's a very difficult thing, for a person unconcern'd and out of the reach of Harm, to be a fair Arbitrator there. He will be apt to think the injur'd Party too angry; because he cannot have as great a Passion in seeing the ill usage, as the other has in feeling it. Even Job himself with all his Patience was accused of losing his Temper, by his Companions that had no share in his Sufferings. Besides there's a common fault in Human Nature, which I crave leave to express in Greek, Ἐπιχαριστία. There's a secret pleasure, they*

they say, in seeing another man under the risk of a Shipwrack, while one's self is safe on the Shore; and so we find the World is delighted to see one worried and run down, while themselves are made the Spectators, and entertain'd with the Diversion. 'Twas an excellent saying of Solon's, and worthy of the wisest of the famous Seven; who when he was ask'd, Πῶς ἦνυστα ἀδικοῦντες οἱ ἀνδρῶν; What would rid the World of Injuries? If the By-standers, says he, \* would have the same Resentment with those that suffer the Wrong; Ἐὶ δὲ μάλιστα ἀχθούμετο τοῖς ἀδικημένοις οἱ μὴ ἀδικούμενοι. If the Reader will but follow that great Man's advice, and have an equal Sense of my ill usage, as if it had fallen upon himself; I dare then challenge him to think, if he can, that I have used too much Severity.

\* Laert. in Solone.

I do not love the unmanly work of making long complaints of Injuries: which I think is the next fault to deserving them. Much less will I imitate Mr. B. who has rak'd together those few Words of my Dissertation, that had the least air of Resentment, and repeated them six times over. For if I was to enter into the Particulars of His Abuses, I must transcribe his whole Book, which from beginning to end is nothing else but a Rhapsody of Errors and Calumnies.

But

P. 223.

*But there's one Rudeness, that I ought not to omit; because it falls upon others, as much as my self. I am satisfied, says he, how unnatural a Step it is for an Amanuensis to start up Professor of Divinity. I am persuaded, every ingenuous Reader must be offended at his insolence, who could suffer such stuff as this to come out of his Mouth; which is a double affront, both to the whole Order of Bishops, and to a whole University. As if a Person, who in his Youth had been an Amanuensis to a Bishop, was upon that account made unfit to be Doctor of Divinity; as if a whole University, which was pleas'd to confer that Degree upon him, were neither fit Judges of his Merit, nor knew their own Duty.*

*I should never account it any Disgrace to have serv'd the Right Reverend the Bishop of Worcester in any Capacity of a Scholar. But I was never Amanuensis to his Lordship nor to any body else: neither did his Lordship ever make use of any Amanuensis. So little regard has this Examiner either to Decency or Truth. I was first Tutor to his Lordship's Son, and afterwards Chaplain to Himself; and I shall always esteem it both my Honour and my Happiness to have spent XIV Tears of my Life in His Family and Acquaintance, whom even Envy it self will allow to be the Glory of our Church and Nation;*

tion; who by his vast and comprehensive Genius is as Great in All parts of Learning, as the Greatest next himself are in Any. And I have the satisfaction to believe, that this excellent Person has not the worse Opinion either of my Probity or my Learning, for all the Calumnies, that the Examiner has cast upon me.

As for the General Character, that Mr. B. endeavours to fix upon me, That I have no Learning, no Judgment, no Reasoning, no Knowledge in Books, except Index's and Vocabularies, with many other Expressions of the utmost Contempt, that make up the greatest part of his Book, I do not think my self concern'd to answer them. These things shall never make a Dispute between us; He shall be as Great as he thinks Himself; and I as Little as he thinks Me. But then it will ly upon him to dispute with some other Persons, who have been pleas'd to declare publicly such an esteem of Me and my Writings, as does not altogether agree with Mr. B's.

He must commence a Critical War against His Excellency Mr. Ezekiel Spanhemius, who has this Passage concerning me. \* Sed de hoc Philostrati loco meliora forte nos docebit, qui nova versione & luculento commentario eundem auctorem explanandum & illustrandum suscepit, novum idemq;

\*Spanhem.  
in Julian.  
P. 19.

jam

jam lucidum litteratæ Britannix fidus, Richardus Bentleius. *And in another place,* Talia autem in Helychium *ἑὸν νόμῳ* irrep-  
 † *Ibid.* in Callimach. P. 455. sisse, & quibus fœde inquinatæ sint etiam-  
 num ejus glossæ, & pridem ad eum vidi-  
 mus ac passim animadvertimus; & no-  
 vissime etiam in eruditissima ad Jo. Millium  
 Epistola post Jo. Malalam edita, luculenter  
 adductis pluribus eam in rem exemplis ad-  
 seruit oriens novum Litteratæ Britannix  
 † *Ibid.* P. 605. fidus, Richardus Bentleius. *And again in  
 another place,* † An vero nihil uspiam de  
 illa fabella, quanquam ab aliis passim me-  
 moretur, à Sophocle sit prolatum, quod  
 statuit in Epistola Malalæ addita vir eru-  
 ditissimus, & à quo magnum præclaris  
 doctrinarum studiis incrementum licet  
 augurari. *These perhaps are no vulgar com-  
 mendations, which this Great Man has be-  
 stow'd on me; and I'll assure Mr. B. that I  
 did not procure them by any private services;  
 for I have not yet done my self the Honour  
 once to write to Mr. Spanhemius. So that all  
 that he has said of me, came voluntarily and  
 freely from him; and we shall see by the  
 Event, if the present Disputes about Phalaris  
 will make him repent of it.*

\* Grævii  
 Pref ad  
 Callim.

*He must turn his formidable Pen against  
 Mr. Grævius, who besides the Dedication  
 already cited, has another passage,* \* Vide-  
 bis hic, Lector studiose Musicarum cupe-  
 diarum,



diarum, & aliud quod tuo palato, simul ac gustaris, sat scio arridebit mirifice. Richardus Bentleius, Potentissimo Regi Gulielmo à bibliotheca, novum, sed splendidissimum Britannix Lumen, certior à me factus de hac Callimachi Editione, perferri ad nos jussit eruditissimas animadversiones in quædam Hymnorum loca & in Epigrammata, quibus adjecit nova non pauca quæ lucem antea nunquam adspexerant; alia, quæ quidem ante legebantur, sed à nemine fuerant intellecta, clara luce perfudit. *Mr. B. perhaps will object, That the Friendship, which I have with this most Learned Professor, makes him so kind in his Character of me: but the candid part of mankind will rather believe the reverse of it, That my Character was the reason, that he honour'd me with his Friendship.*

*Mr. B. I suppose has no great deference to the Judgments of Mr. Spanheim and Mr. Grævius; for a man that has such a false Opinion of himself, can hardly be suppos'd to have a true one of others. But I must take the freedom to tell him, that I had rather have these short expressions of the esteem of those Great men, than the most studied Panegyrics of Him and all his Party. Neither would I consent that these Passages should be blotted out, to have all his Abuses of me blotted out with them, both those he has*  
e
made

made already, and those he shall make hereafter. For as a Commendation from the Greatest Men is the greatest of Commendations; so a Disparagement from Men of no knowledge in the things they pretend to judge of is the least of Disparagements.

After the Testimonies of these Two Great Men, I will not produce any more; lest I should seem to trust to the Number rather than the Quality of those that speak well of me. I am intirely of his Opinion, who was *Contentus paucis, sed magnis Laudatoribus*. And I will once more borrow the Form of \* *Argument, that Æmilius Scaurus us'd against Varius Suetonensis*: Mr. Spanheim and Mr. Grævius give a high Character of Dr. B's. Learning; Mr. Boyle gives the meanest, that malice can furnish him with: *Utri creditis, Quirites?* Whether of the Characters will the Present Age or Posterity believe?

\* See here  
P. xxxi.

The Examiner has given two Descriptions, one of a Pedant, and another of a Good Critic; designing to draw the First as My Picture, and the Latter as his Own. But perhaps if we compare the Pictures with the Originals, he may be forc'd by his Readers to change one of the Places here with Me, as he voluntarily did with the Sophist in the case of Leucon and his Ass.

See here  
p. lxxv.

(1) *His first and surest mark of a Pe-* P. 93.  
*dant is to write without observing the*  
*Rules of Civility or common Decency,*  
*and without distinguishing the Char-*  
*acters of those he writes against. Upon* P. 94.  
*this Article, he accuses two Expressions of*  
*mine, and yet both of them are both civilly*  
*worded, and truly said. Then he mentions*  
*some Course Complements upon Himself,*  
*which I have already accounted for: only*  
*here he says, I compare him with Lucian's*  
*Ass; which, were it true, would be no*  
*Course Complement, but a very obliging*  
*one. For Lucian's Ass was a very intelli-*  
*gent and ingenious Ass, and had more Sense*  
*than any of his Riders: he was no other*  
*than Lucian himself in the shape of an Ass,*  
*and had a better Talent at Kicking and Ban-*  
*tering, than ever the Examiner will have,*  
*though it seems to be his chief one.*  
*Let the Reader too observe by the way,*  
*that Mr. B. in this place has it, Lucian's*  
*Ass; but in another he cites it truly, Leu-*  
*con's Ass: and yet we are told the very same*  
*Hand writ both the Passages.*

*But to bring the Examiner near to the*  
*Picture, if perhaps it may have some little*  
*resemblance to Himself. Has He observ'd*  
*the rules of Civility, in writing the most*  
*scurrilous and virulent Book, that the Age*  
*has yet seen? Has He kept to the measures*

of Decency, in raking up so many Tales and Hearsays, that a man of Honour would scorn to repeat? Has He distinguish'd the Character of Him he wrote against, in abusing and vilifying upon the falsest surmises a Man in Holy Orders, a Doctor in Divinity, a Domestic Servant to one of the Greatest of Kings, and the First that was employ'd to preach the Lecture establish'd by the Great Mr. Boyle, a Relation of the Examiner's? If these be against all Rules of Civility and Decency and Distinction of Characters; then I suppose, his first and surest mark of a Pedant will be thought to hit Himself.

P. 93.

(2) A second mark is to use a Greek or Latin word, when there's an English one, that signifies the very same thing. Now if this be one of his marks, Himself is a Pedant by his own confession: for in this very sentence of his, Signifie is a Latin word, and there's an English one, that Means the very same thing. We shall do the Examiner therefore no injury in calling Him Pedant, upon this Article. But if such a general Censure, as this forward Author here passes, had been always fasten'd upon those, that enrich our Language from the Latin and Greek Stores; what a fine condition had our Language been in? 'Tis well known, it has scarce any Words, besides

*sides Monosyllables, of its native growth; and were all the rest imported and introduc'd by Pedants? At this rate the ignominy of Pedantry will fall upon all the best Writers of our Nation; and upon none more heavily, than the Examiner's great Relation the incomparable Robert Boyle, whose whole Style is full of such Latin words. But when the Examiner is possess'd with a fit of rage against Me, he lays about him without consideration or distinction, never minding whom he hits, whether his own Relation or even Himself. The words in my Book, which he excepts against, are Commentitious, Repudiate, Concede, Aliene, Vernacular, Timid, Negoce, Putid, and Idiom: every one of which were in Print, before I us'd them; and most of them, before I was born. And are they not all regularly form'd, and kept to the true and genuine Sense, that they have in the Original? Why may we not say Negoce from Negotium, as well as Commerce from commercium and Palace from Palatium? Has not the French Nation been before hand with us in espousing it? And have not We Negotiate and Negotiation, words that grow upon the same Root, in the commonest use? And why may not I say Aliene, as well as the Learned Sir Henry Spelman; who us'd it Lxxx Tear since, and yet was never thought a Pedant? But*

P. 287. *he says, My words will be hiss'd off the Stage as soon as they come on. If so, they would have been hiss'd off long before I had come on. But the Examiner might have remember'd before he had talk'd thus at large, who it was that distinguish'd his Style with Ignore and Recognisce, and other words of that sort, which no body has yet thought fit to follow him in. For his Argument, if it prov'd any thing, would prove perhaps too much; and bring the Glory of his own Family into the tribe of Pedants. Though I must freely declare, I would rather use, not my Own words only, but even These too (if I did it sparingly, and but once or twice at most in CLII Pages) than that single word of the Examiner's Cotemporary, which is a downright Barbarism. For the Latins never use Co for Con, except before a Vowel, as Coequal, Coeternal; but before a Consonant they either retain the N, as Contemporary, Constitution; or melt it into another Letter, as Collection, Comprehension. So that the Examiner's Cotemporary is a word of his own Coposition, for which the Learned World will cogratulate him.*

P 166,  
167.

P. 94. (3.) Another token of a Pedant is the use of Greek and Latin Proverbs. *But however I'll run the risk of it once more, and*

and make bold to use one Proverbial Saying,

Homine imperito nunquam quicquam  
(injustius,  
Qui nisi quod ipse fecit, nihil rectum  
(putat.

*Why forsooth is it more pedantry in Me, to use Latin Proverbs in English Discourse, than in Cicero to use Greek ones in Latin? Nay, do not even Greek Proverbs make as good a figure now in English, as then they did in Latin? If Mr. B. can spare any time from his Phalaris's Epistles to look into Cicero's, he'll find him in every Page among the herd of Pedants. If I had us'd Proverbs in my Sermons against Atheism, or in any solemn Argument, or Occasion; the Examiner's Censure had been more just: But to blame the use of them in an Epistle or a Dissertation, which have been always allow'd to be their proper places, is it self a very ill mixture of Ignorance and Pedantry. For if they cannot be us'd there without Pedantry, they must be banish'd out of all sorts of Writings. So that Aristotle, Theophrastus, Chrysippus, Aristarchus, and some others of the best Wits of old, and among the Moderns the great Erasmus, and the great Scaliger made Collections of Proverbs, merely to serve Pedants. Erasmus's own Writings are full of them; and*

*he will be thought to have had as much Wit and as little of Pedantry, as Mr. B. and his Directors. And the great Treasuries, from whence he collected them, are the Writings of Cato, Plutarch, and Lucian; who among some little men may go for Pedants, but among the wise and sensible part of mankind will pass for men of Wit.*

P. 99.

P. 94.

(4.) To over-rate the Price of Knowledge is another sign of Pedantry. *And let the World judge between the Examiner and Me, whether of us is most concern'd in this Character of a Pedant. I have never publish'd any thing yet, but at the desire of others. My Sermons in Mr. Boyle's Lecture were requir'd for the Press by the Honourable the Trustees; my Epistle about Jo. Antiochensis was desir'd by the Right Reverend the Bishop of Lichfield; my Notes on Callimachus by Mr. Grævius, and my Dissertation upon Phalaris by Mr. Wotton. The only Book that I have writ upon my own account is this present Answer to Mr. B's Objections: and I assure him, I set no great Price upon't; the Errors that it refutes, are so many, so gross and palpable, that I shall never be very proud of the Victory.*

*But then a man that over-rates the Price of his Performances, acts the very reverse of this. He engages in matters, where*



where he has no concern; he obtrudes his Notions upon the World, though neither his Friends desire him, nor the Business oblige him to meddle. And is not this the picture of the Examiner? He has writ a large Book in behalf of Phalaris's Epistles, which has hitherto been the public Diversion, and will be so too hereafter, but in a different way; and yet he professes, that he was not IN THE LEAST concern'd to vindicate them.

P. 102.

(5.) But an assuming and positive way of delivering one's self, upon Points especially, that are not capable of being perfectly clear'd, is Pedantry. Now to take no notice of the rest of his Book, which is nothing but heaps of Errors deliver'd in the most arrogant and insulting Language, I'm content to be try'd by this very Paragraph of his, which of us two seem to have sat for this picture. He has cited here xv Passages out of my whole Dissertation, which he pretends are deliver'd in an assuming and positive way, and yet, he says, are certainly false. Whereas every one of them are true, and may be perfectly clear'd, except one small mistake about  $\pi\epsilon\sigma\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\lambda\upsilon\tau\alpha$ , and that too is deliver'd without any assuming expression. But let us see Mr. B's behaviour; Where the contrary, says he, is MOST CERTAINLY true; as it is, and

P. 94.

P. 95.

shall

shall be prov'd to be, in ALL those Instances here referr'd to. *Now if this be not an Assuming and Positive way, what is? And yet in XIV of his XV Instances, he is miserably mistaken.*

P. 95.

(6.) To depart from the common ways of writing, on purpose to shew exactness, is a piece of Affectation, that favours of Pedantry. *Upon which article he accuses my spelling Taurominium; for he says, it's GENERALLY writ Tauromenium, both by Ancients and Moderns. Now if the contrary of this be certainly true, who will then be the Pedant? The Learned Cluverius, who made it his business to search all the Books and MSS, that relate to Sicily; says, \* It's sometimes spelt Tauromenium, and sometimes Tauromenia, but GENERALLY Taurominium. And Mr. B. must write at another rate, than yet he has done; before the World will prefer his Testimony before that of Cluverius.*

\* Cluver.  
Sicil. p. 90.  
Plerumq;  
Tauromi-  
nium.

P. 96.

*Mr. B. here goes a little out of his way to do right to . . . against Mr. Wotton, who had taken notice of an absurd usage of Delphos for Delphi. And because it lies a little in my way, I will do right to Mr. Wotton: for indeed the case is my own; because I too have call'd it Delphi, and rejected the common Error. Mr. B. defends his Delphos upon this only pretense, That it has  
been*

been the common custom of our English Writers; five of whom he names there, to call it so. An admirable reason, and worthy to be his own! As if the most palpable Error, that shall happen to obtain and meet with reception, must therefore never be mended? One would think he had borrow'd it from the Popish Priest, who for xxx years together had read *Mumpsimus* in his Breviary instead of *Sumpsimus*; and when a Learned Man told him of his blunder, I'll not change, says he, my old *Mumpsimus* for your new *Sumpsimus*. 'Tis a known Story, but I'll give it him in the words \* of Sir Richard Pace, who was a man of Business and an Ambassadour too, and upon those accounts will have more Authority with the Examiner. If Mr. B. then will not change his old Delphos for our new Delphi; he shall have leave to keep his *Mumpsimus*, as long as he pleases. But when he would put it upon us for good English, for that we must beg his pardon. The word is not yet so naturaliz'd in England, but it may and certainly will be sent back again to Barbary its native Countrey. We have in-

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\* *Paceus*: De fructu, qui ex doctrina percipitur. *Basil.* 1517. p. 80. Quidam indoctus Sacrificus Anglus per annos triginta *Mumpsimus* legere solitus est loco *Sumpsimus*; & quum moneretur à docto, ut errorem emendaret, respondit, Se nolle mutare suum antiquum *Mumpsimus* ipsius novo *Sumpsimus*.

\* A. A.  
post. xx.  
14, 15.

*stances of other words, that had both longer continuance and more general reception, than he can plead for his Delphos, and yet they were hiss'd off the Stage at last. In the old Editions of the English Bibles in Henry the VIII's time, it was printed \* Asson and Miletum; afterwards under Queen Elizabeth it was chang'd into Asson and Miletum; but in the last review under King James the First it was rectify'd Assos and Miletus. Here's a case that's exactly parallel with this of our Examiner; Miletum and Asson were at first suppos'd to be Nominative Cases; just as Delphos was mistaken to be like Argos, Samos, and Delos. But, we see, upon better information, the words were discarded. Neither the stamp of Royal Authority, nor the universal use in every Parish, nay almost every Family of England, for two or three Generations, could protect them from being exploded. A most certain Argument that the whole Kingdom then believ'd, That Analogy and Reason ought to have a greater force, than Vulgar Error, though establish'd by the longest and commonest custom. In the old Translation of Virgil set out by Phaer and Dr. Thyne, they are call'd the XII Books of Virgil's Æneidos; and the Running Title of every Page is the I, or II, or III Book of Virgil's Æneidos. Without question, that was the*  
Language

*Language in those days all over the Nation. So that if the Examiner's Mumpsimus should pass for an Argument, the Æneidos should be the current Language at this day; and those that call it Æneis must be run down for Pedants. I dare venture to foretell the Examiner, that his Delphos in a few years will be thought as barbarous as Æneidos: and if his Book shall happen to be preserv'd any where; as an useful Common Place-Book for Ridicule, Banter, and all the Topics of Calumny; this very Page about Delphos may perhaps, before he grows an old man, be made an unwelcome Evidence against Himself. I see here, that the Excellent Bishop of Lichfield (who, as appears by his most admirable Dictionary to the great Bishop Wilkins's Real Character, has the largest and nicest knowledge of the English Language, of any man living) calls it Delphi in his Printed, tho' Unpublish'd, Chronology, which I had the honour to see; and so did the Learned Gentleman Mr. Stanley long ago in his Lives of the Philosophers. I do not here disparage those excellent Pens, that have unawares fallen into the common Error; but to defend it against manifest Reason, and to vilify those that would reform it, is a plain instance of a Positive and Pedantic Genius.*

*I must*

*I must take hold of this occasion to do another piece of Right to Mr. Wotton. For the Examiner says, It's hop'd Mr. W. will publicly declare, that he neither assisted nor approv'd my Dissertation. But I myself can save him half that labour; and therefore here I do aver, that neither Mr. Wotton nor any one else assisted me, either in That work, or in This: so that I alone am accountable for the Errors in them both.*

*Though after such an Instance of Mr. B's Judgment in Language and Style, I might safely despise his pert Censures upon Mine yet I will crave the Reader's patience, while I answer those Exceptions of his, that at present I can remember. In two or three places of his Book he would ridicule my Expression, FIRST INVENTOR, as if it were mere Nonsense. If it be so, it's a very new sort of it, and perhaps may come off better than some bodies Sense; for it has both good Reason and great Authorities in its behalf. The word FIRST there is no idle and superfluous Epithet, nor borders upon Tautology; for there may truly be a First and a Second and more Inventors of the very same thing. The Chinese invented the use of Guns and Printing; and so did the Europeans, without knowing at that time, that they were us'd in the East: and may we not ask the Question, Whether INVENTED them*

FIRST,

FIRST, *without danger of nonsense?* Terence therefore is not only in danger, but manifestly caught in't, when he says,

Hoc novum est aucupium: ego adeo Ter. Eun.

(hanc PRIMUS INVENI Viam. ii. 2.

and so is Lucretius, when he speaks of his Master,

Qui PRINCEPS vitæ rationem INVENIT Lucret. v.

(eam, quæ ?

Nunc appellatur Sapientia——

After these two we have no need to name more of the Latins: let us see, if some of the best Wits of Greece are not guilty of the same Nonsense. And among these I find

Pindar, as deep in't as any body; \* Τὸν βᾶ \* Athen. Τετραπυλῶς ποθ' ὁ Λέσβιος ΕΥΡΕ ΠΡΩ- 635.

ΤΟΣ ἐν δειπνοῖσι Λυδίων ψαλμῶν; and Herodotus and Plato in the very same conditi-

on; where the former says † ΠΡΩΤΟΥΣ † Herod.

Αἰγυπῶτες ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ΕΞΕΥΡΕΙΝ 11. p. 91.

τὸν ἐνιαυτῶν; and the latter, \* Τῆτον δὲ τῶν \* Plato in

Θεῶν ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ἀειδόμεντε καὶ λογισμῶν Phaedro.

ΕΥΡΕΙΝ. Or if Printed Books will not satisfy the Examiner, I will give him it in an In-

scription, \* Υαγνις ὁ Φεῦξ ἀυλὸς ΠΡΩΤΟΣ

ΗΥΡΕΝ. And is not Mr. B. now a judicious † Marm. Arund. l.

Censurer, to come with his little Cavils a- 19:

gainst an Expression, which the best writers in the world have so frequently us'd? For besides the passages here produc'd, I dare undertake to bring Fifty more: and among

the

*the Best of our own Nation, it's one of the commonest Phrases; particularly it's adopted by our English Cicero, the Right Reverend the Bishop of Rochester, in his History of the Royal Society; where Philosophy and Eloquence have renew'd as strict an Acquaintance, as they had in Cicero's Philosophica Seventeen Hundred Years ago.*

P. 73. *Another happy phrale, which, he says, I have newly minted, is The MEEN of a FACE; which as he takes it, is much the same thing with the Behaviour of a Look, or the Carriage of a Smile. His expression indeed is a little obscure, and his Readers, I find, are not agreed about his Meaning. But the thing he aims at seems to be this, That Meen signifies the Behaviour and the Carriage of the whole Person, and cannot be applied to a single part, the Face. An observation that shews him to be as great a Critic in the Modern Languages, as he is in the Ancient. For Meen does not signifie Behaviour, even when it's spoken of the whole Person, but the Air and Look that results from it. The word Meen is of French Original, and both the English and the Italians borrow'd it of that Nation: So that the Sense of it must be determin'd from the usage of the French. And if those be consulted, they will tell us, that though Mine be often extended to denote the Air of the whole Man,*



*Man, yet it chiefly and originally means the Air of the Face. So Monsieur Pomey in his Dictionary; MINE DU VISAGE, (which is exactly, Meen of the Face) oris species, oris habitus, nativa vultus compositio. And so the late Dictionary by the Academy; MINE, l'air, qui resulte de la conformation exterieure de la personne; & principalment du visage. One would have guess'd by the Examiner's talking* P. 98, 99. *out of Balzac and Bruyere, that he had been too well acquainted with the writings of the French; and yet we see by this instance, he was as raw in that Language as he is in the Greek. But perhaps since his late Journey to Paris he may have brought back with him une mine du Visage, though he did not carry over with him a meen of a Face.*

(7.) *Another mark, he says, of a Pedant, is an Itch of contradicting Great Men upon very slight grounds. I must own, that I am sometimes forc'd in my writings to contradict Great Men, by correcting such oversights, as they made through inadvertency or want of information. But then I do it without any diminution to their Character; and if that modesty be observ'd, the contradicting them in this way deserves the highest commendation, and is such a sort of Pedantry, as the Examiner and his Di-*

P. 98. *rector will never be accus'd of. But the Instance he charges me with, is my brisk Censure of Grotius and Scaliger, for not knowing the measure of an Anapæstic Verse: and whether I did that upon very slight grounds, this very \* Answer will shew. But let us see the Examiner's words here; if perhaps this last character of a Pedant may not prove to be his own Picture.*

\* See here p. 132. &c.

P. 98. *When 'tis PLAIN, says he, as I shall SHEW BEFORE I LAY DOWN MY PEN, that the Dr. would never have censur'd 'em, if he had known it himself. What a formidable threat, and what a miserable Performance! The stuff that he has brought there, is so shamefull and scandalous, so inexcusable in a very School-boy, betrays such ignorance of the commonest rules of Prosodia and Syntax; that if he has but Learning enough to know when he's confuted (which is not every body's case) he may have the wisdom to take his leave of the Press, as long as he lives for that part of Learning.*

*But if an Itch of contradicting Great men upon very slight grounds has a relish of Pedantry; to abuse and revile Great men, and that without any ground at all, must be the very Spirit and Quintessence of it. And we know a late Writer, that in the very entrance of his Work calls Dion Chrysostom,*

foistom, as errant a Sophist and Declaimer as ever was, *and his Discourse tedious and insipid ; that says, Manilius has no wit in him, and is as unlike to Ovid, as Therfites was to Nireus; that says, Laertius is a writer of Dr. B's. own Form, which, as He has been pleas'd to use me, is the vilest of Characters ; that calls Athenæus rude and insolent, and a confident Clown, when the sole occasion of it is his own Ignorance.* I shall give here a short account of his affront upon Athenæus, to shew what a strange compound must go to the making up a Defender of Phalaris.

*The Examiner accuses Athenæus for calling Plato, Dog and Lyar. Now the words of Athenæus are, that Antisthenes says the same thing of Socrates, That Plato says: but yet the matter is not true. χαριζονται γὰρ ἢ δὲ ὁ ὡὼν ἔτι πολλὰ τῶν Σωκράτει,* for this Cynic too complements Socrates in many particulars. Antisthenes was Diogenes's Master, and the founder of the Sect of the Cynics: so that ὡὼν here means a Cynic and not a Dog; and is so far from being a reprochful Word, that it was adopted by the whole Sect as a name of Honour. But the learned and sagacious Mr. B. takes ὡὼν for a very Dog, and draws in Plato to have a share in the name; as well as Antisthenes; which Athenæus

næus never dreamt of. And is not this now a just occasion of calling so excellent a writer an insolent and confident Clown? But we have instances of late, that such Qualifications as those are not the properties of Clowns alone.

But Mr. B. is not contented with abusing the Ancients; unless he bestow his Civilities upon some of the greatest of the Moderns.

P. 225.

Salmasius, he says, and Scaliger were all GALL and PRIDE and PEDANTRY; which made the vast Learning they were masters of sit so ill upon them, that the World hated and despised them, at the same time that it was profiting by them. If he pleases, he may add, That they are hated and despised by some who will never be able to profit by them. But are these the

Pref. p 3.

Expressions that become a Young writer? though in truth they could come from no body but a Young and unfledg'd Writer; that neither knows the Works of those Great Men, nor the History of that Age. Did the World hate and despise Them, who were admir'd and courted by the greatest Princes? who were invited out of their own Country with the solemnity almost of an Embassy, that they would honour a Potent Republic with their Presence, and accept of a noble Pension without any incumbrance of an Office? who, as appears by the Letters written to them from

## The PREFACE.

ci

*from the best Wits of all the Nations of Europe, were universally esteem'd as the Glory of their Age? 'Tis true, they met with some very unworthy usage, which proceeded not from contempt, but a quite contrary Passion. He must be a young Writer, and a young Reader too; that believes Milton and Petavius had themselves as mean thoughts of Salmasius, as they endeavour to make others have. He that studies to represent one of known and eminent Merit to be a meer Fool and an Idiot, he gives himself the Lye; and betrays, he's either acted with Envy or corrupted by a Faction. But the greatest Persecution these Great Men lay under was upon the account of Religion. They were the ornament of the Reformation, and by their Influence and Example gave such a Spirit of Learning to it, as made it triumph over its Enemies, who would then have ingross'd the reputation of Letters, and confin'd it to their own Party. They were vilify'd therefore and traduc'd by those, who, if they had been of their own Communion, would have almost ador'd them. So that Protestants should be tender and cautious from what hands they receive the Characters of those Great Men. And if a Magisterial Air and too much Heat and Passion appear in their Writings; a candid Reader will forgive it, and say, Sume superbiã Quæsitum meri-*

Horat.

O. l.iii, 30.

tis; he'll impute Some of it to their Temper, but the Most to the ill usage they met with from Envy and Detraction. To hate and despise a man, at the same time they are profiting by him, is an ill mixture of the worst of Human Passions. A little Haughtiness and Warmth, when accompany'd with Merit, will be forgiven by Some, but such black Ingratitude will be hated and despised by All.

Mr. B. is pleas'd to bestow his next favour upon Lodovico Castelvetro; whom he calls an Italian PEDANT, famous for his snarling faculty, and contradicting Great Men upon very slight grounds; and he thinks Balzac says very well of him, That he was a public Enemy. But whether some body else will not be infamous for His snarling faculty, we may predict from this very instance. This PEDANT, as our modest Author calls him, was one of the most ingenious and judicious and learned Writers of his Age; and his Books have at this present such a mighty Reputation, that they are sold for their weight in Silver in most Countries of Europe. I will mention but Three Testimonies of him; the famous \* Lilius Gyraldus says, He had seen some of his pieces, which fully satisfied him, that he was Judicio sane quam acerrimo, & eruditione non vulgari. Henricus Stephanus dedi-

\* Gyrald.  
ii. Dialog.  
p. 421.

cated † a Book to him, and, says he, I re-  
 fer the Censure of a piece of Poetry, Sa-  
 gaciæ & emunctæ tuæ nari, Ludovico  
 κεντικώτατε & ποικιλώτατε. And he has  
 this character given him by || Menagius; || Menag.  
 Ludovicus Castelvetrius in Commentariis ad Laert.  
 illis suis eruditissimis & acutissimis; and  
 again, Omnium optime acutissimus Ca-  
 stelvetrius. I am persuaded our Examiner  
 has never read one line of this Author,  
 whom he abuses thus out of Balzac, a Wri-  
 ter, without undervaluing him, many de-  
 grees inferiour to Castelvetro. I had the  
 fortune some years ago to meet with most of  
 the Pieces of Castelvetro and his Antago-  
 nists; and I find that the sole occasion of  
 all his Troubles in Italy was a Copy of Verses  
 made by Annibal Caro in praise of the  
 House of France: so that the very subject of  
 it was enough to byass the Judgments of Bal-  
 zac and some others of that Nation. These  
 Verses were dispers'd over Italy and France,  
 and receiv'd with mighty applause; and be-  
 ing sent to Castelvetro by a private Friend  
 at Rome, who desir'd his Judgment of them,  
 he return'd him some short Censures, desi-  
 ring they should neither be publish'd, nor  
 shown to any one as His. But by chance they  
 got abroad and were printed, and brought  
 such a violent Faction against him, as made  
 the poor man weary of Italy. The very first  
 Lines of Caro's Verses are f 4 Ve-

† Parrhasii  
Epist.

|| Menag.  
ad Laert.

Venite à l'ombra de' gran Gigli d'oro,  
Care Muse, devote a' miei Giacinti:

*Where the Muses are invited to come under the shadow of Flower-de-luces. Upon which Castelvetro remark'd; That the Muses must be less than Pygmies, if they could be shadow'd by Flower-de-luces which were scarce shelter enough for little Insects. Who can have the folly to deny, that this Censure was just? Quis tam Lucili fautor ineptus Ut neget hoc? And yet this fault, and others as plain as this, were stoutly maintain'd by Caro and his Party. For the advantage of Caro was, That he was Member of an Academy, and a whole College was engag'd for him; and when neither Reason nor Truth was of their side, they confided in their Numbers;*

Defendit numerus, junctæque umbone  
(phalanges.

*Their way of refuting Castelvetro, was by*  
\* *Pasquils, Lampoons, Burlesque Dialogues, Public Speeches in the Academy, Declamations of School boys, and in the close of all,*

† *A short Account of Messer Lodovico Castelvetro by way of Index, full of the most virulent Abuses. These were the fair and honourable methods of managing their Controversie: and though their Adversary, while he liv'd, suffer'd much from their malice; yet Posterity has been just to him, and*  
*has*

\* Apologia de gli Academici di Banchi di Roma.  
† Tavola de la conoscenza.  
*Ibid.*



has set an extraordinary value upon all his Performances; while Theirs upon this Argument (for in other things they were men of some worth) have nothing that now makes them enquir'd after, but the great Reputation of the man they abuse. And such a man will never be call'd an Italian PEDANT, but by those that copy after his Adversaries in their infamous way of writing.

It's now time to draw towards a Conclusion of this Preface, which I shall do by informing the Reader, That when these Papers were put to the Press, I design'd to have brought into this Volume, The Dissertations about Æsop and the rest; but this of Phalaris alone taking up more Paper than I expected, I am oblig'd to put off the Others to another opportunity. There are a few things therefore refer'd to in This part, which do not appear here; but they shall be all made out in the Next. I have it already by me, and when I can have leisure to transcribe it for the Press, the Examiner shall have it.

He has been pleas'd to say more than once, Pref. p. 1.  
That I spent two or three years of my Life in writing my First Dissertation; and yet he owns he never once saw my Face: much less can he have any knowledge of the Course of my Studies. But he has a singular way of talking, as he says, at a venture. I drew up that Dissertation in the spare hours of a Few weeks, and  
P. 24  
while

while the Printer was employ'd about one Leaf, the other was a-making: 'Tis now I think about XL weeks, since his Examination came abroad; VIII of which I spent in the Country, where I had no thoughts of Him and his Controversie. And if in the rest of that time I have publish'd This Book, and have the Second ready for publication; I conceive the World will be satisfy'd, that I could not spend three years in the other Book of Nine sheets only. And yet I'll assure him, but for the delays of the Press which I could not remedy, he had had this Answer some months ago. In a small part of the last of those Three years, which he says were all laid out upon Phalaris, I wrote my Notes on Callimachus; and Mr. Grævius perhaps will thank Mr. B. if in Six years time he will send him the like upon any other Author. But suppose his Accusation true; I had rather have spent all that time in discovering Truth, than have spent three days in maintaining an Error.

P. 24. But he says, The whole thing is a very inconsiderable point, which a wise man would grudge the throwing away a weeks thought upon. And I doubt not, but many others, whose Designs and Studies are remote from this kind of Learning, will follow this Censure. To such men as these I must answer, That if the Dispute be quite  
out

out of their way, they have liberty to let it alone; it was not design'd for Them, but for others, that know how to value it; who if the Principal Point about Phalaris were quite dropt, will think the other Heads, that are here occasionally handled, not unworthy of a Scholar. But that the single Point, whether Phalaris be genuine or no, is of no small importance to Learning, the very Learned Mr. Dodwell is a sufficient Evidence; who espousing Phalaris for a true Author, has endeavour'd by that means to make a great Innovation in the ancient Chronology. To undervalue this Dispute about Phalaris, because it does not suit to one's own Studies, is to quarrel with a Circle, because it is not a Square. If the Question be not of Vulgar use, it was writ therefore for a Few: for even the greatest Performances upon the most important Subjects are no entertainment at all to the Many of the world.

I will venture here beforehand, and to give this character of Mr. B's performance upon Ælop, that though it is not wholly unworthy of its Author, yet it seems a little below him. The Style of it is something worse, than that of the Defense of Phalaris; and the Learning of it, which he ought to take for a Complement, a great deal worse. If there be One thing which he's said right in his Phalaris, about  $\pi\gamma\omicron\delta\iota\delta\omega\mu\iota$  and  $\delta\iota\omega\iota\sigma$ ;

I'll

*I'll pass my word, there will not be One good thing in his Æsop, when I call it to account. His observations there about Babrius's Verses will be found worse than those here about the Anapæsts of Æschylus and Seneca; his accusing me there as a Plagiarist from Nevelettus and Camerarius will appear much more unjust, than what he says here about my pillaging Vizzanius and his own poor Notes; his Grimace there about Socrates will be shewn more impertinent, if possible, than his long Banter here, That*

P. 184, &c. *Dr. B. cannot be the Author of the Dissertation. Which insipid Banter seems rather to have been writ in a Tavern than in a Study; and is not fit to be answer'd by Me. But if another should answer him in his own way, and pretend to prove, that Mr. B. is not the Author of the Examination, from the variety of Styles in't, from its contradictions to his Edition of Phalaris, from its contradictions to it self, from its contradictions to Mr. B's character and to his Title of Honourable, and from several other Topics; it would be taken perhaps for no Railery, but too serious a Repartee; or at least might pass for a True Jest, though intended only for a Merry one.*

*Mr. B. has been pleas'd to threaten me*

Pref. p. 6. *with the resentments of a whole Society,*  
 P. 289. *and a great Body of Learned Men. I must*  
 own,

own, I do not well know what apprehensions to have of this Threat. For as I have done no Injury to any Society; so I think I have no reason to be afraid of their Resentments. It does not appear to me, that Mr. B. has any Commission to threaten thus in their Name: and if he has not, his making use of their Authority is a sort of Libel upon them, which would represent a Great Body of Learned Men as the Partakers and Patrons of the Faults of his Book. I have a true Honour and great Esteem for that noble and flourishing Society, which is supposed to be meant here; and I should think I did them a great Injury, to suspect they will interpose in Phalaris's behalf. For when a Cause cannot be defended, the Numbers of those that ingage in't make it only the more scandalous.

But since Mr. B. has been so free as to threaten a Reply, even before he sees what I say in my Defence; though I will not prescribe to so great a Genius any method of his Answer, yet I think I may make bold to tell him, what I shall look upon to be No Answer.

(1.) If he pretends, that he did not maintain, that his Phalaris is genuine; but only that my Arguments do not prove him to be otherwise I shall look upon this as a Shuffle, and no Answer at all. For if he suspects whether he's genuine, and yet allows none of my Arguments; the World desires to have his Reasons, why he has that suspicion of him. I observe indeed, that there's one Argument against him, propos'd by Mr. B. which I had not taken notice of; That the Names of those, whom the Epistles are directed to, seem sometimes to be feign'd on purpose according to the subject of those Epistles. Till Mr. B. shall think fit to give us other grounds of his Suspicion, the World will take

Præf. ad  
Phal.

*take the liberty to think, that this is all he has. So that we are to take the measure of his great Judgment by this Scale, That all my Reasons go for Nothing with him, and his own single and substantial one goes for All.*

P. 33. *But perhaps he will now be more loyal than ever to his Sicilian Prince, and have no scruples at all about his True Title to the Letters. For he assures the Reader, that his doubts about the Authority of the Epistles, since he read my Dissertation, are much lessen'd, and if I write once more upon that subject, perhaps the point will be clear to him. Agreed and contented on both sides! I have writ once more against them, and Mr. B. for that reason will more firmly believe them. I desire no greater punishment to him for all his ill usage of me, than that he would maintain them to be genuine as long as he lives.*

(2.) *Or if he comes with more Testimonies of his Bookseller or his Humty Dumty Acquaintance; I shall take those for no Answer. For a man that is once convicted of an intended Perjury is no longer a lawfull Witness: and a man that has declar'd publicly, that his Memory could but serve him for One Particular, can have no benefit in Law allow'd him of strengthening it afterwards either with Three-threads or Four-threads.*

(3.) *Or if he brings any new Stories and Hearsays about Me; that are foreign to the Business, I shall look upon those as no part of an Answer. For after I have so fully disprov'd his capital Accusations about the King's MS and that of Sir Edward Sherburn, I shall not think my self concern'd at any Calumnies, that he shall start hereafter.*

(4.) *Or if he thinks fit, or any Friend for him, to reply to me in Latin (for he threatens me with a Latin Book, in the imperious Style of Festus;*  
Hast

Hast thou appeal'd to Foreign Universities? P. 230.  
 to Foreign Universities thou shalt go.) *I may look perhaps upon that as an Answer, but such a one as will need no Answer from Me. For if I may guess at what's to come, by the present Performance; a Latin Book from any Hand, that has been yet concern'd in the Defense of Phalaris, will carry it's own Answer in it self.*

(5.) *But if he chuses to reply in English, and meddle once more with the matter of Learning; if he do not mend his hand a little, and bring a Piece with fewer Faults in't than the Last, I shall not take that for an Answer. For my whole Life might be spent at that rate in refuting the merest Trash. And he has clearly the advantage of me in this point; for he may commit more mistakes in Five Weeks time, and in Five Sheets of Paper; than can be thoroughly confuted in Fifty Sheets, and in a whole Year.*

*Besides this, I may justly expect, that if he proceeds further upon the Subject of Phalaris, he should freely acknowledge those Faults, that I have refuted in his last Work. I have done the like my self; and I bere sincerely declare, that I am not conscious of one Error, that he observ'd in my Dissertation, which I do not own in my Answer. I design nothing but a search after Truth, and will never be guilty of that mean disingenuity, to maintain a Fault that I am convinc'd of. I require therefore the same Candour from him; and if he does not perform it, I shall not reckon it as an Answer. For if he has not either Judgment enough to know when he's confuted, or Sincerity enough to confess it, 'tis to no purpose at all to continue the Controversie.*

(6.) *But*

P. ult. 3d. Edition. (6.) *But if he thinks to drop the main Subject, or but slightly to touch upon't; and to give as he says, a view of the Drs. Picture in Miniature, by way of Burlesque and Ridicule and Banter, which his Genius is so strongly bent too; I shall look upon that to be least of all an Answer; because it's no part of the Dispute. For I'll never contest that point with him, but allow that he has no ill Talent at Farce and Grimace. And if there be neither Truth nor Learning nor Judgment in his Book; it shall be cried up for those other Accomplishments, as much as he pleases.*

*Mr. B. thought fit in his Second Edition to rake up all his Affronts upon me together, under the Title of A short account of Dr. B. by way of Index. And in an imperfect imitation of so great an Example I had drawn up an Account, not of Mr. B, but of his Performance, by way of Synopsis. But when I saw such a multitude of Errors concenter'd together, the sight was so deform'd and disagreeable, Miseranda vel hosti, that no Resentment could prevail with me to return him his own Complement.*



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A  
DISSERTATION  
UPON THE  
EPISTLES  
OF  
PHALARIS.

**A**FTER the Honourable Mr. B. has dispatch'd his account of the Matters of Fact relating to Himself and his Bookseller, where, I am sorry to hear him say, *His Honesty was concern'd*; he proceeds to the main part of the Dispute, *which only touches his Learning*. This, he says, will give him no Concern, though it may put him to some Trouble. *For he shall enter upon't with the Indifference of a Gamester, who*

P. 22.  
P. 22, 31  
B plays

## Dissertation upon Phalaris.

*plays but for a Trifle; which 'tis much the same to him, whether he wins or loses.*

Mr. B. here seems to *enter upon* his work a little untowardly and ominously: for a *Gamester*, they say, who plays with *Indifference* and without any *Concern*; never plays his *Game* well. Besides, that by this odd comparison of himself to a *Gamester*, he seems to give warning; and he's as good as his word, that he will put the *Dice* upon his Readers, as often as he can. But what is worst of all, this comparison puts one in mind of a general Rumour, which I make not my own, That there's another Set of *Gamesters*, who *play Him* in his Dispute, while themselves are out of sight, and safe behind the  *Curtain*.

P. 1.

His very first Sentence acquaints his Reader, *That Dr. B. has taken the liberty of writing without any Method.* Which is a bold stroke to begin with, and shews we must expect nothing from Him, but what is masterly and great. I have first produc'd the *Chronological* proofs, that *Phalaris* is spurious; then I consider the *Language*, then the *Matter* of the Epistles; and I conclude all with the Argument taken from their *Late Appearance* in the World: and all these are rank'd in their natural order, and distinguish'd from each other, without any Mixture or Confusion. And if this be writing without *Method*; my Ignorance perhaps was occasion'd, because I have not read the new *System of Logic* set out for the use of Mr. *Charles Boyle*, after the mode of *In usum Delpbini*. When I have the happiness to read that great Advancement of Logic, and to receive from it

new

new Light about *Method*; I may then perhaps be induc'd to change the order of my Dissertation. But in the mean time, I have let every thing stand as it did before; and I have distinguish'd the Former Dissertation by printing it in a Greater Letter, and in a Smaller I have answer'd Mr. B's Objections at the end of every Article.

But I have good reason to suspect, that his Cries here against my want of *Method* is but a Cast of his *Gamester's Art*, that he might have the shuffling of his own Cards; and so begin his *Examination* upon such Articles, as he could raise the greatest bustle in. For he pleasantly distinguishes my Arguments into two sorts, *Those that affect the whole Set of the Epistles, and those that touch only those particular Epistles from whence they are drawn.* He begins therefore with the *General Proofs*, which are only Three, he says, from the *Language*, and the *Matter*, and the *Late Appearance* of the Epistles; and the others from *Chronology*, (which were then about a Dozen, and now shall be near a Score) supposing them true, he says, do but concern those single Epistles, from whence they are taken; so that the rest, TO HIS COMFORT may be Genuine still.

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I cannot dismiss this facetious distinction without making a brief remark upon't, though I shall consider it more largely in another place. First, the Examiner bears very hard here upon the most accomplish'd Writer of the Age; for the great *Memmius* had pronounc'd of the whole Set, *That the Epistles of Phalaris have more Race, more Spirit, more force of Wit and Genius, than*

Pref. p. 3.

any others he had ever seen either Ancient or Modern. Now if He with that Nicety of Taste, believ'd all the Epistles to be writ by the same Hand (as indeed every body else does, the Style and Turn of them all being so exactly alike) Mr. B. puts an affront upon that great Man's Taste, when he pretends a score of the Epistles, which

P. 155. Chronology refutes, might be foisted in by the Wantonness or Vanity of Imitators in after-times, and yet the rest be Authentic. For if those vain Imitators could copy so well in after-times,

P. 92. as to impose upon Sir : . . . who had written to Kings, and was qualify'd to judge how Kings should write; what becomes of his fine Argument, from the Race and the Spirit, such freedom of Thought, such boldness of Expression, to prove that none but a Phalaris could write them? If Mr. B's distinction be admitted, Sir . . . must have very little skill in Painting, that could not find out a whole score of them to be Copies by vain and wanton Imitators; but took the whole Set for Originals. Mr. B. himself puts the same complement upon him, that he makes such a hideous out-cry at in another, That Sir . . . neither knew the true Time nor the true Value of his Authors

But the Examiner bears still harder upon another worthy Author, the Honourable Mr. Boyle in his Preface to Phalaris. That ingenious and learned Gentleman is expressly against this new Distinction, of Proofs that affect the whole, and Proofs that touch only Particular Epistles.

pref Phal. For he owns, that if Diodorus Siculus say true, 2. 3. that Tauromenium was not built and call'd so, till after the razing of Naxos by Dionysius the Tyrant,

*Tyrant*, actum est de Phalaridis Titulo, & ruit omnis male sustentata conjecturis autoritas, *Phalaris's Title to the Letters is quite cashier'd; and all the Authority of them, supported by weak surmises, must drop to the ground.* But this *Tauromenium* is mention'd thrice only in the whole Ep. 15, 31, Set of Epistles. So that if *Phalaris's Title to* 33. All the Epistles be render'd quite desperate by the disproof of Three single ones, I have that Noble Author on my side against the whimsical Distinction of the Examiner; who, though not Three only but Thirty of the Letters, and those not coming all together, but scatter'd through the whole Set, be refuted from Chronology, would still comfort himself with the cold hopes, *that the rest may be Genuine.*

My former Dissertation began with a short Address to my Learned Friend Mr. *Wotton*, with whose Book it was then publish'd: but because in this Second Edition it comes out alone; it was thought proper to leave out that little Prooemium. However I will not omit to give an Answer to those Reflections, that the Examiner has made upon't.

First he tells me, *that Dion's Authority, whom I had cited there, in this or any other Case is not very considerable; he's tedious and insipid; he's as errant a Sophist and Declamer, as ever was.* We may learn the Truth of this Gentleman's Characters, from this one that he begins his Book with. Let's hear what Others have said of

(a) Photius Biblioth. Eunnapius, p. 5. Themist. Orat. 12. Synesius in Calvisii Enchiridio & in Dione. Δίωνα τῷ χρυσῷ τὴν γλώτταν. Τῷ γλώτταν, ἢ χρυσῷ εἶχεν, ὡσπερ κὶ λέγειαι.

(b) Themist. Orat. 12. Τὸν ἄριστον ἐκείνον ὁ Σεβαστὸς, ὁ Τιβερίος ἢ Θεράσιλον, Τραϊανὸς ὁ μέγας ἢ Δίωνα ἢ χρυσῶν τὴν γλώτταν. ἢ Ἐπίκτητον τῷ Διῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ.

(c) Philostrat. de Soph. p. 485, 489, 496. Synesius in Dione. Eunap. in Prefat. Τὸς φιλοσοφῆσαντας ἐν δεξιῇ τῶ σφραγεύσει.

(d) Gravitate captus orationum excellentissima Philosphi. Casaub Ep. ad H. Steph. num.

Dion. His own Age furnam'd him (a) *Chrysostron*, (the same title that was afterwards given to that great Father of the Church) upon account of his Eloquence. Nor had Posterity a worse opinion of him; if *Philostratus*, *Themistius*, *Synesius*, all Men of admirable Eloquence, are competent Witnesses of it. So far was he from being counted as *errant a Sophist as ever was*, that both Christian Fathers and Philosophers, nay the very Sophists themselves, that would have been proud of his

Company, have declar'd him no *Sophist*, but a *Philosopher*. (b) *Themistius* says, he was in the same Quality with the Emperor *Trajan*, as *Arius* was with *Augustus*, and *Thrasyllus* with *Tiberius*, and *Epietetus* with the two *Antonines*. He is rank'd with (c) *Ammonius* and *Plutarch*, and *Carneades* and *Favorinus*, and such other great Men, that were really Philosophers, but because of their polite Learning were called Sophists by the Vulgar. But what need I say more, when his very Works, that are yet extant, are for the most part upon Political and Philosophical Subjects? The Moderns too agree with the Ancients in their Character of *Dion*. It were easie to mention many; but since our Examiner professes a peculiar Deference to *Casaubon's* Opinion, 'tis enough to say, that He calls him (d) *the most excellent Philosopher*. A Man that traduces *Dion* for a flat and insipid

*insipid Sophist*, seems to own, that he neither read *Dion*, nor these others that have so commended him.

Then he taxes me for Singularity of Judgment. P. 27. For never any Man, till I arose, pretended to despise *Phalaris*. My opinion is contrary to the sense of all Mankind, that have ever written before me. This is very peremptorily said. But Mr. B. by his own advice, should have had a P. 95. care of Negatives, a very dangerous way of Speech; especially when the contrary Affirmative is most certainly true. For Chronologers are all agreed that the great *Erasmus* lived before our days; and these are his words: (e) Those Epistles that some body has left us, in the Names of Brutus, and of Phalaris, and of Seneca and St. Paul, what else can they be reckon'd than little poor Declamations? This is as great a Contempt of them as ever I express'd; 'tis the very word, I my self used, Was ever any Declamator's Case so extravagantly put?

(e) Porro Epistolæ, quas nobis reliquit nescio quis Bruti nomine, nomine Phalaridis, nomine Senecæ & Pauli, quid aliud censeri possunt quam DECLAMATIONUM? *Erasm. Ep. lib. 1. epist. 1.* See also his Epistle before the IVth Tome of *St. Hierom.*

But to give his Reader another Taste of some Bodies Singularity, Mr. B. tells a Story of a certain Critic of our Times, who maintain'd (when and where 'tis no matter) that *Ovid* and *Manilius* were the only two Poets, that had Wit among the Ancients. To speak freely, I am ashamed to see a Person that writes himself Honourable, tell such little Stories and Hear says, so below his Name and Character. I am not at all concern'd to justify this Criticism, for I know not that ever I said so. But however not to desert *Manilius*,

P. 28.

for whom I have an esteem; I see no reason at all, why he that said this should be ashamed of it. For, with Submission, why must *Ovid* and *Manilius* be set as wide asunder, as *Nireus* and *Thersites*? Better Judges than Mr. B. have thought there was a likeness in the Genius's of those two Poets. When our Examiner reads *Manilius* (for by his Censure one would guess he yet had not) he will find in the best Editions

(f) *Poeta ingeniosissimus, nitidissimus scriptor, qui obscuras res tam luculento sermone, materiam morosissimam tam jucundo charactere exornare potuerit, Ovidio suavitate par, Majestate superior. Imprimis omnia ejus Proemia & παρὰ τὸν ἄριστον, extra omnem aleam posita sunt. Nihil illis divinius, copiosius, gravius, & jucundius dici potest. Audiamus itaque colorem canentem.* Scalig. in Præf.

what *Scaliger* says of him (f) *A most ingenious Poet, a most elegant Writer, that could manage an obscure and knotty Subject with that clearness and smoothness of Style; equal to Ovid in Sweetness, and superiour in Majesty. Especially his Introductions and Digressions are secure above all Detraction. Nothing can be more divine, more copious, more grave, more pleasant.* Thus we see, one of the greatest Scholars of all the Moderns, and a very great Poet himself, has thought *Manilius* a very

witty one; and just as that certain Critic did, has joyn'd him with *Ovid*. 'Tis an honour therefore to Dr. Bentley, that in a comparison of Writers, he is rank'd here with *Manilius*. But what satisfaction will Mr. B. make to his admired Sir . . . . . for listing him with *Ovid*? that *Ovid*, whom he modestly calls, in another place *the trifling Author of the Verses upon Ibis*. I cannot pretend to tell, who is most obliged to him, the Roman *Ovid*, or the English *Memnius*.

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**T**O pass a Censure upon all kinds of Writings, to shew their several Excellencies and Defects, and especially to assign each of them to their proper Authors, was the chief Province and the greatest Commendation of the Ancient Critics. And it appears from those Remains of Antiquity that are left us, that they never wanted Employment. For to forge and counterfeit Books, and farther them upon Great Names, has been a Practice almost as old as Letters. But it was then most of all in fashion, when the \*Kings of *Pergamus* and *Alexandria*, rivalling one another in the Magnificence and Copiousness of their Libraries, gave great rates for any Treatises that carried the Names of celebrated Authors. Which was an Invitation to the Scribes and Copyers of those Times, to enhance the Price of their Wares by ascribing them to Men of Fame and Reputation; and to suppress the true Names, that would have yielded less Money. And now and then even an Author, that wrote for Bread, and made a Traffick of his Labours, would purposely conceal himself, and personate some old Writer of eminent Note; giving the

\* Galen in  
*Hippoc de*  
*Natura ho-*  
*minis, com.*  
2. p. 17. Ed.  
*Basil.*

the Title and Credit of his Works to the Dead, that himself might the better live by them. But what was then done chiefly for Lucre, was afterwards done out of Glory and Affectation, as an Exercise of Stile, and an Ostentation of Wit. In this the Tribe of the Sophists are principally concerned; in whose Schools it was the ordinary task to compose Ἡθοποιίας, to make Speeches and write Letters in the Name and Character of some Heroe, or great Commander or Philosopher; Τίνας ἂν εἶποι λόγους, *What would Achilles, Medea, or Alexander say in such or such Circumstances?* Thus Ovid, we see, who was bred up in that way, writ Love Letters in the Names of *Penelope* and the rest. 'Tis true, they came abroad under his own Name; because they were written in *Latin* and in Verse, and so had no colour or pretense to be the Originals of the *Græcian* Ladies. But some of the *Greek* Sophists had the Success and Satisfaction to see their Essays in that kind pass with some Readers for the genuine Works of those they endeavour'd to express. This, no doubt, was great Content and Joy to them; being as full a Testimony of their Skill in Imitation; as the Birds gave to the Painter, when they peck'd at his Grapes.

Grapes. One of them \* indeed, has dealt <sup>\* Mithel-  
da, τῆς Πραφ.  
Ep. Bruti.</sup> ingenuously, and confess'd that he feign'd the Answers to *Brutus*, only as a Trial of Skill: but most of them took the other way, and concealing their own Names, put off their Copies for Originals; preferring that silent Pride and fraudulent Pleasure, though it was to die with them, before an honest Commendation from Posterity for being good Imitators. And to speak freely, the greatest part of Mankind are so easily imposed on in this way, that there is too great an Invitation to put the trick upon them. What clumſie Cheats, thoſe *Sibylline* Oracles now extant, and *Aristeas's* Story of the *Septuagint*, passed without controul even among very learned Men. And even some Modern Attempts of this kind have met with Success not altogether discouraging. For though *Annius* of *Viterbo*, after a Reputation of some Years, and *Inghiramius* immediately, were shamed out of all Credit: yet *Sigonius's* Essay *de Consolatione*, as coming from a skilfull Hand, may perhaps pass for *Cicero's* with some, as long as *Cicero* himself shall last. Which I cannot preſage of that bungling Supplement to *Petronius* (I mean not that from *Traw*, but the pretended one from *Belgrade*) that  
Scandal!

Scandal to all Forgeries: though, I hear, 'tis at present admir'd as a genuine Piece by some that think themselves no ordinary Judges.

I Had said out of Galen, *That in the Age of the Ptolemes the Trade of coining false Authors was in greatest Practise and Perfection.* Wherein I am charg'd with several faults; as first, for citing Passages out of the way. An Accusation I should wish to be True, rather than False. For I take it to be a Commendation, to entertain the Reader with something, that's out of the common way; and I'll never desire to trouble the World with common Authorities, as this Gentleman would have me do.

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P. 29.

But there are other old Writers that tell this Story. I wish he had pleas'd to name them: I must freely own, I remember but one; and he tells the Story but by Halves, and is more out of the way than Galen himself. 'Tis Ammonius in

his Comment upon Aristotle's Categories. (a) 'Tis reported, says he, that Philadelphus being desirous to make a Collection of all Aristotle's Works (as indeed of all sorts of Books whatsoever) gave good Encouragement to those that could bring him any Treatise of that Philosopher's. Some therefore, with a design to get Money of him, put Aristotle's Name to other mens Writings. Ammonius, we see, only speaks of Books father'd

(a) Ammon p. 10. edit. Venet. 1546. Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλάδελφον πάντων ἐσπεύσαντων φασὶ πρὸς τὰ Δεισοτελιχὰ συγγεγραμμένα, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ χρήματα δίδοναι τοῖς προσφέρονσιν αὐτῷ βίβλους τῶ φιλοσόφου. ὅθεν τινὲς χρηματίζονταὶ βυλόμενοι, ἐπιγράφοντες συγγεγραμμένα τῷ τῶ φιλοσόφου ὀνόματι, προσήγγον.

father'd upon *Aristotle*: which did not reach to my purpose. But *Galen* says it more fully, and yet as truly, of all Writers of Reputation.

But who would expect to see a point of History settled out of a Physician? Any one that has read the Works of that Physician; or even that single Tract of his, (b) *About his own Books*; such a one would know, that excellent Author was not only a Great Man in his own Faculty, but in all parts of Learning. But what if he had been a meer Physician, like *Actius* or *Aretæus*? Is that a just Exception, or the least Diminution to his Testimony? The Examiner has taken care very often in his Book to tell us of his good Breeding; though it be one part of good Breeding, not to value one's self upon it. Without doubt then he has added much to that Character of himself, by this cast of his Civility upon a whole Profession at once.

But, it seems, I quote very awkwardly; for I have fetched in a witness, that, after all, speaks against me. The Passage in *Galen* that I refer to is this; (c) *When the Attali and the Ptolemees were in Emulation about their Libraries, the Knavery of forging Books and Titles began. For there were those, that to enhance the price of their Books, put the Names of great Authors before them, and so sold them to those Princes. This, I conceive, is an ample Testimony, that the practice of counterfeiting was then most in fashion, which is the*

(c) Ἐν τῷ κτ' τὸς Ἀτταλικῆς τε καὶ Πτολεμαϊκῆς βασιλείας χρόνῳ, πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιφιλοτιμητικῶς περὶ κτίσεως βιβλίων, ἢ περὶ τῶν ὀνηγεαῶν τε καὶ διασκευῶν αὐτῶν ἤρξατο γίνεσθαι ψαδιστεία τοῖς ἔνεκα τὸ λαβεῖν ἀργύριον ἀναδέχεσθαι ὡς τὸς βασιλεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἐνδόξων συγγεγραμμένα. *Galen* com. 2. in *Hip de Nat Hum.*

thing

(d) ἡ δὲ πρῶ-  
 τει δὲ πρῶ-  
 τει γὰρ ἔ-  
 σθη οὐ γ-  
 γερμῶνα.  
 Comm. 1. in  
 Hip de Nat.  
 Hist.

thing I produce him for. 'Tis true, as Mr. B. observes, *Galen* hints a little more, than I had occasion to cite from him; for he says, this practice began at that time; which in another place he asserts more expressly; (d) *That before the Reigns of those Princes there was no such thing as a counterfeit Book.* Which Assertion taken strictly and without a candid allowance, is notoriously false. For we have several Instances of such Forgeries, not only practis'd by persons that lived before those Times, but told us also

(e) *Vide Laert. in Pythag. & Clem. Alexand. Strom.*

(f) *Herod. lib. 2. c. 117.*

(g) *Athen p. 334, 682.*

(h) *Ælian. Var. hist. 9.*

15.

(i) *Athenaus lib. 14. p. 648.*

(k) *Callimachus in Epigram.*

(l) *Aristoxenus apud Laert in Heraclide.*

by Writers that lived before them. (e) *Ion Chius*, the Tragic Poet, says, That *Pythagoras* made some Poems, and put *Orpheus's* Name to them. (f) *Herodotus* denies, that the Poem called *CYPRIA* is *Homer's*, and others say, (g) it's *Stasimus's*; though (h) *Pindar* ascribes it to *Homer*, (i) *Aristoxenus* mentions several spurious Pieces, that were father'd upon *Epicarmus*. (k) *Callimachus* says, that *OECHALIA CAPTA*, a supposed Poem of *Homer's*, was really *Creophylus the Samian's*. (l) *Heraclides of Pontus* put forth his own Tragedies under *Thespis's* Name.

And *Heraclides* himself was deservedly punish'd by *Dionysius Metathemenos*. For (m) *Dionysius* made a Tragedy called *Parthenopæus*, and intitled it to *Sophocles*: which *Heraclides* was cheated with; and quoted it for genuine. To these I will add that odd Forgery of *Anaximenes*

nes the Historian ; though (m) *Pausanias* be the (m) *Pausanias Eliac.* oldest Author now extant, that relates it. This *Anaximenes* having a spite to his Rival Historian *Theopompus*, wrote a bitter Investive against the three most powerfull Governments of Greece, the *Athenians*, *Lacedaemonians*, and *Thebans*; where he exactly imitated *Theopompus's* Style. This Book he sends abroad in *Theopompus's* Name, and so makes him odious all over Greece. II. p. 195.

There are many more instances of such counterfeit Writers: in one short Passage of (n) *Suidas*, there's an account of half a Score. But (n) *Suid. in Oregus.* because the Authors now extant that mention them, were since the time of the *Ptolemees*, we have no certain Demonstration, but that the Forgeries also were since. But *Galen* liv'd at a time, when those other Books were in being, from which our Authors now extant had the Stories at second hand. I can hardly therefore persuade my self, that the great *Galen*, with all his vast and diffused Learning, could be ignorant of such obvious things. I had rather suppose, that when he says Forgeries began in the times of the *Ptolemees*; he means it only of those, that were practis'd to get Money by.

For both he and *Ammonius* (o) particularly speak of those. If this will not excuse *Galen*; I have nothing more to justify him: nor am I concerned in his mistake. For let us consider the charge, that the Examiner draws up against me. What I cite out of *Galen*, he acknow-

(o) Λαμβάνειν δ' ἀρξαιένων μιδῶν (leg. μιδῶν) ἢ κομιζόντων αὐτοῖς συγγραμμάτα παλαιῶ τινος αἰδέος, *Galen*. Ὅθεν τινὲς χρηματίζουσαι ἐκ ὀμῶν. *Ammon.*

ledges

ledges is there, and is true; but there is something else in Galen, which I do not cite, that is false. Is not this a subtle Accusation, and worthy of the ingenious Mr. B? If I quote that Author for one thing, must I therefore be concern'd in all his other Opinions? At this rate Mr. B. may charge me with maintaining the Doctrine of the four Humours of the Body, or with denying the Circulation of the Blood.

(p) Hieron.  
Comm. ad  
Titum.

Some Critics in (p) St. Hierom's time, of the same stamp with our Examiner, would needs censure St. Paul in the very same manner. The Apostle had cited a Verse out of *Epimnides*;

(p) Titus,  
i, 12.

(q) Κρητες ἀεὶ ψεύσαι, καὶ ἀδελφία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.

The Cretans are always Liars, evil Beasts, slow Bellies.

This, said those censorious Critics, is to patronize Idolatry; because the Poet in that passage calls them *Liars* and *Beasts* for refusing some Idol-Worship. As if the Apostle, because he approves one single Verse, must for that reason be supposed to espouse the whole Context. If the Examiner consult *Hieron*, he will find there a very good answer both to those Critics, and himself.

In the former Edition, I had said, that the Supplement of *Petronius* was pretended to be found at *Buda*. I had never seen that sorry Imposture but once in a Shop; and I was not much concern'd to remember the Title of it. I will take therefore our Examiner's Word, for I have not



not seen the Book since, that it pretends to come from *Belgrade*. Nor do I envy him the Honour of being better acquainted with that worthy Author, than I am. But I wonder, he would stop there; and not vindicate that *Belgrade* Fragment for a genuine Piece. For upon the same foot that he has defended his *Phalaris*, he may maintain all the Cheats that ever were made, as I will shew at large in its proper place. If the Examiner therefore have longer Life, with leisure and a good Assistant, we may hope for new Editions of *Berosus* and *Metasthenes*, and the rest of that Stamp: They will make a most noble Set, and will deserve to stand together with *Phalaris* and *Aristeas*.

**T**HAT Sophist, whoever he was, that wrote a small Book of Letters in the Name and Character of *Phalaris*, (give me leave to say this now, which I shall prove by and by) had not so bad a hand at Humouring and Personating, but that several believed, it was the Tyrant himself that talked so big, and could not discover the Ass under the Skin of that Lion. For we find *Stobæus* \* quoting the 38, and 67, and 72, of those *Epistles*, under the Title of *Phalaris*. And *Suidas*, in the Account he gives of him, says, he has wrote *very admirable Letters*, ἑπιτολὰς θαυμασιὰς πινυ, meaning those that we are speaking of. And *Johannes Tzetzes*, a Man of much rambling Learning, has

\* *Stob. Tit.*  
vii. & xlvi.

A

C

many

B

many and large Extracts out of them, in his *Chiliads*; ascribing them all to the Tyrant whose Livery they wear. These three, I think are the only Men among the Ancients, that make any mention of them: but since they give not the least hint of any Doubts concerning their Author; we may conclude, that most of the Scholars of those Ages received them as true Originals; so that they have the general Warrant and Certificate for this last Thousand Years before the Restoration of Learning. As for the Moderns; besides the Approbation of those smaller Criticks, that have been concerned in the Editions of them, and cry them up of course; some very Learned Men have espoused and maintained them, such as *Thomas Fazellus* \*, and *Jacobus Cappellus* †. Even Mr. *Selden* himself || draws an Argument in Chronology from them, without discovering any Suspicion or Jealousie of a Cheat. To whom I may add their latest and greatest Advocate; who has honoured them with that most high Character, prefixt to this Treatise.

C

\* *Historia Sicula*, p. 118.

† *Historia Sacra & Exotica*, p. 249.

|| *Marm. Arundel.* p. 106.

Others, indeed, have shewn their Distrust of *Phalaris's* Title to them; but are content to declare their Sentiment without assigning their Reasons. *Phalaris*, or some body else, says *Cælius Rhod.* *The Epistles*

*Epistles that go under the Name of Phalaris,* Ad Laert. P. 35.  
 says *Menagius*. Some name the very  
 Person, at whose door they lay the For-  
 gery. *Lucian*, whom they commonly mi-  
 stake for *Phalaris*, says *Ang. Politianus*. Epist. 1.  
*The Epistles of Phalaris, if they are truly*  
*his, and not rather Lucian's,* says *Lilius Greg.* Poet Hist. P. 88.  
*Gyraldus*; who, in another place informs  
 us, that *Politian's* Opinion had generally  
 obtained among the Learned of that Age:  
*The Epistles,* says he, *of Phalaris, which* P. 332.  
*most People attribute to Lucian.* How ju-  
 diciously they ascribe them to *Lucian*, we  
 shall see better anon; after I have exa-  
 min'd the Case of *Phalaris*, who has the  
 Plea and Right of Possession. And I shall  
 not go to dispossess him, as those have  
 done before me, by an Arbitrary Sen-  
 tence in his own Tyrannical Way; but  
 proceed with him upon lawfull Evidence,  
 and a fair, impartial Tryal. And I am  
 very much mistaken in the Nature and  
 Force of my Proofs, if ever any Man  
 hereafter, that reads them, persist in his  
 old Opinion of making *Phalaris* an Au-  
 thor.

The Censures that are made from Style  
 and Language alone, are commonly nice  
 and uncertain, and depend upon slender  
 Notices. Some very sagacious and learned  
 Men have been deceived in those Conje-

ctures, even to ridicule. The great *Scaliger* published a few Iambicks, as a choice Fragment of an old Tragedian, given him by *Muretus*; who soon after confess'd the Jest, that they were made by himself. *Boxbornius* writ a Commentary upon a small Poem *De Lite*, supposed by him to be some ancient Author's; but it was soon discover'd to be *Michael Hospitalius's*, a late Chancellor of *France*. So that if I had no other Argument, but the Stile, to detect the Spuriousness of *Phalaris's Epistles*; I my self, indeed, should be satisfied with that alone, but I durst not hope to convince every body else. I shall begin therefore with another sort of Proofs, that will affect the most slow Judgments, and assure the most timid or incredulous.

A TO shew *Stobæus's* Approbation of *Phalaris's* Epistles, I had observed, that he quoted three of them under the Title *Phalaris*. The Gentleman adds one more; and I should thank him for his Liberality, had not any One of those three I mention'd been sufficient for my purpose. But when he says, 'Tis *Tit. cccviii.* and again in the Collection of *Antonius and Maximus*, and that I overlook'd it; for that I must beg his Pardon. For I could hardly overlook the 218th Title of *Stobæus*, where there are but 121 in all. 'Tis not *Title 218*, but (a) *Page 218*; and not of *Stobæus*, but of *Antonius* that is printed at the end of him. But the Title of *Stobæus*,

P. 31.

(a) *Eliz.*  
*Genev.*  
1609.

*Stobæus*, that the Examiner would cite, is LXXXIV. How far *the Assistant*, that consulted Books for the Examiner, may be chargeable with this mistake; or how far it goes towards a Discovery, that Mr. B. himself never looked into *Stobæus*, I will leave it for others to determine.

B *These three*, said I, (*Stobæus*, *Suidas*, and *Tzetzes*) *I think*, are the only Men among the Ancients, that make any mention of them. I am sensible, how hazardous it is to publish Books in great haste; where 'tis impossible not to commit some oversight or mistake. I could then call to mind Three only; but the Examiner and his Assistant have found as many more, *Photius* in his Epistles, the *Scholiast* on *Aristophanes*, and *Nomus* upon *Greg. Nazianzen*. For his first Author, *Photius*, I must own my self obliged to him; because that Learned Patriarch plainly intimates his Suspicions (as Mr. B. well observes) that the Epistles are not genuine; when he says, they (b) are attributed to Phalaris. This is honest and just in the Gentleman, (though he ridicules it in others) to fetch in a Witness, that after all speaks against him. Out of Gratitude therefore for this fair Dealing, I'll tell him something about his other two Authors, that perhaps he is not yet aware of.

First, The Passage that is quoted out of the (c) *Scholiast* on *Aristophanes* (with the Examiner's leave) is spurious: for there are other things not genuine, besides *Phalaris's* Epistles. 'Tis not ex-

(b) Τὰς αἰς Φάλακιο ἐκείνον, αἴμα δ' Ἀκροχάνηνον πρῶτον ἀναφερομένας ἐπιστάς. Phot. Ep. 207.

(c) *Aristoph.* *Pluc.* v 142. Καταλύω, τὸ ἀναρίζω ἢ διαλύω. ἀσκήνητι δα κ' ὁ Φάλακισ· εἰ βέλεθε ἐσέ τ' πρὸς ὑμῶς καταλύσι πλεμον. See *Phal.* *Epist.* 5.

\* *Ven* 1498. tant in \* *Aldus's* original Edition set out by *Musurus*, but was foisted in by the Overseer of the Press at *Florence*, and copied out afterwards at *Basil* and *Geneva*. And to shew that it was not taken out of some ancient MS (as perhaps the Examiner will be ready to say) the same Person has interpolated four Passages more, but all out of printed Books, (*d*) *Galen*, (*e*) *Athenæus*, and (*f*) *Eustathius*. From the last of which Authors there hangs an Observation. The Examiner, after he has cited this Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, thus flourishes and insults; *That very Scholiast, whom one would think, the Doctor by his citing him so often, had thoroughly read*. Now some perhaps may think still, and the rather upon this very account, that the Doctor had thoroughly read him; but that our Examiner had not, I have a small proof from his own Words. *This Scholiast, says he, is some Centuries older than Suidas*. Now how could he say this, had he known that this Scholiast had cited *Eustathius*, who is some Centuries younger than *Suidas*? For I suppose it appears manifestly, that the Gentleman had no Apprehension, that the Passage was foisted in.

But some have thought *Suidas* younger than *Eustathius* himself. That Point therefore must be settled; for we have to deal with a shifting Adversary, that to avoid a thing which presses him, will strike in with any opinion. *Eustathius* is known to have lived *A. D.*

1180. As for *Suidas* (*g*), he has brought down a point of Chronology to the Death of the Emperor *Zimisces*, that is, to the Year of Christ, 975. So that he

(d) Edit.

*Basil.* p 43.

(e) P. 52,  
65.

(f) P. 52.

P. 31.

P. 31.

(g) *Suid.* v. *Αδύμ.* Α-  
δύμῳ ὃν ἔβλεπον ἠκούσαντες  
ἕως τῆς τελευτῆς Ἰωάννου  
τοῦ Ἰζιμισκῆ, ἕτη κα. lxxv  
ἔτη τε.

he seems to have writ his Lexicon between that time and the Death of the succeeding Emperor, which was 1025. *Wolfius* indeed brings

him much lower; for he says, (b) he cites *Metochita Logotheta*, that lived in the beginning of the 14th Century in the times of the *Palæologi*. To whom learned Men have answer'd, that that Passage, or any other of that sort, may be supposed to have been

foisted in since *Suidas's* Death. But the whole thing is a mistake of *Wolfius's*. For the places he hinted at are in the words *Αβαξι* and *Νοθίμει*, where *Logotheta* indeed is quoted; but not the *Logotheta*, that *Wolfius* understood, *Theodorus Metochita Logotheta*, that died 1322; but *Symeon Metaphrastes Logotheta*, that flourished in the beginning of the 10th Century. The words are, (i) *Logotheta* in the Martyrdom of *St. Thecla*: and (k) *The Exposition of Logotheta upon the Martyrdom of St. Lucian*. Where the very word *Exposition*, *Μετάρφρασις*, is a plain

Indication, that he means *Symeon* called *Μετάρφρασις*; but, which is certain Demonstration, those two Discourses of *Symeon's* are extant at this day. The Reader too may be pleased to observe, that our Author calls *Symeon*, *μακαρίτης*, of blessed Memory, which I believe is never used in Greek, but of Persons not long dead, and within the Memory of him that says it. But *Symeon* was in Office under *Leo*, who died 58 Years, before *Suidas's* Chronology ends.

If *Suidas* then was *Symeon's* Contemporary, he

(b) *Atque adeo, cum Metochitam Logothetam citet, qui sub Palæologis vixit, apparet eum vix annis abhinc 300 Lexicon hoc composuisse.* Hieron. Wolf. in Præfat. ad Suid. A. D. 1544.

(i) Ο Λογοθέτης ἐν τῷ ᾧ ἀγίας Ἰθὲκλῆς μαρτυρεῖται. *Suid. v. Αβαξι.*

(k) Ἐν τῇ τῷ μακαρίτη Λογοθέτῳ μεταφράσει, τῇ εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον τῷ ἀγίῳ Λουκιανῷ. *Suid. v. Νοθίμει.*

must have made his Book soon after the Death of Zimisce; 200 years before Eustathius.

And then for the Examiner's other Author, which he would give me the credit of, Nonnus in his Commentary on Gregory's Inveſtive; I thank him for his kind offer, but I cannot accept of it. That poor Writer is not Nonnus the Poet, the Author of the *Dionysiacs* and the *Paraphrase* of St. John's Gospel; as (l) Learned Men, and if I may presume to guess, Mr. B. himself have believed. 'Tis true, I am no Admirer of that Poet; I have the same opinion of his Judgment and Style, that *Scaliger*, and *Cunæus*, and *Heinsius* had. But he had great variety of Learning, and may pass for an able Grammarian, though a very ordinary Poet. And I can never think so very mean of him, as to make him Writer of that Commentary, so full of shameful mistakes.

(l) *Simlerus*  
in *Biblioth.*  
*Dr. Carve.*  
See *Catal.*  
*Biblioth.*  
*Oxon, &c.*

(m) Num. 5. That Commentator interprets, (m) τὰς Φρυγῶν ἐκτεμὰς, *The Castration of the Phrygians*, to be the flaying and cutting their Limbs. He says,

(n) N. 15. (n) *Anaxarchus* was pounded in a Mortar by *Archelaus* the Tyrant. Here's *Archelaus* of *Macedonia*, instead of *Nicocreon* of *Cyprus*. Besides that *Archelaus* was dead above 60 Years before *Anaxarchus*'s time. When he explains Ἐπικρίτης

(o) P. 37. σκέλος in (o) *Gregory*, he says, (p) *Epicletus*'s Leg was put in Chains by a certain Tyrant. He knew not, it seems, that common story, that *Epicletus* was lame of one Leg; and not by Chains and Imprisonment, but merely by a Rheumatism.

(q) N. 22. (q) He says, *Plato* in *Theætetus* and every-where brings in *Socrates* saying, ὀπκαλὸς ὁ Θεαίτητος, *Theætetus* is handsom,

(r) *Plato* in *Theæt.* directly the contrary, Νῦν δ' ἔκ ἐστὶ καλὸς ὁ Θεαίτητος, *Theætetus* is not handsom; as having a fiat Noſe  
and



and goggle Eyes. But the merriest fancy of this Writer, is this very story of *Phalaris*, with which Mr. B. would enrich my Dissertation. (f) *Phalaris*, says he, to ingratiate himself with (f) Num. 48. *Dionysius the Tyrant*, invented the Brazen Bull, and presented it to him. But *Dionysius*, detesting the Cruelty of the Invention, made the first Experiment upon *Phalaris* himself. Mr. B. who is for drawing down *Phalaris* as low as he can, should have struck in methinks with this Writer, who has drawn him down with a vengeance, even to *Dionysius's* time, the xciv Olymp. the space of above sixscore Years. Now, I conceive, it will be easily allow'd, that *Nonnus* the Poet could not be guilty of these mistakes. But there are two Errors of this Commentator, that we have the Poet's own assurance, he could not have committed. *Gregory* says, (t) ἡ Κασαλία σιγήσεται, (t) P. 104. the *Castalian Fountain* is put to silence. This the (u) Commentator says, is *Castalia* at *Antioch*. (u) Num 14. But the Poet would have known it to be *Castalia* Part. 2. of *Parnassus*; as these Verses of his will witness.

(w) Καὶ ῥῆα Παρνῆωσιο πινάσπετο φοιβάδος ἠχῆς  
Γεῖτόνος ἰοσιτόντα, κὶ ἔμφηέντ ῥεῖέθρω  
Κασαλίνης πῶπλαζε νούμενος ἔνθεον ὕδωρ.

(w) *Nonni*  
*Dionys.* iv.  
P. 130.

The Commentator calls *Bacchus* (x) Ζαψαῖος, (x) N. 29. which is barbarous, instead of Ζαψεύς. But the Poet writes it true, in a hundred places of his Book;

Ἀρχαῖον Ζαψεῖν κὶ ἑψιόνω Διονύσω.

- If the Commentary then carry the name of *Nonnus*; it must needs be some other *Nonnus*, and not the Author of the *Dionysiaca*. (y) *Billius*, who first publish'd it, out of a Library at *Rhemes*, calls it *Patris Nonni collectio*, &c. In (z) *Possevin's* Catalogue of the MSS. of the *Escurial*, it is *Nonnus Abbas de Narrationibus*, &c. Bishop *Mountague* that first printed it in Greek, had it out of the Library at *Vienna*; and he ascribes it to *Nonnus*, upon the Credit, I suppose, of *Billius*. For the Original that he follow'd, had no name at all; as it appears from his own (a) *P. 127*. (a) Edition, and from (b) *Lambecius's* Catalogue. (b) *Lib. iii. p. 207*. *Tzetzes* in his *Chiliads* cites this very Book; but he attributes it to one *Maximus*.

Περὶ τῶ λέγοντος χρισμῶ τὰς Θεσσαλὰς τὰς ἵππους,  
 Μέμνηται μὲν καὶ Μάξιμος ἰσοειῶν τοῖς λόγοις,  
 "Ὡς ἰσοείας ἔγραψε Γρηγόριος ὁ μέγας."  
 "Ἔπος δ' ἔδεν ἔδὲ βραχὺ ἄλλ' τῶ χρισμῶ εἰρήκει.

*Maximus*, says he, in his *Commentary upon the Histories in Gregory*, mentions the Oracle about the *Theffalian Mares*; but produces not one single Verse of it. If the Examiner look in *Gregory*, p. 69. and in the Comment: *Numb. 74*. he will learn what perhaps he knew not before, that *John Tzetzes* means no other Commentary, than this very *Nonnus*, the Examiner's noble Present to me.

P. 32.

C 'Tis a keen Reflection of Mr. B. That I name *Fazellus*, *Cappellus*, and *Selden*, not as a modest man would expect; but only to shew how impossible it was for them to judge right, who had the misfortune to live before me. I wish the Gentleman

eleman had shew'd his own *Modesty* a little more in this particular. For what can *any man expect* from him, that will talk thus against his own Knowledge? In the very same Page I have cited *Rhodiginus, Politian, Gyraldus*, and the *most* of that Age, as falling in with my own opinion, that *Phalaris* is spurious. And yet I am said to suggest, that *Fazellus* and the rest could not *possibly* judge right, as having no body to inform them, till I wrote upon the Subject: though the youngest of those, that judged right, whom I have cited in the same place, is older than the eldest of these that judged wrong.

D The Examiner shall see, that I will not persist in an Error, when I am plainly confuted. I was persuaded, when I wrote my Dissertation, *That no body that read it, would believe Phalaris an Author.* Here I must confess, I was in a mistake. For the Examiner, who assures us, *he has read it and weigh'd it*, has writ a Book of 200 Pages to vindicate *his Sicilian Prince.* But then, whether, as I said, *I was mistaken in the Nature and Force of my Proofs*, or rather in the Nature and Force of my Adversary; I leave that to the judgment of others.

P. 33.

P. 43.

THE Time of *Phalaris's* Tyranny cannot be precisely determined: so various and defective are the Accounts of those that write of him. *Eusebius* sets the beginning of it Olymp. xxxi, 2. *Phalaris apud Agrigentinos tyrannidem exercet*; and the end of it Olymp. xxxviii, 2. *Phalaridis*

A

*dis tyrannis destructa.* By which Reckoning he governed XXXVIII Years. But *St. Hierom*, out of some unknown Chronologer (for that Note is not extant in the *Greek of Eusebius*) gives a different Time of his Reign, above LXXX Years later than the other; Olymp. LIII, 4. or as other Copies read it, LII, 2. *Phalaris tyrannidem exercuit annos XVI.* Which is agreeable to *Suidas*, who places him,  $\alpha\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \tau\ \nu\beta.$  ἐλυμπιάδω, about the LII Olympiad. If the former Account be admitted, the Cheat is manifest at first sight: for those Letters of *Phalaris* to *Stesichorus* and *Pythagoras* must of necessity be false. Because *Stesichorus*, by the earliest Account, was but VI Years old at that supposed time of *Phalaris's* Death; and *Pythagoras* was not taken notice of in Greece till LXXX Years after it. But for the sake of *Aristotle* and *Jamblichus*, the first of whom makes *Phalaris* Contemporary with *Stesichorus*; and the other, with *Pythagoras*; and that I may prevent all possible Cavils and Exceptions; I am willing to allow the latter Account, the more favourable to the pretended Letters: his Government commencing Olymp. LIII, 4. and expiring after XVI Years, Olymp. LVII, 3.

A MR. B. will not enter the Controversie about *Phalaris's* Age; but refers himself to another person to settle that point for him. But however he will nibble at some Passages of this Section, to shew his own great Wit; though he borrows another Man's great reading.

In the former Edition, for xxxviii, 2. it was printed xxxvii, 2. Now a Man of Sense and Honour would have pass'd this over, as a plain fault of the Press; as it appear'd from *Eusebius*, who is quoted for it, and from my allowing the Summ of xxviii Years for *Phalaris's* Reign, which in the other way is but xxiv. And yet the Examiner animadverts on it for ten Lines together. But at last, he is willing to suppose xxxvii a false print; which he does not out of Justice and Sincerity, (let not the Reader mistake him) but to draw on another Cavil against the following Passage, a Cavil that would not succede, if xxxvii were truly printed.

P. 118.

The case is thus: I had said, if Olymp. xxxviii, 2, was the time of *Phalaris's* Death, that Letter to *Pythagoras* must be spurious, for He was not taken notice of in Greece, till 80 Years after. But for *Jamblichus's* sake, who made those two to be Contemporaries, I would allow the later Account, Olymp. lvii, 3. for *Phalaris's* Death. Here the Gentleman has proved by the dint of Arithmetick, that I contradict my self. For by adding those 80 Years to Ol. xxxviii, 2. the Product is Ol. lviii, 2. *Phalaris* then was three Years dead, before *Pythagoras* was taken notice of. They could not therefore be acquainted, as I said I would allow  
for

for *Jamblichus's* sake. But here the Gentleman makes use of a certain slight of hand, that is not fashionable among Men of Honour. He takes away the word *Contemporary*, and in its room puts in *Acquaintance*. Now that's a point I need not allow, neither for *Jamblichus's* sake, nor Mr. B's, that *Phalaris* and *Pythagoras* had any *Acquaintance* together. I granted, they were *Contemporaries*; and 'tis not improbable, that the Tradition about their *Acquaintance* was grounded upon that truth, that they lived at the same time. And I imagin they might, nay they must, have been *Contemporaries*, if the one died but three Years, before the other was *famous*.

P. 119. The Examiner, not content with this, makes a step out of his way, to shew another instance of my *Inconsistency* about *Xerxes's Expedition*. He says, I put it (a) in one place at *Olymp. LXXIII*.  
 (a) P. 24. Here again the Controversie lies between him  
 first Edit. and my Printer, who for *LXXV, 1.* (by mistaking the two strokes of v) made it *LXXIII*. But his next Attack is made upon my self; Pag. 85th. I say, *the very next Olymp. after Xerxes's Expedition, Hiero was in the Throne, and I quote Diodorus for it. But Diodorus says in that very place, that Hiero came to the Throne, Olymp. LXXV, 3. Therefore here I am of opinion, that Xerxes's Expedition was Olymp. LXXIV. And yet Diodorus and I my self elsewhere place it Olymp. LXXV.* See the Penetration of our Examiner, if he once set about it. He makes *coming to the Throne, and being in the Throne* to have the same Signification. For the summ of his Argument lies thus; *Hiero came to the Throne Olymp. LXXV; therefore it cannot be said, he was in the Throne, Olymp. LXXVI.* Was there ever such

Lib. xi.  
p. 39.

such a dangerous Disputant? Upon the same foot he may argue all the Princes in Christendom out of their Thrones, if they are past the first Year of their Reigns. But it is well for them, that in his second Edition this terrible Paragraph is left out. Neither should I have raised it up again out of its Dust; but for the sake of those that may never see his second Edition; and to shew it possible, even by Mr. B's own Confession, that his Animadversions may have other faults, besides Satyr and Abuse.

To take a short leave then of the Examiner; the very Learned Mr. *Dodwell*, to whose Book now in the Press Mr. B. has made his Appeal for settling the time of *Phalaris*, was pleased at my request, to oblige me with a sight of those Sheets of his Book, where this Question is handled. And there I find, that Learned Man has not only brought *Phalaris* down to Olymp. LXXII, 3. which is LX Years lower than Chronologers had placed him before; but he has asserted the *Epistles* too to be *Phalaris's* own. I have leave to say, this part of his Book was printed before my Dissertation was made; so that only Two of my Arguments, and not those neither in the manner that I urge them, are here consider'd by Mr. *Dodwell*. But we may expect, that in an Appendix to that noble Work, he will pass a Judgment upon the whole Controversie.

To inquire then as accurately as we can, into the Age of *Phalaris*; first, we have the Authority of *Eusebius* and *Hierom*, who have furnished us with two Accounts from different Authors.

(b) *Phalaris apud Agrigentinos tyrannidem exercuit.*

(c) *Phalaridis tyrannis destructa.*

(d) *Phalaris tyrannidem exercuit, ann. xvi.*

(b) Ol. xxxi. 2. *Phalaris's Tyranny began.*

(c) Ol. xxxviii. 2. *Phalaris's Tyranny ended.*

(d) Ol. liii. 4. *Phalaris held his Tyranny xvi Years.*

Which xvi Years expire at Olymp. lvii, 3.

In all my Dissertation I have reckon'd by this later Account; though some of the MSS (e) Copies of *Eusebius* date it vi Years before. But I was resolv'd to avoid Cavils, as much as lay in my power, and to shew all reasonable favour to the pretended Epistles.

If we trace the Footsteps of *Phalaris's* Age in the Remains of other Authors, I believe we shall find, that there is no good Warrant or Authority to bring it down nearer to us, than this last Period of *Eusebius*.

*Syncellus* puts the whole time of *Phalaris* within the Bounds of *Phraortes* and *Cyaxares's* Reigns, that is, between Olymp. xxxi and XLVII.

\* *Syncellus in Chron. Φάλαεις Ακαραγνίνων ἐτυράννησε.*

Φάλαεις τυραννῶν κατέλυθη.

\* *Phalaris was Tyrant of Agrigentum.*

*Phalaris was deposed from his Tyranny.*

Now though we should extend *Phalaris's* Life to the very last day of *Cyaxares*; yet it will end xli Years earlier, than by *Eusebius's* reckoning.

(f.) *Suid. τ. Φαλ. τυραννήσας Σικελίας ὄλις χϛ' τὴν νβ. ὀλυμπιάδα.*

*Suidas* says, (f) *He was Tyrant over all Sicily, about the liii Olymp.* Now allow, that he began his Tyranny at that time;

though the words do not import so much: the Interval between this and *Eusebius's* Period is



xxix Years, a very competent length for the Duration of his Reign.

(g) Orosius fixes his Age, to the beginning of *Cyrus's* Reign, after *Astyages* was deposed. But *Cyrus's* Reign commences, Olymp. LV, 1. which falls xi Years within *Eusebius's* Period.

(h) *Pliny* says, The first Tyrant in the world was *Phalaris* at *Agri- gentum*. This Account will carry his Age as high or higher

than the earlier Period in *Eusebius* Ol. xxxi, 2. For *Cypselus* made himself Tyrant of *Corinth* Olymp. (i) xxxi, 3. or as others say, (k) xxx, 3. But at least it will secure it from sinking below the later Period, LIII, 4. For there was good store of Tyrants in the World before and about that time: To mention a few of them; *Periander* succeeded his Father *Cypselus* at *Corinth* (l) Olymp. xxxviii. And he married the Daughter of (m) *Procles*, Tyrant of *Epidaurus*. He had a Name-ake, a Cousin German (n), that was Tyrant of *Ambracia*; and an acquaintance with (o) *Thrasylbulus*, who was Tyrant of *Miletus*. *Pittacus* was Tyrant of *Lesbos*, (p) Olymp. xlvii, 3. And he slew (q) *Melanctrus*, Olymp. xlii, who was Tyrant there before him. This *Melanctrus* I believe, is meant in that Verse in (r) *Hephæstion*,

Μελασχευς αιδως αξιος ες πολιν.

For it appears plainly to be a Verse of *Alcæus's*, (f) who with his Brothers assisted *Pittacus* in killing *Melanctrus*. (t) *Tynnondas* was Tyrant

(g) Oros. 1, 20. *Edi- tempestate, Phalaris Sicu- lus Agrigentinos arreptus Tyrannide depopulabatur.*

(h) *Plin Hist. Nat vii, 56. Tyrannus primus fuit Phala- ris Agrigent.*

(i) *Herodot. Diog. Laert. (k) Arist. Polit.*

(l) *Aristot. Laert. (m) Laert. in Periand. Herodot.*

(n) *Laert. ibid Arist. Polit. (o) Herod. Plut. Con- viv. 7 Sap. Laert.*

(p) *Laert. in Pittaco, (q) Laert. ibid. Suid. v. Πίττα- ρος.*

(r) *Hephæst. Enchir. p. 46.*

(f) *Laert. (t) Plu- tarch. in Solone.*

of *Eubœa*, before the Year that *Solon* was Archon, which was Olymp. XLVI, 3. But there is one that 'tis almost impossible *Pliny* should forget, I mean *Pisistratus* Tyrant of *Athens*, who began his Government, (u) Olymp. LIV, 4. They will put an affront then upon that great Historian and Naturalist, who shall attempt to bring *Phalaris* lower than the later Period in *Eusebius*.

But I believe the Age of *Phalaris* may be best of all determined out of *Pindar*, and his Scholiast. *Pindar* in an Ode to *Theron* Tyrant of *Agrigentum*,

(x) ——— Ἐμὲ δ' ὧν πα  
 θυμὸς ὀτρύνει φάμεν  
 Ἐμμενίδαις,  
 Θήρωνι τ' ἔλθεῖν κῦδος.  
 Pind. III. Olymp.

(y) Τηλεμάχῃ κατὰ  
 λύπαντος ἢ ἤβ' Ἄνεσιδάμου  
 πύρανον Φάλαριν  
 παῖς γίνεται Ἐμμενίδης,  
 ἔ' Αἰνησίδαμος, ἔ' Θήρων  
 κ' Ξενοκράτης. Θήρωνος δ'  
 Θρασύβουλος. Schol. ad  
 locum.

(x) Ἐμμενίδαι, *Emmenidæ*. Which the Scholiast thus explains; “ *Emmenidæ*, the Family of *Theron*. (y) *Telemachus*, that DEPOSED PHALARIS Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, was the Father of *Emmenides*, he of *Ænesidamus*, he of *Theron* and *Xenocrates*. *Theron's* Son was *Thrasydæus*, and *Xenocrates's* *Thrasylulus*.

The Genealogy lies thus ;

1. *Telemachus*, who deposed *Phalaris*.
  2. *Emmenides*.
  3. *Ænesidamus*.
  4. *Theron*.
  5. *Thrasydæus*.
- } } 4. *Xenocrates*.  
 } } 5. *Thrasylulus*.

These being descended in a direct Line, the Son from the Father: if we can but certainly fix the Age of any one of them ; we may gather from thence the time of the first, and consequently of *Phalaris* that was deposed by him.

For

For allowing (z) Thirty Years for every Generation, or rather an (a) Hundred Years to three Generations, which was the common Rule and Measure set by the ancient Historians, we shall come at last to the Period we seek for.

τὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη τρεῖς καταλέγονται γενεαί. So Dionys. Halicarnas. L. p. 120. from *Numa* Olymp. XVI, 3. to *Pythagoras* Olymp. L, 1. which makes 134 Years, are τέσσαρες ἕλαι γενεαί, four Generations.

The same Genealogy is repeated again in the *Scholia* upon the Fifth Ode of *Pyth.* out of an ancient Historian, (b) *Hippostratus*; who wrote a *Treatise of the Sicilian Families*: only here by an Error of the Copier, *Anefidamus* is left out of the List. But that it is no more than a bare Omision of the Scribe, is apparent from that other Passage above, and (c) from *Pindar* himself, and *Herodotus*; both of whom being Contemporaries with *Theron*, call him the Son of *Anefidamus*.

There's a third Table of *Theron's* Pedegree, in the Second Ode of *Olymp.* where *Pindar* saying, *That Theron's Family was derived from Therfander*: the Scholiast reckons the whole Stem of them thus; " *Oedipus, Polyneices, Therfander, Tisamenus, Antefson, Theras, Samus*, who had two Sons. *Chytius*, who dwelt in the Island *Thera*, and *Telemachus*, (c) *who went with some forces to Sicily, and settled himself there.* The Descendants of

1. *Telemachus*, are,
2. *Chalciopeus*.
3. *Anefidamus*.
4. *Theron*.

D 2

(z) *Eustarb. & Schol. veteris ad d' Iliad.* Οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰς γενεὰς ἐξήριζον ἕως ἑπῶν τεύκοντα.

(a) *Herod. 11. c. 142.* Γενεαὶ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἔτη ὄντι. *Clemons Alex. Strom. 1.* Ἐἰς μέγας

So *Dionys. Halicarnas. L.*

to *Pythagoras* Olymp. L, 1. which makes 134 Years, are τέσσαρες ἕλαι γενεαί, four Generations.

(b) *Ἱπποστράτου ἱστορίας τῶν Σικελίας γενεαλογιών.*

(c) *Pind. 2. Olymp. πρέπει ἢ Ἀινησιδάμης, speaking of Theron. Herod. vii. 165. Θήρωνος τῆς Ἀινησιδάμης Ἀκρεχαιπίνων κεννάσχε.*

(c) *Σουλλῆτος ἕως Δουραίων, ἔρχεται εἰς Σικελίαν, καὶ κρεώτερον.*

Ἦτις

'Tis observable, that he that was named *Emmenides* above, is here called *Chalciopous*. But this difference is of no consequence in our present Enquiry, since in both Accounts there is the same number of Persons. Nay we have the firmer ground to go upon for this little Variation. For because these differing Genealogies must have been taken from different Authors; we have now a double Authority for the number of the Generations.

To proceed then in our Search after some

(d) *Pindar Schol. ad II. Isth.* Οὗτος ὃ ὁ Ξενοκράτης ἢ μόνον Ἰδιμα νενίκηκεν ἰπποῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πύθια τὴν εἰκοστὴν τετάρτην πυθιάδα, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἀναγράφει. See too, *ad VI. Pyth.*

Characters of Time. *Xenocrates* of the 14th Generation, (d) got the Prize at the *Pythian Games*, in *Pythiad* the xxiv, which falls in with *Olymp. LXXII, 2*. Supposing then that *Xenocrates* was but xxx Years old at the time of that

Victory, and *Telemachus* xl when he deposed *Phalaris*; which is an allowance very favourable in behalf of the Epistles; there's yet an Interval of fourscore and ten Years, and *Phalaris's* Death must be placed at *Olymp. L, 1*. which is above the Period of *Eusebius*.

But we have more Notes of Time, relating to his Brother *Theron*. He was (e) Victor at the Olympian Games, *Olymp. LXXVII*, and died the same Year, in the (f) xvith of his Reign. So that he came to the Crown *Olymp. LXXIII, 1*. (g) *Diodor.* He had a Daughter *Demarete* that was married to *Gelon* Tyrant of *Syracuse* before *LXXV, 1*. Let *Theron* then be *XLII* Years old, when he entered upon his Government, which is an allowance scanty enough, since he had not the Crown by Succession, but obtain'd it by (h) Policy and Interest: and let his Daughter *Demarete* be xx Years

Years of Age at Olym. LXXV, and *Telemachus* XL, as before, when *Phalaris* was deposed. The collected number of Years is CX; which will carry *Phalaris's* Death as high as Olym. XLVII, 2.

Thus, we see, *Eusebius*, *Hierom*, *Syncellus*, *Orosius*, *Suidas*, *Pliny*, *Hippostratus*, and the *Scholiast* on *Pindar*, are all pretty well agreed in placing the time of *Phalaris's* Death above the LVIII Olympiad. And there will be occasion of adding several Remarks in Confirmation of their Testimony; as we examin the opinion of the learned Mr. *Dodwell*.

The Summ of his First (i) Argument for bringing *Phalaris* down so much lower, turns upon these Authorities.

“ *Phalaris* was Contemporary (k) with *Stesichorus*, and (l) survived him. But *Stesichorus* was alive (m) Olym. LXXIII, 3.

Where, without doubt, the Reader has already observed, that the principal part of the Argument, *Stesichorus's* surviving of *Phalaris*, is plainly begging the Question. For it has no Voucher but the Epistles of *Phalaris*, the very Book that's under debate. This particular then must be laid aside; and without it the whole Argument has no force at all. For *Stesichorus* might be alive Olym. LXXIII, 3. and yet be Contemporary with *Phalaris*, even by *Eusebius's* account. *Stesichorus* lived to be (n) LXXXV Years old. He might be XXI then at Olym. LVII, 3. the time of *Phalaris's* death according to *Eusebius*.

Nay the other Branches of this Argument are either for us, or at least not against us *Tzetzes*, (o) who says *Phalaris* lived in *Stesichorus* and *Pythagoras's* time, is a Witness of no credit

(i) *De Cyclis v. Diff.*  
5. sect. 10.

(k) *Aristot.*

*Jo Tzetzes.*

(l) *Phal Ep.*

(m) *Marini.*  
*Arund.*

(n) *Lucian.*  
*in Macrob.*

(o) *Ad Hes.*  
*sec. p. 3.*

in this particular; for as Mr. D. himself acknowledges, he had it from the *Epistles*, which he often cites in his *Chiliads*. And (p) *Aristotle's* Story of *Stesichorus's* Fable about the Horse and the Stag, when the *Himeræans* had made *Phalaris* their General, and were going to allow him a Guard, is a little to be suspected; because (q) *Conon*, a Writer in *Julius Cæsar's* time, gives us the very same Narrative, but instead of *Phalaris*, he says it was *Gelon*, that *Stesichorus* spoke of. And the circumstances of *Gelon's* History seem to countenance *Conon*. For *Gelon* was in great favour and esteem with the *Himeræans*. When their City was besieged by (r) *Diod xi.* *Himilco*, Olymp. LXXV, 1, (r) he came and p. 18. & 21. raised the Siege with a total Defeat of all the *Carthaginian* Forces. Upon which almost all the Cities of *Sicily*, even those that had opposed him before, came and made their Submission to him. *Stesichorus* then might say his Fable upon that occasion; or perhaps long before upon some other account. that we now know not of, before *Gelon* obtain'd the Government of *Syracuse*. If we suppose then, with the *Arundel* Marble, that *Stesichorus* lived Olymp. LXXIII, 3. it exactly agrees with the Age of *Gelon*, and *Conon's* account of the Story may seem more credible than *Aristotle's*. And then all the Argument, that would settle *Phalaris's* Age from the time of *Stesichorus*, will vanish into nothing.

But if any one will pay so much deference to the deserved Authority of *Aristotle*, as to believe the Story upon his word, I will not contest it with him. Let it be true then, that *Stesichorus* made this Speech upon *Phalaris*. So far is this from being a reason to bring *Phalaris* lower; that

that it rather ties and fastens him up to the Period of *Eusebius*. For *Suidas* says, *Stesichorus* was born Olymp. XXXVII, and died LVI, which makes him fourscore years of Age; and wants but five Years, of *Lucian's* reckoning. *Eusebius* places him higher still, for he says, he flourished Olymp. XLII, I. and died Olymp. LV, 1. All this is confirmed by another Passage of *Suidas*, where he says, (f) *Simonides* was μετὰ Σπείρχου (f) ὕστερον πῆς χεῖρας, after *Stesichorus's* time; as in another place, he says, (t) *Stesichorus* was after (t) τοῦ Ἰσχυροῦ Alcman's time. Now as *Alcman*, who flourished Olymp. XXVII, was dead when *Stesichorus* was born, Olymp. XXXVII. so *Stesichorus* died Olymp. LVI, the very time that *Simonides* was born according to *Suidas*. If we admit therefore of these Testimonies about *Stesichorus's* Age: and of *Aristotle's* Testimony about his Transaction with *Phalaris*, both together make a new Argument for the Period of *Eusebius*

(f) ὕστερον πῆς χεῖρας.  
(t) τοῦ Ἰσχυροῦ Ἰσχυροῦ ἦν νεότερος Ἀλκιμανός τῆς νεότητος. Suid. v.  
Cyril contra Jul. Ol. μὲν Σπείρχου ἐστὶν ἀείζειο.

But then the *Arundel* Marble lies cross in our way, that makes *Stesichorus* (u) come into Greece no sooner than Olymp LXXIII, 3. I have a great Veneration for that incomparable Monument; but I cannot but dissent from it in this particular, both upon the Authorities already produced, and for a reason that I will now propose, and submit to the Readers Judgment. *Simonides*, as I will shew immediately, was no less than LXXII Years old, Olymp. LXXIII, 3. the Year that *Stesichorus* came into Greece according to the Marble. And I think, that even *Stesichorus* himself can scarce be supposed older: for LXXII is a competent Age to undertake such a long Voyage. *Simonides* then, if the Marble say true, was as old as *Stesichorus*: but we have *Simonides's*

(u) ἄφ' ἧς Σπείρχου ὁ ποιητὴς εἰς τὸ Ἑλλάδα ἀφίκετο Μαρμ. Arund.

own word to the contrary, where he cites *Stesichorus* in company with *Homer*, as an ancient Author; (x) he is speaking of *Meleager*,

(z) *Apud Athenæum, lib. iv. p. 172.*

Ὅς δὲεῖ πάντας νίκασε νέεσ  
Δινάεντα βαλὼν Ἄναυρον ὑπὲρ  
Πολυβότρυος ἕξ Ἴωλκῆ,  
Οὔτω καὶ Ὀμηροῖσ' ἠδὲ Σπυρίχοισ' αἴεσε λαοῖσ.

That excell'd all the young Men in casting the Javelin, throwing it from Iolcus over the River Anaurus; as *Homer* and *Stesichorus* sung to the People. Now I appeal to any Man of Judgment and Acquaintance with the Writings of the Ancients; if he can think *Simonides* would speak thus of one of his Contemporary Lyrics. They were all Rivals and Enemies one to another.

(y) *Vid. Od. II. Olymp. & III Nem. & II. Isth.*

*Pindar* sometimes makes Reflections (y) upon *Bacchylides*, and this *Simonides* that we are speaking of; and 'tis always to their Disparagement.

(z) *Pind. 2. Isth. Callimachus apud Scholiast Athenæus, p. 656. Synes. Ep. 49. Suid. v. Σιμων.*

Much less then would *Simonides*'s covetous Humour, (z) that the Ancients tax him of, which made him envy all that intercepted any gain from him, have suffer'd him

to do honour to *Stesichorus*, in joyning him with *Homer*; had that *Himeræan* been then alive to have rivall'd him in his Trade. Perhaps it may be objected, that *Simonides*, though he was of a good Age at *Olymp. lxxiii, 3.* might not be an Author till afterwards; and so *Stesichorus* might be dead, before *Simonides* set up for a Poet. But (a) *Herodotus* gives an Answer to this, when he says, that *Simonides* made Odes upon *Eualcidas* of *Eretria* for his Victories at the Olympian or some of the other Games. For *Eualcidas*

(a) *Herod. lib. 102.*



*fidas* was \* kill'd just after the burning of *Sardes*, \* *Herod.*  
 which was Olymp. LXXIX. So that *Simonides* was *ibid.*  
 famed for his Poetry, for at least twenty Years,  
 before *Stesichorus* came into *Greece*, according  
 to the *Marble*.

It remains now, that I give an account of  
*Simonides's* Age. There are three Periods in the  
*Arundel Marble*, where *Simonides* is mention'd.

(1.) Olymp. LXXII, 4. *Simonides*,  
*the Grandfather of Simonides*  
*the Poet, a Poet too himself,*  
 . . . . . at *Athens*.

(2.) Olymp. LXXV, 2. *Simonides*,  
*the Son of Leoprepes, the*  
*Cean, that found the Art of Me-*  
*memory, got the Prize at Athens,*  
*as Teacher of a Chorus: when A-*  
*dimantus was Archon.*

(3.) Olymp. LXXVII, 4. *Simonides*  
*the Poet died, being 90*  
*years old, when Theagenides was*  
*Archon.*

(1.) Σιμωνίδης ὁ Σι-  
 μονίδου πατρὸς τοῦ ποιητῆ,  
 ποιητὴς αὖν καὶ . . . . .  
 νησι καὶ Δαρεῖος τελευτᾷ.

(2.) Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεω-  
 πρεπῆος, ὁ Κέιος, ὁ τὸ μνη-  
 μονικὸν εὗρων, ἐνίκησεν  
 Ἰθύνησιν διδασκων, ἀρ-  
 χοντος Ἰθύνησιν . . . . .  
 μάντου.

(3.) Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιη-  
 τὴς ἐτελεύτησεν βίης ἔτη  
 ἐνενήκοντα, ἀρχοντος Ἰθ-  
 ύνησιν Θεα . . . . . νίδου.

The learned (b) Editors of the *Marmoræ* have (b) *Vid. no-*  
 committed some mistakes in the Explication of *tas Seldeni*  
 these three Periods; but I think I have met *et Lydiati.*  
 with something, that will set the whole matter  
 right.

The Person in the second Period was our *Si-*  
*monides* the Lyric; who made an Epigram up-  
 on his own Victory, this very Victory here men-  
 tion'd, when *Adimantus* was Archon: 'Tis  
 extant in the (c) Scholiast on *Hermogenes*.

(c) P. 410.

Ἦρχε μὲν Ἀδείμαντος Ἀθηναίσις, ὅτ' ἐνίκη  
 Ἀνποχίς φυλὴν Δαιδαλέον τείποδα  
 Ἐι νορίαι δὲ πρὸς Ἀεισείδης ἐχρήχη

Πεν.

Πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν καλὰ μαθόντι χροῶ.  
 Ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίῃ ἢ Σιμωνίδῃ ἔσπετο κῆδος  
 Ὀυδωνονταῖται παιδὶ Λεωπρεπίου.

The Substance of it is this; *That in the year when Adimantus was Archon at Athens, the Chorus of the Tribe Antiochis got the Prize, Aristides being the Furnisher of it, and Simonides the Son of Leoprepes, the Teacher, who was then 80 years old.* 'Tis as plain, I think, as the Sun at Noon-day, that the Marble and the Epigram speak of the same Victory. And we have it here from *Simonides's* own mouth, that the 80th Year of his Age falls in with Olymp. LXXV, 3. in *Adimantus's* Government. And of this same

(d) *Val. Max. VIII, 7.*  
*Simonides poeta octogesimo*  
*anno & docuisse se carmina,*  
*& in eorum certamen de-*  
*scendisse ipse gloriatur.*

Victory and Epigram, the words of (d) *Valerius Maximus* are to be understood; *Simonides*, says he, *HIMSELF* glories, that he was Teacher of a Chorus in the LXXXth year of his Age. And for

those other words of the Marble, ὁ τὸ Μνημονικὸν εὐρῶν, who invented the Art of Memory, *Simonides* himself is the best Commentator. For in this very year he made an Epigram in Commendation of his Memory;

(e) *Arist.*  
*Orat. Tom.*  
 3. P. 645.

(e) Μνήμη δ' ἔπνα φημί Σιμωνίδῃ ἰσοφαιζειν  
 Ὀυδωνονταῖται παιδὶ Λεωπρεπίου.

*No body*, says he *has a Memory like to Simonides, who am 80 years of Age, the Son of Leoprepes.*

And now that we have establish'd this point, 'tis an easie matter to explain the third Period in the Marble; which belongs to the same *Simonides*.

des. For he was 80 years old Olymp. LXXV, 3. and, says the Marble, Olymp. LXXVII, 4. Simonides died at 90. Now the Interval between those two Olympiads is ix compleat Years, and inclusively x. And with this the Testimonies of (f) *Suidas* and *Aristophanes's* Scholiast exactly agree. *Simonides*, say they, lived 89 years, and died Olymp. LXXX. They were 89 compleat years, and he had just enter'd upon the (g) 90th. And what the Marble puts at Olymp. LXXVII, 4. *Suidas* with *Diodorus* and others, puts at LXXX, 1. For the *Archontes* in the Marble are all along one year before the Accounts of other Chronologers.

(f) *Suid. v. Σιμων. Schol Aristoph. Vesp. p. 362.*  
 (g) *Lucian says, above 90. τὰ ἐνεύκοντα. in Macrob.*

And then the first Period in the Marble will have little of difficulty, since both the others are settled. The *Simonides* there mention'd, was Grandfather to him that we have been speaking of. The Pedegree lies thus.

*Simonides.*

*Leoprepes.*

*Simonides.*

'Tis a known thing, that among the ancient *Greeks* the name of the Grandfather was commonly given to the Nephew, according to that of the Poet (h),

(h) *Aristoph. Aves. p. 379.*

Ἰσπώνικος Καλλίην, καὶ Ἰσπώνικη Καλλιᾶς.

Now suppose this *Simonides* was no more than xl years old, when his Nephew was born; at this Olympiad in the Marble, LXXII, 4, he must be cix. So that I would fill up the gap in the Inscription thus; πενήτης ὦν ἢ αὐτὸς τελευτᾷ Ἀθήνησιν. *Simonides the Poet DIED at Athens.* For what else can he be mention'd here for, at that exceeding old age? Now

Now to sum up our Argument about *Stesichorus*; If *Simonides* was LXXX years old at Olymp. LXXV, 3. as we have proved beyond all Contradiction; he must then have been LXXII years of age at Olymp. LXXIII, 3. the year that *Stesichorus* took his Voyage into Greece, according to the Marble. And this was the thing that I undertook to prove; and I conceive, that the whole is a clear and convincing evidence, that *Stesichorus's* Age was much earlier than the Marble has placed it.

But however, if any one will still be so obstinate, as to prefer the sole Authority of the Marble before all the other proofs that we have produced against it; he will take a most effectual and compendious way to ruin the credit of *Phalaris's* Epistles. For, in short, if the date of *Stesichorus's* Age be true in the Marble, the Epistles are certainly false. For if *Stesichorus* was alive Olymp. LXXIII, 3. the pretended *Phalaris* was then in the Throne; because he speaks of *Stesichorus's* death (i) in several places. But two whole years before that time, Olymp. LXXIII, 1. as (k) *Diodorus* assures us, there was another Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, *Theron* the Son of *Anestidamus*: And two years more before that, his Brother *Xenocrates*, living in the same City, (l) won the Victory at the XXIV Pythiad, which is coincident with Olymp. LXXII, 3. And if any body can think he put in at that Prize with his Chariot, while *Phalaris* was Tyrant; I wish him joy of his opinion.

The very learned Mr. (m) *Dodwell*, being sensible that *Phalaris* could not be alive LXXIII, 3. because *Theron* was then in the Throne; sets both his and *Stesichorus's* Death IV years before that

(i) Ep 15, 31.  
33, 54, 103.

(k) Diod. p.  
39.

(l) Pindar.  
Schol. ad  
6. Pyth. &  
2. Isth.

(m) De Cy-  
clis vet. p.  
261.

that time, Olymp. LXXII, 3. and so leaves *Theron* the space of two years to make his way to the Crown, Olymp. LXXIII, I. But it seems he was not aware (*n*) of the Scholiast on *Pindar*, who (*n*) See a- from a good Author *Hippostratus*, himself too *bove*, p. 34. a good Author, makes not *Theron*, but his Great Grand-father *Telemachus* to be one of *Phalaris's* Deposers. Neither was *Theron* the next Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, immediately after *Phalaris*, as Mr. *D.* here supposes: but first there was one (*o*) *Alcarnenes*, and after him one *Alcander*, who had a very prosperous Reign. But besides this, why must *Stesichorus* die at Olymp. LXXII, 3? Either let us follow the Marble, or let it alone. If we reject the Authority of the Marble, *Stesichorus* must be supposed to die about Olymp. LVI, as the other Authors affirm: if we adhere to it, then he lived till Olymp. LXXIII, 3. after *Phalaris's* death. And 'tis observable, that the Marble does not say, *he died* Olymp. LXXIII, 3. but *ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα*, *he then went into Greece*; as *Gorgias* and other *Sicilians* did, to get Money and Fame. So that he might survive that Period many years according to the Marble; which is still a further Confutation of *Phalaris's* Epistles. Yet Mr. *D.* first interprets the Marble, as if that was said to be the last year of *Stesichorus's* Life; and then for the sake of the Epistles, without any other Author to warrant him, he cuts that Life 14 years shorter.

(o) *Heraclides Ponticus de Politicis.* Μετὰ τὸ Φάλαειν Ἀλκαμίνης παρέλαβε τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ μετὰ τὸν Ἀλκάνδρου πρέσβη ἀνὴρ ἐπεικὴς καὶ εὐδένησαν ἕτως, ὡς περιπύρεα ἔχεν ἰμάτια.

The *Second* Argument, that Mr. *Dodwell* brings to establish his new opinion about *Phalaris's*

*laris's* Age, may be summ'd up in this form.

“ *Pythagoras* was at *Agrigentum* at the time  
 “ of *Phalaris's* Death, and was the principal  
 “ occasion of it. But *Pythagoras* was never in  
 “ *Sicily*, till after the *Pythagorean* College at  
 “ *Crotona* was burnt by *Cylon*, which was Olymp.  
 “ LXXII, 2. *Phalaris* therefore was not dead be-  
 “ fore that Olympiad.

I am very sorry to differ from this learned Man's Judgment in a point of Chronology; where he is so great a Master. But having examin'd the whole Story of *Pythagoras* as carefully as I can, I am quite of another opinion in every part of this Argument. For I think it more probable, that *Pythagoras* had no concern in the deposing of *Phalaris*; and that he was in *Sicily*, before *Cylon's* Conspiracy; and that the time of that Conspiracy was before Olymp. LXXII.

The chief Actor in deposing *Phalaris* was *Telemachus* an Ancestor of *Theron's*; as we have seen already in the Scholiast of *Pindar*. And the thing was done four Generations, before ever *Pythagoras* set foot in *Sicily*, in Mr. D's way of reckoning. *Jamblichus* is the first and only Man, that gives *Pythagoras* any share in that Action. *Laertius* and *Porphyry*, who have written the Life of our Philosopher, have not one word of it. And how could they omit such a singular thing, had they known it? or where could *Jamblichus*, that came after them, and did little else but pillage their Writings, discover this new piece of History? 'Tis observable, that he cites no Author for it; which he ought to have done, if he could; because this was one of the greatest strokes in his whole Narrative, and was a thing unsaid before. *Porphyry* indeed says;

(p) *W hen*

(p) When Pythagoras came to Italy and Sicily, he restor'd several Cities there to their Liberty; Crotona, Sybaris, Catana, Rhegium, Himera, AGRIGENTUM, Tauromenium and others. And \* Lucian, whether in jest or earnest, makes Phalaris brag of Pythagoras's Company. These two Passages, perhaps, were the sole Foundation of Jamblichus's story. For if Pythagoras conversed with Phalaris, and delivered Agrigentum out of Slavery; here was a fair occasion offer'd to Jamblichus, to put both ends together, and dress up his Legend.

(p) Porph. vit. Pyth. p. 189.

\* Luc. in. Phal. 1.

But if we should allow Jamblichus's story for a Truth; we need no other Argument against Mr. D. but the very story it self, to prove the Epistles a Cheat. For the Epistles make the Tyrant and the Philosopher to be very good Friends, (q) and have five Months pleasant Conversation together; and the Tyrant talks of Providence, like any Pythagorean; (r) While the governing Providence, says he, preserves the same System of the World. But

(q) Ep. 74. Πέμνητον ἡ-  
δε μῆνα συνεινας μεθ' ἡ-  
δονῆς.

(r) Ep. 104. Ἔως ἂν ὁ  
διοικῶσα πρόνοια τὸ αὐτῶν  
ἀρμονίαν τῶ κόσμου φυ-  
λάτῃη.

Jamblichus's Phalaris is the very reverse of this.

(f) He is all Fury and Blasphemy, a rank Atheist, he reviles and contemns the Gods, he denies Prophecy, and Providence; he contrives Pythagoras's Death, and Pythagoras effects his. How can these two stories hang together? If Jamblichus's Account be true, the Epistles must be false. I must own, it's beyond my little Understanding, to reconcile them; let others attempt it.

(f) Jambli. p. 134, 5, 6.

And again, this same story of Jamblichus plainly proves against Mr. D. that Pythagoras was

was

was in *Sicily* before Olymp. LXXII, 2. *Jamblichus* indeed says nothing about the time, when *Pythagoras* deposed *Phalaris*: But since he brings in (t) *Abaris* the *Hyperborean* in company with *Pythagoras* at the time of the Action; we are assured by that Circumstance, that the Date must be much earlier, than Mr. D. has placed it. The time when *Abaris* came into *Greece*, is very variously told; (u) some put it at Olymp. III, others at XXI, others much lower: which very Diversity is a good Argument, that he came not so late, as Mr. D. sets him, when Chronology was pretty certain. But there is

(t) *Jambl.*  
*ibidem.*

(u) *Harpocrat.* &  
*Suidas, v.*  
*Αβαεις.*

(x) *Harpoc.* 'Ο ὃ Πίν-  
δαρος καὶ Κρόισον ἔ-  
λυσε βασιλέα φησὶν Ἀβαειν  
ἠδ' ἀγνώστου.

(y) *Pindar*  
born Ol.  
65. for-  
ty years  
old at *Xerxes's* Expe-  
dition, Ol.  
75, 1. *Suid.*

(z) *De Cy-  
clis ver.*  
p. 26.

one (x) Authority beyond Exception. *Pindar* says, He came in *Cræsus's* time; who was conquer'd by *Cyrus* Olymp. LIX. And

with him *Eusebius* and *Syncellus* agree; both of them placing him about the Reign of *Cræsus*.

Now *Pindar* himself was (y) xxx years old at that very year, Olymp. LXXII, 2. when Mr. D. makes *Abaris* to have been in *Greece*. But if *Abaris* had been truly there at that time, surely *Pindar* at 30 years of Age would have had better Information; and not have cast him back to the Reign of *Cræsus* above 50 years before.

If we admit then of *Jamblichus's* Narrative, we must place the time much higher, than Mr. *Dodwell* has done. The only reason that Mr. D.

has for it is this, (z) That *Pythagoras* did not go into *Sicily*, till after *Cylon's* Conspiracy.

Which, with submission, I think is a very precarious Assertion. 'Tis true he did not leave *Italy* for good and all till that time; but what forbids us to suppose, he might make now and then a short Voyage into *Sicily*? Why *Justin*

says,



says, (a) He came to Crotona, and continued there for twenty years. But this imports no more, than that generally and for the main he resided at Crotona: 'tis not to be so rigidly taken, as if he had never went out of Town. For he was frequently at (b) Metapontium, and Tarentum, and the neighbouring Cities: why may we not then as well suppose him to have stept into Sicily? Porphyry and Jamblichus talk of his Journeys in Sicily, long before they say a word of Cylon's Conspiracy. Nay, we have the express Testimonies of them both, that he was in Sicily before that time. For they say, (d) He was present the same day both at Tauromenium in Sicily, and Metapontium in Italy, at the meetings of his Scholars. But 'tis agreed by all, that he had no Society of Scholars at Metapontium, or any where in Italy, after that Villainy of Cylon; almost all his Followers being burnt or killed then, except Archippus and Lysis.

Neither can I assent to Mr. D's Opinion, when he places that Conspiracy of Cylon at Olymp. LXXII, 2. This has no express Authority in History, nor any other foundation, than Mr. Dodwell's Calculations from some Periods of Pythagoras's Life. And since I differ from his opinion in stating those Periods, in consequence I must dissent too about the time of Cylon's Treachery. But because this Controversie cannot be well managed without giving a whole View of Pythagoras's Life, I will here present the Reader with a Table of it, which shall comprehend the various accounts of the ancient Chronologers. To which I shall subjoyn some Annotations, to shew the Reasons and Authorities for assigning every Period. 'Tis a subject that deserves our nicest Examination;

E

and

(a) Justin.  
xx, 5. cum  
annis xx  
Crotonæ  
egisset.

(b) Livy  
I. 18. Por-  
phyr p. 189

(c) Porph.  
189 Jamb.  
46.

(d) Porph.  
192. Jamb.  
128. Καὶ  
διελέχθησαν  
κοινῇ τοῖς  
ἐπατήρωσι  
ἐταβείσι.

and though I shall determin nothing my self, I may give an occasion to others of bringing it to a Certainty.

*Olympiads. Years of Pythag.*

43.	4.	1.	<i>Pythagoras</i> born.
48.	1.	18.	Won the Prize at <i>Olympia</i> , Ol. 48, 1. <i>Eratosth. Phavor. Lucian, S. Augustin.</i>
49.	2.	23.	<i>Pythagoras</i> at Man's Age. <i>Antilochus.</i>
53.	3.	40.	<i>Pyth.</i> 40 Years old went to <i>Italy. Aristoxenus.</i>
	4.	41.	<i>Pyth.</i> in <i>Italy</i> after Ol. 50. <i>Dion. Halicarn.</i>
54.	1.	42.	<i>Pyth.</i> famous Ol. 54, 1. <i>Chron. Alexand.</i>
58.	2.	59.	<i>Pyth.</i> went to <i>Italy</i> about 60 years old. <i>Famb.</i>
60.	1.	66.	<i>Pyth.</i> flourished Olymp. 60. <i>Laert.</i>
61.	1.	70.	<i>Pyth.</i> famous Olymp. 61. <i>Diodorus.</i>
	4.	73.	<i>Pyth.</i> came to <i>Italy</i> , in the Reign of <i>Superbus</i> ( <i>i. e.</i> from Olymp. 61, 4. to 67, 4.) <i>Cicero.</i>
62.	1.	74.	<i>Pyth.</i> Ol 62. went to <i>Italy.</i> <i>famblich.</i>
	2.	75.	<i>Pyth.</i> famous Ol. 62. <i>Cle-</i> <i>mens. Cyril. Euseb. Ta-</i> <i>tian.</i>
63.	3.	80.	<i>Pyth.</i> died 80 years old. <i>He-</i> <i>raclides.</i>
64.	1.	82.	<i>Pyth.</i> taken Captive by <i>Car-</i> <i>byses</i>

Olympiad. Years of Pythag.

			byzes in Egypt, Olymp. 64, 1. <i>Jamb. Syncellus.</i>
66.	1.	90.	<i>Pyth. died at 90. Laertius.</i>
67.	2.	95.	<i>Pyth. died at 95. Syncellus.</i>
			{ <i>Pyth. went for Italy, when</i> <i>Brutus was Consul, i. e.</i> <i>Olymp. 68, 1. Solinus.</i>
68.	1.	98.	{ <i>Pyth. in Italy when Bru-</i> <i>tus was Consul, Cicero.</i> <i>Pyth. at Crotona, when Sy-</i> <i>baris was taken, Olymp.</i> <i>68, 1. Diod. Jamb.</i>
	2.	99.	<i>Pyth. died at 99. Tzetzes.</i>
			<i>Pyth. died near 100. Jamb.</i>
	3.	100.	{ <i>Pyth. died Olymp. 68,</i>
	4.	101.	{ 3 Some MS of <i>Euseb.</i>
			{ others 68, 4.
69.	3.	104.	<i>Pyth. died at 104. Incertus</i> <i>apud Photium.</i>
70.	4.	109.	<i>Pyth. died Olymp. 70, 4.</i> <i>Eusebius vulgat.</i>
72.	4.	117.	<i>Pyth. died, aged 117, Au-</i> <i>thor de Med. par. fac.</i>

I. The Reason for assigning Pythagoras's Birth to Olymp. XLIII, 4. is taken from the next Period, his Victory at the Olympian Games, Olymp. XLVIII. for he was then ἑξήνβος, 17 years of Age; his 18th year commencing with Olymp. XLVIII. Eratosthenes, a very great Man, that wrote a Chronology of the Victors at Olympia, says, (e) Pythagoras Olymp. XLVIII offered himself at the Boys Match to fight at Cuffs; but being voted by the

(e) Ἐξήνβος δὲ φησὶ  
ἦν πρῶτον ἐπέ-  
χθω; πικτεύσαντα ὄντι  
πρὸς ὀυδὸν καὶ πηλαγ-  
Judges

κοῦς ὀλυμπιάδος, κομη-  
την, κὶ ἀλεγειῖα φοβῆντα  
ἐκκειθῆναι τε ἐν τῷ παί-  
δων, κὶ χλευαδέντα, αὐ-  
τίκα προσβῆναι τὸς ἀν-  
δρας κὶ νικῆσαι. Laert.  
in Pythag.

(f) Πυθαγόρας Σά-  
μιος ἐκκεῖθι παίδων  
πυγμῶν, κὶ ὡς θῆλυς  
χλευαζόμενος, προσβῆς εἰς  
τὸς ἀνδρας, ἄπειντας  
ἔξῃς ἐνίκησε. Apud Sca-  
ligeri Euseb. p. 40.

(g) Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σά-  
μιος ὀλύμπια ἀθλήσων,  
ἐξεκείθι παίδων πυγμῶν,  
[κὶ χλευαδοῦς] ὡς ἀπα-  
λὸς, προσβῆς εἰς τὸς ἀν-  
δρας ἐνίκα κτ' ἴν να. ο-  
λυμπιάδα. Syncellus, p.  
239.

last Editor, is no other than that of *Eratosthe-  
nes* before. *Pausanias* has a like account of one

(h) Paus. Eliac II. p.  
191. Ἄλλος ὁ Ῥόδιος  
ἄγχιον ὄντι τῶς δεκά ἔτεσι  
γερονῶς, μὴ παλαίσει αὐτὸ  
ἐν παισὶν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ἀ-  
πιδάθῃ, ἀνηγορεύθῃ ἢ ἐν  
ἀνδράσι, ὡσπερ γὰρ κὶ ἐνι-  
κήσῃ.

πυγμῶν at Cuffing. And from this last instance it  
appears, that the Age of xviii was above the  
Match for Boys. The allowed time seems to  
be xvi, the year when they were called *Ephe-  
bi*.

But 'tis not agreed among the Ancients, that  
this *Pythagoras* was he, that afterwards was the  
Philoso-

*Judges to be above a Boy's Age,  
and laugh'd at as a Coward for  
putting himself among Boys, he  
presently offer'd himself at the  
Match for Men, and beat them eve-  
ry one.* The (f) Catalogue of the  
*Stadionice* says the very same  
thing, at Olymp. XLVIII. So that,  
there can be no mistake in the  
number: though *Georgius Syn-  
cellus*, who tells the same Story,  
(g) sets the time of it at Olymp.  
LI. But his Copy may have  
been corrupted, which could not  
possibly happen in the other case.  
The true reading of that Passage  
of *Syncellus* I have given in the  
Margin; and the meaning of it,  
which is much mistaken by his

(h) *Hyllus* a Rhodian, that would  
have wrestled among the Boys; but  
being excluded by the Judges, be-  
cause we was 18 years old, he pre-  
sently wrestled with the Men, and  
carried the Victory. This *Hyllus*  
did the very same thing, πάλῃ at  
*Wrestling*, that *Pythagoras* did

Philosopher. *Hesychius* says, (i) They mistake that say so. And an (k) Epigram calls this *Pythagoras*, the Son of *Crates*; but the others Father was *Mnesarchus*. Yet *Eratosthenes*, a very accurate Author, believed he was the same. And

so probably did *Favorinus*, another great Man, (l) who cited *Eratosthenes*. (m) *Lucian* too was of this opinion, and \* *St. Augustin*. And the Epigram, that *Theætetus* made upon this *Pythagoras*, exactly fits the Philosopher,

Πυθαγόρην πινά, Πυθαγόρην, ὦ ξεῖνε,  
κομίτην, &c.

*Samium--ex athleta in Philosophum vertit.*

For the Philosopher wore his Hair long, which is the meaning of *κομίτης*. So that even *Jamblichus*, who applies the Proverb, (n) ἐν Σάμῳ (n) *Jambli. κομίτης*, to *Pythagoras* the Philosopher, may be added as another Authority for settling this Period; though it be against his own Computations.

But perhaps it may be thought improbable, that a Man, that was bred up to Fighting, should turn himself to the Study of Philosophy. For it was a common Observation, that the Gamesters at those Exercises were very stupid and thick-skull'd Fellows. But however there are several Examples, that may warrant this story of *Pythagoras*. *Cleanthes* the Stoic Philosopher, when he was young, was (p) a Fighter at Cuffs, πύκτις, just as *Pythagoras* was. And his Scholar *Chrysisippus*, the acutest of all the Stoicks, was (q) at first a Racer, (r) even *Plato* himself was a Wrestler παλαιστής at the

(l) Ἐξαρπείνης εἰσι, καὶ δὲ καὶ Φαβρωέως ἐν τῇ ὀργῶν παντοδαπῆς Ἰσχυρίας ἀπιδεταί. *Laert. in Pythag.*

(m) *Luc. in Gallo* Ἀθλητῆ ποτε γενουμένῳ, καὶ ὀλύμπια ἐκ ἀφανῶς ἀγωνισαμένῳ

\* *Augustin Tom. 2. Ep. 3. Pherecydes-- Pythagorain*

(o) Ὁ δ' ἄθληται ἀναίδητοι.

(p) *Laert. in Cleanthe* ἐν *Suidas.*

(q) *Laert. in Chrysisipp.*

(r) *Laert. in Platone,*

*Apuleius, Cyrillus.*

- Isthmian and Pythian Games. And so was *Lyccon* of *Troas*, a Peripatetic, at the *Ilian*. (f) Δια ταῦτα δέ, says *Laertius*, κὶ παλαῖσαι λέγεται πάτε ἐν τῇ πατείδι Ἰλεια, κὶ σφαιεῖσαι. Where instead of Ἰλεια I would rather read it Ἰλίου; that is the *Ilian* Games, from *Ilium*; (t) as Ἐφεσῖα from *Ephesus*. So *Athenæus* \* lib. 8. Πυθαγόριος ὁ Στρατῆρικός ὁ κιδασωδὴς ἢ σοφιστὴν Σάτυρον ὀπιδιμεῖν ἐν τοῖς Ἰλίοις, Ἀεὶ, ἔφησεν, Ἰλίω κακία. There is nothing then so very unlikely in this story of *Pythagoras*. And the Description they have given us of his Person makes the account the more probable; for he was a (u) lusty, proper Man; and built as it were to make a good Boxer. Besides that they add, that this young *Pythagoras* was the first that boxed ἐντέχνως according to *Art*: which shews a promising Genius, and agrees with the Character of the Philosopher; who, as (x) *Favorinus* and *Porphyrus* say, so instructed one *Eurymenes* in his Exercises, that he won the Prize at *Olympia*.
- (f) *Laert.*  
in *Lycone*.
- (t) See  
*Ματθον*  
*Arundel.*  
p. 350.
- (u) *Porph.*  
p. 188.  
Τὴν τε γὰρ  
ἰδέαν ἔλεν-  
δεῖον κὶ  
μέγαν.
- (x) *Laert.*  
in *Pythag*  
*Porph.*  
p. 186.

II. The next Period in the Table is *Olymp XLIX, 2.* from which an ancient Writer *Antiochus*, or rather *Antiochus*, dates *Pythagoras's* ἡλικία. They are the words of

(y) *Strom.* 1. p. 133.  
Ἀντίλοχος, ὁ τὸς Ἰσορῆς  
παραγματούσιμος, ἀπὸ  
τῆς Πυθαγόρου ἡλικίας  
ὅτι τὴν Ἐπικύρου τελευτήν,  
ἔτη φέρει τὰ πάντα τρια-  
κόσια δώδεκα.

(y) *Clemens Alexandrinus*: *Antiochus*, that wrote the Book, called Ἰσορῆς, reckons 312 years from *Pythagoras's* ἡλικία to the death of *Epicurus*. Now it's agreed that *Epicurus* died *Olymp. cxxvii, 2.* when *Pytharatus* was Archon.

Reckon therefore backwards 312 years, and the ἡλικία of *Pythagoras* falls upon *Olymp. XLIX, 2.* But what's the meaning of ἡλικία? The very learned

learned Mr. Dodwell interprets it, (z) *The Nativity of Pythagoras*; and to accommodate the passage to his own Calculations, for δώδεκα he reads, δέοντος ενός, that is, 299, for 312. I am afraid the world will not allow us such a Liberty in our Corrections, as for δώδεκα to put δέοντος ενός, where but one Letter is the same; and not one, if you write δώδεκα in Numerals, ιϷ. But I suppose he will not insist on this Emendation; if it appear, that ἡλικία does not signify *Nativity*: for then the Emendation will not agree with his Accounts, any more than the vulgar Reading does.

Let us examin then, what the word ἡλικία means in other Passages of *Clement*. (a) *The years*, says he, from Moses to Solomon's ἡλικία are 610. The particulars of his Account are these;

Moses's Life	—————	120	Years.
Thence to David's Ac- cession to the Throne	—————	450	
David's Reign	—————	40	

610

By which it evidently appears, that the ἡλικία of Solomon is not meant of his *Nativity*, but of the beginning of his Keign, when he was (b) 23 years of Age.

In another place he says; (c) E. saiah, Hosea and Micah lived after the ἡλικία of Lycurgus. And he proves it in this manner;

(z) De Cyclis Vet. p. 147. *Fieri tamen potest, ut scripserit Antiochus; τριακόσια δέοντος ενός. Exinde Librarius, si primam litteram duntaxat, manifestam habuerit, facillimo errore δώδεκα reposuerit. Sic omnia rectissime procedent.*

(a) Strom. p. 140 edit. Commelini. *Γίνονται ἀπὸ Μωϋσεως ὅτι τὴν Σολομωντος ἡλικίαν ἔτη τὰ πάσι ταῖς ἑξακόσια δέκα.*

(b) See Petav. in C'

(c) Ib p 141 *ν-  
ται ὃ ἔτοι μετὰ τὴν Λυ-  
κέργου ἡλικίαν ἔγεναι.  
— Ἡσαίας δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς  
Σολομωντος διακοσίου ἔ-  
τει. correct it τριακοπε-  
σῶν*

\* Τὴν ἀκμὴν Λυκούργου. Clem. *ibid.*

From the Destruction of Troy }  
\* to the ἀκμὴ of *Lycurgus* — } 290 Years.

From Solomon, in whose Reign }  
Troy was taken, to the time } 300  
of those Prophets ———— }

’Tis manifest here, that ἡλικία and ἀκμὴ are put as synonymous words to signify the same thing; Youth, or *middle Age, the Flower of one’s Age.*

(d) *ib p. 141.* Ἐρωτοσθένους μετὰ τὸ ἑκατοσὺν ἔτος τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλάσεως τὴν Ὀμήρου ἡλικίαν φέρεται.

(e) *Tatian. p. 288. Ed. Gesneri.*

(f) *Plutarch in V. Homeri. p. 47.* γενέσθαι δ’ αὐτὸν φασὶ τοῖς χρόνοις, οἱ μὲν χεῖρ ἢ Τρωϊκὸν πόλεμον ἔχει αὐτὴν γενέσθαι οἱ δὲ, μετὰ ἑκατ’ ἔτη τῷ πολέμῳ.

*Eratosthenes, says (d) Clemens, places the ἡλικία of Homer a hundred years after the taking of Troy.*

That in this place also ἡλικία means ἀκμὴ, we may understand several ways. *Crates, says (e) Tatian, "Ὀμηρον ἡλικιέναι φησι, says Homer FLOURISHED within 80 years after the taking of Troy; but Eratosthenes says, after 100.*

(f) *Some, says Plutarch, affirms that Homer lived at the time of the Trojan War, and was an Eye-witness of it; others, that he li-*

*ved 100 years after it. The word is here γενέσθαι, not born, but lived; as FUIT is in Latin Writers. For if it signified, was born at the time of that War, he could not have been an Eye-witness of it; for it lasted but 10 years, and he had been a Child when it ended.*

Thus we see all along in *Clement, ἡλικία* is taken for the *flourishing Age*; and so it is generally in other Writers.

(g) *Id p. 47.* So in *vita Lycurgi* And so *Xenoph.* ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενοι, come at Age; So οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, Young Men, those arrived at the Age of Man, *Thucyd. Aeschines.*

(g) *Plutarch in the Life of Homer, after he had spoken of his Childhood, γενόμενος δ’ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, but when he was come at Age, says he, and had already a Reputation for Poetry. I do not believe there*



is any example, that ἡλικία means *Nativity*. When *Clemens* would express the time of one's *Birth*, he does not say ἡλικία, but γένεσις. (h) Ἄπο (h) P. 145. τῆς Μωϋσεως γενέσεως and (i) εἰς ὀπίδειξιν τῆς τῶ (i) P. 146. Σωτῆρος γενέσεως. So that upon the whole there is no question, but the ἡλικία of *Pythagoras*, in the Passage we are speaking of, means the *Flower of his Age*. In the Table, it falls upon his xxiii year; and this exactly agrees with *Solomon's Age*, when he began his *Reign*; which *Clemens*, as above, calls his ἡλικία. But *Pythagoras* himself had a peculiar way of distinguishing the Age of a Man's Life. He divided it into four Twenties; (k) *A Boy twenty; a Youth twenty, a Man twenty, and an old Man twenty.* And *Antiloebus* perhaps might have a respect to this Doctrine, when he put his ἡλικία at Ol. XLIX, 2 For it's not improbable, that he took his measure from Ol. XLVIII, 1. when *Pythagoras* got the *Victory at Olympia*. And if he supposed him to be but xvi years old at that time, which was the legitimate Age for Boys Exercises; his Account then proceeds exactly from the xxth year of *Pythagoras*. The Reader, if he pleases, may follow this reckoning; and place the *Nativity of Pythagoras* at Ol. XLIV, 2. But I rather chose in the Table to set it a little higher for the Reasons given above.

(k) *Lact. in Pythag.*  
 Παῖς εἴκοσι ἔτα, νενησ-  
 κος εἴκοσι, νενησίας εἴκοσι,  
 γέρον εἴκοσι.

III. The next Portion of his Life, according to his own Distribution, from his xxth year to the xith, was spent in Study and Travelling. While he was (l) young, he was Scholar to *Thales*, and *Bias*, and *Pbercydes*, and *Epimenides*,

(l) Νέος ὡν ὀπεδύμα-  
 σε, *Lact. Νεολίας γενό-  
 μενος, Πορρήγρ.* "Ἐπ' ἔρη-  
 and

ἔτος ἄν. Κομισθὴ π νέος  
 ἔπ ὑπάρχων. Περὶ ὀκ-  
 τωχαιδέατον μάλιστα ἔ-  
 τος γέρονός, *Jamb.*

(m) *Laert. in Pherecyde.*  
*Eusebius edit. Pontaci.*  
 Some Copies of *Laertius*  
 have Olymp. xlvii. And  
 so has *Eusebius* of *Scaliger's*  
 Edition.

(n) *Suid. V. Ἐπιμενί-  
 δης.*

and *Hermodamas*. Indeed when  
 he conversed with *Epimenides*, he  
 must needs be very young; for  
*Epimenides* died μετ' ἑ πολὺ, not  
 long after Olymp. (m) XLVI, when  
 he had expiated *Athens* from the  
 Murder of *Cylon*. (n) *Suidas*  
 places that Expiation at Olymp.  
 XLIV; but 'tis probable μδ' may  
 be a fault of the Writer, instead  
 of με or μζ. And that he died not

long after it, *Suidas* seems to confirm; for he  
 says, he was then old, γνεσίος. *Plato* indeed  
 makes him to have come to *Athens*, Olymp.  
 LXX, 1. But that great Man did not tie him-  
 self in his Discourses to Exactness of Time,

as I shall shew at large hereafter. His words  
 are, (o) *Epimenides* came to you (to *Athens*) ten  
 years, πρὸς ἄρ' Περσικῶν, before the *Persian* Affairs;  
 and the *Athenians* being then afraid of an Expe-  
 dition from *Persia*, κοβυαίνων ἃ Περσικὸν εἶλον, he  
 told them, it would be ten years before they came,  
 and then they should be beaten. He means the  
 Battle at *Marathon*, which was Olymp. LXXII, 3.

'Tis true (p) *Aldobrandinus* makes *Plato* agree  
 with *Laertius*. For he interprets him, of the  
*Persian* Expedition into *Lydia*, when *Cyrus* took  
*Sardes*. But why should the *Athenians* be afraid

of that into *Lydia*? *Plato* himself in another place  
 declares his own meaning (q) *Ten* years, says he,  
 before the Sea-fight at *Salamis*, came *Datis*, Περ-  
 σικὸν εἶλον ἄγων, with the *Persian* Forces. As  
 for our *Philosopher's* other Masters, *Thales* and

(r) *Laert. Pherecydes*, the (r) first was born Ol. xxxv. 1.  
 and died above 90 years old, Olymp. LVIII. The  
 latter is supposed to have died about Ol. LIX :  
 and

and being then (f) 85 years of Age, he must have (f) *Lucian* been born about Olymp. xxxvii, 4. So that *Thales* in *Macrob.* was in his xxxvth year, and *Pherecydes* in his xxvth, at the Birth of *Pythagoras*.

IV. In the xlth year of his Life, our Philosopher went to *Italy* (t). When he was xl years old, says *Aristoxenus*, and was uneasy under *Polycrates's* Tyranny, he made his Voyage for *Italy*. This year of his Life falls in with Olymp. liii, 3. according to our Table. But at what Period *Aristoxenus* himself placed the Birth of *Pythagoras*, we cannot be certain. There are some Reasons, that make us doubt, whether he set that Period as high as *Eratosthenes* did, whom we follow in the Table. And there are other Considerations, that seem to make it probable, that these two great Persons were both of one opinion. I'll represent the case on both sides, and leave the Determination to the Judgment of the Reader.

(t) *Porphyr* p. 184 Γενερότα δ' ἐστὶ Πυθαγόρα, φησὶν δ' Ἀριστοξένος, καὶ ὄροντα τὴν Πολυκράτους Πυραυίδα. συντηωτέραν ἔσαν, &c.

*Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, a very accurate Writer, seems to countenance that *Epocha*, that is set in the Table. (u) *Pythagoras*, says he, after the lth Olympiad lived in *Italy*. If after the lth; then the liii, 3. may possibly be the very year that *Dionysius* meant. But the learned (x) *Hen. Valesius* suspects the reading to be false; and for l he corrects lx; because several Writers, and especially Ecclesiastical, have set his Time about Ol. lx,

(u) *Dionys* Hal. lib 2. p. 120. Ὁ μὲν Νομάς ἐπὶ τῇ ἑκαταδελφίᾳ ὀλ. μεσσοῦσις (he says before, ἐν αὐτῷ τεύτῳ τῇ 15 ὀλυμπ.) τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε. Πυθαγόρας δ' μετὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα διέτριβεν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ.

(x) *Valesius* not. ad excerpta, p. 41.

and

and LXII. But the whole Context in *Dionysius* reclaims against this Emendation. The Author's design is to prove *Pythagoras's* Age to be very remote from *Numa's*. *Numa*, says he, came to the Crown, Olymp. XVI, 3. How then could he be acquainted with *Pythagoras*,

(y) *Dionys. ibid.* Τῷ μετὰ τεσσαρῶν γενεᾶς ἀκμαῖσαντι, — μετὰ τὴν ὀλυμπιάδα.

(y) that flourished after the 4th Olymp. four Generations after him?

The Interval between these two Olympiads is 134 years. Now three Generations, as I have shew'd before, make 100 years: four therefore are 133 and  $\frac{1}{3}$ , which wants but a small Fraction, of 134. 'Tis plain then, that our Author meant Olymp. the 4th: for to Olymp. LX there are above five Generations from *Numa*; and his business was to make the distance as wide as he could. In Mr. *Dodwell's* Account, who keeps *Pythagoras* out of *Italy* till Olymp. LXVII, 2. there are above six Generations.

Another, that seems to favour *Eratosthenes*, is no less a Writer than *Livy*.

(z) *Livius* l. 18, *Auctorem doctrinae ejus (Numae) falso Samium Pythagoram edunt; quem Servio Tullio regnante Romae, centum amplius post annos, in ultima Italiae ora juvenum catus habuisse constat.*

(z) *Numa*, says he, could not converse with *Pythagoras*, who lived in the utmost Coast of *Italy*, above 100 years after him, in the Reign of *Servius Tullius*. Now from the Death of *Numa*, Olymp. XXVII, 1. to the Period we speak

of, Olymp. LIII, 3 there are 105 years; which exactly suits with *Livy's* Expression, *centum amplius, above a hundred*. But if *Livy* had been of Mr. *Dodwell's* opinion, he might have said, *above an hundred and sixty*. Besides that *Servius Tullius* was 23 years dead, before Mr. *D.* allows *Pythagoras* to set foot in *Italy*.

Plutarch mentions the same Mistake, that *Numa* was *Pythagoras's* Scholar.

But he adds, that (a) *Numa*, as they say, was elected King, *Olymp. xvi, 3.* and *Pythagoras* was long after *Numa's* time, even five Generations. He seems to have taken this Passage out of *Dionysius Halicarn.* whose words we have cited before. But whereas *Dion.*

says, four Generations, *Plutarch* says, five. The reason of this difference seems to be, that the latter allows but 30 years to a Generation; as we may learn from (b) another place. Five Generations then according to *Plutarch* make 150 years. But from *Olymp. xvi, 3.* to our Period, *Ol. liii, 3.* are 148 years; as near the mark, as can possibly be expected.

Within two years of the same Period, the *Alexandrine Chronicon* says, (c) *Pythagoras* was famous, *Olymp. liv, 1.* So that this Writer's Testimony, such as it is, concurs exactly with the others above.

But we must observe the words of *Aristoxenus*; When (d) *Pythagoras*, says he, was 40 years old, and saw the Tyranny of *Polycrates* grow more violent. These last words, if they be not an addition of *Porphyrys*, make it dubious, whether *Aristoxenus* set the Philosopher's Birth, as early as *Eratosthenes*. For by this Account *Polycrates* must begin his Tyranny about *Ol. liii, 3.* and 'tis agreed, by all Historians, that he held it till *Ol. lxiv, 1* when *Cambyses* was in *Egypt*: which Interval is 42 years, and may seem too long a time to be allow'd for his Government. But did not *Amasis*, his Con-

(a) *Plut. in vita Numa.* Οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν μὲν οὐκ ἐγένεσθαι, καὶ οὐδὲ Νεμάω χεῖρον ὁμῶς πέντε γενεαῖς ἀπολειπέμενον — ὅτι τὸ ἐκκαίδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἔτει τετάρτῳ, Νεμάω εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν κατέστη.

(b) *Plut. de Orac. defectu, p. 415.* Ἐπιτελείοντα ποιεῖσι τὴν γενεάν καδ' Ἡράκλειον.

(c) *Ολυμπ. liv, 1.* Πυθαγόρας φυσικός φιλόσοφος ἐγνωρίζετο  
(d) *Ἐρωτ. τα τὴν Πολυκράτους πρεσβυτέρα ἀντικρατοῦσαν ἔσαν.*

temporary,

temporary, reign 44 years, after he had usurped the Government in *Aegypt*, just as the other did in *Samos*? If we admit of the present Calculation, they began their Reigns almost at the same time; and that perhaps might be some reason of their Friendship, that is so spoken of in History. But *Polyænus's* Relation of the Tyranny of *Polycrates* will scarce allow of so early a Beginning.

(e) *Polyænus Strat.* 1,  
23. Μεταπειλάμενος  
ὑπὸ Λυγδαμίδος τῷ Να-  
ξίων τυράννῳ στρατώτας.

(f) *Herodotus* 1. cap 64.

For he says, (e) *At the time of his Usurpation, he borrowed Soldiers of Lygdamis Tyrant of Naxos.* Now *Lygdamis* got the Government of *Naxos* (f) by the Assistance of *Pisistratus* after his

third return to *Athens*; which could not be before Olymp. LIX, 1. But perhaps it may be answer'd, that *Polyænus* might call him *Tyrant of Naxos* by an Anticipation; meaning that *Lygdamis*, that was afterwards Tyrant there. For *Lygdamis* might assist *Polycrates* with Soldiers, as he help'd *Pisistratus* both with Men and Money, (g) before he got the Government. *Jamblichus* plainly confirms this Account of *Polycrates's*

(g) *Herod.*  
1. c. 61.

(h) *Jamb. p.* 31. Ὑπο-  
κυόμενος ὃ ἀστὴρ τῷ Πο-  
λυκράτῳ τυράννιδος, πε-  
ρὶ 11. μάλιστα ἔτος 420-  
τάς.

(i) *Idem, p.* 90.

long Reign. For he says, (h) his Tyranny was beginning at the xviiiith year of *Pythagoras*; and he speaks of it, (i) as still continuing after his lvith year. Now the lvi of *Pythagoras*, as *Jamblichus* reckons it, falls in about Olymp. LXII. So that his xviiiith year, when *Polycrates's* Tyranny commenced, concurs with Olymp. LII, 3. which is just four years, before *Pythagoras* left *Samos*, according to our Table. And to *Jamblichus* we may add *Suidas*,

(k) who

(k) who places *Polycrates's* Government about the same Olymp.

LII. But the same Author in another place says, that (l) one *Polycrates the Father of the Tyrant govern'd Samos about Olymp. LIV, in Cræsus's time.* This is a Piece of History, that I know not what to say to. For the Father of *Polycrates* the Tyrant was called

(m) *Æaces*, and *Cræsus's* Reign did not begin till Olymp. LV, 3. (m) See *Herod.*

But though *Aristoxenus* say, our Philosopher went to *Italy* at XL years of Age; yet *Jamblichus* makes him about LX; and whether of them must we follow? If we regard the Authority of the two Parties, I am afraid *Jamblichus* must be laid aside; for he is both inferior to the other, and inconsistent with himself. But let us consider the nature of the thing, and the circumstances of the story. *Hermippus*, a considerable Author, tells us; (n) "That when *Pythagoras* came to *Italy*; he made a private Room under ground, and having caused a report to be spread of his Death, he hid himself in that Room, ordering his Mother to let him down Meat privately from time to time, with an account in writing of all Affairs that happen'd in *Crotona*, and the places about. After a time he comes abroad, \* pretending to be risen from the Dead; and tells all the things, that had happen'd since his suppos'd Death, as if he had learnt them in the other World. Which Project procured him a mighty Authority.

The same Story is told us by (o) *Sophocles's* Scholiast; who thinks the Poet himself alluded to it in these Verses in his *Electra*;

(k) *Suid. v. Ανακρέων. Γέρονε χη' Πολυκράτην ἢ Σάμου τύραννον ὀλυμπιάδι νβ'.*

(l) *Suid. v. Ίβυκος. Εἰς Σάμον ἦλθεν, ὅτ' αὐτῆς ἦρχε Πολυκράτης ὁ τῶν τεράνων πατὴρ κρόνος ὃ ἔπες ὁ ἐπὶ Κρόνου, ὀλυμπιάς νδ.*

(n) *Apud Laert. in Pythag.*

\* *So Lucian in Gallo, p. 252. Ηκετα ταῦτα, καὶ ὡς δὲ ζῆτας ἀναστεινόμεναι ὀπτανόων.*

(o) *Schol. ad Ele-*

*Ηδὴ εἶρασι p 83.*

Ἦδη γὰρ εἶδον πολλάκις καὶ τὸς σοφῶς  
 Λόγω μάτην θνήσκοντας· εἶδ' ὅταν δόμους  
 Ἐλθῶντι αὐτοῖς, ἐκτεπήμενται πλέον.

And *Tertullian* too, a Man of admirable Wit and Learning, in his Book *about the Soul*, gives the same Account of this Story; and he adds this

(p) *Tertul. de anima c.*  
 28. *Mortem simulat, sub-*  
*terraneo latitat, septenni*  
*se illic patientia damnat*  
 — *cum fraude vitæ sep-*  
*tennio excruciatæ infra ter-*  
*ram.*

Particular, That he staid under ground (p) *seven years*: which without question he speaks from some good Authority; and the design it self, that *Pythagoras* had in it, seems to require so long a time.

For the Cheat might have been suspected, if he had soon appear'd abroad again; neither would there have been Matter of Fact enough, as Deaths, Marriages, and Births, and publick Transactions, the Accounts of which he pretended to have learnt below from the Ghosts of those that died after him. Now I suppose this design of *Pythagoras* will seem a very absurd one; if he was LX years old, when he went to *Italy*, as *Jamblichus* makes him. Besides that he must have lived no little time there, so as to be generally known, before he undertook it: or else they would never have believed, that he had rose from the dead, had they not known him alive before. He must be well advanced then beyond 60, when he began this Design. But what could one of that great Age propose to himself from so tedious a Project?

*Vitæ summa brevis spes cum vetat inchoare longam.*

He might die indeed in Jest, when he went down to his Vault; but he might fear, 'twould be



in good earnest, before seven years were over. Or if he was sure to come out alive again, yet the Remainder of Life after LXX Years of Age, when we was to enjoy the Fruits of this pious Fraud, was not worth so long a Penance. For he came (q) out half starved, a mere Sceleton, to make it the more credible to them, that he rose from the Grave. But there's another Circumstance, that makes it still more unlikely, that he was LX years old then. For the only Person privy to his design was (r) his Mother: and was not she then at a fit Age, for the whole Plot to depend upon? Suppose her to be but 20, when Pythagoras was born, though (s) she had another Son before him: even at this rate she would be about fourscore and ten, before the Intrigue could be finished. This surely was too slender a Thread, to trust a business of that weight to. It is very probable therefore, if this Story be true, that Pythagoras was but about XL, when he went into Italy. Nay, though the Story should be false, it is still a very good Argument; for it shews at least, that all those that have reported it, must have believed he was not much older.

But we have another Piece of History, which all Writers agree in, that seems to make him much younger, when he went for Italy, than Jamblichus's Account does. That is the πνταετία, (t) The Five years Silence, that was enjoy'd to his Disciples; before they were admitted to his Conversation; or as some say, even to the sight of him. Now it appears from the whole Conduct of Pythagoras, that he aim'd to be Found-

(q) Hermipous, Ἴσχυρός ἢ κατεσκευασμένος. Tertul. Corpulentiam interpolasse visus ad omnium mortui veteris horrorem.

(r) Herm. ἢ μητερὸν ἐνστεύλατο. Tertull. ab unica conscia & ministra matre (s) Porphy. Jamblich.

(t) Laert. Porphy. Jamblich.

er of a Sect ; and by the interest of his Scholars to change the forms of several Governments. But would any Man of threescore years age, if he had such designs in his head, have taken such a slow Method of bringing them about? he must surely be a younger Man, and have the prospect of many years before him, when he began such a Discipline. Or else he must needs apprehend, that old Age and Death would be at his Heels, before the ceremonious Silence was over. This *Quinquennium* therefore even alone makes it very unlikely, that he was LX, when he went for *Italy*; but if it be added to the Story above, his *seven years stay in the Vault*, it will make that Account of his Age still the more improbable: for at that rate he was near LXX years old, when he began that tedious Method.

Another Confirmation of *Aristoxenus's* Account, that *Pythagoras* was but XL, when he first came to *Italy*, is his marrying (u) a Wife at *Crotona*, *Theano* the Daughter of *Brontinus*, by whom he had two Sons and two Daughters. About his Love to *Theano* we have these elegant Verses of *Hermesianax*, the *Colophonian* Poet, that lived in *Alexander's* time:

(u) *Laert.*  
in *Pythag.*

(x) *Athen.*  
13. p. 599.

(x) Ὅτι μὲρ Σάμιον μάρη κατέδυσε Θεανῶς  
Πυθαγόρην, ἑλίκων κομῆσ' γεωμετρίας  
Ἐυρῶμενον, καὶ πόλλον ὅσον περὶ ἀλλεταίαις,  
Βαίη τ' ἐν σφαίρῃ πάντ' ἀποταωσομενον.

Here we see, he had such a Passion for his Mistress *Theano*, that the Poet calls it *Madness*. Which better agrees, with the Age of 50, than 70, after he had stay'd 7 years in the Vault. For that he had no Wife till after that time, may be fairly gather'd from this circumstance, that his old Mother, and she only, was conscious to his Plot.

Plot. The Names of his two Sons are *Telauges* and *Mnesarchus*. The former is mention'd by (γ) *Empedocles*; whose Verse must be mended thus;

(γ) *Laert. in Pyth. Ἰπὸ πύβοτις ἐπὶ λέγειν Ἐμπεδοκλέα Τηλαυγεί. κλυτὰ κῆρε Θεανῆς Ἴνδαρρέωτε.*

Τηλαυγῆς, κλυτὰ κῆρε Θεανῆς Ἴνδαρρέωτε.

and by *Jamblichus*, Τηλαυγῆς κομισθῆνός ἐσθ' ἢ Πυθαγόρου θάνατον ὑπολελειμμένος ἦν περὶ θεῶν οἱ τῆ μητέρι.

Where the Latin Version has it, *In spectaculo matris Deum*. But for περὶ θεῶν οἱ τῆ μητέρι, it ought to be corrected, ὡς ἐστὶ Θεανῆ τῆ μητέρι. The other Son, in *Jamblichus* is called *Μνήμαρχος*, *Mnemarchus*: which perhaps is a Reading not to be rejected. For (z) *Festus* tells us, *Pythagoras* had a Son called *Mamercus*; which seems to be form'd from the Dorick Pronunciation of the Greek word, *Μνάμαρχος*.

(z) *Festus v. Æmil.*

V. Most of the Ecclesiastical Writers date the *Ἀκμὴ*, the flourishing Age of Pythagoras at Olymp.

LXII, (a) *Tatian* and (b) *Clement* are the first of them; and their very Subject, which was to shew the Greek Antiquity to be more recent than the Jewish, induced them to bring his time down as low as they could. No wonder then, that they rather follow'd those Writers that placed him at Olymp. LX, than those others, which as we have already seen, have put him something higher. *Clement's* Computation is subscribed to, as in most other Cases, by (c) *Cyril*. *St. Austin* says d), he began to be famous at the return of the Jewish Captivity; that is, about Olymp. LXII. *Eusebius* indeed, according to *Scaliger's* Edition, fixes his time at Olymp. LXXV, 1. But some MS Copies of him, which I think

(a) *Tatian. ad Gr. eccl. pag. ult.*  
(b) *Clem. 1. Strom. p. 130, C. 143.*

(c) *Cyril. contra Julian. p. 12.*  
(d) *Aug. de Civitate Dei, xviii, 37.*

are here in the right, set it at Olymp. LXII, 3, or 4. But in all this there is no Contradiction, between those that say, he flourished Olymp. LXII, and those that say, about LII. For since he lived to be above ninety years old; we may truly say, he flourished at 40, 50, 60, nay 80 years of Age.

(e) *Tuscul. Pythagoras, qui cum Superbo regnante in Italiam venisset*

(f) Παρεγένετο εις Ιταλίαν κατὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπ. ξβ. καθ' ἣν Ερυξίδας ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἀΐδιον ἐνίκησεν. *Jambl. p. 47.*

(g) *Catalog. Stadion in Euseb. Scaligeri.*

But Cicero says, (e) he came into Italy in the Reign of Superbus; which could not be before Olymp. LXI, 4. And (f) *Jamblichus* dates his Voyage thither at Olymp. LXII, when *Eryxidas*, or as others call him, (g) *Eryxidas* of *Chalcis* won the Race at *Olympia*. These are plain and direct Testimonies against the opi-

nion of those above. And the judicious Reader must consider, which account is the more probable. Only let him remember, that the later he brings *Pythagoras* into *Italy* and *Sicily*, the more surely he detects the Forgery of *Phalaris's* Epistles. But what if it may be suspected, that *Cicero* and *Jamblichus* or the Authors they had it from, mistook out of forgetfulness? So as, when others had said, he was in *Italy* Olymp. LXII, these might say, he came thither. We have a near instance of an Error exactly like this.

*Cicero* had said, (b) That *Pythagoras* was in *Italy*, at the same time that *Brutus* deliver'd his Country; that is Olymp. LXVIII, 1. This seems to have been the sole foundation of *Solinus's* new Doctrine; (i) That *Pythagoras* came to *Italy*, when *Brutus* was Consul.

(b) *Tuscul. iv. Pythagoras, qui fuit in Italia temporibus iisdem, quibus L. Brutus patriam liberavit.*

(i) *Solinus, c. xxi. Pythagoras, Bruto consule, qui reges urbe ejecit, Italiam advenit est.*

As

As for *Jamblichus*, he has so managed his Accounts, that he has discover'd how little he was versed in ancient Chronology, "*Pythagoras*, he says, went into *Agypt*, and (k) continued there xxii years, till he was carried by *Cambyfes* to *Babylon*; (l) where he staid xii years; and (m) from thence, being about 56 years old, he returned to *Samos*; where not finding things to his desire, he left it and (n) went to *Italy*, Olym. LXII, when *Eryxidas* got the Prize. Here's a Story so well told, that it contradicts it self in the reckoning, no less than xx years. For it was viii years after Olym. LXII, when *Cambyfes* was in *Agypt*; and xii more, he says, were spent at *Babylon*. Who would depend upon such a Computation, or indeed upon any part of it, when the whole is to inconsistent? Yet the learned Mr. *Dodwell* has assumed that 12 years Stay at *Babylon*, that has nothing to vouch it, but this lame and self-confuted Story, for the Basis of all his Calculations in *Pythagoras's* Life. Though at the same time, he makes very bold with the other parts of the Story; for he differs from the Date at *Eryxidas's* Victory, no less than five whole Olympiads: and instead of xxii years in *Agypt*,

he allows something (o) above one; though *Plutarch* says, it's confess'd he was there (p) long time; and (q) no little time, says *Cyrillus*.

(o) *De Cycl. Vet. p. 138.*

*Spatio plusquam annuo.*

(p) *Plut. Symp. quæst. viii, 8. Αἰγυπτίων πέντε ἔτη.*

φοῖς συζητῶνται Πυθαγόραν πολὺν χρόνον ὁμιλοῦνται.

(q) *Cyrillus contra Jul. p. 15. Πυθαγόρου ἢ Θαλῆος ἐκ ἐλευσίνων ἑστῶτος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διατετελειότες καί εἰσι.*

*Syncellus* indeed agrees with *Jamblichus* in his Narrative of *Cambyfes*. For he also says,

(r) *Synecll.* Πυθαγόραν  
εὐρών ἀπξενωθέντα διὰ  
φιλοσοφίαν σὺν τοῖς αἰχ-  
μαλώταις εἰς Πέρσας ἦγε.

(s) *Apuleius Florid.* 11.  
Sunt qui Pythagorum aiant,  
eo temperis, inter captivos  
Cambysa regis Ægyptum  
cum adueheretur, doctores  
habuisse Persarum Magos;  
ποθεαγ; eum à quodam Gillo  
Crotoniensium principe reci-  
peratum.

(t) *Herod. lib. iii, cap. 44.*

(r) that *Pythagoras* was found by him in *Ægypt*, and carried a-way Prisoner. But *Apuleius* tells the Story quite another way: For he says, (s) *Pythagoras* was carried to, and not FROM *Ægypt*, among the Captives of *Cambyses*. And he seems to refer to that Stratagem of *Polycrates* (t) when under pretence of sending Forces to the Aid of *Cambyses*, he selected all the men he was

jealous of; with private directions to the King, that he should let none of them return home. *Apuleius* therefore adds, in contradiction to this;

(u) *Ibid* Ce-  
lebrior fa-  
ma obtinet,  
sponte eum  
petisse Æ-  
gyptias dis-  
ciplinās.

(u) That the more general report was, that *Pythagoras* went voluntarily into *Ægypt*; that is, he was not pressed by *Polycrates* into the *Persian* Service. This, as I take it, is the true meaning of *Apuleius*; and the Reader may consider, what credit a Story deserves, that is told such different ways. But what will he say to the other Piece of secret History, that one *Gillus* a Prince of *Crotona*, redeemed *Pythagoras* out of Captivity: Some take this *Gillus* to be the same with *Cylon* of *Crotona*: but he is \* *Gillus* of *Tarentum*, who living in exile at *Crotona*, redeem'd some *Persian* Slaves there, and carried them into *Persia* to *Darius*, about Ol. LXV, 1. Here we see, how the Story is turn'd. *Gillus* really redeem'd Slaves at *Crotona*, and carried them to *Persia*; but *Apuleius* makes him redeem one in *Persia*, and carry him to *Crotona*. I know it's easie to be said, that He might do both: but he had another errant to *Persia*, than buying of Slaves, as may be seen in *Herodotus*.

\* *Herod. iii,*  
c. 138.

VI. We come now to the several Periods of *Pythagoras's* Death. The most early, that we meet with, (for perhaps *oe*, 75, in *Syncellius* is an Error for *εε*, 105) is thus deliver'd by *Laertius* (x); *Pythagoras*, says he, as *Heraclides the Son of Serapion* says, died LXXX years old, *χτ' ἔϊδαν ἑωγεροῦν ἢ ἡλικιῶν*, according to his own Distribution of Ages. This *Heraclides* had epitomized *Sotion's* Work, about the Successions of the Philosophers, and another Work of *Satyrus's* about the Lives of famous Men. In one of these two Treatises he is supposed to have said this, that *Laertius* cites from him. Upon which the very learned Mr. D. observes (y), that this was not *Sotion's* nor *Satyrus's* Opinion, but the private one of *Heraclides*; because it was according to his own Description of Ages. And from thence he makes a Conjecture, what *Sotion's* Account might be; and believes it to be a wonderful Confirmation of what he had deliver'd. But I am sorry this learned Person should so widely mistake the sense of his Author; who does not mean *Heraclides's* own Distribution of Ages, but *Pythagoras's* own. For *Pythagoras*, as the same *Laertius* relates (a), divided the whole Life of Man into four Ages, *ἡλικίαι*; to each of which he assigned the space of xx years: so that the compleat life of a Man, was according to him LXXX years. *Pythagoras* therefore, says *Heraclides*, died LXXX years old, after his own Description of Ages, *κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἑωγεροῦν ἢ ἡλικιῶν*.

(x) *Laert. in Pythag.*  
*Πυθαγόρας, ὃς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης φησὶν ὅτι τὸ Σααρπιῶνες, ὀγδοηκοντάτης ἔτελεύτα. χτ' ἔϊδαν ἑωγεροῦν ἢ ἡλικιῶν.*

(y) *De Cyclis vet. p.*  
 144, 145.

(z) *Ibid.*  
*Faciunt hęc mirifice ad ea confirmanda, quę hęc omnes observavimus.*

(a) *Laert. in Pythag.*  
 sect. 10.

But to determine the year of *Pythagoras's* Death, we must endeavour in the first place to discover the time of *Cylon's* Conspiracy; for they all say, that he either lost his Life at that time, or survived but a few Months after. It could not happen before Olympiad LXVII, 4, if

(b) *Diodor Sic* p. 77.  
(c) *Jambli.* p. 125, 157.

(b) *Diodorus* and (c) *Jamblichus* may be believed, who affirm, that *Pythagoras* was then alive, and in *Italy*, when the *Crotonians* went to war with the *Sybarites*. For that War, by *Diodorus's* Computation, was about that Olympiad. And *Cicero* also concurs with them; for he says,

(d) *Cic. Tuscul quest* IV

(d) *Pythagoras* was in *Italy*, when *Brutus* deliver'd his Country: which happen'd at the very same time, Olymp LXVII. 4. But that *Cylon's* Villainy was committed presently after that

(e) *Jambli.* p. 12 E. πειρὸν εὐπολιῶν ἐξήρασαν τὸν πόλιν αὐτῶν.

War, it appears from *Jamblichus*, or rather *Apollonius*, whom he cites for it. (e) After the *Crotonians* had destroyed *Sybaris*, says he, then *Cylon's* Faction put their Malice in Execution. And in *Cylon's* Invective against the *Pythagoreans*, when he incensed the Government against them,

(f) *Jamb* p. 217. Ἀισχροὺν δὲ τὸς τεύκοντα μωυαδῶν περὶ τὸ τετραεὶς τὰ ποταμῶν περιγενομένων. ὡς τὸ χλίσθ μέρους κεινον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πλῆθει φαίνῃναι κατεσπασμένους.

there is this Expression, (f) That it was a shame, that they who had conquered 300 000 men at the River *Traïs*, should now be enslaved at home by the 1000th part of that number. By the 1000th part he understands the Disciples of *Pythagoras*, that were in all about

(g) *Jambli.* p. 212. *Justin.* xx, 4 *Athenagoras.*

(g) 300. And by the Victory at *Traïs*, he means, the Battle with the *Sybarites*, (h) who brought into the Field 300,000 Men. Τετραεὶς I read in *Jamblichus*, for τετραεῖς: for I find

(h) *Diod. Siculus*, p. 76, & 77. Στρατευσῖστων ἢ Συβαριῶν τεύκοντα μωυαδῶν, *Sirabo* vi. τεύκοντα

in



in (i) *Diodorus*, that *Traïs* is a River near *Sybaris*. These Passages of *Jamblichus*, will, I suppose, be allowed to prove, that the Conspiracy of *Cylon* must be dated very soon after the Destruction of *Sybaris*, which was Ol. LXVII, 4.

Let it be put then about two years after it, Olymp. LXVIII, 2 ; and it concurs with the 99th year of *Pythagoras*, according to *Eratosthenes*, and the Calculation in our Table. All which tends to make it still more probable, that the Computation is true. For at that very year of his Age *Pythagoras* died, as the Generality of Authors say. He died, (k) says *Tzetzes*, a hundred years old, wanting only one : Near a hundred, (l) says *Jamblichus*. *Laertius* indeed says (m) at ninety ; but *Cassaubon* and *Menagius*, and other judicious Criticks, think the Author wrote it *ninety nine* ; his Copies being now corrupted. And some MSS of *Eusebius* place his Death at (n) the very next year, Olymp. LXVIII, 3.

This last Passage of *Jamblichus*, where he intimates that *Cylon's* Conspiracy came quickly after the *Sybaritic* War, being not only corrupted in the Original, but most miserably handled in the Latin Translation ; it cannot be imputed as a fault to the learned Mr. *Dodwell*, that he did not take direction from it, when he made his Computations. He has dated that Conspiracy at Olymp. LXXII, 3 ; which is almost xx years, after the War with the *Sybarites*. But his

κοντα μυριάσιον ἀνδρῶν  
ὅππῃ Κροτωνιάταις ἐσεξ-  
τεύσαν.

(i) *Diod.* p. 85. Δια-  
φεύροντες ἢ ἐν τῇ σαύσει  
κίνδυνον Συβαρίτας περὶ  
ἢ Τραίεντα ποταμὸν κα-  
τάκησαν.

(k) *Tzetzes*, p. 205. Ε-  
ξῆς ὑπερχῶν ἑκατὸν πλῆ-  
ῆτος ἑνὸς μόνου.

(l) *Jambl.* p. 220. Βιώ-  
σαντα ἑπὶ ἑγγιστῶν ἑκατὸν.  
Read with Mr. *D.* ἑγγισ-  
τῶ ἑκατὸν · or rather ἑγ-  
γῶς ἑξῆς, for the MS. had  
ἢ ἑγγυσῶν.

(m) *Laert.* in *Pyth.* Ὡς  
ἢ πλείους, ἢ βίος ἐνε-  
νήκοντα, they read, ἐνε-  
νήκοντα ἐννέα.

(n) *Euseb.* *Edit.* *Pentac.*

his reckoning proceeds upon two Suppositions, that perhaps will hardly be granted him. First he assumes, that *Pythagoras* staid a dozen years at *Babylon*, after *Cambyses's* Expedition into *Aegypt*. But this, I presume, will now appear to be a false Account, by the Authorities I have produced above. Then he adds that *Pythagoras* continued just xx years at *Crotona* in *Italy*; and since according to his Calculation he came thither at Olymp. LXVII, 2; he must consequently be driven out of it at Olymp. LXXII, 3. But the only Voucher for that xx years stay at *Crotona*, is a Passage in *Justin*, which *o*) we have cited already. And that seems to be spoken roundly and in the gross, without taking notice of odd years. But *Jamblichus* says, he continued there 39 years; and perhaps it may be suspected that the true reading in *Justin* is XL, and not XX: for the Copies are not much to be trusted, when there is nothing but bare Figures, without circumstances to specify the time.

(i) P. 49.

'Tis true, *Jamblichus* does not say expressly, that *Pythagoras* staid in *Italy* 39 years; but on-

(p) *Jambl. p. 210.* 'Αυ-  
τὸ μὲν γὰρ Πυθαγόρου ἀφι-  
γίσεσθαι λέγεται ἐνὸς  
δέοντος ἕτη τεσσαρῶντα.

ly (p) that he presided over the *Pythagorean School* so long. Mr. D. therefore, comparing these two Passages of *Jamblichus* and *Justin* together, has inferr'd

from them both, that *Pythagoras* liv'd xix whole years after the Conspiracy of *Cylon*. This is a History entirely new and his own; and I am sorry, it has no better Foundation, than two Figures (xx) in *Justin*, and those also misapplied to a place of *Jamblichus*. For I think nothing can be plainer, than that *Jamblichus* understood the whole 39 years to have been spent before the

Treachery of *Cylon*. For when he first enters upon his Narrative about *Cylon*, (q) he tells us (q) P. 208. of *Pythagoras's* Death at *Metapontium*: and after he has finish'd it, his very next words are an Account (r) of *Pythagoras's* Successors. Several Writers have affirmed; (f) that *Pythagoras* himself was burnt at the same time with his Scholars. And the rest that disagree with these, make him die presently after. And some tell us the several Steps of his Escape; that (t) first he fled to *Locri*, thence to *Tarentum*, and thence to *Metapontium*; where he took Sanctuary in the Temple of the *Muses*, and was starved there after 40 days fasting. All this they describe, as done without any stop or stay; so as the *Locrians* met him at the very Confines, and would not let him set foot upon their Territory. Others therefore take no notice of his going to *Locri* and *Tarentum*; but (u) carry him immediately and directly from *Crotone* to *Metapontium*, where he ended his days. Thus, we see, the whole Stream of Historians runs against Mr. Dodwell.

But the same very learned Person has proceeded yet further; and has told us the place where *Pythagoras* lived for those XIX years after the Sedition of *Cylon*. Even in *Sicily*, where he deposed *Pbalaris*, and rescued *Himera*, and *Cazana*, and other Cities from the Yoke of Tyranny. The only Fund for this Conjecture is *Hermippus's* Relation of *Pythagoras's* Death; which differs from all the rest. He says, *When the Agrigentines were at War with the Syracu-*

(f) *Quidam apud Laert. Suidas. Plutarch de repugn. Stoicorum, p 1051, & de Socratis Genio, p. 583. Arnob lib. I. Athenagoras. Valer. Max. viii, 7. Firmicus Astron. i, 3. Tzetzes, Chil xi, 366.*

(t) *Porph. de vita Pyth. 206. Themistius Orat. iv. Firmicus ibid.*

(u) *Dicaearchus apud Laert. Justin. xx, 4 Jamblinchus, 208.*

(x) *Laert.* Ἐξελαθεῖν  
 μετὰ τῶν συνήθων τῶν Πυ-  
 θάγορον, καὶ περὶ τῶν τῶν  
 Ἀκρῶντων.

ans, Pythagoras (x) went with  
 some of his Scholars, and headed  
 the Agrigentines; but his Party  
 was routed, and himself slain, be-  
 ing overtaken in his Flight, be-

cause he would not go through a Field of Beans. Now what is there in these words, that shews Pythagoras to have lived in Sicily before? Why might he not go from Crotona to the Assistance of the Agrigentines? Is there any thing more common in History, than to have the Sicilians, and the Inhabitants of Magna Græcia engaged with one another? But allowing he was fixed in Sicily before, yet here's nothing determin'd about the time of this War: why may we not then suppose, it was about the time of Cylon's Sedition, rather than as Mr. D. sets it, XIX years after? *Hermippus's* own words seem to favour us in it; for he adds, *That the rest of his Scholars, being xxxv in number (all but those that were slain in the Fight with the Syracusians) were (y) burnt at Tarentum for disturbing the Government.* Now this burning at Taren-

(y) *Laert.*  
*ibid.* Ἐν  
 Τάραντα  
 κατακαύ-  
 θησαν.

(z) *Porphy.* p. 207.  
 Ἐἰς Τάραντα πλεῖσαι,  
 πάλιν δὲ κακῆς ὄψας πλύ-  
 σια παθόντα πῖς περὶ  
 Κρότωνα. See *Jamb.* p.  
 218.

tum appears to be the same, (z) that was contrived by the Cyloni-  
 an Faction, presently after the  
 Sedition at Crotona. But Mr.  
 D. thinks, Pythagoras was slain in  
 that War, that *Thrasydæus* Ty-  
 rant of Agrigentum made upon

(a) *Diodor.* *Hiero* of Syracuse, (a) Olymp. LXXVII, 1. Which  
*Sic.* p. 40. is to add another Improbability to all that have  
 gone before. For who will believe, that *Pytha-*  
*goras* would side with *Thrasydæus*, a tyrannical  
 and profligate Man, in (b) a groundless and un-

(b) *Diodor.*  
*ibid.* just War, against *Hiero*, who was the bravest  
 Prince

Prince of his time, and a great Patron of Learning; some of the greatest Wits of that Age residing at his Court, *Simonides*, *Pindar*, *Bacchylides*, *Æschylus*, and (which is still a further Argument) *Pythagoras's* own Scholar, *Epicharmus*.

But Mr. *Dodwell* fetches two new Arguments, from the Successions of the *Pythagorean* School, to confirm his Assertion about the Age of *Pythagoras*.

“(c) For *Lysis*, one of the Scholars of *Pythagoras*, was Preceptor to *Epaminondas* and *Philip* of *Macedon*, both of whom lived after *Olymp. c.* And *Aristoxenus*, a Scholar of *Aristotle's* had some *Pythagorean* Acquaintance, that were not very remote from *Pythagoras's* own time.

(c) De Cyclis Vet. p. 148. Conveniunt certe Scholæ Pythagoricæ *Diadoχοι*. a *Lysis* enim *Pythagore* in Magna Græcia discipulus, *Philippum* *Macedonem* - *Alexandri* M. patrem *Thebis* instituit atque *Epaminondam*, qui ipsi *Olymp. c.* superârunt, nec admodum remoti erant à *Pythagora* ipso, quos vidit

b *Aristoxenus Peripateticus* *Aristotelis* discipulus. a *Plutarch*. b *Gellius* iv, 11.

That one *Lysis* a *Pythagorean* lived at *Thebes* with *Epaminondas*, is a thing not now to be questioned; since *d* so many Writers of good note have affirmed it. But there is good reason to doubt whether this was the same *Lysis*, that was an Auditor of *Pythagoras*; though several of these Authors expressly say, it was he.

(d) *Diod Sic. in Excerpt.* *Cornel Nepos.* *Pausanias.* *Ælian in Var.* *Plutarch de Socratis Genio.* *Porphyr.* *Jamblich.* *Hieronimus contra Rofinum.*

For if we compute the Interval of years between the Sedition of *Cylon*, and the Age of *Epaminondas*, they will be found too many to be allow'd for one Life; even in Mr *D's* own reckoning. For let us suppose with Mr. *D.* that *Cylon* fired the *Pythagorean* College at *Olymp. LXXII, 3.* tho'

this

this appears to be set xvii years too low. *Lysis* then at that time may be supposed about xx years of

(e) *Porphyr. Jamb. p. 208.*  
 Οἱ τοὶ τελευτάτοι ὄντες  
 καὶ εὐρωστώτατοι. *Corrige,*  
 Οἱ τοὶ τε νεώτατοι. *So*  
*Plutarch. de Socr. idem p.*  
 583. Νέων ὄντων ἐπὶ ῥώ-  
 μη καὶ κηφρότητι διωσαμένων  
 τὸ πῦρ.

Age; for (e) he and *Archippus* being the youngest and the strongest, are said to have escaped out of the Fire, in which their Companions were burnt. Now *Epaminondas's* Age might be determin'd with sufficient exactness from the time of his Death at

the Battle of *Mantineæ*, Olymp. civ, 2: for he was then in the Vigour of his years, and died fighting (f) heroically. But we can fix it precisely out of *Plutarch* (g); who informs us, that he was xl years old,

(g) *Plut. de Λάδε Βι-  
 ώσας. Επαμεινώνδας εἰς  
 τεσσαρακοστὴν ἔτος ἀγνοη-  
 θῆς, ὅσπερον ὁ πсевθεὶς καὶ  
 ἄρξας.*

(h) *Diodorus, 367.*

when he was first made *General*; (h) which was Olymp. cii, 2. He was born then at Olymp. xcii, 1. and we must suppose, he was no less than xx years of Age before

the Death of his Tutor: otherwise he could not have made those mighty Improvements under his Discipline, that Historians speak of. I conceive, all we have hitherto allow'd in our Computation is very fair and reasonable. And yet at this rate from the Nativity of *Lysis* to the xxth year of *Epaminondas* there are cxix years; too long a time certainly for the Life of *Lysis*, whom neither *Lucian* nor any one else have mention'd in their Catalogues of long liv'd men. Nay we must still stretch it out longer; for (i) *Plutarch*, telling a Story of one *Theanor* a *Pythagorean*, who upon the News of *Lysis's* Death was sent by the Society out of *Italy* to *Thebes*, to perform some Ceremonies at his Sepulchre, makes him arrive there the very time that the proscribed *Thebans*

(i) *Plut.  
 de Socras' is  
 Dæmonio.*

return'd

return'd home, (k) which was Olymp. c, 3. If (k) *Diodor.* we admit this account, we must add fourteen <sup>345</sup> years more to *Lysis's* Life, which is already so much too long: for from the Birth of *Lysis* to Olymp. c, 3, there are cxxxii years. But we must prolong this Life still further, according to *Diodorus*, who is follow'd by Mr. *Dodwell*. For *Diodorus* says, (l) that *Philip* of *Macedon*, the Father of *Alexander*, was educated at *Thebes* under the same *Pythagorean* with *E-paminondas*, and made a considerable Progress in Philosophical Knowledge. But we are certain that it was Olymp. cii, 4, when *Philip* was sent a Hostage to *Thebes*. This is expressly said by (m) *Diodorus*, (m) *Diod.* and clearly intimated by (n) *Plutarch*; and fully xv. p. 379. confirmed from the account of *Philip's* Age. For (n) *Plut. ix* he died (o) Olymp. cxi, 1. when he was (p) XLVII <sup>*Pelopide.*</sup> years old; and consequently at Olymp. cii, 4 (o) *Diod.* he was but xiv; which is an Age young enough (p) *Justin.* in all reason for the understanding of the *Pytha-* ix, 8. *gorean* Doctrines. If the same *Lysis* therefore was both Scholar to *Pythagoras*, and Master to *Philip*, he must survive the Sedition of *Cylon* (when we suppose him xx years old) till Olymp. cii, 4. So that he must live in all cxxxxi years. This is a Life of such an extraordinary length; that I am persuaded, even Mr. *D.* himself, rather than he will believe this, will come over to my opinion, that there were two *Pythagoreans* of the same Name, and that *Historians* have confounded two *Lysis's* together. And yet in all this Computation, I have follow'd Mr. *D's* own Sentiment about the date of *Cylon's* Conspiracy. But if we place it at Olymp. lxxviii, 2. which

(l) *Diod. xvi. p. 407.*  
 Μετέχεν ὅτι πλείον ἦν  
 Πυθαγορείων λόγων· ἀμ-  
 φοτέρων δὲ ἦν μαθητῶν,  
 &c.

which I conceive I have proved above to be the more probable opinion, then the Longævity of *Lysis* will be still augmented more extravagantly; even to *CLVIII* years.

Mr *Dodwell's* next Argument is taken out of *A. Gellius*, who reporting a thing from *Aristoxenus*, a Disciple of *Aristotle's*, says,

(q) *Gellius* iv, II. *Quam rem videtur Aristoxenus cognovisse ex Xenophilo familiari suo, & ex quibusdam aliis natu majoribus; qui ab ætate Pythagoræ haud multum aberant.*

(q) *He seems to have had it from his Acquaintance Xenophilus, and other ancient Pythagoreans, that lived at no great distance from Pythagoras's own age. But as I humbly conceive, this Expression*

of *Gellius* is too loose and general to determine so nice a point. For who can tell, whether *Haud multum* shall signify fifty years, or fourscore, or perhaps a hundred? This *Xenophilus*

(r) *Suidas*  
in *Aeist<sup>o</sup>*.

was Præceptor to *Aristoxenus*; who, upon the death, as it seems, of his *Pythagorean* Master, was a follower of *Aristotle*. *Aristotle* set up his School at *Athens* about *Olymp. cxi*: and without question *Aristoxenus* was one of the first of his Scholars. for he expected to have succeeded him after his death; which he could not have presumed upon a short acquaintance. We will suppose then, that *Xenophilus* might die about *Olymp. cx*. But he lived above a hundred and five years; as

(s) *Apud*  
*Lucianum*  
in *Macrob.*

(r) *Aristoxenus* himself has told us. He was born therefore about *Ol. LXXXIII*; which is *xxv* from *Pythagoras's* days according to Mr. *Dodwell*; and after the other reckoning *lx*. Either of these Sums is *haud multum*, so that this point cannot be decided from that passage of *Gellius*. But there are other Writers, that speak more particularly of the Successions of the *Pythagorean* School; and they perhaps may enable us to determin the

Controversy.



Controversy. "Pythagoras flourished, (t) says Laertius, about the LX Olymp. and his School continued for Nine or even Ten Generations. For the last of the Pythagoreans were Xenophilus, Phanto, Echecrates, Diocles, and Polymnastus. These were known to Aristoxenus and had been the Scholars of Philolaus and Eurytus. But what does he call a Generation?

The very Argument it self will assist us to find his meaning; for he proves from the Interval between Olymp. LX and the Deaths of those last Pythagoreans, that the Generations were Nine or Ten. He cannot then here allow xxx or xxxiii years to a Generation; as those Authors we have cited above did: for at that rate there would not be above Six Generations. But he seems to take a Generation for xx years, as (u) Hefychius and some others define it. Now if we reckon from Olymp. LX to the Death of Xenophilus Olymp. cx; there are ten such Generations. But Xenophilus being above 105 years of Age when he died, may be supposed to have out-lived all his School-fellows by one whole Generation. So that here appears an evident reason, why our Author says *Nine or even Ten*: for they are but *nine*, if we count to the Deaths of Phanto and Echecrates, and the Generality of them: but if we measure to the long extent of the Life of Xenophilus, who perhaps for xx years together, was the only genuine Pythagorean left in the world, they are even *ten* Generations. Di-  
odoras says, (x) *The last of the Pythagoreans*

(t) Laert. in Pythag.  
Ἡκμαζε ὁ χξτ' ἔ. ὀλυμ-  
πιάδα, καὶ αὐτὰ τὸ εὐσημα-  
δέμεινε μέχρι γενεῶν ἐν-  
νέα ἢ καὶ δέκα. τελευταῖος  
ᾧ ἐγένοντο οἱ Πυθαγο-  
ρείων, ὅς καὶ Αἰσιόξηνος εἶ-  
δε, Ξενοφίλος τε, &c.  
The vulgar Lectio is ἐν-  
νεακαὶ δέκα: but the MSS  
have it ἐννέα ἢ καὶ δέκα,  
which is the true reading.

(u) Hefych.  
ν. γενεά.  
τὴν ὃ γε-  
ραν ὑπέ-  
σανται ἐ-  
πὶ οἱ μὲν  
εἰκόσι.

(x) Diod.  
p. 386.  
Ἐπ' ὃ οἱ  
Πυθαγορε-  
κῶν φιλο-  
σώφων οὐ  
τελευτῶσι  
πέντε.

were alive at Ol. CIII, 3. which wants but half a dozen years of Nine Generations. But the learned Mr. *Dodwell's* Computation will in no wise agree with this passage of *Laertius*. For Mr. *D.* sets the Founding of the *Pythagorean* School xxx years later than *Laertius* does: which cuts the account shorter by a Generation and a half. *Tully* says, The *Pythagorean* Sect continued (y) many Generations after the Death of their Master: which Expression seems not to favour those, that would shorten the Duration of it.

(y) *Cicer.*  
*Tuscul.* 1.  
*Multa se-*  
*cula postea*  
*viguit.*

This I take to be a true Explication of this place of *Laertius*; which has given so much trouble to his Interpreters. And I conceive, it may be further confirmed by the testimony of *Jamblichus*; who, when he speaks of the

Successions of the *Pythagorean* School, (z) makes *Aristæus*, *Pythagoras's* immediate Successor, to have been very near vii Generations before *Plato*. Now let

(z) *Jambl.* p. 219. Α-  
ρισταίος, ἐπὶ τῆς γενεᾶς ἐγ-  
γενησάμενος Πλάτωνος. λέγει,  
πρὸς Πλάτωνος.

us suppose *Aristæus* to have been LX years old, when he took *Pythagoras's* Chair about Olymp. LXVIII, 2: for he was the (a) eldest of all the Society, and for that reason succeeded him. He was born then at Olymp. LIÏ, 3.

(a) *Jambl.* 220. Πα-  
ραδόναι Αρισταίῳ τὴν ἑ-  
κλήν πρεσβυτάτῳ ὄντι.

And from that time to the Nativity of *Plato* Olymp. LXXXVIII, 1, there are 138 years; which wants but two years of vii Generations. But if Mr. *D's* Computation were allowed, there would be 102 years only between *Aristæus* and *Plato*; that is, five Generations.

The same *Jamblichus* has given us a List of the whole Succession of the *Pythagoreans*: which being very faulty in the present Edition, I hope

It will not be unacceptable to the Reader, to see some of it here corrected; and it will supply us with some considerable Hints, about the Age of Pythagoras.

1. Pythagoras.
2. Aristæus.
3. Mnemarchus, Pythagoras's Son.
4. Bulagoras.
5. Tydas.
6. Arefas.
7. Diodorus.
8. Clinias. Philolaus. Theoridas. Eurytus.  
Archytas.

Aristæus, he says, was not only made Pythagoras's Successor, but (b) he had the honour to marry his Widow Theano, and to be Guardian to his Son: and that because of his extraordinary knowledge in the Pythagorean Doctrines. But this place is very corrupt in the Original; and so is the next, where he says, (c) Mnemarchus the Son of Pythagoras succeeded Aristæus. The name of (d) Tydas too seems to be wrong; but whatever his true name was, He was so much concerned for the sacking of Crotona, which happen'd while he was travelling abroad, that he died with grief not long after his return. (e) And he was the only person in the whole Succession, that had an immature Death, all the rest living to an extreme old age. The next Successor Arefas is quite lost by the Latin Interpre-

(b) Jambl. p. 220. Τῆς παιδοτεστίας καὶ τῆ Θεανῶς γαμῆς καθ' ἑξῆς, διὰ τὴ ἐξαίρεστος πεικεκῆσθαι τῆσιν ἡδ' ἀδελφῶν. lege, διὰ τὸ ἐξαίρετος: as the Annotator has observed.

(c) Ibid. Μεθ' οὗ ἡγήσασθαι Μνήμαρχον ἢ Πυθαγόρου. lege, Πυθαγόρου.

(d) Ibid. Μεθ' οὗ γὰρ Τύδαυ. forte, μεθ' οὗ Γοργιδεῶν, vel simile quid.

(e) Ibid. Ἐναδύμονο γένεσθαι τῶτον ὡς ἑπὶ λυπῆσ πρέλιπῃ ἢ εἰσ. lege, Ἐνα δὴ μόνον γ. τῶτον ὡς ἑπὶ.

(f) *Ibid.* Χρόνῳ μὲν-  
τοι γε ὕστερον ἀρέσαν ἐκ  
τῆς Δευκαλιῶν σωθέντα.  
lege, Αρέσαν.

ter, who translates (f) ἀρέσαν *tulerunt*; as if he had read it ἤρεσαν. But the passage is plain and easie; if we write it with a Capital Letter, to denote it a proper Name.

Well, We see here are no fewer than eight Lives in the *Pythagorean* Succession; and this very number is attested by another ancient Writer,

(g) *Scriptor vite Pyth.*  
*apud Photium.* Ἐνατος  
αὐτὸ Πυθαγόρου διάδοχος  
γέγονε Πλάτων, ἀρχύτε  
τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μαθητῶν  
γενόμενος.

(h) *Laert. in Platone.*

who says, (g) *Plato was the ninth Successor from Pythagoras; having been the Disciple of Archytas.* Now 'tis known, that *Plato* conversed with the *Pythagoreans* in *Italy*, (h) about *Olymp. xcv.* to which time, from the death

of *Pythagoras*, according to Mr. D's Scheme, there are no more than *LXX* years: which without question is too small an allowance; being but *x* years a Piece to the several Successors: Whereas we know in the *Peripatetic* School, *Aristotle* presided *XIII* years, *Theophrastus* after him about *XXXIV*, and then *Strato* *XVIII*, and then *Lycon* *XLII*. In the same manner, if we examine the *Platonic*, or *Stoic*, or *Epicurean* Successions; and compute by a middle rate; and allow the same Measure to the *Pythagoreans*: we shall find a necessity of dating the Original of the *Pythagorean* School, as high as it is placed in our Table; which is *LXXVI* years earlier than Mr. D. has set it.

Now, to sum up the Evidence about the *Pythagorean* Succession; First *Laertius* says, the Sect continued *Nine* or *Ten* Generations; then *Jamblichus* says, *Aristæus*, the Second in the *Pythagorean* Line, was about *Seven* Generations before *Plato*, who was Scholar to the last of the

*Py-*

*Pythagoreans*: and *Photius's* Author says, *Plato* was the *Tenth* Successor from *Pythagoras*. All these Accounts, conspiring so together, seem to make the thing pretty certain. But yet in the particulars that *Jamblichus* has given us, relating to this Succession, there are some things unaccountable; whether they be owing to the ill Copies of *Jamblichus's* Book, or to the Author himself, I cannot tell. As when he says, \* *That in the time of Bulagoras, the Fourth in the Succession, the City of Crotona was taken and sack'd*: I suppose he means the time, when *Dionysius* the Elder conquer'd the *Crotonians*, and the neighbouring Cities, and held them in Slavery for many Years; as we are taught by † *Diodorus*, *Dionysius Halic.* and *Livy*: which happen'd at Olymp. xcviij, 1. Now *Plato* was xl years old at the time of this Olympiad: and this *Bulagoras* is but the Second from *Aristæus* in the Line of Succession: how then can this be consistent with what *Jamblichus* has said before, that *Plato* was near Seven Generations from the time of *Aristæus*?

\* *Jamb. p.*  
220. Εφ' ἧ  
διασπαρῆ-  
ται συνέβη  
τὴν Κροτων-  
ναίων πό-  
λιν.  
† *Diod. 317.*  
*Dionys. in*  
*Excerpt. p.*  
539. *Livy,*  
*l. xxiv.*

Again, † *Jamblichus* puts *Diodorus* the *Aspendian* in the Line of Succession before *Philolaus* and *Eurytus* and *Archytas*: the youngest of whom was *Præceptor* to *Plato*. But this *Diodorus* appears to have been younger than *Plato* himself. For *Plato* died above lxxx years old at Olymp. cviii, 1. But ‖ *Diodorus* was an Acquaintance of *Stratonicus* the *Musician*, \* who was in the Court of *Ptolemæus Lagi*: which must be after Olymp. cxiv. Again, *Archestratus* the *Syracusan* was junior to *Plato*; as we may gather from *Athenæus's* words; *Archestratus*, says he, *knows not, that in Plato's Convivium there were*

† *Jamb.*  
220.  
‖ *Athen. p.*  
163.  
\* *Id. 350.*  
*Athen p. 4.*  
xxviii

Guests. But *Archestratus* mentions this *Diodorus*, as a person then alive, in these elegant Verses;

Ἄλλ' ἔ πολλοὶ ἴπασι βροτῶν τόδε θεῶν ἔδισμα,  
 Οὐδ' ἔδειν ἐδέλυσιν, ὅσι κέρην τελεβῶδι  
 Ψυχὴν κέκλιναί θνητῶν, εἰσὶν δ' ἀπόπληκτοι,  
 Ὡς ἀνδρωποράγῃ τῷ θεῖς ὄνηθ' ἀπας ἧ  
 Ἰχθῦς σάρκα φιλεῖ βροτῶν, ἀν πῶ πεικῦρσι.  
 Ὡσε πρέπει καθερῶς ὅποσι τάδε μωρολογεῖσι,  
 Τοῖς λαχάνοις περσάγειν, κ' πρὸς Διδώρων ἰόντας  
 Τὸν σφῶν, ἐγκρατῶς μετ' ἐκείνῃ Πυθαρείῳ.

They are Fools, says he, that refuse to eat the Dogfish; because it devours Human Bodies: for any Fish will eat Man's Flesh, if it find it. So that they, that are scrupulous upon that account, must live upon Salads, and go to *Diodorus*, and turn *Pythagoreans*. The second Verse the learned *Casaubon* has observed to be faulty;

———— ὅποσι κέρην τελεβῶδι

Ψυχὴν κέκλιναί for there's no such word as τελεβῶδις. He offers a double emendation of it; one, κέρην κ' ἐρεβῶδι the other, οἱ κέρην κ' ἐλλεβορῶδι. But the first of these cannot be allowed; for it ought to be κέρην κ' ἐλεβῶδι; and then the first syllable will be long. The second is too remote from the common reading. After so great a Man, it will be pardonable, if I mistake in my conjecture. The same Verse comes again in pag. 310; and there it is — ὅσι κέρην γε λεβῶδι. I would correct it,

———— ὅσι κέρ' ἀπτελεβῶδι Ψυχὴν κέκλιναί.

Ἀπτελεβῶθ' is a Locust, or sort of Grasshopper; He means persons of a *light and desultory temper*, that skip about, and are blown with every wind, as Grasshoppers are. But I would go a little further, and joyn the words together thus, ὅσι κ' ἀπτελεβῶδι. Κέρηθ' is a small light sort of Bird, that is tossed about with the wind; and is metaphorically taken, for a foolish light-witted

witted fellow. See *Hesychius* the Scholiast on *Aristoph.* and others. So that *κεφατελεεωδης*, is a very fit compound from *κεφ* and *ατελεεω*.

But it is time to take notice of another Contradiction in this Account of *Jamblichus*.

For (i) in another place he makes *Philolaus*, and *Eurytus*, and *Archytas* Contemporaries with *Pythagoras*; though here we see he has placed them at seven Generations from him.

'Tis a wonder, that in so short a work he should be so often inconsistent with himself. But which of his Assertions shall we follow? No doubt, that which he says ofteneft, and which agrees best with what others have said. And what can be more exprefs than his own words?

(k) In so many Generations no body had ever seen one of the Pythagorean Books, till *Philolaus's* time.

Does he not here declare there were many Generations between *Pythagoras* and *Philolaus*? And *Laertius* has preserved for us one of *Archytas's* Letters to *Plato*, who had desired to purchase the Writings of *Ocellus Lucanus*:

and there *Archytas* says, (l) He had made an Enquiry after them, and had spoken with the Grandchildren of *Ocellus* about them.

Here are plainly three Generations between *Archytas* and *Ocellus*: and yet no body has said, that even *Ocellus* himself was Contemporary with *Pythagoras*.

And so much by way of Enquiry about the Age of that Philosopher.

(i) *Jambli. p. 103.* Οι παλαιότατοι κ' αὐτῶν συχρονίσαντες, κ' μαθητεύσαντες πρὸ Πυθαγόρα πρεσβύτεροι, Φιλόλαος τε, κ' Εὐρύτος, Ἀρχύτας τε ὁ πρεσβύτερος, &c.

(k) *Id. p. 172.* Ἐν τοσαύταις γενεαῖς ἔτι δ' οὐδεὶς ἔδει φάνηται πρὸ Πυθαγορείων ἑσθημηνιάτων περὶ τετραχῶς πρὸ τ' Φιλόλαος ἡλικίας. *Iege, περιετιτεχέναι.*

(l) *Laert. in Arch. A-* νηλδομεν ὡς Δευκανῶς, κ' ἐνετύχουες τοῖς Ὀκέλλω ἐκγόνοις.

(m) *De Cyclis vet. p.*  
253.

(n) *Phal. Epist. 77.*  
95, 110.

*Mar. Arund.*

THE very learned Mr. *Dodwell* (m) has advanced some other Arguments to establish his opinion about *Phalaris's* Age, which must here be consider'd. In the pretended (n) Epistles there is mention of one *Cliftbenes*, who was banish'd, it seems, out of some Democratical City, but the name is not set down. This Person Mr. *D.* supposes to be the famous *Cliftbenes* the *Athenian*, who had almost as great a share in driving out the Family of *Pisistratus*, as *Brutus* the *Roman* had in expelling the *Tarquins*. Now *Pisistratus's* Sons were driven out at Olymp. LXVII, 1. And there must be an Interval of some years between that, and *Cliftbenes's* Exile. *Phalaris* therefore, who relieves *Cliftbenes* after his Banishment, must have been still in the Throne about Olymp. LXVIII. that is, XL years after *Eusebius's* Period, which I follow as a Rule and Standard through all my Dissertation.

But I must here again profess my sorrow, to see this excellently learned Writer so imposed on by these spurious Letters. For all this Affair of *Cliftbenes* was no where but in the Sophists head; neither is the Scene of it laid at *Athens*. For our *Phalaris's Cliftbenes* was the Son of (o)

(o) *Ep. 95.*

(p) *Herod. vi, 126.*

(q) *Ælian. xii, 24.*

(r) *Herod. vi, 131.*

*Plutarch. in Pericle.*

(s) *Ep. 110.*

*Πατρὶς αὐτῆς μητρός.*

*Autonoe*, a Kinswoman of the Tyrant's: But the *Athenian's* Mother was called *Agariste*, as (p) *Herodotus* and (q) *Ælian* assure us; and a Niece of the same *Cliftbenes*, the Mother of *Pericles*, (r) was called *Agariste*, in memory of the other. Perhaps it may be suspected, that *Autonoe* in the Epistles may be only a Mother-in-Law. But this I think would be a sorry Evasion; though we had not that direct answer to it, which the Letters themselves afford us, where they call her (s) *his own Mother*. If the

fault



fault be laid on the Copies of *Phalaris*, and *Autonce* be supposed a Corruption of the true word *Agariste*: there will be no dealing upon this Argument with such Masters of Defence. But then again *Phalaris's Cliftbenes* was (t) fined three Ta- (t) *Ep. 95.* lents, and all he had was seized on and confiscated to the publick use. Now this Story will never suit with the circumstances of the *Athenian Cliftbenes*; who being banish'd, (u) as *Æ-* (u) *Ælian.* *lian* says, by way of Exostracism, must conse- xiii, 24. quently have the free use and enjoyment of his Estate all the time of his Exile. For this was one difference between Exostracism and ordinary Banishment (x); that the former allowed to the person the entire right of his own Revenues.

*Herodotus* so represents this Transaction, as if *Cliftbenes* had quitted *Athens* by order of *Cleomenes*

(x) *Plutarch. in Aristide.* Ἐξέχρησεν εἰς ἑπὶ δέκα καρπέμενον τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. *Suid. v. Οστρακισμῶς.* *Schol. Arist. 238, & 344.*

King of *Sparta*, without suffering any Exostracism. But even this account sufficiently proves, that he was not the *Cliftbenes* in the Epistles: for here was no Fine nor Confiscation of Goods; if he only retired in obedience to *Cleomenes*.

*Cliftbenes the Athenian*, (y) says *Cicero*, having (y) *Cicero* a mistrust of his Affairs, deposited Money for his de legibus. Daughters Portions in *Juno's Temple at Samos*. II, 16 Cum

This mistrust appears to have been a little before rebus timeret suis.

his Banishment: and if he had Money of his own lodged then in *Samos*, it is pretty hard to believe, that he would send a begging to *Sicily*, the quite contrary way, and so much further than *Samos*. But what need of many words? Let but any body read the History of *Cliftbenes* in *Herodotus*; and then look upon the Letters, where he will not find one Circumstance mention'd,

not

not so much as *Athens* named, nor *Clisthenes's* Rival *Isagoras*, nor *Cleomenes*, but some general Heads only, and Common Places: and let him believe if he can, that the Writer of those Epistles speaks of the *Athenian*. Or if he do speak of him; even This may go among the other Arguments to detect him a Sophist.

(2) *De Cy-* Mr. *Dodwell* (a) adds one little Suspicion  
*elis vet. p.* more towards settling the Age of *Phalaris*. There  
 253. is one Epistle directed to *Hiero*, and two to *Epi-*  
*Ep. 86, 61.* *charmus*. Now if this *Epicharmus* be the Co-  
 98. mic Poet, and this *Hiero* the Tyrant of *Syracuse*; their Ages will agree well with Mr. *D's* Notion, that makes him alive at Olymp. LXXII. But I will not lose any time in refuting this Suspicion; since Mr. *D.* himself seems not to rely upon it. 'Tis enough, if we remark; that there's not the least hint in the Letters, that the *Epicharmus* there was a Poet: which the Author, had he meant the Comedian, would hardly have omitted; if we may guess at his Humour by his many Letters to *Stesichorus*. As for *Hiero*, the Epistles have represented him as a Citizen of *Leontini*; where the *Hiero* of *Syracuse* had no concern, that we know of.

And now, I think, I have gone through the most memorable Passages that have relation either to *Phalaris's* or *Pythagoras's* Age; and I have consider'd all that Mr. *Dodwell* has made use of to support his new Assertions. I do not pretend to pass my own Judgment, or to determine positively on either side: but I submit the whole to the Censure of such Readers, as are well versed in ancient Learning; and particularly to that incomparable Historian and Chronologer,

loger, the Right Reverend the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield.

## I.

**I**N the laſt Epiſtle, to thoſe of *Enna*, a City of *Sicily*; *Phalaris* ſays, the *Hyblenſes* and *Phintienſes* had promiſed to lend him Money at Intereſt; Οἱ δὲ ὑπέσταντο δανείσσειν, ὡς Ὑβλαῖοι ἐν Φιντιέσι. The Sophiſt was carefull to mention ſuch Cities as he knew were in *Sicily*. For ſo *Ptolemee* places *Φιντία* there; and *Antoninus*, *Phintis*; and *Pliny*, *Phintienſes*. But it is ill luck for this Forger of Letters, that a Fragment of *Diodorus*, a *Sicilian*, and well acquainted with the Hiſtory of his Country, was preſerved to be a Witneſs againſt him. That excellent Writer informs us, that *Phintias*, Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, (the very Place, where *Phalaris* was before him) firſt built *Phintia*, calling it by his own Name; Κτίσει δὲ Φιντίας πόλιν, ἐνομοδίας αὐτὴν Φιντιάδα· and that this was done, while the *Romans* were at War with King *Pyrrhus*, that is, about Ol. CXXV; which is above CCLXX Years after *Phalaris*'s Death, taking even the later Account of *St. Hierom*. A pretty Slip this of our Sophiſt, who, like the reſt of his Profeſſion, was more verſ'd in the Books of Orators than Hiſtorians,

*Psal. p. i.*

79.

*Anton. p.*

21.

*Plin. iii, 8.*

*Diod. p.*  
867.

to introduce his Tyrant borrowing Money of a City, almost CCC Years before it was named or built.

**T**HE Preliminaries about *Phalaris's* Age being agreed on between Mr. B. and me; for he consents to place him as I have done, at Olymp, LVII, 3. we are at last come to the Business it self. And what does the learned Examiner advance against our first Argument?

P. 122.

*For methods sake, says he, the Doctor begins at the last Epistle.* For Modesty's sake the Gentleman begins with a very worthy Cavil. As if I was not to rank my Arguments according to their force, rather than to take them as they happen to rise? But he will find by and by, that I put this Argument in the Front, because it's one of the strongest, and can never be eluded.

P. 122.

*But the Copies of Phalaris have Ὑλαῖοι, and I make use of the Examiner's Conjecture Ὑελαῖοι.* I conceive it's but a small fault to make use of it in a Citation, if I do not assume it to my self. But he represents, I suppose, that I did not name him, and give him the Glory of his Correction. If that be it, I can heartily excuse him: for his true Emendations being so very few, he has reason to look after them. But to speak freely, the Correction is so very easie, that the Honour of it is but moderate. *For if in all the Editions of Phalaris it has been Ὑελαῖοι; the reason was, that before Mr. B. arose, no body of eminent Learning would debase himself by the Publication of those Epistles.*

P. 122.

*But granting it to be Ὑελαῖοι; whether any of the Sicilian Hybla's be here meant, is dubious.*

Though

Though all this be wide from the question, for I fetch no argument from *Hybla*; yet it has a worse Quality than that, for it is not true. I have sent, says *Phalaris*, (a) over ALL SICILY to borrow Money at Interest; and some freely gave me Money, as the *Leontines* and *Geloans*; others promised to lend me, as the *Hyblaëans* and *Phintians*. Is it dubious now, whether any of the *Hybla's* of *Sicily* be meant in this place? Does he not say expressly, that he sent to borrow in SICILY? I am sorry, our Honourable Editor is no better versed in his own Author: I am glad, I would say; for 'tis to be hoped he employs his time better.

I may now put in one word about those *Γαλαῖοι*, a People that are not in *Sicily*: so that I was unlucky in saying, The Sophist took care to mention such Towns, as he knew were in *Sicily*. Though the Examiner's Emendation *Γαλαῖοι* be so obvious and certain; yet he is half in the mind to renounce his own Correction out of pure Contradiction to me. Let it then be *Γαλαῖοι*, to humour him a little. What Spoils now does the Examiner carry with him, but a manifest Detection, that his Epistles are a Cheat? For the Writer declares, that it was *Sicily*, where he borrow'd his Money: but when he comes to name those that lent it, he talks of *Γαλαῖοι*, which are no where in *Sicily*. Now a Sophist might be guilty of this mistake; but the true *Phalaris* could not.

At last the Examiner is come to the merits of the Cause; for he will prove there were two *Phintia's* in *Sicily*. "For the *Phintia* built by *Phintias*, which is mention'd in (b) *Diodorus*, was a Maritime Town: but the *Phintia*

(a) Ep 148.  
 'Εἰς ἅπαντα  
 τὰν Σικελίαν.

P 122.

P. 122.

(b) *Diod.*  
p. 867.  
(c) *Ptol.*  
iii, 4.  
(d) *Plin.*  
iii, 8.

“ *tia* of (c) *Ptolemee* and (d) *Pliny* was *Mediterranean*; and this latter may be the place, that is meant in the *Epistles*.

This it is to have a Reach of Thought, and a Sagacity peculiar to a great Genius. These are the very Passages, that I had cited; and yet so dull was I, that I could not discover, that the Authors spoke of different *Phintia's*. For I fancied, if *Pliny* or *Ptolemee* had meant another *Phintia* besides that of *Diodorus*; they would have given us an account of Two: for *Diodorus's* *Phintia* was too considerable to be omitted. Since therefore they mention One only; 'twas a plain Argument to me, that they knew but of one. Nay, I went further, and imagin'd I had found the true Reason, why these Authors disagreed so in the account of its Situation. For when a City is situated but a little within land, near the Mouth of a River, as *Phintia* was: 'tis no wonder that Writers differ, some calling it a Maritime Town, because it is near the Sea, and has a Harbour for Ships; others calling it an Inland Town, because it really lies within Land, and not in the Verge of the Sea-Coast. As in the very same place *Ptolemee* reckons *Agrigentum* among the Mediterranean Towns; though *Pliny*, and every body else call it a Sea-Town: for, as (e) *Polybius* says, it was seated XVIII *Stadia*, one League only, within the Mouth of the River. And the same *Ptolemee* calls *Gela* and *Camarina* Inland Towns for the very same reason: though every Novice in Geography knows they were Maritime. *Virgil* describes the Promontories and Sea-Towns of *Sicily*, that *Aneas* saw, as he coasted it:

(e) *Polyb.*  
ix.

*Hinc altis rupes projectaque saxa Pachyni  
Radimus : & fatis nunquam concessa moveri  
Apparet CAMARINA procul, campique Geloi,  
Immanisque GELA fluvii cognomine dicta :  
Arduus inde AGRAGAS ostentat maxima longe  
Mania, magnanimum quondam generator equorum.*

Here we see are three Maritime Cities, *Camarina*, *Gela* and *Agrigentum* : will our Examiner therefore double these, as he has done *Phintia*, because *Ptolemee* calls them Mediterranean? If he pleases to publish a new Map of *Sicily*, with these noble Discoveries in it, he will meet with his deserved Applause.

But the Gentleman proceeds, and tells us, *Phintia in the Epistle must therefore be the Mediterranean Town; because Hybla, which is there join'd with it, is Mediterranean. This, he says, is a way of arguing, that I my self use in the next Section* : which I will shew him to be mistaken in, when I come to that Paragraph. In the mean time why so positive, that this *Hybla* in the Epistle must needs be Mediterranean? Did he not newly say, *it is dubious whether any of the Sicilian Hybla's be there meant?* and the supposed *Hybla's* out of *Sicily* might be maritime, for ought he knows. But allow this to be a *Sicilian Hybla* : were all of that name in *Sicily* Mediterranean Towns? This he must affirm, or else his Argument is lame of one foot, which we ought not to suspect in so great a Logician. To be sure then, he imagins that all the *Hybla's* of *Sicily* were Inland Cities : as it farther appears from his (f) Index to *Phalaris* ; where that *Hybla*, that was really maritime, is described to be Mediterranean : a manifest Error, and plainly refuted by (g) *Thucydides*, *Cicero*, *Virgil*,

P. 123.  
Ep. 148.  
Υβλαῖοι  
ἡ Φιντιῆς.

(f) V. Megarenfes.  
Hyblai, quorum urbs  
Megara Mediterranea.  
(g) See Cluverius's Sicil. 133.

*Virgil, Ovid, Mela, Pliny, and others.* So very happy is our Examiner in every step he takes.

P. 123.

But he fancies, *I may maintain, that all those Authors, Diodorus, Ptolemy, and Pliny may mean the same Phintia.* (And if all his Fancies were as true as this, I would not write one word against him.) *If so; why may not Diodorus be mistaken as much in the Date of this Town, as two good Witnesses prove him to be in the Situation of it?*

I have already shewn, that none of them were mistaken in the Situation of *Phintia*; for they all knew, that it was a Port-Town seated a little within Land, near the Mouth of the River *Himera*. The only difference is in the name; some calling such a Situation Maritime, others Mediterranean. But that it was really a Port Town, there are two as good Witnesses

(b) P. 21.  
Per Marina  
uma loca,  
&c.

(i) iii in  
Verrem.  
Coge ut ad  
aquam tibi  
frumentum  
metiantur,  
vel Phin-  
tiam, vel  
Halesam,  
&c.

(k) Diod.  
880.  
P. 137.

(l) Diod. in  
Praf.

on *Diodorus's* side; (b) *Antonine* in his *Itinerary*, and (i) *Cicero*: so that we have three Testimonies against two. But let us see what evidence may be produced from matter of Fact. *Carthalo, the Carthaginian Admiral, bearing the Roman Fleet was gone from Syracuse, came towards them with cx Sail: the Romans not daring to engage him, got into the Harbour of Phintia; whither the Carthaginians pursued them, and sunk 67 of their Ships; and disabled 13. Soon after the Roman Consul, knowing nothing of what had happen'd, comes from Messana with 36 Sail, and cast Anchor before Phintia.* This Action is told at large in (k) *Diodorus*: and can we think all this a mere Dream of his, written when he was fast asleep, as our Examiner expresses it? He was born within 60 Miles of *Phintia*, and surely he that (l) travell'd through *Europe* and

*Asia*



*Aſia* to view the Places he wrote of, could ſcarce be ſo ignorant at home, as to make whole Fleets engage and be ſunk upon dry Land. But if the Examiner will ſtill remain obſtinate againſt *Diodorus* and the reſt; I have one Witneſs more in reſerve, whom I dare ſay, he'll allow to be a good one. 'Tis the Honourable *Charles Boyle* Eſquire, the learned Editor of *Phalaris*, who in his Index there has theſe very words; (n) Phintia, (n) Phintia, hodie Lycata, urbs Maritima in Orientali Sicilia latere, non Mediterranea, ut Ptolemaus. now called *Lycata*, a Maritime Town in the Eaſt of Sicily, not a Mediterranean as *Ptolemaeus* calls it. Here's an Authority beyond all Exception, not only that there was a Maritime *Phintia*, but that *Phalaris* meant it. The Gentleman perhaps may bluſh at this Paſſage: and therefore I will not bear hard upon him, but only aſk him one ſhort Queſtion. *Phintia a Maritime Town*, ſays the Editor; *a Mediterranean*, ſays the Examiner: Now whether's harder to be proved, that the Maritime and the Mediterranean are the ſame Town, or that the Editor and the Examiner are the ſame Perſon?

But let us obſerve the Inference he makes from this Error, as he thought it, of *Diodorus*: for here we may expect the very Quinteſſence of Logic. *Why may not Diodorus be miſtaken as much in the Date of this Town, as he is in the Situation of it?* Now the Miſtake in the Situation, even ſuppoſing it a Miſtake, might perhaps be five Mile, for that's enough to denominate it an Inland Town. But the Miſtake about the Date muſt be no leſs than cclxx years: for any thing, leſs than that, will do the Epiſtles no Service. So that here lies the true import of our Examiner's Query; If *Diodorus* might miſtake a League or two, why might he not miſtake

cclxx years? that is, If *Milo* the *Crotonian* could carry a Bull, why might he not carry a Brace of Elephants?

But that *Diodorus* has not mistook himself in his account of the *Date* of *Phintia*, any more than in the *Situation*, we may be as sure as any *History* can make us. (r) For first, he could not mistake in the *Age* of *Phintias* the *Tyrant*. He has involved him in so many *Circumstances*, and link'd him with so many *Contemporaries*; that a Man must hate his own *Reputation*, who will presume to say, that this *Phintias* was older than *Phalaris*. (o) He had war with *Hicetas* *Tyrant* of *Syracuse*; that *Hicetas*, that had another war with *Mæno* the *Poisoner* of *Agathocles*, and was succeeded by *Thynio*, or *Thæno*, an *Allie* of King *Pyrrhus*. He is mention'd with (p) *Decius Jubbilius* the *Roman* *Tribune*, whose *Age* we know from *Polybius*, and *Livy*, and *Appian*. He had concerns with the (q) *Mamertines* of *Messana*, a *People* never heard of in *Sicily* before the *Age* of *Agathocles*. He razed to the very *Ground* the \**City* of *Gela*, which a whole *Cloud* of *Historians* witness to have been standing long after *Phalaris's* *Time*. What *Man* of common *Modesty* or *Sense* will say all these *Actions* are confounded, and that *Phintias* lived three *Centuries* before? Can so excellent an *Historian* be suspected of such a gross piece of *Negligence*? 'Tis as absurd, as to affirm, that the *Right Reverend* the *Bishop* of *Sarum*, in his *Immortal History* of the *Reformation*, may have mistaken the affairs of *Henry* the *III.* for those of *Henry* the *VIII.*

There's a *Medal* in *Goltzius* and *Paruta*, with this *Inscription*, BACIAEΩΣ ΦΙΝΤΙΑ: on one side it has a *Dog*, and on the other a *Head* crown'd

(o) *Diodor.*  
*lib.* xxii.

(p) *Diod.*  
*ibid.* &  
*Excerpt.*  
*Vales* 265.  
(q) *ibid.*

\* *ibid.*

crown'd with Laurel. *Goltzius* thinks it's the Head of *Gelo*: and that ΦΙΝΤΙΑ means the City *Phintia*. And the learned *Harduin* (r) concurs (r) *Harduin Nummi Antiqui illustrati.* with him, that ΦΙΝΤΙΑ relates to the City, and not to a Person. But I am entirely of *Paruta's* opinion, who interprets it of King *Phintias*. For is not Βασιλέως Φιντία in the Genitive Case, exactly like those other Inscriptions, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΥ, ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ? And the Inscription is placed in the same manner in all of them; not where the Head is, but upon the Reverse. Besides, the very word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ shews, it belongs not to *Gelo*. For in his and his Brother *Hiero's* Coins, that word is not used: *Dionysius*, as it seems, being the first *Sicilian*, that stiled himself Βασιλεύς in his Money. Without question therefore this *Phintias* was a long time after *Phalaris's* Age; as appears not only from the word Βασιλέως, but from the Head with the Laurel. For it was not the custom in *Phalaris's* time for Princes to set their Images upon the publick Money.

(2) Neither could *Diodorus*, mistake in the second part, that this *Phintias* founded the City *Phintia*, and called it after his own Name. 'Tis observable, that he says it more than (f) once: *Phintias*, says he, builds a City, naming it *Phintia*; and in another place, *Phintias* the Founder of *Phintia*. He is very particular in the Circumstances of it.

(f) *Diod* p. 368. Κτίσει ὁ Φιντίας πόλιν ὀνομάσας αὐτὴν Φιντιάδα. and Φιντίας ὁ Φιντιάδης κτίσας

(t) *The Mamertines*, says he, of *Messana* having (t) *Diod.* sack'd the City of *Gela*, *Phintias* King of *Agrigen*-P. 374 tum (u) pulls down all the Houses and the Walls of (u) *Diod.* the place, and removes the People that were left and p. 368.

*builds a City for them (within the Territory of Agrigentum) with good Fortifications, and a fine Market-place and Temples.* Will our Examiner say, that all these Buildings were Castles in the Air? No, but perhaps there might be a City there call'd *Phintia* before, and *Phintias* might only repair it. No doubt on't: he was at all that trouble and Expence purely for the sake of a *refreshing Quibble*. The Town was a Name-fake of his, and therefore he would rebuild it. By the same Argument, there was an *Alexandria* before *Alexander*, and a *Rome* before *Romulus*. But no body heard, you'll say, of these Names before the Times of those Founders. No matter for that. whoever heard of *Phintia* before *Phintias's* time? Yet our Examiner can give you a view of it in the Region of Possibilities.

P. 135.

Give me leave to add one short remark about the Building of *Phintia*. *Diodorus* has pass'd his word, that the City of *Gela* was quite razed and dispeopled, before *Phintia* was built: and that the Residue of the *Geloans* were transplanted to this new *Phintia*, and from that time were called *Phintienses*. But the pretended Author of the Epistles mentions the *Geloans* and *Phintienses* as different people; as if *Gela* and *Phintia* were both standing at once. *The Leontines*, says he, *and Geloans gave me Money; the Hyblenses and Phintienses promised to lend.* So that here we have a double Discovery, that the Epistles are spurious: first because they talk of the *Phintians*, a Name not heard of in *Phalaris's* Time; and then because they make them quite different from the *Geloans*: though they were both the same people, the new City arising out of the Reliques of the old.

Ep 148.

Mr.

Mr. Boyle is pleas'd to end this Paragraph with a little innocent Mirth. *Unless*, fays he, P. 123. *this Phintia be fuch another place as Agrigent, a Sea-Port Town in the middle of Sicily.* Thofe words of mine that he refers to are, *The Letters* Diff p. 50. *are dated in the middle of Sicily:* where there is not one Syllable about *Agrigentum*; but he adds that of his own, to make way for his Jelt. But pray, Sir, where had you the Secret, that all *Phalaris's* Letters were dated at *Agrigentum*? Does not *Suidas* fay, (x) Suid v. *(x)* he was Master of all *Sicily*? Do not the Letters pretend, that he conquer'd the Phal. *Leontines*, the *Tauromenites*, the *Zanclæans*? Did he not vanquifh (y) Polyæ- *(y)* the *Sicani*, the Inhabitants of the Mid-land Country? And could he nus, v, i. not write a Letter in any of thefe Expeditions, as well as at home? Or were Ink and Paper fuch heavy Baggage, that they could not be carried after him? By the Subject of feveral of the Letters one would guefs, they were dated (z) Diod. *(z)* from the *Caftle* where his Bull was kept; which 741. was *xviii* Miles from *Agrigentum*. But for the moft part they are fuch common-place ftuff, without any note of Place or Time, that one cannot tell where nor when they were written. And the Reader may obferve this, as another mark of their Spuriousnefs. But what then, if I had meant *Agrigentum*; when I faid, *The Letters are dated in the middle of Sicily*? Is not *Agrigentum* in the very middle of the *Island*, between the *East* and *West* Points of it, *Pachynus* and *Lilybæum*? And I conceive, there's a *Middle* of a *Line*, as well as of a *Surface*. And how if *Agrigentum* be a *Mediterranean Town*, what will then become of your Jelt? I have two very good Authors to bear it out: *Prolemee* in

\*Agrigentum urbs  
Mediterranea.  
P. 119.

his Tables that reckons it among the μέγιστοι, *Mid-land Cities*; and Mr. Boyle in his Index to *Phalaris*; \*Agrigent, says he, a *Mediterranean City*. If Mr. Boyle be so quarrelsome, that he cannot agree with himself, how is it possible for other people to agree with him?

If the Reader now pleases to review, what the Examiner has said upon this first Argument; he will joyn with me in this Character of it, That all the Authorities he has brought, were already in my Dissertation; and that all his Inferences are false, and may have the honour to be his own.

## II.

IN the XCII Epistle, he threatens *Stesichorus* the Poet, for raising Money and Soldiers against him at *Aluntium* and *Alæsa*, ἢ εἰς Ἀλέντιον ἢ εἰς Ἀλαίσαν: and that perhaps he might be snapt, before he got home again from *Alæsa* to *Himera*, ἔξ Ἀλαίσε εἰς Ἱμέραν. What a pity 'tis again, that the Sophist had not read *Diodorus*? for he would have told him, that this *Alæsa* was not in being in *Phalaris*'s days. It was first built by *Archonides*, a *Sicilian*, Olymp. XCIV, 2. or, as others say, by the *Carthaginians*, about Two Years before. So that here are above CXL Years slipt, since the latest period of *Phalaris*. And we must add above a dozen more to the reckoning, upon the Sophist's

Div. p  
246.

P. 247.

Sophist's own Score: For this Letter is supposed to bear date, before *Stesichorus* and *Phalaris* were made Friends; which was a dozen Years, as he tell's his Tale, *Epist.* 103 before *Stesichorus* died; and *Phalaris* he makes to survive him. I am aware, that the same Author says, that there were *Died. ibid* other Cities in *Sicily*, called *Alæsa*: But it is evident from the situation, that this *Alæsa* of *Archonides* is meant in the Epistles; for this lies on the same Coast with *Himera* and *Aluntium*, (to which two the Sophist here joyns it,) and is at a small distance from them. And indeed there was no other Town of that name in the days of the Sophist, the rest being ruin'd and forgotten long before.

**I**F our Examiner's Performance in the last Section was very poor and jejune; we may expect an amends in this. For to encourage himself with a small Victory, he begins his Attack upon a fault of the Press; cxx for cxl; though it was nothing to his Subject, even allowing it to be my own mistake. And being flush'd with this little advantage over the Printer, he then proceeds with his victorious Forces against the Argument it self. But we shall see by the Event, that not the Author of the Epistles only, but one of his Editors too may be guilty of Sophistry.

*The Doctor*, says he, finds *Stesichorus* in danger of being snapt in his intended Journey from *Alæsa* *P. 103.*

to Himera. Now, with the Examiner's leave, the Doctor was more inclined to think it a *Voyage* than a *Journey*; for both *Himera*, where *Stesichorus* liv'd, and *Alæsa* and *Aluntium*, whither he went, are maritime Towns. And the very words of *Phalaris* confirm'd the Doctor in this opinion; for he makes this Sarcasm upon *Stesichorus*: *I hear, says he, you are writing Nôses, the Return of the Greeks from Troy: but you take no thought for your own Return from Alæsa to Himera. But it shall be hard for you to escape my hands; and that shall be as bad to you, as the Capharean Rocks, and Charybdis were to them. There's a greater Propriety in this comparison, if Stesichorus was to come home by Sea; than if he was to come by Land. And 'twas at Sea, as it's pretended, that he was snapt at last; as he was sailing from Pachynus to Peloponnesus.*

I observed, that because there had been several *Alæsa's* in *Sicily*, this Argument would be of no force, unless we could know which of them was meant in the Epistles. And that I thought, might be determined from the very Circumstances of the Action. *Stesichorus* is supposed to sail from *Himera* to *Alæsa* and *Aluntium*. Now the *Alæsa* of *Archonides* being a Sea-port Town, and lying exactly in the way between *Himera* and *Aluntium*; there was no question, as I thought, but this was the place, mention'd in the Epistles. Especially since there is good reason to suppose, that the other *Alæsa's* (if there were any other) were Mediterranean Towns. For if they had been Port Towns, and more ancient than the Age of *Phalaris*; 'tis almost impossible, but that in the *Punick*, or *Athenian*, or *Roman*, or *Civil Wars*, in *Sicily*, there must



must have been some Naval Action there ; and then the Historians could never have been so ignorant of them, as it appears they all were.

But Mr. B. desires to borrow this Argument for a Moment, and he will prove just the contrary to what I have proved, that this Alæsa is not upon the same Coast with Aluntium. I perceive 'tis dangerous lending this Gentleman any thing. He borrow'd the MS *Phalaris*, and now he borrows an Argument : but he makes a wrong use of both of them ; and then calumniates him that lent them. First he quite mistakes the Form of the Argument ; and supposes that to be the Conclusion, which is the Minor Proposition. For I do not prove by this way of Argument, That Alæsa is upon the same Coast with Aluntium. That I suppose and premise as known, from *Antoninus's* Itinerary, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo* ; who all describe it in that Situation. Methinks a Man, that had a System of Logic made and printed for his own use, might have been able to reduce an Argument into the Form of a Syllogism. My Argument lies thus :

*Alæsa*, *Himera*, and *Aluntium* are mention'd together in the Epistle, as Sea-Towns and near one another.

But *Alæsa* of *Archonides* is a Sea-Town in the Neighbourhood of *Himera* and *Aluntium*.

Therefore *Alæsa* of *Archonides* is the *Alæsa* mention'd in the Epistle.

But let us see what Exploits he will do, if I lend him the Argument. " Tully says, *Halesini*, " *Catinenses*, *Panormitani*, &c. and again, *Halesini*, *Catinenses*, *Tyndaritani*, &c. 'Tis evident therefore, that *Alæsa* is upon the same " Coast with *Catana* ; that is, upon the Coast

P. 124.

P. 124.

Cic. II. in Verrem.

" di-

“ directly opposite to *Aluntium*. This he nick- names *my way of Argument*: though it be just as much like it, as *Planudes’s* Picture of *Æsop* is like the Original. When either the design of the Writer, or the Circumstances of the thing it self, plainly intimate, that the places mention’d together are near one another, we may infer that they are so: as first, I know from the design of the Writers (because *Strabo* and *Antoninus* mention the Towns in order) that *Alasa* of *Archonides* is in the Neighbourhood of *Himera*: and again, I know, that *Alasa* in the Epistle is supposed in the Neighbourhood of *Himera*, from the Circumstances of the Action. But what is there like these in the passage of *Cicero*? All *Sicily* had been pillaged by *Verres*; and there were People from all the Towns to inform against him at *Rome*: Now *Cicero* was not obliged, like a Geographer, to mention each of them according to their Situation; but rather according to the Quality and Wealth of the People.

But who is this, that makes all this Controversie about *Alasa* in the Epistle? Is this the same Mr. *Boyle*, that was the Editor of these Epistles? so he gives himself out to be: and yet that Editor has described this *Alasa* in the E-

pistle, to be the very same that I say it is. For he says (a) *Alasa* is a Sea-port Town on the West side of the Island, *Cic. in Verrem* 3. Now this Situation agrees with no other, than the *Alasa* of *Archonides*:

and we are sure *Cicero* meant that very Town, from those words of *Diodorus*;

(a) Inde x. Phal. *Alasa*, *Cic. in Ver. 3. Maritima est in occidentali oris insule latere.* And again, *Aluntium, non procul ab Alasa.*

(b) Διὰ τὴν ἰσὸν Ῥωμαίων ἰσθεῖσαν ἀπέλειαν. *Diod. p. 246.*

(b) That the Romans gave to *Alasa* of *Archonides* an Immunity from

from paying Taxes, compared with these of Cicero, (c) Centuripa and Alæsa, free Cities, and exempt from paying Taxes. What shall we say to such an Examiner? He

(c) *Immunes civitates ac libera Centuripina, Halesina, &c. III. in Verrem.*

could speak the Truth-freely, as long as Truth was not against him. But when he sees these things turn'd upon him, to expose his admired Author, and pull down the Honour of his Edition; then he reverses his own Judgments, and what was white before, must now be black. But perhaps some white may turn red, when the Examiner pleases to reflect upon these Self-Contradictions.

To shew his Talent once more at misrepresenting; he repeats another Argument of mine thus: Alæsa of Archonides must be meant in the Epistles, because there was no other Town of that Name in the days of the Sophist. Now in those words of mine that he refers to, there is nothing like *because*; neither are they brought there as an Argument to prove, what he says they are. After I had fully proved, that the Writer of the Epistles meant Archonides's Alæsa; I concluded with this, *And indeed there was no other Town of that name in the days of the Sophist.* Which I did not design for a separate Argument; for that would plainly suppose the thing in Question, That the Epistles were writ by a Sophist. But I added them only as an account *à priori*, How it came about that the Sophist should mention that Alæsa. And the Account I take to be good and rational, that no other Alæsa was heard of in the days of the Sophist.

P. 124.

The very design then of this Period is misrepresented by the Examiner ; but he is mistaken too incidentally, as he dresses up his Inference. *We find*, says he, *in these Epistles the names of Astypalæa, Himera, Zancle, Towns out of date long before the days of the Sophist.* If (d) *Phal.* Mr. B. means *Astypalæa* (d), a City of Crete, *Edit. Oxon.* where he fancies *Phalaris* was born, I can readily agree with him, that that Town was quite out of date, both before and after the days of the Sophist, till *Phalaris's* Editors first found it out.

P. 125. *But Mr. B. forgets, that he is disputing with a strange sort of People, who won't allow, that Astypalæa in the Epistles is a Town of Crete, but a City and Island in the Ægean Sea ; which City, they believe, was not out of date in the days of the Sophist. For it was (e) standing in Tiberius's and (f) Titus's Time ; and for ought Mr. B. or I know, many Centuries after. But grant it only as low as Titus : I believe the Author of Phalaris's Epistles might live before that time ; for I find the forged Letters of Euripides were extant in Tiberius's days. And I can allow the same Antiquity to the counterfeit Phalaris. 'Tis a Query therefore, whether I do not think him older, than the Examiner himself does ?*

(e) *Strabo,*  
p. 488.

(f) *Plin.*  
iv, 23.

I would sum up the Particulars of this second Head, if the Examiner's Performance could bear recapitulating. But it's too thin and tender to endure handling again. I refer it all to the Readers, and let it stand or fall by the Judgment of that Jury.

## III.

THE LXX Epistle gives an account of several rich Presents to *Polyclitus* the *Messenian* Physician, for doing a great cure upon *Phalaris*. Among the rest, he names ποτηρίων Θηρικλείων ζεύγη δέκα, *ten couple of Thericlean cups*. But there is another thing, besides a pretty Invention, very useful to a Lyar; and that is, a good Memory. For we will suppose our Author to have once known something of these Cups, the time and the reason they were first called so; but he had unhappily forgot it, when he writ this Epistle. They were large Drinking-Cups, of a peculiar shape, so called from the first Contriver of them, one *Thericles* a *Corinthian* Potter.

\* *Pliny*, by mistaking his Author *Theo-  
phrastus*, makes him a *Turner*. The words of *Theophrastus* are these, † Τορνέ-  
εις δ' εἰς αὐτῆς (τερμίνθου) κούλικας Θηρι-  
κλείους, ὡς μὴδ' ἂν ἓνα διαγνώσκειν ὡς πρὸς τὰς  
κεραμέας; *That the Turners make Theri-  
clean Cups of the Turpentine tree, which  
cannot be distinguished from those made by  
the Potters*. Here can nothing be ga-  
thered hence, to make *Thericles* himself a  
*Turner*; for after He had first invented  
them, they were called *Thericlean*, from  
their

\* *Lib. xvi.  
cap. 40.  
Celebratur  
& Theri-  
cles nomine,  
calices ex  
terebintho  
solitus fa-  
cere torno.  
† *Hi. Plant.  
l. v. cap. 4.**

their shape, whatsoever Artificer made them, and whether of Earth, or of Wood, or of Metal. But as I said, by the general consent of Writers, we must call him a Potter. *Hesychius*, Θεῖκλειος, κύλικος εἶδος ἀπὸ Θεῖκλῆος κεραμέως. \* *Lucian*. Καὶ γηγενῆ πολλὰ, οἷα Θεῖκλῆος ὄψια. *Etymologicon M*. Θεῖκλειον κύλικα, ἦν λέγασσι, πρῶτος κεραμεὺς Θεῖκλῆος ἐποίησεν, ὡς φησὶν Εὐβουλός, ὃ τ' ἔμελλε Κωμῳδίας ποιητής. The words of *Eubulus*, whom he

\* In *Lexiphane*, p. 960.

*Lib. xi. p.*  
471.

cites, are extant in *Athenæus*.  
Καθαρώτερον γὰρ τ' ἔκεραμον εἰργαζόμενον,  
ἢ Θεῖκλῆος τὰς κύλικας, ἠνία' ἦν νέος.

And again ;

Ὡ γὰρ κεραμίτ', ἥσε Θεῖκλῆος ποτε  
Ἐτευξε, κοίλης λαγόνος εὐρένας βάθος.

Now the next thing to be enquired, is the Age of this *Thericles* ; and we learn that from *Athenæus* ; one Witness indeed, but as good as a multitude, in a matter of

*Pag. 470.* Κατασκευάσαι λέγεται τ' κύλικα ταύτην Θεῖκλῆος ὁ Κορινθίου κεραμεὺς, γηγενὸς τοῖς χρόνοις χθ' τ' Κωμικὸν Ἀριστοφάνη.

this nature. *This Cup*, says he, *was invented by Thericles the Corinthian Potter, who was Contemporary with Aristophanes the Comædian.* And in all probability, he had this indication from some Fable of that Poet's

now lost ; where that *Corinthian* was mention'd, as one then alive. But all the Plays that we have left of his, are known

known to have been written and acted between the LXXXIIX and XCVII Olympiads, which is an interval of XXXVI years. Take now the very first year of that number; and *Thericles*, with the Cups that had their appellation from him, come above CXX years after *Phalaris's* death.

But I must remove one Objection that may be made against the force of this Argument: for some ancient Grammarians give a quite different account, why such Cups were called *Thericlean*. Some derive the word *Θηρίκλειον*, ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων, from the *Skins of Beasts that were figured upon them*: and *Pamphilus the Alexandrian* would have them called so, ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων κλονεῖν, because *Beasts were scared and frightened, when, in Sacrifices, Wine was poured upon them out of those Cups*. So I interpret the words of *Pamphilus*; ἀπὸ τῶν Δίονυσον τὰς θύρας κλονεῖν, σπένδοντα ταῖς κόλιζι ταύταις κατ' αὐτῶν. For what is more ordinary in old Authors, than the memory of that custom of pouring wine on the heads of Victims?

*Ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima  
Dido*

*Candentis vaccæ media inter cornua fudit:*

Nor are wild Beasts only called *θηρία*, but tame too, such as Bulls and Cows;

as the Epigrammatist calls the *Minotaure*,  
 ἀνδρώπων μίξο. Φήρα. I cannot therefore  
 comprehend why the most learned *Jf. Casaubon*  
 would read σπεύδοντα in this passage,  
 and not σπένδοντα. For I own, I see lit-  
 tle or no sense in it, according to his Le-  
 ction. And as for the Authority of the  
 ancient Epitomizer of *Athenæus*, who,  
 he says, reads it σπεύδοντα; one may be  
 certain, 'twas a literal fault in that Copy  
 of him that *Casaubon* used. For *Eustathius*,  
 who appears never to have seen the  
 true *Athenæus*, but only that Epitome,  
 reads it in his Book σπένδοντα, and took  
 it in the same sense that I now interpret  
 it, Η δίσπι Φήρας κλονεί, σπένδουσι γ' ἡ κατ'  
 αὐτῶν κώλιξι τιαύταις.

P. 1209.  
*Iliad.*

And now for these two derivations of  
 the word *Θηρίκλειον*; was ever any thing  
 so forced, so frigid, so unworthy of refu-  
 tation? Does not common Analogy plain-  
 ly shew, that as from *Ἡρακλῆς* comes *Ἡρά-  
 κλειον*, from *Σοροκλῆς*, *Σορόκλειον*, and ma-  
 ny such like; so *Θηρίκλειον* must be from  
*Θηρικλῆς*? besides so many express Autho-  
 rities for it, which I have cited before. To  
 which I may add that of *Julius Pollux*,  
*Θηρίκλειον ἢ Κάνθαρον ἀπὸ τῶν ποιούντων*;  
 and *Plutarch* in *P. Æmilii*, "Οἴτε τὰς  
*Αντιγονίδας, ἢ Σελευκίδας, ἢ Θηρικλείς*  
*ἑπιδεικνύμεται.* and *Clemens Alexand.*  
 Ἐρρέτων

*Lib. vi. c.*  
 16.

P. 273.



Ἐρρέτων τοίνυν Θερίκλειοί τινες κύλικες, ἢ Αντιγονίδης, ἢ Κάινθαρος. For one may justly infer, that both *Plutarch* and *Clemens* believed Θερίκλειοι to be from Θερίκλῆς; because they joyn them with those other Cups, all which had their names from Men, that either invented or used them. And so says a Manuscript note upon that passage of *Clemens*; Θερίκλειοι ἀπὸ Θερίκλῆος τῷ ἐφευρέντι. So that upon the whole, let *Pamphilus* and those other Grammarians help him as they can, our Sophist stands fully convicted, upon this Indictment, of Forgery and Imposture.

**T**HE Examiner has been frugal and sparing of his Learning upon the former Topics, that he might lay it out more profusely upon this Third; at the same time that his Friend *Phalaris* was exercising his Liberality upon his Physician *Polyclitus*.

And first he endeavours to cut the Knot, that he may save the hard labour of loosing it. The Text of *Phalaris*, as it stands now, is, Καὶ ποτηρίων Θερικλείων ζεύγη δέκα. *What*, says he, *if it was heretofore*, Ποτηρίων δ' Ἡρακλείων, *Heracllean or Herculean Cups* instead of *Thericlean*? 'Tis a very inconsiderable alteration, and yet it salves all. I agree with Mr. B. that this alteration of his is every way very inconsiderable. I won't contend with him about the unreasonable Licence he takes in changing a plain Reading against the Authority of three MSS, and the whole Set of Editions,

P. 146.

purely to serve a turn. Another man perhaps would have disputed it, but I am willing to encourage Criticism in every well-wisher. The only Exception that I'll now make against his Emendation, is this, That there never was any sort or fashion of Cups, that were called *Herculean*.

'Tis true, *Athenæus* in his Catalogue of Cups reckons the *Herculean*, *Ἡρακλειον*; but he meant not, that it was a Species of Cups of such a shape, so denominated from *Hercules*; but it was one single Cup, that *Hercules* made use of on a particular occasion. (a) He tells us from *Pisander*,

(a) *Athen.*  
p. 469.

*Panyasis*, and *Pherecydes*, that when *Hercules* design'd to go to *Erythea*, an Isle in the Western Ocean; he forced the Sun to lend him his Cup, that he uses to sail in from West to East every night; and in that Cup he pass'd over to *Erythea*. And he proves further out of *Stesichorus*, *Antimachus*, and *Æschylus*; that there was such a fabulous Tradition, about the Sun's sailing over the Ocean every night in a (b) Cup. *Apollodorus* tells the same Story (c), that the Sun lent

(b) *Ἡράκλειον*,  
*Ἡρακλειον*.

(c) *Apel.*  
*lib. ii p.*  
115.

*Hercules* his Golden Cup to sail in. *Antiqua historia est*, says *Macrobius*, *Herculem poculo, tanquam navigio, vectum immensa maria transisse*. The vulgar Editions read it *ventis* instead of

(d) *Macrobi.*  
*Saturn. v.*  
21.

*vectum* (d). 'Tis an old Story, that *Hercules* pass'd over the Sea in a Cup, as if it had been a Ship. And he names his Authors, the same that *Athenæus* quotes, *Panyasis* and *Pherecydes*. But *Athenæus* adds, that according to *Mimnermus* 'tis a (e) Golden Bed, and not a Cup, that the Sun uses to sail in; nay, that if we believe the Author of *Titanomachia*, and one *Theoclytus*,

(e) *Euvii*  
*Χερσων*.

But *Athenæus* adds, that according to *Mimnermus* 'tis a (e) Golden Bed, and not a Cup, that the Sun uses to sail in; nay, that if we believe the Author of *Titanomachia*, and one *Theoclytus*,

(f) *Δέξιος*.  
(g) *Eustath.*  
*ad Dionys.*

'tis (f) a Cauldron. And thence it is, that (g) *Alexander Ephesius* says, *Hercules* sail'd to *Erythea* in a Brazen Cauldron.

*Χαλ-*

Καλλείῳ ὃ λέσθη μέγαν διενήξατο πόντον.

And so say *(h)* Servius and *(i)* Albricus : but *(k)* *(h)* Servius ad Æn. vii.

Καλλείῳ ἀλάτῳ βυπληθεῖσσι ἔξ Εργυθείης.

If ἀλάτῳ in this place do not signifie a Cup in the fashion of a Ship. Now upon the whole, I conceive 'tis most evident, that the *Herculean* *fragm. Ca-saub. p. 782.*

was one single particular Cup, used once only by *Hercules* upon extraordinary service : not imitated and multiplied into a sort or fashion, so as xx pair of such Cups might be presented by *Phalaris*.

'Twas so far from being a vulgar Cup for domestick uses ; that as we have seen above, 'tis not known among Writers, what shape or fashion it was of, nor indeed whether it was a Cup or no.

This Explication of *Athenæus* will perhaps seem new to our Examiner ; but he'll be satisfied 'tis the true one, if he pleases to take that Author, whom he has abused and reviled so much, once more into his hand.

Or if Authority goes further with him than bare Reason, I have *Eustathius* to vouch for it ; who, after he has set down this very passage of *Athenæus*, I mean out of his Epitome, concludes thus ;

*(m)* So that the *Herculean Cup* is that, which is called also the *Sun's Cup*.

In the same manner *Athenæus* puts *Nestoreis*, the *Nestorean* in his Catalogue of Cups ; not that there were a sort of Cups of that name and fashion ; but it was a particular Cup of *Nestor's* described by *Homer* *(n)* !

Πᾶς ὃ λέπας ἀεικαλλές, ὃ οἶχοθεν ἦν ὁ κρείττος  
Χρυσείῳ ἢ λαοῖσι πεπερμένον, ὅς.

There were many Disputes among the old Grammarians about the shape of this Cup, which they gather'd from *Homer's* account of it ; and

many Treatises were written upon the Subject: which is a sure Indication, that it was not in common use. (o) *Dionysius Thrax*, a Grammarian of great Note, to shew his Scholars the figure of it, by a more sensible way, than a verbal Description, got a Work-man to make one in Silver according to his Directions, the Metal being provided at the Charge of his Scholars. This, I presume, will convince the Examiner, that no such Cups, called *Nestorean*, were then in fashion. And in truth the *Ἡρακλειον* and the *Νεστωεις* were words never heard of, but out of the mouths of Grammarians. *Athenæus* therefore has not brought one single Author, that used either of those names; nor has *Pollux* made any mention of them in his Chapters of *Cups*.

P 146.Ed. II. But, Mr. B. will say, *are not Heracleian Cups mention'd in Cicero, among the wealth of Verres, which he had amass'd together out of Sicily, the very place where the Scene of these Letters lay?* His

(p) *Cic. iv. in Verrem. Pocula duo quædam, quæ Heraclea nominantur.* This Passage our Examiner met with in *Salmasius's* Notes upon *Solinus*; and perceiving that that great Man did not approve this vulgar Lession, he thus animadverts upon him: *Salmasius*, says he, *will not allow the present Reading of Heraclea; but, like a true Critic, without any Authority, substitutes Thericlea in the room of it.* He shews, what Class of Critics himself is in, by this little insult upon a true one. But by what Authority does our Examiner affirm, that *Salmasius* did it *without any Authority?* If he had but cast his Eyes upon the most common Editions of *Cicero*, he would have seen there, that two MS Copies have it *Theridia*, and another *Heridia*; which a Man of the smallest Acquaintance

quaintance with Books will easily know to be for *Thericlia*; *d* being put for *cl* in infinite places. And before *Salmafius* was born, this same Correction was started by *Gul. Canterus* (q); who says, some Persons affirm'd that the MSS have it expressly *Thericlea*. Here, I suppose, is sufficient Authority for substituting this Reading. But the best Authority is what I have newly laid before him, that there were no such Cups call'd *Heraclean*. And if *Cicero* had meant such, he would have call'd them not *Heraclean*, but *Herculean*.

(q) *Canterus nov. lect. v. 28. Nam in scriptis quidam Libris Thericlea se reperisse sunt qui asserunt.*

But *Athenæus* talks of a (r) *σκόφοι Ἡρακλεωπῶς*, which the Examiner would interpret, an *Heraclean or Herculean Bowl*. This Objection therefore must be removed; and it will be done very easily. Some, (s) says *Athenæus*, call this *Bowl* *Heracleotick*, from *Hercules*, who first used this sort in his Expeditions. His way is, to set down the several Opinions, though they be false and absurd; as the ridiculous Derivation of *Thericlean* Cups from *Θηρίων*, or *Θῆρας κλονεῖν*; which we have spoken of above. And thus he has imparted to us that Etymology of *Heracleotic*, though it be against all Rules of Analogy. But he has sufficiently intimated his own Opinion, that they are called so from *Heraclea*, the Town of their Manufacture; and for the same reason they are called also *Bæotic*; because this *Heraclea* was in or near *Bæotia*. 'Tis true, these Cups had the *Herculean Knot* wrought upon the Ears of them; yet that did not give them their name: but it was put there, because *Heraclea*, the Town where the Cups were made, had its Original and Name from *Hercules*. For this was (t) *Heraclea Trachin*, situate near the foot

(r) *Athen. apud Casaub. 782. P. 146.*

(s) P. 500.

*Ἡρακλεωπῶς* *δοσμός.*

(t) See *Athen. p. 500. & 461.*

of Oeta, where *Hercules* was burnt. These Bowls therefore were called *Heracleotic* from the place of their Manufacture; as others upon the same account were called *Rhodian*, *Syracusan*, *Chalcidic*, *Λυκισγυῆς*. So there were *Heracleotic Nuts*, *Heracleotic Crabfish*, so called from another *Heraclea*, a City of *Pontus*.

Our Examiner being thus baffled in his alteration of *Phalaris's* Text; he now resolves to turn about, and try to maintain it as it now stands. *Athenæus* affirms, that *Thericles* lived in *Aristophanes's* time: and he, said I, in a case of *History and Philology*, is a Witness as good as a multitude. The Examiner endeavours to ridicule the very Expression, as far as his puerile Jestings can help him out. But methinks he might have remember'd his *u* *Homer*:

(u) *Iliad.*

Α.

Ἰντεῖς γδ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντιζῖθ' ἄλλων.

(x) *Anthol.*

iii.

Or that Epigram upon (x) *Heracitus*:

Εἷς ἐμοὶ ἀνδρωπῶ τεισμύειοι—

One man to me is as good as 30000 Or the

(y) *Cic. in Bruto.*

saying of *Antimachus*, (y) *Plato mihi unus est instar multorum millium*. But for fear he should fall foul upon these Authors; as he has upon

(z) *P. 26, 28, &c.*

*Manilius* and *Laertius* and others (z), because he thought I had an esteem for them, I'll give him his own *Favourite Author Phalaris*, who thus complements one *Epicharmus*, (a) *One such*

*P. 32.*

(a) *Ep. 93.*

Εἷς ἀνὴρ ἐμοὶ τοῖσ' ἑπί-  
πῶσι δὲ Σι-  
κελίας μί-  
τρων.

man as you is as much to me, as all Sicily is.

The two next Pages are spent in a tedious insipid Declamation (they are his own words to a better Writer, *Dion Chrysostom*) about *Athenæus's* not citing his Authors to shew the Age of *Thericles*. The short of his Speech is this, That he won't take *Athenæus's* word for a single Farthing, unless he get somebody to be bound for him.

him. But there is one stroke in it, of a more subtle Turn than the rest, that shews the wonderfull Sagacity of our Examiner. *Athenæus* had made this *Thericles* Contemporary with *Aristophanes* the Poet. This, says the Examiner, he had no down-right Witness of: but only he had never read, or did not then call to mind any older Author that spoke of him. *For observable it is* (yes, I pray you Sirs, observe it) *that among the several Quotations, in which he abounds on this head, there is none that runs higher, than the Age of that Poet.* Now certainly there was never such a sharp-sighted Observer, since the famous *Lynceus* saw through a Mill-stone. *Athenæus*, when he enters upon this head, expressly declares, that this *Thericles* lived in *Aristophanes's* time: and yet *observable it is*, that he quotes no body, that mentions him before *Aristophanes's* time. Now in my opinion it had been much more *observable*, if he had produced any Testimony before the time of *Aristophanes*. For that would have been as flat a Contradiction to what he had newly deliver'd, as our Examiner's Contradictions are, to what the Editor of *Phalaris* says.

But since *Athenæus* has so little credit with Mr. B. that he won't believe a word he says, without a Voucher: I'll endeavour to produce a Witness for him, *Eubulus* the Comic Poet.

(a) Διένιφα δ' ἔδεν σκεῦθ' ἔδει πάποτε.

Καθαρώτερον γὰρ ἢ χέεμον εἰργαζόμενω,

\*Ἡ Θεικλῆς παῖς κύλιχας, ἠνίκ' ἦν νέος.

(a) *Athen.*

471.

*I made*, says he, *the Earthen Ware purer, than Thericles did his Cups, when he was young.* Those that know Style and Language, will agree with me, that the last words, *ἠνίκ' ἦν νέος*, must be referr'd to *Thericles*; and not be render'd in the

first Person, as the Latin Translator has mistaken them. And I take them to be an intimation, that *Thericles* was alive, when this Play was acted; and that he was old then and past his Work. This I dare say is the best and neatest Explication, that can be put upon the words, and therefore I believe it the truest. For if *Thericles* had been long dead before the Age of *Eubulus*, (so long, as to be older than *Phalaris*) the Poet would not have added those words, when he was young. For how could he know then, that *Thericles* lived so long, that he left off his Trade, or at least did not work at it with his own hands, as the words imply? *Thericles* therefore by this account, was an old Man in the time of *Eubulus*, and flourished,  $\chi\tau\prime$  ἢ *Aeusoφάνη*, in *Aristophanes's* days. And this is remarkably confirmed by the Testimony of Chronology. For *Eubulus* lived (b) Olymp. ci, in the middle Interval, between the old and the new Comedy: and *Plutus*, the last of *Aristophanes's* Plays, was acted (c) Olymp. xcviij, 4; which is about x years before. So that the same man might be in his Prime in *Aristophanes's* time, and decrepit in *Eubulus's*.

(b) *Suid. v.*  
*Ευσελ* Ⓞ.

(c) *Schol.*  
*ver. ad*  
*Plutum.*

The Examiner has been so perpetually mistaken, since his very first setting out, that I could wish for a little Variety, he would be once in the right. But I find he won't oblige me yet; for he falls into a new Error in the very next Paragraph.

(d) *Athen* 470. Κατασκευάσαι ἢ λέγεται πρὸν κώλικα ταυτην Ὀνεικλῆς, γερνῶς τοῖς κερνῶς  $\chi\tau\prime$  ἢ *Aeusoφάνη*.

*Athenæus's* words are, (d) One *Thericles*, who lived about the time of *Aristophanes*, is said (or is reported) to have made this sort of Cup. 'Tis the Examiner's own Translation; and he makes this



this observation upon the place ; *That the Au-* P. 150.  
*thor says, λέγεται, is said, is reported ; which is*  
*an expression of distrust, and that he was not justif-*  
*ied of the truth of the report.* Now to what  
 purpose our Examiner remarked this, it's hard  
 to understand. For that *Thericles* lived in *Ari-*  
*stophanes's* time, *Athenæus* speaks positively ;  
 witnesses Mr. B's own Version of his words. And  
 this is all we depended on *Athenæus's* Credit  
 for ; for as to the other point, that *Thericles*  
 invented the Cups, we have ten witnesses at  
 least, besides *Athenæus*. What service then can  
 he do his cause from this λέγεται, though it re-  
 ally signified such a distrust ? But this fancied  
*distrust* is another Error, of near affinity to  
 the former. For λέγεται is so far from being a  
 token of want of Evidence, that it is principally  
 used upon the contrary account, when the gene-  
 rality of Writers are agreed. When a single  
 witness says a thing, he is commonly menti-  
 on'd by name ; but when the Evidence is nume-  
 rous, and cannot all be brought in, then they  
 say, λέγεται or Φασί. Even this passage under  
 debate might have given the hint to the Exami-  
 ner : for after our Author had said λέγεται, he  
 brings three witnesses to that very point. But  
 I'll give him an instance of another Writer.

(d) λέγεται, 'Tis said, says *Laer-*  
*tius, that as Pythagoras chanced*  
*to shew his Thigh naked, it ap-*  
*peared to be Gold.* The reason  
 why he says λέγεται here, when

(d) *Laert. in Pythag.*  
 λέγεται ὃ αὐτῷ ποτε πρ-  
 οβαρῶν δένει ἢ μὴ  
 εἶν ὀφθαίαι χρυσοῦν.

in other places he names his Author, is not  
 the want of witnesses, but the abundance of  
 them ; so that 'twas needless to name particu-  
 lars. And that this is true, it manifestly appears  
 from

f. Laert.  
Ibid.

from the many Writers yet extant that affirm the same story, *Apollonius, Plutarch, Lucian, Aelian, Porphyry, Jamblichus, Ammianus, &c.* Again says *Laertius*; λέγεται, (f) Pythagoras is said to have advised his Scholars to say this Verse every day, when they came home,

Πῆ παρέσθην, τίδ' ἔρεξα, τί μοι δέον ἐκ ἐτελέδην.

Now the Authors, that say the same thing, the Writer of the *Golden Verses, Cicero, Porphyry, St. Hierom*, are a full proof that this λέγεται does not here import a defect of proof; but rather a superfluity of it.

I had said, *Common Analogy plainly shews, that as from Ηερακλῆς comes Ηερακλειθ, from Σοφοκλῆς, Σοφοκλειθ, and many such like; so Πεικλειθ must be from Πεικλῆς.* The Examiner acknowledges the Derivation is true; but the Argument, he says, is stark naught. For let us try it, says he, in another instance. As from Απειλλῆς comes Απέλλειθ, so from Θαλῆς the Philosopher must come Θαλειθ virens. Now with the leave of our pert Examiner, this instance of his is no instance at all. For the Analogy, that I spoke of, does not extend to all words that have termination in ης; but only to the compound words ending in κλῆς, from κλέθ gloria: as besides the words I named before, Βαθυκλῆς, Βαθύκλειθ; Ξενοκλῆς, Ξενοκλειθ; Διοκλῆς, Διοκλειθ; and so Φιλοκλῆς, Λαμωροκλῆς, Μεγακλῆς, Θεμισοκλῆς, &c. all form their Adjectives in κλειθ. Now let him give one single instance, if he can, of a word ending in κλειθ, that does not follow this Analogy: and then his boyish Witticisms and doggeril Rhimes, which he has spurted here, will come in more seasonably. But at present he only exposes himself, by breaking his unmannerly Jest upon his own mistakes. But

But let *Athenæus* be as positive as he will, that *Thericles* and *Aristophanes* were Contemporaries, Mr. B. will confute him out of his own words, (g) καὶ μύποτε Ἀλεξίς ἐν Ησιόνη Θηελ- (g) *Athen.*  
*κλίῳ ποιεῖ* ἢ Ἡερκλέα πίνοντα: which he translates, P. 470.  
*And does not Alexis introduce Hercules drinking out of a Thericlean Cup?* Now our Examiner has committed a double Error about this one Sentence. First he has not construed the words right; for μύποτε is not in this place a Particle of Interrogation, which is the most positive way of affirming; but on the very contrary 'tis a word of doubting, *Fortasse, Perhaps, or, it may be, that Alexis introduces.* This the Examiner might have learnt in those very Dictionaries, that he talks so much of; or in *Budæus's* (h) Com- (h) P. 910.  
 mentaries, where several Passages of *Athenæus* himself are cited to prove it. And indeed *Athenæus* could not be positive, that *Alexis* meant the *Thericlean Cup*; for the Poet's words are only these, as they now stand:

— Γενόμεν⊕ δ' εἴνυς μόλις

Ἡίποσι κύλικη, καὶ λαβὼν ἐξῆς πυκνὰς Ἐλκεσιν —

But the true reading of them is rather thus:

— Γενόμεν⊕ δ' εἴνυς μόλις Ἡίποσι κύλικα.

But at last, coming to himself, he called for a Cup of Wine. The very words γενόμεν⊕ and μόλις confirm the Conjecture about εἴνυς; for so *Plutarch*, Τότε ἢ εἴνυς γενόμεν⊕; and an Author in (i) *Suidas*, Ὅτε εἴνυς ἐγένετο. And the last (i) *Suid.*  
 Syllable in κύλικα was lost, because καὶ follow'd it. *Εἴνυς.*  
 And so much by way of Emendation. But, as I said, *Athenæus* could not be positive; for the whole Stress lay upon the word κύλικα. *Alexis*, says he, introduces *Hercules* drinking in a *Chalice*; and perhaps he meant the *Thericlean*.

(k) For

(k) ὅτι ὁ (k) *For that the Thericlean was a Chalice, The-  
 αὐλὶξ ἴσθι* *opbraftus is a plain Witness.* These are the very  
 Θηείκλει-  
 σ, σαφῶς  
 παρ' ἑσθι  
 Passage.

Π. 152. *But says Mr. B. If Athenæus could suppose,  
 that Hercules and a Thericlean Cup were brought  
 upon the Stage together ; he must suppose too, that  
 the Thericlean Cup was as ancient as Hercules ;  
 or else it would have been absurd and ridiculous.*

Here's the second Mistake of our Examiner ;  
 for *Athenæus* knew very well, that the Writers  
 of the Greek Comedies did not tie themselves  
 so strictly to the Rules of Chronology. He  
 might have a thousand Instances of it, which we  
 cannot now come at. But there are enough yet

extant, to make the Examiner repent his rash-  
 ness, in taxing so great an Author. *Anaxandri-  
 des* in a Play called *Hercules* (because *Hercules*  
 was the chief Person brought in upon the

(l) *Athen.* Stage) (l) mentions *Argas* the Musician, who  
 638. was alive when the Play was acted. The same  
 Poet in another Play called *Protesilaus*, from  
 the Hero of that name, that was slain by *He-*

(m) *Athen.* *ctor* (m), speaks of the same *Argas*, and *Antigeni-  
 131. das*, and *Cephisodotus*, three Musicians, and *I-  
 phicrates* the *Athenian* General, and *Cotys* King  
 of *Thrace* ; all of them then living in the Poet's

own time. (n) *Diphilus* the Comedian in his  
 (n) *Athen.* *Sappho* introduced *Archilochus* and *Hipponax*, as  
 599. Gallants to that Lady : though one of them  
 was dead before she was born ; and she dead, be-  
 fore the other was born. Nay *Alexis* himself,

(o) *Athen.* in his (o) *Linus*, brings *Linus* upon the Stage,  
 164. instructing his Pupil *Hercules*, and offering him  
 Books to chuse of.

Ορφεύς ἔνεστιν, Ἡσίοδος, Τραγωδοί, Χοίρελοι, Ὀμηροί, Επίχαρμοί, Συγγράμματα Παντοδαπά —

Orpheus, Hesiod, Tragedies, Chærilus, Homer, Epicharmus, and all sorts of Authors: but Hercules makes choice of one *Simon's Art of Cookery*. Can we desire an instance more apposite, and more full against our Examiner? Here's the same Poet *Alexis* brings the same person Hercules with *Epicharmus* in his hand: and why might he not as well introduce him with a *Thericlean Cup* in his hand?

But besides all this, had we no such Examples of this Liberty of the Greek Comedians, we could still defend *Athenæus* against the insults of our Examiner. For he forgets, that *Hercules* was a God, and consequently, in the Poet's Creed, he eat and drunk even in *Thericles's* time. And had not *Hercules* several Temples? and were not Cups frequently among the Donaries presented to the Gods? Nay the *Thericlean* are expressly mention'd, as (p) Donaries in the *Acropolis* at *Athens*. *Hercules* therefore might have several *Thericleans* among his own Plate. For what Present could be more proper to such a Fuddler as he was, than a *Thericlean*, one of the biggest fashions of Cups, some of them holding (q) above seven *Cotyle*, that is, five of our Pints?

(p) Polemon apud Athen. p. 472.

(q) Athen. 472.

Nay, allow that *Hercules* was a Hero only, and no God; even the Heroes too might be introduc'd drinking in *Thericles's* Ware. For they also had their Temples and Donaries, and they pass'd their time merrily, eating and drinking (r); and the mischief they were supposed to do (for they were thought to be very quarrelsome and dangerous) was attributed to their being

(r) Athen. 46. Zenob. Ὀλεῖ δ' ἡρώες κακῶν ἔπιμοι, μᾶλλον ἢ εὐεργεταί.

(f) *Macrob.* being so often in drink. But (f) *Hercules* was particularly, and of them all the most addicted to the Juice of the Grape. So that he was commonly painted with his Cup, and sometimes reeling and tumbling.

But our Examiner makes yet another Assault against *Athenæus*. That Author had said, *The-ricles* was a *Corinthian* Potter; but Mr. B. will prove from his own words (which *Athenæus's* dulness did not suffer him to understand) that he was an *Athenian* Potter; if that Invention was truly his.

*Lynceus Samius* says, (t) *Ῥοδῖες ἀντιδημιουργήσασθαι τὰς Ἡδυποτίδας πρὸς τὰς Ἀθηνῶσι Θηρικλείους*, That the Rhodians wrought a sort of Cup, called Hedypotides, in imitation of the Thericlean, made at Athens. So Mr. B. translates it, but erroneously, as his manner is. For *ἀντιδημιουργήσασθαι*, is not to work in imitation, but in opposition. Now what will he infer from hence? That the *Thericlean* Cups were invented at Athens? But the words do not imply it, but only that they were in great use and fashion at Athens, when *Lynceus* wrote this Discourse; that is, a hundred years after *Thericles's* Death. Now the Cups might be invented at *Corinth*; but because they took mightily at Athens, they might afterwards be the best wrought there, and so be accounted an *Athenian* Manufacture. But let us grant, they were invented at Athens; must *Thericles* therefore be an *Athenian*? A very precarious Consequence. For he might be a *Corinthian* born, and yet be settled at Athens. For near half of the Inhabitants there, were Strangers from other places; (u) and the Strangers were commonly such as wrought in the Manufactures. In *Demetrius Phalereus's* time (x), when

(f) *Macrob.*  
*Satur.* v.  
21.

P. 153.

(t) *Athen.*  
P. 469.

(u) *Xenophon*, Περὶ Πρωτων.  
(x) *Athen.*  
P. 272.

when the Citizens were 21000, the *μῆτρικοι* Strangers were 10000. And where now is the *Inconsistency and Confusion* that our modest Examiner charges upon *Athenæus*? *Has he not reason to make the Itch of opposing great Names upon very slight or no grounds, a chief and distinguishing mark of Pedantry?*

P. 154.

P. 157.

The Examiner will still hang upon the cause; and if we will but allow him, that *Thericles* was an *Athenian*, he has found a very surprizing Salvo, to bring off the Epistles. “For then perhaps, this *Thericles* was no Potter, but the *Athenian* Archon of that Name, Olymp. LXI, 4; and the Cups might take their Name from him, because he first used them, as the *Ἀντρονίδαι* and *Σελευκίδαι* mention’d in *Plutarch* were so called from *Antigonus* and *Seleucus*, who delighted in those fashions. And then if *Phalaris* lived till Olymp. LXXII, 3. (as Mr. *Dodwell*’s opinion is) the Epistles may be an Original still; for by this account the name might be given to the *Thericlean* Cups above XL years before *Phalaris*’s Death.

P. 153.

What a Parcel of Suppositions are here, one in the neck of another? If *Thericles* was an *Athenian*, which a good Author assures us, he was not; then he might not be a Workman, but a Magistrate; though no fewer than ten witnesses say expressly, he was a Workman, *Pliny*, *Hesychius*, *Lucian*, *Etymologicon* M. *Scholion* upon *Clemens* *Alex.* *Pollux*, *Athenæus*, *Cleanthes*, *Theopompus*, *Eubulus*; not one single Evidence appearing against them. But suppose him to be a Magistrate; then suppose too, that Mr. D’s notion is true: but I have already consider’d that learned Man’s opinion; and *Eusebius*’s Computation is still

still as firm as ever. What a sorry crippled Argument's here, even lame upon all four? But there's a worse distemper in it still, either to be laugh'd at, or pitied; I mean, that wretched and scandalous Barbarism of *Αντιγονίδαι* and *Σελευκίδαι*. The words of *Plutarch*, which I had cited in my Dissertation, are, "Οἱ τε τὰς *Αντιγονίδας* καὶ *Σελευκίδας* καὶ *Θηεκλείδης* ἀπιδεικνύμενοι : which the Examiner having occasion to put into the Nominative Case, calls them *Αντιγονίδαι* and *Σελευκίδαι* (in both his Editions) as if the Nominatives Singular were *Αντιγονίδης* and *Σελευκίδης*. The man, that has a Controversie with Mr. B. must do the office of a Schoolmaster, and teach him his Declensions; for the Cups are not to be called *Αντιγονίδαι* and *Σελευκίδαι*, but *Αντιγονίδες* and *Σελευκίδες*, from *Αντιγονίς* and *Σελευκίς*. So (y) *Clemens Alex.* *Θηεκλείοι κώλικας καὶ Αντιγονίδες*, (z) *Athenæus* : *Σελευκίς, Ροδιάς, Αντιγονίς, (a) Pollux*; *Σελευκίδα καὶ Ροδιάδα*; see *Hesychius* in *Σελευκίς*. Is not this now a formidable Writer, and born to be the Terror and Scourge of the *Scaliger's* and *Salmasius's*? 'Tis to be hoped that hence-forward he will not make so many awkward Jest upon Lexicons and Dictionaries: any one of which upon this occasion might have done him good Service.

The last Effort, upon this Topic, that Mr. B. makes for his *Sicilian Prince*, is a Memorandum he gives his Reader, that this and all the other Chronological Arguments touch only those particular Epistles, from whence they are taken. So that should those Epistles be found spurious, yet the rest of the Set may, *to his Comfort*, be genuine. What a passionate Concern's here! who can find in his Heart now to deprive the Gentleman of *his Comfort*? I for my part, whom he calls

(y) *Clem.*

*Pædag.* p.

69.

(z) *Athen.*

p 497, 783.

(a) *Pol.lib.*

vi, 26.



calls a Man of *singular Humanity*, will reserve this point to some other Section towards the end of this Book, and let him enjoy his dear Comfort, as long as I can.

And now having exhibited these Specimens of his Learning, he takes the opportunity to shew his Readers a little of his Temper. *He assures them, that I went no farther for ALL this Learning about Thericlean Cups, than my Dictionaries, and what one of those refer'd me to, Casaubon's Notes on Athenæus.* This he assured in his first Edition; but in the second he discovers, that I take some part of it from *Salmasius*: So that there he assures, that I went to my Dictionaries, and *Casaubon*, for ALMOST ALL *this Learning*. The Readers without question will allow, that the Examiner's Assurance is good, that shall dare to assure two contrary things, and inconsistent with one another. A Man that accuses at this rate, answers himself. But however, because it's such a matter of Fact, as I can give a direct reply to; I'll shew him that piece of Respect, to return him an answer. He says, I have taken some of it out of *Salmasius*; I answer directly, *I have not*; for I knew not then, that *Salmasius* had said one word about it. *Casaubon's Notes* I own I had seen, and I desire the Reader to see them too; that he may see the Spirit of the Examiner. One main branch of what I said upon this Head, is a refutation of *Casaubon*. And did I gather out of *Casaubon's Notes* a refutation of himself? I wish I could truly own it; for the Reputation of it would be the greater. And lastly, If this Learning lay so very obvious; that, as Mr. B. says, *I went no further than Dictionaries for it*; the greater is the shame for

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P. 156.  
2d. Edit.

Him; that when *Phalaris* was published, he was ignorant of such a common thing: for he neither translates the word *Θηέλκεια* right; nor appears to have had any knowledge of the Original of the Name.

But now the storm begins to rise higher; and  
 P. 156, I fall, he says, upon Casaubon, against common  
 157. Gratitude, common Sense, Truth, Decency, and Reason. The occasion of all this Out-cry is this; Casaubon had endeavour'd to correct the Text of *Athenæus*, and alter *σπένδοντα* into *σπέδοντα*. But in my Dissertation, I plainly shew'd, how that great Man was mistaken; neither has the Examiner offer'd one word to justify his Correction. What is it then, that he is so incens'd at? Casaubon had observ'd, that the MS Epitomizer of *Athenæus* read it *σπέδοντα*; But one may be certain, said I, 'twas a fault only in that Copy of him, that Casaubon us'd. For Eustathius, who appears never to have seen the true *Athenæus*, but only that Epitome, read it in his Book *σπένδοντα*. Here the Examiner swells and blusters; and indeed I must beseech the Reader to read over those Pages of his; they are an Original Strain for Civility and good Manners; and yet he is all-over mistaken in every Paragraph of them.

157, 158,  
159.

It is certain, says he, that Eustathius had seen *Athenæus* himself: and therefore Casaubon says

(b) *Sæpe u-* only of him, that he did (b) OFTEN use the Epitome.  
*ti Epitome,* And Dr. B. will not pretend ever to have seen it,  
 P. 2. for it's unprinted to this day: so that he talks of a thing, that he knows nothing of, and can know nothing of, but from Casaubon, and yet ventures to contradict him. Now to stop the Examiner a little in the Carreer of his Confidence; In the first place, that very Copy of the Epitome, that  
 Casau-

*Casaubon* used and possessed, among many other Books, was purchased of his Executors soon after his Death, and deposited in the Royal Library: and I had the Book then in my hand, and had newly consulted it, (let the Examiner read this, if he can, without blushing) when I writ this Passage in my Dissertation. For suspecting from those Instances, which *Casaubon* had given, that *Eustathius* had only used the Epitome of *Athenæus*, without having the Original, I had the Curiosity to examin near a hundred Passages of *Eustathius*, and I perpetually found, that he had taken them from the Epitome, and never from the true Author. Had I not reason then to say, *That Eustathius APPEARS never to have seen the true Athenæus?* Half of that Examination would have encouraged our Examiner into the positive Style, that he had *certainly* never seen him.

For without any grounds at all he is positive of the contrary, though it be *a thing that he knows nothing of*. *It is certain*, says he, *that Eustathius had seen Athenæus himself*. Why so? And whence has he this Air of Assurance? Because *Casaubon* says, *He OFTEN followed the Epitome*. A very extraordinary Inference; Because he *often* follow'd the Epitome; therefore he *sometimes* follow'd the Original. If his new System of Logic teaches him such Arguments, I'll be content with the old ones. Mr. *Casaubon* had examined several Passages of *Eustathius*, where he quotes *Athenæus*: and he cautiously says, that he *often* uses the *Excerpta*: because perhaps he had no leisure, or no desire to be satisfied further. I come after him, and examin many more Passages of *Eustathius*; and I find, that he ap-

pears to have *always* follow'd the *Excerpta*. Both of our Assertions are true, and consistent with each other. And yet the Examiner says  
 P. 157. *I contradict Casaubon*. But I would advise him to take one Lecture more in his Logic, to know what a Contradiction is.

But I had said, *'Twas a fault only in that Copy of the Epitome that Casaubon used*. By a *Fault only*, I meant, *'twas only a Fault*, nothing but an Error of the Scribe, and a literal Mistake. Here the Examiner argues against me, as if I had said, *'Twas a Fault in that only Copy*; and he presently falls into his old Vein of civil Language. Now this is just as good Construction, as if his own words in this very Page, *And therefore Casaubon says only of Eustathius*, should be interpreted, *That he says it of Eustathius only*. In which Acceptation the thing is false. But a mistake of Syntax is a small fault in our Examiner, after those great ones that have come before.

P. 158. The Examiner now *begs the Reader's Pardon*, while he wanders a moment or two from his Subject; but I am very much mistaken, if he will not find it the greatest Difficulty to *pardon* himself. In my Latin Dissertation upon *Johannes Anti-*

*ochenus*, I had started a new Observation about the Measures of the *Anapaestic Verse*. All the Moderns before had supposed, that the last Syllable of every Verse was common, as well in *Anapaests*, as they are known to be in *Hexameters* and others: so that in Poems of their own composing, the last Foot of their *Anapaests* was very frequently a *Tribrachys*, or a *Trochee*, or a *Cretic*; or the Foot ended in a Vowel or an M, while the next Verse begun with a Vowel or an H. In every one of which Cases an Error was  
 com-

committed: Because there was no Licence allowed by the Ancients to the last Syllable of *Anapæsts*; but the *Anapæst* Feet run on to the *Paræmiac*, that is, to the end of the Sett, as if the whole had been a single Verse. This, I said, was a general Rule among the Greek Poets; and even *Seneca*, the Latin Tragedian, (to shew he was conscious of this Rule, that I have now discover'd) never ends an *Anapæstic* Verse with a *Cretic*, as *Buchanan*, *Scaliger*, *Grotius*, &c. usually do; though sometimes indeed he does it with a *Trochee*, *Semel at-  
que iterum.* but even that *very seldom*, and generally at the close of a Sentence. Even Envy it self will be forced to allow, that this Discovery of mine, if it be true, is no inconsiderable one. I am sure, had any man found it out, before *Buchanan* and the rest had publish'd their Poems, he would have had their hearty thanks for preventing those Flaws in them. But see the hard Fate of Discoverers! At last the Learned Mr. *Boyle* arises, and roundly tells the World, which had believed me for VIII or IX 'years, *That nothing can be falser and fuller of Mistake, than what I have there asserted.* One would think, as he says, that a man that talks at this bold rate, *with such an Air of Self-sufficiency*, had need to be *perfectly sure of his point.* And is that the Case of our Examiner here? Has he *wandred from his Subject* upon a sure and true Scent? That the Reader shall presently judge of: but I must freely own to him before-hand, that some little *Disdain* rises within me, to see my self employed in confuting such Stuff, as he has brought on this occasion.

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*How durst you oppose*, says he, *Men of Grotius and Scaliger's Character with such groundless Assertions? For it is usual among the Greek Tra-*

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gedians to end their Anapæsts with a Trochee or a Tribrach: and Seneca has done it at least forty or fifty times, where there is no close of the Sense. The Instances he gives, are five out of *Æschylus*, and as many out of *Seneca*. The first from *Æschylus*, is,

( I. ) Τὴν Διὸς αὐτὴν εἰσιχνεῦσι Prom. v. 122.  
Διὰ τὴν λίαν —

And the III. like it,

Τὸν ὃ χαλινῶς ἐν πετεινοῖσι v. 565.  
Χειμαζόμενον —

These two Verses, as our Examiner imagines, are ended with *Trochees*, the last Syllable being short. Now methinks a Man of half the Learning of Mr. *Boyle*, might have known, that σ may be long here, by adding ν to it before a Consonant, as Poets frequently do; εἰσιχνεῦσιν, πετεινοῖσιν. This very Fable, that Mr. *B.* quotes, might have taught it him;

Ἐπαιδαῖσι δέλεε σερῆας. v. 173.

Or that Verse in *Supplic.*

Ὀμβροφόροισι' ἀνέμοις ἀγέας. v. 36.

Or these of *Aristophan.*

Ἄλλ' διασμηχθῆς ὄνασ' ἀν' ἐπί. Plut.

Ἰατρὸς ἂν κ' ἰάνης ὡς φασὶ σοφός. Nub.

In all which places, and a hundred more that it's easie to allege, the Syllable σ is long; as if it was pronounced, ἐπαιδαῖσιν, Ὀμβροφόροισιν, ἀλλῶν, and φασίν. And these Examples are all found in the middle of Verses, lest the Examiner should make any Exceptions, if they were in the end of *Anapæsts*.

( II. )

But he may have better Success with the next Passage that he produces from *Æschylus*;

Ἐἰς ἀρδμῶν ἐμοὶ κ' φιλόπητα  
Σπείδων — Prom. v. 191.

Here

Here too he supposes the last Foot is a *Trochee*, because *τα* is a short Syllable. But I must tell the Learned Examiner, that *τα* in this place is long, because the next word *σπύδων* begins with two Consonants. There's nothing more common among the Poets, than this; as I will shew him out of his own Author *Aeschylus*, and that in the middle of *Anapaestic Verses*:

Πῆμα σενάχω πῆποτε μόχθων. Prom. v. 99.

Γένος ὠλέσατε πρυμνόθεν αὐδῆς. Sept. Theb. 1064.

Οὐς πρὶ πάσα χθον' Ἀσπίης. Perf. 61.

Ἄλλα χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἄγνοί. 630.

Have not *πῆμα*, *ὠλέσατε*, and *πάσα*, and *ἀλλά*, their last Syllables long here, because two Consonants follow them? Has our Examiner forgot his *Virgil* too?

*Terrasque, tractusq; maris, cœlumq; profundum.*

*Æstusq; pluviasque, & agentes frigora ventos.*

*Ferte citi flammam, date tela, scandite muros.*

Another of his Instances out of *Aeschylus*, (III.) is,

— Στεῖμβοι ὃ κόνιν v. 1084.

Εἰλίωπος—

Where he thinks the last Foot of the Verse is a *Tribrachys*: *νιν* in *κόνιν* being short. But under favour, I say it's an *Anapaest*, and the last of *κόνιν* may be long. So *Homer*.

Ἐὖρον ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα Διὶ μῆπν ἀτάλαντον.

Τῶν ἄρ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἦρχε Διὶ μῆπν ἀτάλαντῳ.

And *Aristophanes* in his *Θρηνίδες*;

Ὅπο' Ἐξέλθοι Πείαιώς τις ἔχων ὄρνιν ἐν τοῖσι τραγῳδοῖς.

Let us see now the remaining Example, that (V.) he fetches out of *Aeschylus*;

Νῦν δ' αἰδέειον κίνυγμ' ὀτάλας. v. 156.

This also is one of his *Tribrachs*; for he is so well versed in Greek Poetry, that he believes the last Syllable of *τάλας* is short. What says he then to this *Anapaestic* of the same Poet?

Τρέψη κείνῳ δ' ὁ τάλας ἄγρος. Sept. Theb. 1071.

Will he make *Tribrachs* in the middle of the Verse, as well as at the end? And what says he to these of *Euripides*?

Καὶ μὴν ὁ τάλας ὄδε δὴ σείχει.

Hippol.

Ἀπόλωλα τάλας οἴμοι, οἴμοι.

Or to those *Iambics* out of the same Play?

Οὐ τληπὴν, ἔδὲ λεκπὴν ὦ τάλας ἐγώ.

\* Ἀσηρεν ὡς ἔοικεν ὦ τάλας ἐγώ.

Or to these out of *Sophocles*?

\* Οἴμοι τάλας ἀλλ' ἔχ' ὁ Τυδείας γόνῳ.

Philoct.

\* Ἰππιδυδρήνητον ὦ τάλας ἐγώ.

Antigone.

\* Οἴμοι τάλας ἔοικ' ἐμαυτὸν εἰς ἀράς.

Oed. Tyr.

\* Ὡς ᾄδ' ἐχρόντων, ὦ τάλας ἐγὼ τάλας.

Ajace.

I believe, there is scarce one Play extant, either Comedy or Tragedy, that does not afford us an instance against the Examiner. But let him find if he can, or his Assistant that searches for him, one single Passage there, that makes *τας* in *τάλας* to be short. Where had he his Eyes then? or what was he thinking on, when he made this Observation? Perhaps he might remember that Verse of *Theocritus*,

\* Ὡς μοι δωδεκαταῖῳ ἀφ' ὧ τάλας ἐδεπὶθ ἦκει. Id. 2.

For there indeed *τάλας* is short; but surely such a Learned Græcian would know, that this was the *Doric* Idiom, and not to be drawn into Example, where that Dialect is not used. For the *Dorians* abbreviate even *ας* in the Accusative Plural; as the same *Theocritus*,

Βόσκονται κατ' ἕως, καὶ ὁ Τίτυρος αὐτὰς ἐλαύνει.

Τίτυρ' ἐμὴν τὸ κελὸν πεφιλαμένε, βόσκει τὰς αἴγας. Id. 3.



I have now gone over all the Instances, that the Examiner has thought fit to produce out of the *Greek* Poets: and I must own, that when I look back upon them, I cannot think without some astonishment upon the hardiness of this forward Writer; who, when he was utterly unfurnish'd of this part of Learning, could venture so beyond his depth, without any necessity. He has gone, as he says, *out of his way*, to seek an occasion to expose himself: which was a very needless Ramble, for he can expose himself in every page without stirring a foot from his Subject. And what provocation could He have to be meddling with *Greek Anapaests*, who has shewn his ignorance of the most vulgar measures in *Latin Iambics*? In the LXXXI Ep. of his *Phalaris* he has thus translated a Greek Distich:

*Multo videtur satius, timentem nihil  
Futura fata, quam timentem, perpeti.*

The first of which is a false verse, and betrays the skill of its Author; who, if he had been in the least sensible that his verse was lame, might have had another word, *Metuentem*, ready at hand for him.

But our Examiner not content to have lessen'd his Reputation for Verses by an unfortunate essay upon *Aeschylus*, seems resolv'd to be prodigal of that little which is yet left him, and lose it all with playing the Critic upon *Seneca's* Tragedies. His first attempt is upon a passage in *Agamemnon*,

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(1.)

8, 28 — *Trucibus monstribus Stetit imposita*  
8, 28 *Pelion Ossa: pinifer ambos* Agam. v. 337.  
Pressit Olympus.

This

This he produces as an instance, that a *Tribrachys* may be the last foot of an *Anapaestic Verse*; which supposes that he thought *Imposita* had its last Syllable short here; and consequently *Imposita Ossa*, in Mr. B's Construction, are the Nominative Case. Now I would desire a small favour of him; that, if it be not too great a secret, he'll acquaint us, how he construes this passage. Is it *Ossa imposita stetit Pelion*? but the word *stetit* with an Accusative after it will be a very great rarity. Or is it, *Ossa stetit imposita Pelion*? but this *imposita* before an Accusative will be a greater rarity than the other. Besides, if *Imposita* be a *Tribrachys* at the end of the Verse; then *Ossa* will be a *Trochee* in the middle of the Verse; which will not only be contrary to my new Discovery about *Anapaests*, but to all the old ones, that ever were heard of. But one may suspect from this passage, That Mr. B. has a particular *Grammar* made for his use, as well as a particular *Logic*. When he obliges the Public with it, we shall be ready to receive instruction. Eut till then, we shall take *Imposita*, as every body, before he arose, understood it, to be the Ablative Case,

*Stetit imposita*

*Pelion Ossa*——

It has now been in the world, about xvi whole Centuries; and it's hardly to be believ'd, that such an awkward Construction has ever been put upon't before, except perhaps in some lower Class at a Grammar School.

Of the Four Passages, yet behind, which he cites as out of *Seneca*, no fewer than Three are taken out of *Hercules Oetaeus*, which is not a Play of *Seneca's*; as the Learned *Daniel Heinsius* has prov'd fourscore Years ago: so that

That the Examiner cannot cry out in his usual Strain, that this is a Paradox of mine. There is *one* single Example left then, out of *Seneca's Medea*, to confute me for asserting that he does it *once or twice*. A very gentle and civil Antagonist! Though I must tell him, if he had brought six Instances, and all of them legitimate ones; he had only shew'd his good will to cavil and carp. For *semel atque iterum*, ἀπαξ καὶ δίς, are not strictly tied up to denote *twice* and no more: they often signify *seldom*; as *δίς καὶ τρίς*, *bis terque, iterum atque tertium*, mean not *thrice* only, but *often*. Ten times therefore may be *seldom*, *semel atque iterum*, if the whole number, that they relate to, be some hundreds or a thousand.

And now I have follow'd our Learned Examiner, *while he has been wandring from his Subject*: and I leave him to reflect at his leisure, how much Honour he has acquired by this same Ramble of his. It seems He, with his *fidus Achates*, sifted all that I had publish'd in Latin; and he singled out this Passage, as the weakest place, where he might make a successfull Attack. And the Victory seeming to be worthy of a Digression, he went out of his way to fetch it. But I suppose he may be sensible by this time, *that 'tis not in EVERY BODIES power to confute me, that do but cast their Eye on Seneca and the Greek Tragedians*.

A man, that does not only *cast an Eye on*, but thoroughly reads the Books that he pretends to discourse of, would have been able to bring several seeming Examples, where an *Anapæstic* is terminated with a *Trochee*, or a *Tribrachys*, or a *Cretic*. This I was aware of, when I publish'd my Observation; and yet I enter'd no caution about

(V.)

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about it to the Reader; but left the thing entirely to his own Judgment and Sagacity: supposing, that if he took notice of any such Exceptions, he would be able of himself to give an account of them. But now because this observation of mine has been openly assaulted; and lest any body should think, that not it's own Truth and Solidity, but the weakness of the Assailant, may be the reason of its holding out: I will here produce every single Exception, that I can meet with in the three Greek Tragedians, and *Aristophanes*, and *Seneca*; and shew they are all Errors only, and mistakes of the Copyers. And the very facility and naturalness of every correction will be next to a Demonstration to an ingenuous mind, that the Observation must needs be true.

(1.)

*Æschyl. Prom. v. 279.*

Καὶ νῦν ἐλαφρῶ ποδὶ κρειπνόστυν  
Θῶκον περιπέσ'—

Here's a *Cretic* terminates the Verse; and if the reading be allow'd, it plainly proves against me, that the last Syllable is common. But we must correct it, *κρειπνόστυν* with a single *σ*; and then it is an *Anapaest*. The Poets use either the single or double Consonant, as their Measures require. *Hesychius*, Ἀυτόστυθ, αὐτοκέλευσος, Σοφοκλῆς Σκυεῖσις.

(2.)

*Æschyl. Eumen. v. 1008.*

Πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν τῶνδε περιπυμπῶν  
Ἴτε, καὶ σφαζίων ἧδ' ἰσὶ σμινῶν  
Κατὰ γῆς σύμεσαι, τὸ μὲν ἀπέλιον  
Χώρας κατέχειν—

The first Verse here ends with a *Trochee*, and the third with a *Cretic*; both of which are seem-  
ing

ing instances against my Assertion. But in the first Verse we must read  $\omega\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\mu\tilde{\pi}\omega\nu$ , as the learned Mr. Stanley guess'd from the Sense of the place; and his Conjecture is now confirmed by the Measure of it. And in the third Verse, for  $\alpha\sigma\eta\iota\omega\nu$ , I correct it  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\tilde{\nu}$ , which is a word of the same Signification, and of more frequent use than the other: witness *Aeschylus* himself;

Stanley in  
Not. Forſan  
 $\omega\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\mu\tilde{\pi}\omega\nu$ .

$\Delta\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon\rho\tilde{\nu}\eta\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\gamma\Theta\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\tilde{\nu}\varsigma\delta\upsilon\eta\varsigma$ . Prometh. 745.

*Sophoc. Elect. v. 112.*

$\Sigma\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\theta\epsilon\omega\nu\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma\text{'}\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\nu\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma$   
 $\tau\tilde{\nu}\varsigma\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\varsigma\theta\eta\eta\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\tilde{\theta}\tau\epsilon$ .

(3.)

Here again is a *Cretic* in the close of the first Verse: but it will be a *Dactyl*, if the second Verse be read as it ought to be, without  $\tau\tilde{\nu}\varsigma$ ;

$\text{'}\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\varsigma\theta\eta\eta\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\tilde{\theta}\tau\epsilon$ .

'Tis the *Versus Paræmiacus*, which always comes at the end of a Set of *Anapaestics*: and there the *Trochee* in  $\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\tilde{\theta}\tau\epsilon$  is right and lawfull.

*Soph. Antig. v. 129.*

$\text{'}\gamma\prime\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\chi\theta\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\chi\eta\sigma\phi\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\iota\sigma\delta\omega\nu$ .

(4.)

This *Cretic* Foot,  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\delta\omega\nu$ , is an Error of the Copyer, instead of the *Anapaest*,  $\epsilon\sigma\delta\omega\nu$ .

*Soph. Philoct. in fine.*

$\chi\omega\rho\tilde{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu\nu\tilde{\nu}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\alpha\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\varsigma$   
 $\nu\tilde{\nu}\mu\phi\alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha\lambda\iota\acute{\alpha}\iota\sigma\iota\nu\epsilon\pi\upsilon\zeta\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$ .

(5.)

This *Cretic* too will become a *Spondee* by the ease and slight alteration of  $\alpha\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\varsigma$  into  $\alpha\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$ , which is the true reading.

*Eurip. Medea, v. 1087:*

$\pi\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu\delta\eta\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\Theta\epsilon\nu\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\nu$

(6.)

$\text{'}\epsilon\upsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\omega\varsigma$  —

Here's a *Trochee* in the end of a Verse: but if we correct it,  $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\nu\gamma$ , it will then be a *Spondee*, as it ought to be.

*Ibid.*

(7.)

*Ibid.* v. 1103.  
 "Επ δ' ἐκ τέτων, εἴτ' ὀπὶ φλαύροις,  
 "Εἴτ' ὀπὶ χρησοῖς μοχθῶσι, τίδ' εἶ  
 "Ἔστιν ἄδηνον.

The middle Verse here, as it is vulgarly read; is an instance against me: but the measures ought to be alter'd and distinguish'd thus,

"Εἴτ' ὀπὶ χρησοῖς  
 Μοχθῶσι, τίδ' ἔστιν ἄδηνον.

Where the last Verse now is a *Paræmiac*; and the little Verse call'd the *Anapestic Basis* commonly comes before it.

(8.)

*Ibid.* v. 1405.  
 Ζεῦ τὰδ' ἀκείεις, ἅς ἀπελαυνόμεθ'.

This *Cretic* in the close is easily cured, by reading ἀπελαυνόμεθ'.

(9.)

*Ib.* v. 1413:  
 "Οὐς μὴ ποτ' ἐγὼ φύσας ἄφελον  
 Πρὸς σὺ φημένους ὀπιδέδαι.

Correct it ἄφελον in the first Verse, and then the *Cretic* will be an *Anapest*, as it should be.

(10.)

*Eurip. Hippol.* v. 257.  
 Πολλὰ διδάσκει γὰρ μ' ὁ πολὺς βίος.  
 Χρῆν γδ μετείαις εἰς ἀλλήλας, Ἔο.

Here again is a *Cretic* in the first Verse: but the word γδ there is superfluous, as the very sense evinces. For this Sentence is not given here as a Reason of the other, that precedes it: as it must be, if γδ be allowed for a true *Lesson*. I correct it therefore,

Πολλὰ διδάσκει μ' ὁ πολὺς βίος.

And I do not question, but men of judgment will subscribe to the Emendation.

*Eurip. Troad. v. 781.*

Δαμνάετ' αὐτῶ, τὰ δὲ πιαῦτα χρεῖν  
Κηρυκείην, —

(11.)

A small change of a word, by reading it, τὰ δὲ πιαῦτα χρεῖν, will substitute an *Anapaest* in the place of the *Cretic*.

*Aristoph. Nub. pag. 106.*

Γνωθῆσιν πότ' Ἀθηναίοισιν,  
Οἷα διδάσκεις τὸς ἀνοήτους.

(12.)

If we add γ' to the end of the first Verse, this little Flaw will be heal'd.

There, I believe, are all the Verses in the Four Poets of the Greek Stage, that are Exceptions to my Observation about the measure of *Anapaests*: or if perhaps I have overlook'd one, I dare engage before-hand, that it may as easily be corrected, as these that I have noted. But if the Examiner thinks fit to cast his Eye again to search for more, that he thinks may have escaped me; I would advise him to take care, that his instances be not of the same Stamp with those he has brought already. For it's good to understand a matter first, before we pretend to confute it.

As for *Seneca*; among all the Plays that judicious Persons suppose to be his, I have not once observed a *Tribrachys*, nor a *Cretic* at the end of an *Anapaestic*: Nor have I met with a *Trochee*, without a Pause or Close of the Sense after it, except in these two places.

*Herc. Fur. v. 170.*

*Fluctuque magis mobile vulgus  
Aura tumidum tollit inani.*

*Medea, v. 334.*

— *Spargeret astra*                      *Nubesque ipsas*—

These

These two, I believe, are the only Examples : and had I not reason then to say, that *semel atque iterum*, once or twice only, he made use of a Trochee? 'Tis true, there may be an instance or two; where a Verse ends in a long Vowel, and the following begins with another Vowel; as,

*Thyest. v. 946.*

*Pingui madidus crinis amomo*

*Inter subitos stetit horrores.*

But in this case the measure is right and agreeable to our Observation; only the Vowels must be supposed to stand and to be pronounced, without a *Synalæpha*: as they often are in *Virgil*;

*Glauco, & Panopeæ, & Inoo Melicertæ.*

*Nereïdum matri, & Neptuno Ægeo.*

Upon the whole then, there is not *one* true and lawfull Exception in all the Greek Poets, and but *two* in the genuine Pieces of *Seneca*. But the Writers that came after him, degenerated more from their Greek Masters, and did not so strictly observe the measures, that the Rules of their Art prescribed to them. For in the Tra-

(a) *Agam.*

v. 79, 89,  
356, 380.

(b) *Herc.*

*Oet. v. 181,*

594, 1210,

1282, 1876,

1988.

(c) *Ost. v.*

v. 27, 62,

93, 289,

306, 315,

318, 331,

336, 809,

899.

gedy *Agamemnon* this measure is (a) four times broken; and in *Hercules Oetæus* (b) six times; and in *Ostavia* no less than (c) eleven. Which may pass for a new Argument, that *Seneca* is not the Author of them. But if one cast his Eyes upon *Buchanan's* Pieces, or *Scaliger's*, or *Grotius's*, or indeed of any one of the Moderns, (for none were aware of this Observation) he will not find ten Lines together, where this measure is not violated. Which I take for an infallible Demonstration; that it was Design, and not mere Accident, that kept the Ancients from breaking it.



To put an end therefore to this long debate, about the *Thericlean Cups*; If the Examiner's Cavils against *Athenæus* are all fully and seriously answer'd: if his Quirks and Witticisms upon Me are all grafted upon his own mistakes; and by being falsely applied to another, become *true Jest*s upon himself: and if *his wandring from his Subject*, to seek an occasion of refuting me, has proved a very unfortunate Excursion, and sent him back with loss and disgrace; if this, I say, be the Issue of this present Section, I conceive, there appears no good reason as yet, why I should repent of my Judgment about *Phalaris's* Epistles.

## IV.

**I**N the LXXXV Epistle, he boasts of a great Victory obtained over the *Zanclæans*; Ταυρομενείτας ἢ Ζανκλαίους συμμάχησαντας Λεοντίοις εἰς τὴν νενίηνα. But the very preceding Letter, and the XXI, are directed to the *Messenians*, Μεσσηνίοις, and the City is there called Μεσσηνή; and in the First Epistle, he speaks of Πολύλειτον ἢ Μεσσηνίον. Here we see we have mention made of *Zanclæans* and *Messenians*; as if *Zancla* and *Messana* were two different Towns. Certainly the true *Phalaris* could not write thus; and it is a piece of ignorance inexcusable in our Sophist, not to know that both those names belong'd to one and the same City; at

(a) Lib. vi. Μεσσηνίη, Ζάγκλη πρῶτες καλε-  
μένη.

(b) Herod. vii. Ζάγ-  
κλην, ἣ ἐς Μεσσηνίην με-  
ταβαλῶσαν τῆνομα.

(c) Diod. iv. Ζάγκλης,  
νῦν ᾗ Μεσσηνίης ὀνομαζο-  
μένης.

different times. *Messana* ;  
says (a) *Strabo*, 'which was  
before called Zancle. See al-  
so (b) *Herodotus*, and (c)  
*Diodorus*, and others. Per-  
haps it may be suspected, in  
behalf of these Epistles, that  
this change of Name was

made, during those XVI years of *Phala-  
ris's* Tyranny ; and then supposing the  
LXXXV Letter to be written before the  
change, and the other Three after it,  
this argument will be evaded. But *Thu-  
cydides* will not suffer this suspicion to  
pass, who relates, *That the Zancleans*  
*were driven out by the Samians and other*  
*Ionians, that fled from the Medes,* (which  
was, about Olymp. LXX, 4.) *and that* ἔ-  
πολλῶ ὕστερον *not long after* (perhaps a-  
bout the time of *Xerxes's* expedition into  
Greece, Olymp. LXXV, 1.) *Anaxilaus*  
*King of Rhegium, drove the Samians them-*  
*selves out, and called the Town Messana,*  
*from the Peloponnesian Messana, the Coun-*  
*try of his Ancestors.* The first part of

(d) Lib. vi. this account is confirmed by (d) *Hero-*  
cap. 23. *dotus* : and agreeably to these Narratives,

(e) Lib. xi. (e) *Diodorus* sets down the death of this  
p. 37. *Anaxilaus*, Olymp. LXXVI, 1, when he  
had reigned XVIII years. Take now the  
latest account of *Phalaris's* death, accord-

ing

ding to St. *Hierom*; and above LX years intervene between that, and the new naming of *Zancla*. So that unless we dare ascribe to the Tyrant a Spirit of Vaticination, we cannot acquit the Author of the Letters of so manifest a cheat.

But I love to deal ingenuously, and will not conceal one testimony in his favour, which is that of (f) *Pausanias*, who places this same *Anaxilaus* of *Rhegium* about

(f) *Messen.*  
P. 134.

CLXXX years higher than *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* do; and tells the story very differently; That he assisted the Refugees of *Messana* in *Peloponnesus*, after the second war with the *Spartans*, to take *Zancla* in *Sicily*; which thereupon was called *Messana*, Olymp. xxix. (g)

*These things*, says he, *were done, at the xxix Olympiad, when Chionis the Spartan won the Olympic Race the second time, Miltiades being Archon*

(g) Ταῦτα ὃ δὴ τ' Ὀλυμπιαδῶν ἐπελάχθη τ' ἐν ἀπίσ καὶ εἰκοσῆς, ἢν Χιόνις Λάκων τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκησεν, Μιλτιάδης παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἀρχωντῶν.

at Athens. Now if this be true, we must needs put in one word for our Sophist; that *Phalaris* might name the *Messenians*, without pretending to the gift of Prophecy.

(h) *Cluverius* indeed would spoil all again; for he makes it a fault in our Copies of *Pausanias*, and for εἰκοσῆς the xxix Olymp. reads ἐξηκοσῆς the LXIX; which is too great a number, to do our Author any service.

(h) *Sicil.*  
*Antiq.* p.  
85.

But we will not take an advantage against him, from a mistake of *Cluverius*; for without question, the true Lætion is εἰκοσῆς the XXIX; because the time of the *Messenian* War agrees with that computation, and not with the other: and the ancient

(i) *Euseb. Scalig. p. 39.*  
 Ὀλυμπίας εἰκοσὴ ἐνάτη.  
 Χιόνις Δάκων γάδιον. Τετακοσὴ. ὁ αὐτὶς τὸ δεύτερον.

(i) Catalogue of the *Stadionica* puts *Chionis's* Victory at that very year. So that if *Pausanias's* Credit is able to bear him out, our Author,

as to this present point, may still come off with reputation. But alas! what can *Pausanias* do for Him, or for himself, against *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, that liv'd so near the time they speak of? against those other unknown Authors that *Diodorus* transcribed? against the whole tenor of History, confirm'd by so many Synchronisms and Concurrences, that even demonstrate *Anaxilaus* to have lived in the days of *Xerxes*, and his Father; when *Theron*, and not *Phalaris*, was (k) Μέναρχος, Monarch of *Agrigentum*? Nay, though we should be so obliging, so partial to our Sophist, as for his sake to credit *Pausanias* against so much greater Authority; yet still the botch is incurable; 'tis running in debt with one man, to pay off another. For, how then comes it to pass, that the *Messenians* in another Letter,

(k) *Herodot. lib. vii.*  
 p. 438.

ter,

ter, are in this called *Zanclæans*; which, by that reckoning of *Pausanias*, had been an obsolete forgotten word, an hundred years before the date of this pretended Epistle.

**T**HE main Controversie in this Section between the Learned Mr. *Boyle* and me, is, whether *Pausanias*, who stands alone, or *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and others, are to be followed in the Story of *Anaxilaus* Tyrant of *Rhegium*. Mr. *Boyle* says, *he has* Ubo Emmius, Lydiate, Scaliger, Petavius and Meursius *on his side*, (all of them great Names in the Commonwealth of Learning) *besides half a dozen more, that he'll throw into the Scale, the next time he and I talk together*. Hitherto, as I think, he has had nobody on his side; and yet his Style has been as pert and positive, as if he carried Demonstration in every Sentence. No wonder then, that in this Section, where he is so powerfully back'd, his bold Air and his scornfull Language rise so much the higher. But this I easily neglect and forgive: 'tis my business now to shew my Reasons, which oblige me to dissent from those Great Men, that have follow'd *Pausanias*: and the Examiner's Cavils and Exceptions shall be all consider'd in the Rear.

P. 133.

In the first place therefore, I will prove, that (1)  
*Pausanias* and the rest do all mean the same Person; the only difference being about the time when he lived, and some circumstances of his story. For *Pausanias's* *Anaxilas* was (a) Tyrant of

(a) *Paus* p. 133. Ετυ-  
εγένει αὐτὸ Πηγιῶν. p. 175.  
Πηγιῶν τυραννήσαντος.

- (b) P. 134.  
 (c) *Ibid.*  
 (d) Ῥηγίων τῷ ἄρχοντι,  
*Thuc.* p. 114.  
 (e) *Ibid.*

Rhegium, and (b) he besieged and took Zancle, and on (c) that occasion the name of Zancle was chang'd into Messana. And so the *Anaxilas* of *Thucydides* was (d) Tyrant of Rhegium, and (e) took Zancle, and

call'd it Messana from the Country of his Ancestors. These circumstances are a plain demonstration, that *Pausanias* and *Thucydides* speak of one and the same man. For it's incredible, that there were two *Anaxilas's* Tyrants of *Rhegium*, and that both of them took *Zancle*; and it's impossible, that both of them should first name the Town *Messana*.

And then the *Anaxilas* of *Herodotus* is the same Person, that *Thucydides* and *Pausanias* speak of. For *Thucydides's* *Anaxilas* took *Zancle*, (f) not long after the *Samians*, who had fled from the *Medes*, settled there. And *Herodotus's* *Anaxilas* was then Tyrant of *Rhegium*, (g) when the *Samians* fled from the *Medes*, and was the man that perswaded them to settle at *Zancle*. And He had a Servant and Steward, (h) call'd *Micythus* the Son of *Chærus*; but the same man was Servant too to the *Anaxilas* of *Pausanias*, who cites *Herodotus* to witness it. This too is a clear argument, that *Pausanias* in (i) both places means one and the same *Anaxilas*.

The *Anaxilas* too in *Diodorus* is the very same, that is mention'd by *Herodotus* and *Pausanias*. For he also was (k) Tyrant of *Rhegium* and *Zancle*; and had a Steward called *Micythus*, the Guardian of his Children.

*Macrobins* says, that (l) *Anaxilas* Tyrant of *Rhegium*, who built *Messana* in *Sicily*, made *Micythus* his Servant, a Trustee for his Sons, till they

- (f) Οὐ  
 πολλῶν ἔ-  
 σεον, *Thuc.*  
*ibid.*

(g) *Herod.*  
 p. 341.

(h) *Her.* p.  
 440.

*Paus.* p. 175.

(i) P. 133,  
 175.

(k) *Diod.*  
 37 ὁ Ῥηγί-  
 ος καὶ Ζάγ-  
 κλης τῷ  
 ἄρχοντι, &  
 p. 50.

(l) *Microb.*  
 1. Satur.  
 p. 203.

they were of Age to come to the Government. So that this too is the same Person, that is spoken of by the others.

Among the Sicilian Tyrants, says (m) Justin, Anaxilas was as eminent for his Justice, as the others for their Cruelty, and he left his Sons in their Minority under the Tutelage of Micythus his Servant. Here again is the very same person.

(m) Justin. iv. 2. Anaxil-  
laus justitia cum cetero-  
rum crudelitate certabat.

Stobæus gives us a saying of Anaxilas Tyrant of Rhegium; (n) That to be never out-done in Beneficence, was a more happy thing, than to wear a Crown. This is the same that Justin speaks of, as it appears from the Character of his Justice.

(n) Stob. Serm. xlv. Τυ-  
ραίνιδος μακραιώτερον,  
τὸ μηδέποτε εὐεργετῆντα  
νικηθῆναι.

In the Scholiast of Pindar, we are told too of (o) one Anaxilas the Tyrant of Rhegium and Messana; who must needs be the same with him, that Thucydides, and Diodorus, and Herodotus mention, because the time of the Tyranny exactly agrees. There is mention there of a Son of his, called (p) Cleophon.

(o) Pynth. 1. & Pynth. 2.  
'Αναξίλας Ῥηγίου καὶ Μεσση-  
νῆς Πύθωνος.

(p) Pynth. 2. Αναξίλας  
καὶ Κλεόφρων ὁ τῆς αὐτοῦ παῖς.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis says, (q) That one Anaxilas seized the Castle of Rhegium, and so became Tyrant there, and left the Government to his Son Leophon. Which is a clear intimation, that he means the same person, that the Scholiast of Pindar does: for Cleophon in the Scholiast is the same that is here called Leophon. Justin too mentions this (r) Leophon the Tyrant of Rhegium; so that it seems, that the name in the Scholiast should be corrected from these two Authors.

(q) Excerpt.  
Vales. p.  
539. Δεξι-  
οφρονι τῆς  
παίδος.

(r) Just.  
xxi. 3. Leo-  
phron Rhe-  
ginorum  
Tyrannus.

(f) Polit.  
 6. 'Εν Πη-  
 γίῳ ἐξ ὁ-  
 λιαρχίας  
 εἰς Ἀναξί-  
 λαν τῆ-  
 ραυνίδα.

(t) In Polit.  
 Αἰσιμαχί-  
 πικὴν πο-  
 λίτειαν.

*Aristotle* tells us, (f) That the Government of *Rhegium* was once an Oligarchy, and was changed into a Tyranny by *Anaxilaus*. And this was the same *Anaxilaus* with *Him* in *Dionysius*; for He too had not the Tyranny from his Father by Succession, but usurp'd it by seizing the Citadel.

And lastly, *Heraclides* says, (t) That the *Rhegians* were formerly under an Aristocracy, till *Anaxilas* the *Messenian* made himself Tyrant there. Which shews him to be the person already mention'd by *Dionysius* and *Aristotle*.

Thus, I conceive, I have made it clear and beyond all rational doubt, That all these Authors mean one and the same man, *Anaxilaus* the Tyrant of *Rhegium* and *Messana*. For all their Testimonies are here link'd one to another by some certain Circumstance and Characteristic, that specifies and determins him to be the same Person.

(2.)

In the next place, I procede to enquire about the Age that he lived in: and I am very much in the wrong, if it will not presently appear, that *Anaxilas* was alive, not Olymp. xxix, as *Pausanias* says, but near cc years after it, in the Reigns of *Darius* and *Xerxes*.

First *Herodotus* gives a particular account; (u) that when *Miletus* was sack'd by the *Persians* in *Darius's* time, (about Olymp. lxx, 3.) the *Zanclæans* invited the remainder of the *Milesians* to come and plant themselves in *Sicily* at a place call'd *Calacta*: The *Milesians* accept the offer, and taking the *Samians* to be Partners with them, set sail for *Sicily*; but by the way they touch at *Locri* in *Italy*: where *Anaxilaus* Tyrant of *Rhe-*  
*gium*



gium hearing of their design, perswades them to quit the thoughts of founding a Town at *Calacta*, and to seize upon *Zancla*, a brave City, ready built to their hands. For it hapned, that at that juncture the *Zanclæans* were employed abroad in besieging some other Town, and had left their own without defense. The *Samians* and *Milesians* take his advice, and possess the empty City without opposition.

And the substance of this whole Narrative is confirmed by *Thucydides*; who expressly says, (x) *That the Zanclæans were dispossessed of their City, by those Samians and other Ionians, that fled from the Medes; that is, after the Destruction of Miletus, Olymp. LXX, 3.* The same is intimated too by *Aristotle*; where he says, (y) *That the Zanclæans, permitting the Samians to dwell with them, lost their own City.* But *Thucydides* goes on, and informs us, (z) *That not long after, these Samians themselves were beat out of Zancla by Anaxilas Tyrant of Rhegium, who planted a new Colony there, a medly of several Nations; and named the City Messana, from Messana in Peloponnesus, whence his Ancestors were derived.* Now this last particular, is not touched upon by *Herodotus*; but only the former, that had hapned *not long* before it. Neither is there any Inconsistency, as the Examiner imagins, in the accounts of these two Authors.

We have lost those Books of *Diodorus's* Annals; where these Actions ought to be recorded; for what is extant of them commences at the Expedition of *Xerxes* Olymp. LXXV, 1. But however we have enough of him preserved, to demonstrate what side he was of. For he places the death of this same *Anaxilas* (a) at Ol. LXXVI, 1. (a) *Diod.*  
and p. 37.

and says that he had reigned XVIII years; that is from Olymp. LXXI, 3. This is positive and full against *Pausanias's* reckoning. 'Tis true, there's a seeming disagreement between *Diodorus* and *Herodotus*: for the latter calls him *Tyrant* at the time of his Congress with the *Samians*, which is supposed to be a year or two before Olymp. LXXI, 3. But if the number in *Diodorus* be not an Error of the Copyer; we may compound the difference thus; That *Herodotus* might call him *Tyrant*, because he knew he was so afterwards: though at that time he was only a leading Man, and had not actually seiz'd the Government.

When *Anaxilas* advised the *Samians* to set upon *Zancle*, (b) one *Scythes* was at that time Tyrant of the *Zanclæans*. Now the Age of this *Scythes*, and consequently of *Anaxilas*, is well known by his Story. He (c) was kept a Prisoner at *Inycum*, a *Sicilian* Town; but made his escape into *Persia*, and there lived in the Court of *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, and having got leave to make a Visit to *Sicily*, upon a promise to return when his affairs were dispatched; he was as good as his word; and was much esteemed afterwards by the King for his Honesty and Veracity. But *Pausanias's* date is above a hundred years, before this *Darius* was born.

(d) *Hergal*. *Anaxilas* married (d) *Cydicpe*, the Daughter of *Terillus* Tyrant of *Himera*; who was driven out of his Government by *Theron* of *Agrigentum*, and fled for Succour to *Carthage*. And *Anaxilas* endeavouring the Restauration of his Father-in-Law, invites *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian* General to make a Descent upon *Sicily*, and gives him his Sons to be Hostages for his Fidelity. Upon these

(b) *Herod. Etad. &c.*

(c) *Herod. vi, 24. Ælian. Var. Hist. viii, 17.*

these Invitations *Hamilcar* comes with a mighty Fleet, and having landed them at *Himera*, was entirely routed by *Gelo* the *Syracusian*, at the very same time, that *Xerxes* was beat by the *Greeks*. All Historians are agreed upon the year, when this Action was done; which is almost two whole Centuries after Olymp. xxix. Even (f) *Pausanias* himself affirms, that this *Gelo* got the Government of *Syracuse*, Ol. LXXII, 2. and enjoy'd it at the time of *Xerxes's* Expedition.

When the *Samians* invaded *Zancla*, a (g) great Agent in that affair was *Hippocrates* Tyrant of *Gela*; for he betrayed the *Zanclæans* his Allies, and shared the Booty with the *Samians*. But we know *Hippocrates's* time from one certain Circumstance among many others, that the famous *Gelo*, afterwards Monarch of *Syracuse*, whom we have just now spoken of, was (h) Master of his Horse, and afterwards succeeded him in the Government of *Gela*.

Our *Anaxilas* had war with the *Locrians* of *Italy*, and was resolv'd to extirpate them, had not *Hiero* Tyrant of *Syracuse* interposed. This is intimated by *Pindar*, who lived at the very time, in two Odes to *Hiero*: But the (i) *Scholiast*, who is a very credible Writer, says it expressly; and he adds, that one of *Hiero's* Wives was *Anaxilas's* Daughter, and (k) that

*Epicharmus*, in a Play of his call'd *The Islands*, relates, how *Anaxilas* had a design to ruin the *Locrians*, and was hinder'd by *Hiero*. What can be said against so clear and convincing a Testimony? *Epicharmus* lived in *Hiero's* Court, he tells a thing done within his own Memory, and he might be personally

(k) Ὅτι ἡ Ἀναξίλας  
 Λοκρῶς ἐτέλεσεν ἄριστον  
 ἀπολέσαι, καὶ ἐκωλύθη πρὸς  
 Ἱέρωνος, ἰσορρεῖ καὶ Ἐπι-  
 χάρμου ἐν Νάσσῳ.

(f) *Pausanias*  
 p. 186, &  
 272.

(g) *Herodotus*  
 vi, 23.

(h) *Herodotus*  
 vii, 154.

*Timæus* apud  
*Schol. Pindari*  
*Nem. 9.*

(i) *Pindar*  
*Schol. ad Pyth. i & ii.*

nally acquainted with *Anaxilas*, whom we are speaking of. Now *Pausanias* himself, as well as  
 (1) *Paus.* p. 272. other Historians, declares, that (1) *Hiero* was Contemporary with *Xerxes*: and that *Epicharmus* was (m) Contemporary with *Hiero*, is as certain, as the other.

*Aristotle* tells a pleasant Story of *Simonides* the  
 (n) *Arist.* Lyric Poet, (n) that when one, that had got the Prize at *Olympia* with his Chariot of Mules, offer'd him a small Fee to make an Ode upon his Victory; he pretended he would not disgrace his Muse by so mean a Subject as Mules: but when the Person advanc'd a great Price, he could presently call them, not *Mules*, but *the Daughters of Mares*.

Χαίρετ' ἀελλοπόδων θυγατέρες ἵππων.

*Aristotle* indeed does not say, who it was that had won the Prize, but his Scholar *Heraclides* does; *When Anaxilas*, (o) says he, *the Messenian, the Tyrant of Rhegium, had got the Victory with his Mules at Olympia, he gave a Treat to the Spectators; and Simonides made a Copy of Verses upon his Victory;*

Χαίρετ' ἀελλοπόδων θυγατέρες ἵππων.

And in Memory of this Prize, as the Antiquaries suppose, some of the Coins of the *Messanians* (p) have on their Reverse an Ἀπών or Chariot drawn by Mules. Now the Age of *Simonides* can never agree with *Pausanias's* Date, *Olymp. xxix*; for he was not born till *Olymp. lv, 3*. (q) as we have it under his own hand; but it exactly hits with the other reckoning; for he was in mighty esteem in *Greece* during the whole Reign of *Anaxilas*, from *Olymp. lxxi, 3*, to *Olymp. lxxvi, 1*.

(o) *Goltz.* *Perusia.*

(p) See above, p. 41, 42.

Again,

Again, we have another Argument from this Olympian Victory, which will confute the account of *Pausanias*, even from his own words. For the Ἀπίνη, the Chariot *that was (r) drawn (r) Paus.* with Mules, instead of Horses, was not used at the *P. 155. ἡ-μίωνες ἀν-πὶ ἵππων.* Olympics till Olymp. LXX, as *Pausanias* confesses; and it was cried down again Olymp. LXXXIV. And the first, he says, that won the Prize at this Match, was one (f) *Thersias* a Thessalian. So (f) *Θερσίας, ibid.* that *Anaxilas's* Victory cannot possibly be dated before Olymp. LXXI. And besides *Pausanias*, we have another very good Authority for the first usage of the Ἀπίνη. For *Pindar*, it seems, whether he was less scrupulous, than *Simonides*, or else as well see'd as he, has left us (r) two Odes upon Victo- (r) *Olymp.* ries by Mules: and the first Victory was gotten (u) v. 6. vi. Ol. LXXXII; and there the *Scholiast* informs us, (u) *Schol. ibid.*

Ὅτι Ἀπίνη ὄσιν ἄρμα εἰς ἡμιόνων ζευχθέν· εἰδοσμένοι δ' ἵπποις ἀγωνίζεσθαι, Ἀσάνδρατος ἐπέπιδυσσε καὶ ἡμιόνοις ἀγωνίζεσθαι· χεῖνθ' δὲ πρὸ μακρῶς ἀλλὰ δεκαεπὶς ἔτεσι διέλυσε, διελύθη γὰρ πρὸ οὐλοκοσῆν ἐνάτην ἐλυμπάδα: *That the ἀπίνη was a Chariot drawn by Mules: and the old custom at the Olympics being only to use Horses, Asandraftus first introduced there the Chariots with Mules. But they did not continue long, for they were left off in Ten years time about Olymp. LXXXIX.* There's a fault, 'tis true, either in one or both of these Numbers; for if *Psaumis's* Victory, which *Pindar* here celebrates, was Olymp. LXXXII; there's above Ten years from that time to Olymp. LXXXIX. Yet however this Passage, even taken with its faults, is sufficient for our purpose; for it implies, that the Ἀπίνη could not be in use in the Olympic Games, Ol. XXIX. The great *Scaliger* (x) has made a great slip here: for by mere carelessness, he has placed (x) *Scalig. in ὀλυμπ. Ἀναγρ.*

placed this passage of the *Scholiast* at Olymp. LXXXIX; which, without doubt, he design'd to set at Olymp. LXXXIX: and this has produced errors upon errors. The Learned *Meursius*, who has confounded several of his own Books by unfortunately mistaking that *Αναγεφθὴ ὀλυμπιάδων* for an ancient Piece (though *Scaliger*, (y) had expressly own'd it to be of his own composing) makes strange work with this passage. If I may venture after such great men, I would correct in the *Scholiast* δωδεκαετῆς, a dozen years, for δεκαετῆς ten years; and instead of ὀγδοηκοσὴν ἐνάτην the LXXXIX Olymp. I would read ὀγδ. πέμπτην, Olymp. the LXXXV. For this latter alteration I have a good Voucher, even the *Scholiast* himself; who says in another place, (z) *That the Ἀπὴν was put down, as some say, at Olymp. LXXXV; as others say, at Olymp. LXXXVI.* And this agrees punctually with *Pausanias* quoted above. For if it was (a) cried by the publick Crier at Olymp. LXXXIV, that thenceforward there should be no more Races with Mules; then the first time, that it (b) was left off was Olymp. LXXXV. Now if we reckon from Olymp. LXXXII, the date of *Psaumis's* Victory, which was the subject of this Ode of *Pin-*  
*dar's*; there are exactly a Dozen years to Olymp. LXXXV. But who is that same *Ἀπὴν δευσοῦς*, that the *Scholiast* says was the Author of these Mule Races? *Scaliger*, I see, and *Meursius* have let the name pass for good; though I verily believe that both of them suspected it to be faulty: for it has not the Turn and Composition of a Greek Name, as those that know the Language will readily acknowledge. The words as they lie together, are ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀπὸν δευσοῦς ἐπιπιδευσε; which I would read, ἀγωνίζεσθαι Θέσων δευσοῦς ἐπιπιδευσε;

(y) P. 431.  
 Not. ad  
 Græca Eu-  
 sebi.

(z) Pyl. vi.  
 Κατελύθη  
 δὲ Ἀπὴν,  
 ἃς τινὲς  
 φασιν, πε-  
 ὀλυμπιά-  
 δων, κατ' ἐν-  
 ἑστῆς ἡμέ-  
 ρας.  
 (a) Κήρυξ-  
 μα ἐπιπιδ-  
 ευσαντος.  
 Πινδ.  
 (b) Διελύ-  
 θη, Schol.

One Therfander was the Author of it. *Θαι*, which in Pronunciation and old Writing was *Θε*, stuck to the preceding word: as in that famous passage of *Plutarch*, *Αρμονίαν καλεῖσθαι μίερον*, I have shown (c) formerly, that the true reading is *ἀρμονίαν καλεῖ θεμερῶν*. And then the Particle *ης* is almost necessary in this place; for being to mention an obscure unknown person, he was obliged to say *One Therfander*. But to confirm and establish the whole Conjecture; This *Therfander* of the *Scholiast* is the very same person with *Pausanias's Therfias*: So that both the Writers are agreed about the first Introducer of Mule Races at *Olympia*. For the Greek Names of this Form are equivalent, and are frequently confounded together, *Θερσίας* and *Θέρσανδρος*, as *Νικίας* and *Νίκανδρος*, *Ἡγυσίας* and *Ἡγύσανδρος*, *Αλεξίας* and *Αλέξανδρος*, *Αναξίας* and *Ανάξανδρος*, and many more like them.

(c) See *Dissert. ad Jo-  
han. Malal.*

Though I persuade myself, that I have already effectually confuted *Pausanias's* date of *Anaxilas*; yet I have one Argument more, that will quite overthrow his opinion, and every part of it shall be taken from his own Book. *Micythus*, (d) says he, the *Servant and Steward of Anaxilas Tyrant of Rhegium set up a great many Statues and other Donaries at Olympia. And the workmen, that made them, were Dionysius and Glaucus, Natives of Argos. Who was the Master of these two Statuaries, they give us no account: (e) but we know the Age they lived in, from Micythus that employed them to work for him. This Inference is very true, and by consequence the Reverse of it is true too; that we may know the Age of Micythus,*

(d) *Paus.  
p. 175.*

(e) *Τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτῶν  
ὅ τὰ ἔργα εἰς ὀλυμπίαν ἀ-  
ναθεῖς ἐπεδείκνυσιν ὁ  
Σμίκυθος.*

if

if we can discover the Age of those Workmen.  
 (f) P. 176. But *Pausanias* himself acquaints us, (f) that one of them, *Dionysius*, did a piece of work for *Phormis* the *Syracusan*, the General of *Gelo* and

(g) P. 272. *Hiero*. And he is positive, (g) that *Gelo* and *Hiero* lived at the Expedition of *Xerxes*; the very time when I state the Tyranny of *Anaxilas*. There's no Evasion to be made from this Argument, for that *Micythus* was our *Anaxilas's* Steward, we have, besides *Pausanias*, a whole crowd of good Witnesses, *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Justin*, *Macrobius*. And that he gave these Donaries

(h) *Herod.*

P. 440.  
 Ἀνέθηκε ἔν  
 ὄλυμπῳ  
 τὴν πολ-  
 λὴν ἀνδρῶν  
 ἀντας.

P. 128.

at such a time, not only (h) *Herodotus*, but the very Inscriptions of them declare; for his own and the Workman's Name were engraven on them before their Dedication; and *Pausanias* read them with his own Eyes.

To return now to our Examiner, who has thus stated the present Question, *That Anaxilas chang'd the name of Zancle into Messana is agreed between Dr. B. and Me; the only Question is about the date of this Change.* Now if that was agreed between us, that *Anaxilas* chang'd the name, I presume the Question about the Date of the Change will be at an end. But to take no advantage of this Concession: I'll remit it to him again; and suppose in his favour, that tho' *Pausanias* was mistaken in introducing *Anaxilas* as an Agent with the *Messenians*; yet for all that he may be in the right, that the *Messenians* took *Zancle* and call'd it *Messana* at Ol. xxix. But even in this part of the Story (without bringing in *Anaxilas*) the whole current of History bears against *Pausanias*: for no body besides him, relates, that the *Messenians* went directly to *Zancle*; but they all say, to *Rhegium*. And they all call



call the Town by the name of *Zanclæ* for *cl* years, after He says, 'twas called *Messana*. *Hipocrates* besieged the *Zanclæans*; *Cadmus* the *Coan* came to the *Samians* at *Zanclæ*; the *Zanclæans* invited the *Milesians* to settle themselves in *Sicily*; (i) *Xenophanes* the *Colophonian* left his native Country, and dwelt at *Zanclæ*. The Dates of all these are many Generations below *Ol. xxix*. Neither is there one single Example of its being called *Messana*, before the Age of *Anaxilas*.

Let us see now the Examiner's Cavils, and dispatch them as briefly as we can. *Thucydides* says, the *Samians*, flying from the *Medes*, possessed *Zanclæ*. This business of the *Medes*, the Examiner says, *Dr. B* calls *Xerxes's Expedition*; as if the *Medes* had never made an Incurſion upon Greece till the time of *Xerxes*. Whether he has wilfully or innocently thus misrepresented me, I know not: but if he had compared my words with *Thucydides's*, he might have spared this little Cavil. Not long after, & πολλῶ ἔπειτα, says *Thucydides*, that the *Samians*, who had fled from the *Medes*, possessed *Zanclæ*, *Anaxilas* beat them out of it. My own words are, That at the time of *Xerxes's Expedition*, *Anaxilas* took *Zanclæ*. Now how could *Mr B*. infer from hence, that I took the *Samians* affair with the *Medes* to be *Xerxes's Expedition*? On the contrary they must needs be different, for it was at the time of the one, and not long after the other. And it was an inference which I made, that if it was not long after the first (*Olymp. LXX, 3.*) it was likely to be at or about the latter (*Ol. LXXV, 1.*) But the Reason our Examiner gives is pretty remarkable, As if the *Medes* had never made an Incurſion upon GREECE before: which implies,

M

that

Hered. Thucyd.

(i) *Ἰακόν.*  
v. *Χηρόνη.*

P. 127.

that he took the *Medes* affair with the *Samians* to be an Invasion upon *Greece*; but it was only upon the *Ionians* and the *Asiatic Towns*, when *Miletus* was taken.

- P. 127. He says, Herodotus *contradicts the Story that Thucydides tells*; which I have already disproved: *That Anaxilas assisted the Samians to take Zancle*; which he did not, but only *advised* them to attempt it: *That he will deal ingenuously, and give my Authorities all the force that they will bear*: and yet he quite drops that of *Thucydides*, the most positive and full, of all that I had produced. He has spent two pages in a sort of *Declamation*, to dress up and to varnish the Story of *Pausanias*; which he may now be pleased to call home again, for he may have need of such declaming eloquence to excuse his own errors.
- P. 129,  
130. *He supposes, that I keep by me in reserve those Synchronisms and Concurrences, that fix the Age of Anaxilas*: and now to oblige him, I have produced some of them, but have a few still behind that shall be at his service. And I hope, he'll be so kind in requital, as to *throw into the scale those half a dozen* he speaks of, *besides his Scaliger's and Petavius's, that have fallen in with the account of Pausanias*. The more he *throws into his scale*, the greater Complement he will make me; by telling the world, that I have hit upon the Truth, where so many, and such great Men have fail'd before me.
- P. 131.

There's another small Controversie upon this Topic between the Examiner and Me; that must be debated before we conclude this Section. I had observ'd, that the pretended *Phalaris* in one Epistle mentions the *Zancleans*, and in another

ther the *Messenians*. Now if Historians say true, that the name of *Zanclæ* was changed into *Messana*, after Olymp. LXX; the Tyrant *Phalaris*, that died at Olymp. LVII, could not call them *Messenians*: or if *Pausanias* say true, that *Zanclæ* was called *Messana* at Olymp. XXIX; then the Tyrant that lived above c years after, could not call them *Zanclæans*: chuse which way you will therefore, the Epistles are a Cheat. The first part of this Dilemma we have sufficiently establish'd; but to the latter Mr. B. has made an Exception, that shall here be consider'd.

He observes very acutely, that the Epistles do not expressly say *Zanclæ, the Town*; but only *the people, Zanclæans*: and he conceives, that though *Zanclæ* was called *Messana* at Olymp. XXIX according to *Pausanias*; yet there were *Zanclæans* left still, and might be called so by *Phalaris*, at Olymp. LVII. If the Author of the Letters had named *the Town*, he would not have justified him; but nothing can be justly infer'd to his disadvantage from his naming *the People*.

This is so ingenious a distinction; that I desire to borrow it of him for one moment, and apply it to a passage of his Author *Pausanias*. He has borrow'd several things of me, and I hope he won't take it ill, if I once use the same freedom with him. *Pausanias* among other Donaries at *Olympia*, describes a Statue of *Hercules* fighting with an Amazon. The man that dedicated it was (k) *Evagoras* a ZANCLÆAN, and the Workman one *Aristocles* a *Cydonian*. Now *the Age*, says he, of this *Aristocles* cannot be exactly known:

(l) but 'tis evident, that he lived

(k) *Paus.* 175. 'Ευαγόρας γένετο Ζαγκλιῶν.

(l) Δῆλα δὲ, ὡς περὶ πέρων ἐπιέμετο, πρὶν ἢ τῆς Ζαγκλιῆς τῆς ὀνομαζόμενης δαί τὸ ἐπ' ἡμῶν Μεσσηνίων.

before Zancle was called, as it now is, Messana. Now Mr. B. may tell Pausanias, that his Inference, like mine, is very erroneous; for the Town Zancle not being named here, but only Ζάγκλιθ, a ZANCLÆAN; he cannot infer, as he does, about the Age of Aristocles; because Evagoras might be a Zanclæan, long after the name of Zancle was chang'd into Messana. What now has Pausanias to say for himself? for it's plain, that he was not aware of the Examiner's distinction. When Pausanias's Friends will condescend to give an answer to so poor a Cavil; the same Apology will serve both for him and my self.

P. 126.

(m) Paus.  
179. Εἶναι  
ὅτι Σικελιώται καὶ  
τέτρες τῶν  
ἀρχαίων  
Ζαγκλαίων,  
καὶ ἔ  
Μεσσηνίας  
φασί.

(n) Δεόντων  
σκαθὸν καὶ  
Σύμμαχος  
τῶν ὅτι τῶν  
Συμῶν Με-  
σσηνίων.

Mr. B. has another passage of the same Pausanias; by which he will make it appear, that there were a people Zanclæans, when there was no City Zancle. Pausanias, says he, *where he observes, that during the Messanians absence from Peloponnese, but two of their Nation, Leontiscus and Symmachus, Messanians of Sicily, won the Prize at the Olympics*; adds, (m) *That the Sicilians say, these were not Messanians, but descended from the old Zanclæans. This implies, says Mr. B. that the Zanclæans kept their Families unmix'd with their new Conquerors.* But I am sure this Argument implies, that Mr. B. has not read his System of Logic so well as he ought to do. For allow him, that the Families were unmix'd for a while; does that imply, that those Families had still the name of Zanclæans? Is it not evident from Pausanias himself, (n) that Leontiscus and Symmachus registred themselves MESSANIANS at Olympia? but if the old name was still kept up, why did they not style themselves ZANCLÆANS? The Catalogue of the Stationicæ

*dioniciæ* enters this *Symmachus* at Ol. LXXXVIII. Ὀλυμπ. ὀγδοηκαστὴ ὀγδοῦ. Σύμμαχος ὁ Μεσσηνίου ἑταίρου. Here we see he is recorded a *Messanian*, and not a *Zanclæan*. Nay, I think the passage of *Pausanias* does more than *imply*, that there were none call'd *Zanclæans* in *Symmachus's* time: for he says, *he was descended of the ANCIENT Zanclæans*. As if I should say, Mr. B. is descended from the *ancient Piets*: would this imply that there is now a Nation call'd *Piets*, or rather the quite contrary?

But pray how does Mr. B. prove, that the *Zanclæan Families continued unmix'd*? Because the *Sicilians* could know, that *Leontiscus* and *Symmachus* were descended from them? But this is a consequence too nearly related, to some we have lately parted with. For we have seen already, that *Symmachus's* Age was Olymp. LXXXVIII. And *Leontiscus's* was about the same time, or before it. For his Statue (o) was made by *Pythagoras* (o) *Paus.* p. 181. *Rbeginus*, who, as *Pliny* says, (p) lived Olymp. LXXXVII; but as *Pausanias* says, (q) made the Statue of *Euthymus*, who got the Prize at the Olympics, Olymp. LXXVII. Now the remotest of these Olympiads is but L years from *Anaxilas's* time, who chang'd the name of *Zanclæ* into *Messana*. So that for ought Mr. B. knows, both *Leontiscus's* and *Symmachus's* Parents might be married before the time of that change: and where then is his consequence, that the Families continued unmixt? Nay although the Interval had been much longer, yet the *Sicilians* might easily guess, that those two were not descended from the *Messenians* of *Peloponnesus*. Because in truth, there was no such Colony of *Messenians* that had settled at *Zanclæ*, as *Pausanias* be-

P. 126.

(o) *Paus.* p. 181.  
(p) *Plin.* xxxiv, 8.  
(q) *Paus.* p. 183.

liev'd. For though the name was given by *Anaxilas* in memory of his ancient Country; yet the people that he planted there, were (r) a medley of several Countries.

(r) Σύμμι-  
κτοι Ἀν-  
θρωποι,  
Thucyd.

His next argument to prove that the *Zanclæans* continued many Ages in a distinct Body, and under the old Name, after the City was called *Messana*, is taken out of *Diodorus*; who tells us, says Mr. B. that in the LXXIX Olympiad, the *Zanclæans* recovered their City out of those Strangers hands, that had possessed it so many years. So many years? Pray how many had they possess'd it, according to *Diodorus*? *Anaxilas*, that changed the name

P. 126.

(f) Diod.  
p. 37.  
(z) P. 58.

of *Zanclæ*, died, as he says, (f) at Olymp. LXXVI, 1. And his children were dispossessed of it (t) at Ol. LXXIX, 4. Which is but the short Interval of xv years. What does the Examiner mean then by his *so many years*, and *continuing many Ages*? I'll open the Case a little, and shew his mistake; for I am perswaded, he is very innocent in this place, and does not wilfully deceive his Readers. *Diodorus* says, the *Zanclæans* recover'd their Liberty at Olymp. LXXIX, 4. This the Examiner took notice of; and at the same time there run in his head the account of *Pausanias*, that the *Zanclæans* lost their Liberty Olymp. XXIX, 1. The Gentleman, out of his great circumspection, racks these two accounts together, and argues from them, as if *Diodorus* espoused them both. But I have already shewn, that *Pausanias*'s date differs from *Diodorus*'s, almost two whole Centuries. There is nothing therefore in *Diodorus*, about *possessing it so many years*. That's the Examiner's Commentary upon the Text. His words are onely these, at Olymp. LXXIX, 4. Ρηγίνοι μετ' Ζαγκλαίων, *The Rhegians with the Zanclæans*

Zanclæans drove out the Sons of Anaxilas, and freed their Countries from their Tyranny. The Rhegians had been under the Tyranny of Anaxilas and his Children for the space of xxxii years only; and the Zanclæans not so long. Which is the true reason, why Diodorus here calls them ZANCLÆANS, though the Town was then called Messana. The Zanclæans, says he, delivered their Country. Because they were really the very same Persons, that were formerly called Zanclæans. For the same Generation saw both Revolutions; both the conquest of their City by Anaxilas, and the recovery of it from his Children. This once therefore he calls them Zanclæans; but ever after they are Messanians, and the Town is Messana; as at (u) Ol. xci, 2. (u) Diod. (x) xcii, 4. (y) xcvi, 1. So in Herodotus's time, p. 136. about Olymp. lxxxiii 'twas not Zancle, but (x) P. 185. Messana. And when Thucydides relates the (y) P. 282, Athenian Invasion of Sicily, Ol. xci, 2. he talks all along of Messana and the Messanians; never naming Zancle, but once only, when he was treating of the Antiquities of the Country. 297.

But we are sure, says Mr. B. the Zanclæans P. 126, preserved themselves in a separate body even till 127. (z) Pliny's time, who expressly distinguishes them (z) L' b. 3. from the Messanians, and tells us Messana was a c. 8.

Free City, but the Zanclæans were Tributaries. The first Edition of Mr. B's Book has only a reference to the passage of Pliny: but the second thus sets down the words in the Margin: *Messana Civium Romanorum, qui Mamertini vocantur, Latinx conditionis, Zanclei.* Thus, as I say, the words of Pliny are cited in the Margin. But the passage of Pliny is really in this manner: *Intus Latinx conditionis Centuripini, Netini, Segestani.*

*gestani*. *Stipendiarii*, *Afforini*, *Ætneſis*, (and so through the whole Alphabet, to) *Zanclæi Meſſeniorum in Siculo Freto*. Here I think 'tis as plain as the Sun, that Mr. B. the Writer of the first Edition took *Stipendiarii* in *Pliny* to signify *Tributarics*, as it truly does: but the Marginal Writer in the second Edition believ'd, that *Latinæ Conditionis* signified *Tributarics*; and that *Stipendiarii*, like the other words on each side of it, was the name of a People of *Sicily*. Which I think, without any Aggravation, to be a brace of such monstrous and infamous Blunders, as can hardly be matched again, but by him that made these. But that which troubles me more is this, that the Learned Mr. B. in his Letter from *Paris* before the second Edition, gives out all those Alterations, of which this is one, to be his own. Now how shall we reconcile these matters together? for the Text, we see, looks one way, and the Margin another. If Mr. B. be a man of Honour and Veracity, as he is, he made this Marginal Note: If he be a Man of Wit and Judgment, as he is too, it's impossible he should make it. Here's a terrible Quarrel between his Honour and his Judgment; and I could wish the matter was fairly ended; I have this expedient to offer towards it, That the Text being writ at *London*, and the Margin at *Paris*, may perhaps be a Physical account, why the Sense of them is so wide asunder.

But what do I say to the passage of *Pliny*? Why, I will give Mr. B. an answer, when he pleases to tell me the meaning of it. *Cluverius*, a man of Learning and other Abilities not much inferior to Mr. B. knew not what to make of it. *Hinc mira brevitare*, (a) says he, & *histori-*

(a) *Sicil. Antiq. p. 81.*



arum confusione Plinius, Zanclæi Messeniorum in Siculo Freto. This great Man, it seems, could see nothing in it, but *Darkness* and *Confusion*. But I have the less reason to be concern'd about it; because I have plainly shew'd, that *Pausanias* is quite out in his reckoning: so that I do not charge it as the Sophist's Error, that he names the *Zanclæans* (which *Pliny* is cited for) but that he talks of *Messanians*, who were not heard of in *Sicily* in the days of the true *Phalaris*.

And so much about the *Zanclæans*. For I hope this Article is sufficiently settled. And I would make bold to ask my Learned Examiner, the next time He and I talk together, if he still retains his Loyalty to his *Sicilian Prince*. If he does, much good may it do him: he shall adore his *Perkin Warbeck* as long as he pleases.

P. 131.

P. 43.

V.

THAT same XCII Letter, which has furnish'd us already with one detection of the Imposture, will, if strictly examin'd, make a second confession, from these words, ὅς αὐτὸς ἐκτελέσων πίτυρα δίκην; 'tis a threat of *Phalaris* to the *Himeræans*, That he would extirpate them like a *Pine-tree*. Now here again am I concerned for our Sophist, that he is thus taken tripping. For the Original of this Saying is thus related by \* *Herodotus*: When \* *Lib. vi.*  
the *Lampsaceni* in *Asia* had taken captive *cap. 37.*  
*Miltiades* the *Athenian*, *Cræsus* King of  
*Lydia*

*Lydia* sent them a Message; That if they did not set him free, he would come and extirpate them like a Pine; σφέας πίτυς τρέπον ἀπειλεῖ ἐκλεῖψεν. The men of *Lampsacus* understood not the meaning of that expression, like a Pine; till one of the eldest of them hit upon it, and told them, That of all Trees, the Pine, when once it is cut down, never grows again, but utterly perishes. We see the Phrase was then so new and unheard of, that it puzzled a whole City. Now if *Cræsus* was upon that occasion the first Author of this Saying, what becomes of this Epistle? For this, as I observed before, being pretended to be written above a dozen years before *Phalaris's* death, carries date at least half a dozen before *Cræsus* began his reign.

Nay, there is good ground of suspicion, that *Herodotus* himself, who wrote an Hundred Years after *Phalaris* was kill'd, was the first broacher of this expression. For 'tis known, those first Historians make every body's Speeches for them. So that the blunder of our Sophist is so much the more shamefull. The Third Chapter of the VIII Book of *A. Gellius*, which is now lost, carried this Title; *Quod Herodotus parum vere dixerit, unam solamque pinum arborum omnium cæsam nunquam de-*  
nuo

*nuo ex iisdem radicibus pullulare* ; “ That  
 “ *Herodotus* is in the wrong, in saying,  
 “ that of all Trees, a Pine only, if lopt,  
 “ never grows again. I suppose, *Gellius*,  
 in that Chapter told us, † out of *Theo-* † *Hist. Pl.*  
*phrastus*, of some other Trees, beside the *lib. iv. c. 19.*  
 Pine, that perish by lopping; the *Pitch-* *Caus. Pl. l.*  
*tree*, the *Firr*, the *Palm*, the *Cedre*, and *v. c. 24. Pl.*  
 the *Cypress*. But I would have it obser- *l. xvii. c. 24.*  
 ved, that he attributes the Saying, and  
 the Mistake about it, not to *Cræsus*, but  
 to *Herodotus*: after whom, it became a  
 Proverb, which denotes an utter Destru-  
 ction without any possibility of flourish-  
 ing again. See Πεύκης τετόπον in *Zenobi-*  
*us*, *Diogenianus*, and *Suidas*. And 'tis re-  
 markable, that our Letter-monger has  
*Herodotus's* very words, πίτυς and ἐκτε-  
 λείν; when all the other three Writers  
 have πεύκη for πίτυς, and κόπλειν instead of  
 ἐκτελείν: which shews he had in his eye  
 and memory this very place of *Herodotus*.  
 A strange piece of stupidity, or else con-  
 tempt of his Readers, to pretend to  
 assume the garb and person of *Phalaris*,  
 and yet knowingly to put words in his  
 mouth, not heard of till a whole Century  
 after him.

**M**R. B. goes on, and begins his remarks up-  
 on this Article with his common-place  
 Eloquence, about the uncertainty of this way of  
 proof

proof from Sentences and Sayings. In his opinion, his *Sicilian Prince* may make use of the very Phrases, not the Thoughts only, but the Expressions too, of *Herodotus*, *Euripides*, and others; and yet come a whole Century or two before them. This, as weak and absurd as it is, shall not pass without an answer, in a place that is more proper for it than this.

P. 135.

He asks, *How do I prove, that the Expression puzzled the whole City?* and he answers himself, *Plainly! because one of the eldest Citizens hit upon't, and told the meaning of it. This is very nice reasoning.* If he was half as nice in his representing, he would not fill his Papers with such mean and unworthy Frauds, as he would put upon his Readers; if any of whom will but look upon my words, as they stand in the Dissertation; they will see his fair dealing. They are the express words of *Herodotus*, that the whole City was (a) puzzled a good while, even the Old-man himself, who at last (b) with much ado found out the meaning.

(a) Πλω-  
νόμενον ὃ  
Δαμ. Ψακκη-  
νών.

(b) Μόχως  
κοτε μά-  
σών.

P. 135.

I had observ'd, *That the first Historians make every bodies Speeches for them.* Mr. B. takes me up; *For this of Croesus is no Speech, but only a message.* Wonderfull exactness! Pray, Sir, accommodate us out of your new Logic with a Definition of a Message. I thought formerly, that a Message was a Speech sent: and when Neptune rebukes the Winds in *Virgil*:

*Maturate fugam, regique hac dicite vestro,  
Non illi imperium pelagi, &c.*

I believ'd it was both a Speech and a Message at once. And surely there are infinite such in Poets and Historians and common Life. Nay *Herodotus's* own Phrase is a sufficient warrant for

me;

me; for he says, that *Cræsus* (c) SPOKE to the Lampfaceni by a Messenger.

(c) Πέμ-  
πων ἄρ-  
σηγέσειν.

But 'tis probable, said I, that *Herodotus* invented this Phrase himself. Here Mr. B. insults, and briskly asks me these questions; Does *Herodotus* tell us, that the Lampfacenes were puzzled with an Expression invented by *Herodotus*? Were the men of *Lampfacus* in *Cræsus's* time at a loss to understand a Phrase, that was not thought of, till *Herodotus* 100 years afterwards coin'd it? 'tis wonderfull to Me, how such a piece of reasoning as this could ever enter into a Head, that has Brains in it. Who can deny, but that the Wit of this Expression is as great as the Civility of it? But to let that pass, I am afraid it would not much tend to the Examiner's Reputation, if the World should determin from this very passage, whether his own Head be so very full of Brains, as he and I think it is.

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The falseness of his reasoning lies open enough. I argued from a double Supposition: first, if *Herodotus* give us the very words of *Cræsus*, they are six years at least younger than the Epistle pretends to be: or secondly, if *Herodotus*, as his and other Historians custom is, father'd a saying upon *Cræsus*, which he invented himself, then it is a hundred years younger than the Epistle. Now our Examiner, in his wisdom, racks both these together; and disputes, as if I had maintain'd, that both parts of the Dilemma were true at once; That both *Cræsus* us'd the Expression, and *Herodotus* invented it? Was there ever such a piece of reasoning to be met with in print, till his Examination bless'd the World, and furnish'd it with store of them?

To shew Mr. B. a Picture of his reasoning in a Light that is clearer. *Homer* makes *Achilles's* Speeches for him, just as, according to my opinion, *Herodotus* makes *Cræsus's*. And the Learned World has all along consider'd some Passages in those Speeches, as the inventions of *Homer*. Say you so, *Gentlemen*, starts up our Examiner, does *Homer* tell us, that *Agamemnon* was affronted with an Expression invented by *Homer*? Were the men of *Troy* frightned with Language, that was not thought of, till *Homer* five hundred years afterwards coin'd it. 'Tis wonderfull to me, Sirs, how such a piece of reasoning as this could ever enter into Heads that have Brains in them. This is a true representation of the Examiner's Argument: and I might tell him in another of his civil Phrases, That surely the man that writ this must have been fast asleep, for else he could never have talk'd so wildly. But I hear of a greater Paradox talk'd of abroad, that not the wild only, but the best part of the Examiner's Book may possibly have been writ, while He was fast asleep.

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Mr. B. goes on; If *Herodotus* is to be believ'd, *Cræsus* us'd this Expression; if he is not, why is he brought to prove any thing? Wonderfull again! By the same way of reasoning, he may ruin at one blow the Reputation of *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Livy*, *Salust*, and almost all the Historians. For their manner is, before their Speeches, to say, Such a one spoke thus and thus in these very words: though every body knows, they are the Historian's own Speeches; and it happens not seldom; that into the mouth of the same Person, and on the very same occasion, one Historian puts one Speech, and another a quite different one. Now  
to

to argue in our Examiner's words; if Thucydides be to be believ'd, Pericles us'd such Expressions; if he is not, why is he brought to prove any thing? By the same way he may casheer Xenophon, and the rest. And we are in danger of losing the noblest parts of ancient History, if Mr. B. be not mercifull, and put his Syllogism into its Sheath again.

But would Cræsus, who expected his Message should immediately be obey'd, put it into such a Phrase, as they were not likely to apprehend? If this Argument had any force in it, it would fall upon Herodotus himself; who expressly says, that the Message was sent, and yet was hardly understood. The Lampsacenes understood in general the import of the Message: Miltiades was to be set free; or else they were to be extirpated. The word εντέλειβεν alone implied some terrible threat; for to be cut down like any Tree whatsoever, was a vengeance severe enough. But the Metaphor πίνυϞ Δένυν was not plain to them at first; why a Pine rather than any other Tree. However this would not have defeated the design of the Message, had the Lampsacenes never found the reason of that Metaphor: but we see, they did hit upon't, after they had cast about for't; which is a full justification of Herodotus from this Cavil of the Examiner.

The Command, we see, was clear enough, that they should release Miltiades; but the Threat had something of dark in it. And this is censur'd by Mr. B. as a piece of absurd management. But see the difference among great Wits. For Demetrius, in his elegant (d) Book of (d) Πίσει Rhetoric, extolls the Conduct of Dionysius of Syracuse in a case exactly like this. He sent a Mes-  
sage

(d) Τὴν ἄλ-  
 γῆν, which  
 sing upon  
 the tops of  
 Trees, not  
 our Eng-  
 lish Graf-  
 hoppers.  
 P. 135.

sage to the *Locrians*, That they should do such a thing, or else their (e) *Cicadæ* should sing upon the ground. A Command plain and express; but a Threat new and obscure: and perhaps, as the facetious Examiner has it, it might puzzle the Mayor and Aldermen, nay, and the Recorder too of Locri. Now there's something great in Allegory, says Demetrius, especially when it's used in Threatnings: as when Dionysius said, That their *Cicadæ* should sing upon the Ground. For if he had said plainly, That he would ravage their Country, and destroy their Wood; he had appear'd more angry and less terrible. But he used the Allegory, as it were a Covering to his Threat. For a Threat, that has a hidden meaning, is so much the more dreadful; one man apprehending one thing, and another another.

(f) De Rhet.  
 lib. ii, &  
 iii.

(f) Aristotle attributes this saying to *Stesichorus*; but that difference is not material. 'Tis enough, that he agrees with *Demetrius* in his character of it, that it is no less ingenious, than ænigmatical. And has not Mr. B. then a particular taste about good Sense and Decorum?

Ἄσπετον, αἰ-  
 νισμῶν.

*Gellius*, as I remark'd, ascribes that saying to *Herodotus* himself, and not to *Cræsus*: Mr. B's answer is, That *Gellius* might not speak accurately, nor nicely examin what he was about: which is an excuse fitter for the crude Pieces of one that I know, than so exact a Writer's as *Gellius*. But besides him, *Eustathius* says, " That ἐχπεύρας in

(g) Eustath.  
 ad Iliad.  
 P. 32.

" *Homer* signifies (g) *deadly*; because πύκν the Pitch-tree, when once it is cut down, grows no more. We must take notice therefore, says

(h) Τὸ πῶς  
 ἡγεδύρα.

" he, (h) of that Saying of *Herodotus*; That a Pine, of all Trees, will not grow again after the felling. For if the Pitch-tree, and Cypress live no more, after they are cut down;

how



how comes *Herodotus* to say this of the Pine-tree alone? Here's another Author, we see; that was no *nicer* than *Gellius*: and Mr. B. perhaps will be no *nicer* towards them, but roundly tell them, as his plain manner is, that both their Heads had *no Brains in them*.

But before he quits his hold, he will have one sting at my Translation of *Gellius*, *Pinum caesam*, in my Language, *a Pine-tree lept*. This, says he, is *falsly rendred, instead of cut down*. For that a *Pine-tree perishes by lopping is News to the Naturalists*. To such *Naturalists* as I have to deal with, I believe it may be *News*; but not to those that have read either *Pliny* or *Theophrastus*: *Lopping*, says (i) *Pliny*, is *fatal to the Cypress, the Pitch-tree, and the Cedre*. For these die, if the top be lept off, or burnt with Fire. The other says, (k) *That the Beech, the Pitch-tree, the Pine, the Palm, and as some say, the Cedre and Cypress die with Lopping*  $\kappa\tau\iota \ \& \ \delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ . And that is term'd  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}$  (*Lopping*) when the side branches are stript, and the top is cut off. This it seems is *News* to the Examiner; I hope therefore I shall have his Thanks for it, for I have a great deal more to tell him, before I take my leave of him.

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(i) *Plin.*  
xvii, 24.  
*De acci-*  
*minatio.*  
(k) *Theophr.*  
*de Caus.*  
v. 24.

One of the main things that I here pointed at; as a plain detection of the Sophist, was his using the very expression of *Herodotus*,  $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma \ \delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota$ ; when some others, that mention'd the Proverb, yet differ'd a little in the Phrase, having it  $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma \ \tau\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ . This I observ'd as a plain token, that he had *Herodotus's* passage in his Eye; as (l) *Eustatbius*, when he brings that saying, expressly cites him for it. And so *Ælian* appears to have had him in his Thoughts, when he

(l) F. 323

(m) Var. says, (m) τὸ δαιμόνιον παροχρήμα ἐκτείβον περιήνους  
 Hist. vi, 13. πῖνθ δίκην. Now the Examiner, that he might  
 do one discreet thing in this Chapter, has dropt  
 this, and taken no notice of it. And he was  
 P. 134. tempted, he says, to leave this whole part of my  
 Dissertation unexamined. An innocent Temptation indeed! How much better had he yielded  
 to it, than have made such miserable work both  
 with Logic and Critic.

## VI.

IN the LXXXV Epistle, we have already  
 taken notice of our Mock-Tyrant's  
 triumph; ὅτι Ταυρομενίτας ἢ Ζακλειῶτας εἰς  
 τέλθ νενίκηκε, That he had utterly routed  
 the Tauromenites and the Zancleans. But  
 there's an old and true Saying, Πολλὰ  
 καινὰ τὸ πολέμῳ, Many new and strange  
 things happen in War. For we have just  
 now seen those same routed Zancleans rise  
 up again, after a Thousand Years, to give  
 him a worse defeat. And now the others  
 too are taking their turn to revenge their  
 old losses. For these, though they are  
 called *Tauromenites*, both here, and in  
 the xv, xxxi, and xxxiii Epistles, make  
 protestation against the name; and de-  
 clare they were called *Naxians*, in the  
 days of the true *Phalaris*. *Tauromini-*  
*plir.* iii, 8. *um, quæ antea Naxos, says Pliny, Tau-*  
*rominium, quam prisca Naxos vocabant,*  
 says

says *Solinus*. Whence it is, that *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, because they writ before the change of the name, never speak of *Taurominium*, but of *Naxos*, and the *Naxians*. A full account of the time, and the reason, and the manner of the change, is thus given by \* *Diodorus*. \* *Lib. xiv. p. 282.* Some *Sicilians* planted themselves Olymp. xcvi, 1. upon a Hill called *Taurus*, near the ruins of *Naxos*, and built a new Town there, which they called *Tauromenion*, Ἰσθμὸς τῆς ταύρου καὶ μέγαν, from their settlement upon *Taurus*. About Forty Years after this, Olymp. cv. 3. † one † *Lib. xv. p. 411.* *Andromachus* a *Tauromenite* gathered all the remnant of the old *Naxians* that were dispersed through *Sicily*, and persuaded them to fix there. This is such a plain and punctual testimony, that neither the power and stratagems of the Tyrant, nor the Rhetoric of the Sophist, are able to evade it. Where are those then, that cry up *Phalaris* for the florid Author of the Letters? who was burnt in his own Bull, above CL Years before *Taurominium* was ever thought on.

But I shall not omit one thing in defense of the Epistles; which though it will not do the work, let it go, however, as far as it can. We have allowed, that *Pythagoras* was contemporary with *Pha-*

laris ; and yet in the History of that Philosopher, we are told of his conversation and exploits at *Taurominium*. *Porphyry* says, \* *He deliver'd Croton and Himera, and Taurominium, from Tyrants* : and † *That in one and the same day he was at Metapontium in Italy, and Taurominium in Sicily*. The same story is told by

\* *Vita Pythag.* p. 169.  
 ἢ Ταυρομίνιον.  
 † P. 192,  
 & 193.

|| *Jamblichus*. p. 128.  
 \* P. 109.  
 Ταυρομίνιον μὲν ἔστιν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.  
 † *Conon Narrat.* 38.  
 Ἐἰς τὸ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ταυρομίνιον.

|| *Jamblichus* ; who supplies us too with another, \* *That a young man of Taurominium being drunk, Pythagoras played him sober by a few Tunes of grave Spondees*. *Conon* also tells a story, † *How a certain Milesian left his Country in the time of Cyrus, and went to Taurominium in Sicily*. These several passages seem to concur with, and confirm the credit of the Letters, that *Taurominium* had a Name and Being in the time of *Pythagoras* and *Phalaris*. All this would be very plausible, and our Sophist might come off with a whole skin, but for a cross figure in his own Art, *Rhetoric*, called *Prolepsis* or *Anticipation* ; viz. when Poets or Historians call any place by a name, which was not yet known in the times they write of. As when *Virgil* says of *Æneas*,

----- *Lavinaque venit Littora :*

and of *Dædalus*,

*Chalcidicâq; levis tandem superadstitit arce :*  
 he is excused by *Prolepsis* ; though those places

places were not yet called so in the times of *Dædalus* and *Æneas*. The same Excuse we may make for *Ovid*, when he tells us, that *Taurominium*, and *Himera*, and *Agrigentum* were as old as the Rape of *Proserpin* ;

*Himeraque & Didymen Acragantaque* IV. *Fest.*  
*Tauromenenque.* p. 475.

So when *Porphyry* and *Jamblichus* name *Taurominium* in the story of *Pythagoras*, and *Conon* in the story of his *Milesian*, meaning *Naxos*, which was afterwards called so ; the same figure acquits Them. For 'tis no more, than when I say, *Julius Cæsar conquered France, and made an expedition into England* : though I know that *Gaul* and *Britain* were the names in that age. But when *Phalaris* mentions *Taurominium* so many generations before it was heard of, he cannot have the benefit of that same *Prolepsis*. For this is not a Poetical, but a Prophetical Anticipation. And he must either have had the Præscience and Divination of the *Sibyls*, or his Epistles are as false and commentitious as our *Sibylline Oracles*.

**M**R. B. is pleased to object, That *Diodorus* is in two Stories, about the founding of *Tauromenium*. In one place he says, the Sicilians first called it *Tauromenium*, *Olymp. xcvi, 1.* in another, that *Andromachus* named it so, about XL

P. 132.

years after. Either of these accounts, he confesses, would serve my purpose; but since they contradict one another, neither of them is to be depended on. That's hard indeed. What, neither of them to be depended on? Not so much as This to be concluded from them, That at least the City was not built above CL years before the earlier date of the two? This is just such a strain of Reasoning, as he treated us with in the last Section. The best refutation of such Arguments is not to answer them, but to use them: for by a short trial, they shew their bad metal, and quickly lose their Edge. Let us make therefore an Experiment or two. There are different accounts about the year of our Saviour's Nativity; and since they contradict one another, neither of them is to be depended on: so that we cannot justly infer from them, That he was not as old as the *Macchabees*. Some say (n) *Alessa* in *Sicily* was built by *Archonides*, Olymp. xciv, 2. but others say, by the *Carthaginians*, Olymp. xciii, 4. These Stories contradict one another, and neither can be depended on: Therefore the Town may be as old as *Troy*. One man told me in Company, that the Examiner was xxiv years old; and another said xxv. Now these two Stories contradict one another, and neither can be depended on: we are at liberty therefore to believe him a Person of about L years of Age.

As for the two Stories of *Diodorus*, I believ'd the former was the true one; and therefore I represented the latter, so as to make it consistent with it. *Clauvius* indeed prefers the latter account; but I cannot yet be of his opinion, because *Diodorus* calls the place *Taurominium* at (b) Olymp. xcvi, 1. and (c) xcvi, 3. and (d)

xcvii, 1.

(a) *Diod.*  
p. 246.

(b) *Diod.*  
p. 282.  
(c) 305.  
(d) 309,  
310.

xcvii, 1. three several times, before *Andromachus* is mention'd.

But there were People of old, that inhabited the hilly parts about *Naxos*, where *Taurominium* stood. Right again; and therefore *Taurominium* was built long before *Diodorus's* Date of it. I'll make bold to use this Argument too, and that will serve for an Answer. *Arrian*, (e) in his History of *Alexander*, has the face to tell the world, that that Prince built *Alexandria* at *Mount Caucasus*. But there were people of old, that inhabited those hilly parts, as that writer himself confesses; (f) *Ἐπὶ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀνδράποσις*, *The Mountain*, says he, had many Inhabitants. 'Tis plain then, that there was an *Alexandria* at *Caucasus*, before ever the *Macedonian* set foot there. Is not *Arrian* cut down now with this mighty Argument? And which of the Historians may not be in the same condition, when a fit of disputing takes the Examiner?

Ay, but the People might be called *Tauromenites*, before the City was built, and 'tis observable, that *Phalaris* names the People, but not the City; nor uses any such expression, as implies they were form'd into a politic Body, or belong'd to any City. I remember, Mr. B. says somewhere, that there's a Quaintness of Pedantry in some Observations. He might have observed too, if he had pleas'd, that *Phalaris* mentions the *Syracusians*, but never names the place *Syracuse*: must the *Syracusians* therefore belong to no City? If so small an observation can raze Cities at this rate; the Tyrant, by Mr. B's Conduct, will be more terrible now, than when he was alive.

The reason, why he mention'd not the place *Tauromenium*, but only the People, is no secret

at all. For he neither took the Town, nor besieged it, nor carried his Bull thither for a Ræree Show, nor had any other concerns there, and why then should he mention it? The people indeed he had some Transactions with; for he says, *They began an unjust war with him; they redeemed their Captives by a price in common, and he remitted to them that price in common at the request of Stefichorus.* And surely this is a hint broad enough, that they were form'd into a politic body, and belonged to a City. Unless Mr. B. will have nothing less, than the Mayor, and Aldermen, and Recorder to be nam'd, for a proof that it was a City.

Mr. B. adds a passage of *Vibius Sequester*; That *Taurominium* had its name from the River *Taurominius*, that runs by it. And he infers, That there might be a People *Tauromenites*, as well as a River *Taurominius*, before there was a City *Taurominium*. The Gentleman loves to surprize us with a Consequence: *A River Taurominius; Ergo, a People Tauromenites.* Now if the *Tauromenites* were a sort of Fish, this Argument drawn from the River would be of great force. But with Submission to Mr. B's better judgment, I humbly conceive, the *Tauromenites* were Flesh and Blood like the rest of the *Sicilians*.

But the Examiner's expression deserves our remarking, *If Vibius Sequester be to be credited.* I doubt not, but he tacitly answered himself, that he is not to be credited. For Mr. B. appears to have had this notice of *Vibius* from (g) *Cluverius* in his *Sicily*; but with great Candor and Integrity he suppresses what *Cluverius* proves there; That *Vibius* is quite mistaken: for the River had  
that



That name from the Town, and not the Town from the River; which was called, not Taurominius, but Onabala, till after the time of Augustus, that is 'till cccc years after the date of Taurominium.

The words of (b) *Vibius Sequester* are these. *Taurominius, inter Syracusas & Messanam, à quo oppidum Taurominium; quod oppidum aliter Euseboneora dicitur.* It had become Mr. B's great Learning to have cited this passage at large, and have given the world an emendation of it. The fault, I suppose, is manifest enough; for who ever heard of *Euseboneora*? *Cluverius* endeavours to correct it, *Eusebio Naxos*. I will give no character of that learned man's correction, but only propose another of my own, which is, *Eusebon Cora*. The Author meant *Ἐυσεβῶν Χῶρα*, *Regio Piorum*; a place so called in the Neighbourhood of *Taurominium* and *Catana* from the famous Story of the two *Pious Brothers*: who, upon an Eruption of *Aetna*, when the liquid fiery Mass ran down towards their dwelling, took their aged Parents in their Arms and escaped with them, neglecting all their own Goods and Treasure. *Conon* gives us a Narrative of it, which he closes with this, (i)

That the Sicilians from that occasion called *ΕΥΣΕΒΩΝ ΧΩΡΑ*, the Place of the Pious. *Lycurgus* the Orator tells the same story, and adds, (k) That from thence the place was yet called *ΕΥΣΕΒΩΝ ΧΩΡΟΣ*. (l) *Aristotle*, (m) *Strabo*, and (n) *Pausanias* call those Brothers, *ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΣ*; and (o) *Claudian*, *PII FRATRES*; and (p) *Solinus* names the place, *CAMPUS PIORUM*. (q) *Ælian* says, this

(b) *Vib Sequester de Fluviiis.*

(i) *Conon Nav. 43. Διὰ ταῦτα οἱ Σικελιώται ἤχῳρον ἐκείνων Εὐσεβῶν χῳραὶν ἐχάλεσαν.*

(k) *Lycurg. contra Leocrat. p. 60.*

(l) *Arist. Θαιμ.*

(m) *Strabo vi.*

(n) *Pausan. Phoc.*

(o) *Claud. Epig. 35.*

(p) *Solin. c. 5.*

(q) *Æl. apud Strab. Scrim.*

77.

Eru-

Eruption happen'd at Olymp. LXXXI; but I suspect there's a mistake in the number.

To return now to the subject under debate; we have other evidence unquestionable, that confirms the Narrative of *Diodorus* about the origin of *Taurominium*. For *Pliny*, and *Solinus* say expressly, *That Taurominium was the City which was formerly called Naxos. Taurominium therefore cannot be older than the Destruction of Naxos.* But we are certain, that that City was

(r) *Diod.*  
p. 246.

destroyed by *Dionysius of Syracuse*, (r) at Olymp. XCIV, 2. And seven years after, says *Diodorus*, *Taurominium* was founded, Ol. XCVI, 1. The whole account is clear, and every part of it is consistent with and confirmed by the rest. And agreeably to this, (f) *Herodotus* calls the City, *Naxos*,

(f) *Lib. vii.*

and the Inhabitants, *Naxians*, about Olymp. LXX; and so does (t) *Thucydides*, at Olymp. XCI, 2.

(t) *Lib. vi.*

Nay the very Medals of the *Tauromenites* are an infallible proof, that they came from the *Naxians*: there are five several Pieces in *Paruta*, that have on one side TARPOMENITAN; on the Reverse *Apollo's Head* with an Inscription APXAGETA, Now *Apollo Archagetes* was the Tutelar God of the *Naxians*. The *Chalcidians of Eubœa*, says

(u) *Lib. vi.*

(u) *Thucydides*, *founded Naxos, and built an Altar to Apollo Archagetas, which is yet standing, on the out-side of the Town.* And we have (x) *Ap-*

(x) *De Ci-*  
*cil. B. v. p.*  
1162.

*pian's Testimony*, that the *Tauromenites* were under the Patronage of the same *Archagetas*; the very same that had an *Altar and Statue* built by the *Naxians*. But the original Money of the *Tauromenites* is a surer evidence of it; and 'tis allow'd by all Antiquaries, that the Inscription is in Memory of their *Naxian Ancestors*.

Our Examiner hinted at this Objection against the Epistles, from the date of *Taurominium*, in his Preface to *Phalaris*. And 'tis an unusual piece of Moderation in him, that he has not charg'd me with stealing it from him. He had as good pretense to do so, as when he accuses me of pillaging his poor Notes, and robbing *Vizzanius* and *Nevelett*, of which hereafter. But I'll give the Reader the Secret, why he dropt this opportunity of calling me a Plagiary. Both (x) in his Preface and his Index, he says, *Naxos was destroyed by Dionysius the YOUNGER, as Diodorus relates it.* Now if a man dips only into *Diodorus*, or casts his Eye on him, as Mr. B. says, he may possibly mistake so: because the story (y) is touched upon in the Annals of *Dionysius the Younger*. But the truth is, that *Naxos* was razed by (z) *Dionysius the ELDER* at Ol. xciv, 2. which is xxxv years before the other came to the Crown. Now some kind Assistant, I suppose, had inform'd Mr. B. of this shameful Flaw in his Preface; and so the consciousness of his own Guilt made him slip this fair occasion of traducing me. But if the Reader pleases to see, how each of us have manag'd this Topic; I'll ask no other justification.

(x) *Post Naxum à Dionysio juniore dirutam.*

(y) *Diod. P. 411.*

(z) *Diod. 246.*

But he asks me, *Where do I find that Phalaris was burnt in his Bull?* I find it in *Ovid's Ibis*.

P. 133.

*Utque ferox Phalaris, lingua prius ense resecta, More bovis, Paphio clausus in ære, gemas.*  
and in the old Scholiast upon the place; *Phalaris ipsemet resecta lingua in taurum æneum conjectus est.* But do you take up, says Mr. B. with the trifling Author of the Verses upon *Ibis*? A little while ago *Ovid* was one of the greatest Wits of the Ancients; and as much above *Manilius*, as *Nireus*

P. 28.

reus

reus was handsomer than Therfites. But now the Wind is changed again, and he's a trifling Author. Mr. B. I see, will let no body else contradict him, but reserves that for a Complement, which he'll pay to himself. But why, I pray, so severe upon Ovid? Why must he have no credit in a matter of History? Will Mr. B. stigmatize him for a *Ly-maker by Profession*; such as he obligingly declares all *Poets are a-kin to*? Of all the various Histories that are touch'd on in Ovid's *Ibis*, there's not one in forty, but what we have at this day other good vouchers for, besides the Poet himself. And without question he had Authors for the rest, though they are not now extant. But Mr. B. requires some *grave Writer's Testimony*, and not a *trifling Poet's*. I had quoted a very grave and learned Writer for it, *Heraclides Ponticus*; but he tells me, I cite him *falsly*; or else I use some Copy of Heraclides, *that he has not seen*. What Mr. B. has, or has not seen, his Assistant knows better than I do. But in all the Copies of *Heraclides*, 'tis I think sufficiently hinted, that *Phalaris* was burnt in his Bull: I mean the Greek Copies; for the Latin Translation, which is sometimes easier *seen* than the Original, does not express it. *Phalaris*, says Heraclides, *burnt several Persons in his Brazen Bull; but the People took vengeance on him, (a) and they burnt his Mother too, and his Friends*. If they burnt his Mother *too*, then surely that implies, that *Phalaris* himself was burnt. And indeed how could the *Agrigentines* forget to burn him? The Revenge was so proper and natural, and the Thought so very obvious and uppermost; that 'tis hardly credible, they should not burn him in his Bull, if they had him alive in their power.

P. 164.

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P. 133,  
117.

(a) *Heraclides*  
in *Polit.*  
Ἐνέπρησε  
ὁ καὶ τὴν  
μητέρα

power: Tully says, (b) *That the whole Multitude of the Agrigentines fell upon him.* This is consistent enough with Ovid's account of him; for they fell upon him, and siezed him, and so haled him to the Bull. As for Valerius Maximus, who says, (c) *He was stoned to death at the Instigation of Zeno Eleates: 'tis plain,* (d) he mistakes Phalaris for Nearchus; who was Tyrant of *Velia* in *Italy* a hundred years after Phalaris. *Jo. Tzetzes* says, (e) *He was starved to death in a Coat of Lead;* but He scarce deserves our consideration: or if he did, yet here are three Authors for his burning, and he alone for his starving.

(b) De Offic. ii, 7. *Univerſa Agrig. multitudo impetum fecit.*  
 (c) Val. Max. iii, 3.  
 (d) See *Lactert. in Zeno Eleate.*  
 (e) *Chil. p. 95.*

But to take leave of this Topic; let us see how the Balance stands here between the Examiner and me. In the one Scale there are *Diodorus, Pliny, Solinus, Thucydides, Herodotus,* and the Original Medals of *Taurminium*: In the Examiner's Scale, there are two false Surmises, two vicious Consequences, and one refreshing Quibble; for the Quibble's his own, by the old Rule, *Qui capit, ille facit.*

P. 133.

VII.

THE xxxv Letter to *Polygnotus* presents us with a Sentence of Moral, ἐπὶ λόγῳ ἔργα σιμὰ παρὰ τοῖς σὺν ἡρεστέροις πεπρωμένοις, *That wise men take Words for the Shadow of Things*; that is, as the Shadow is not alone without the presence of the Body, so Words are accompanied with the Action. 'Tis a very notable Saying,

Saying,

Saying, and we are obliged to the Author of it; and if *Phalaris* had not modestly hinted, that others had said it before him, we might have taken it for his own. But then there was either a strange jumping of good Wits, or *Democritus* was a sorry Plagiary; for He laid claim to the first Invention of it, as \* *Diogenes Laertius* says, Τέτρα ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ λόγῳ ἔργου σμικρῆ: and † *Plutarch*, Λόγῳ γὰρ ἔργου σμικρῆ κατὰ Δημόκριτον. What shall we say to this matter? *Democritus* had the character of a man of Probity and Wit; who had neither inclination nor need to filch the Sayings of others. Besides, here are *Plutarch* and *Diogenes*, two witnesses that would scorn to flatter, and to ascribe it to *Democritus*, had they ever read it in others before him. This bears hard indeed upon the Author of the Letters: but how can we help it? He should have minded his hits better, when he was minded to act the Tyrant. For *Democritus*, the first Author of the Sentence, was too young to know even *Pythagoras*: τὰ τῶν χερῶν μάχεσθαι, says || *Diogenes*; and yet *Pythagoras* survived *Phalaris*; nay, deposed him, if we will believe his Scholars. We may allow Forty Years space for *Democritus*'s writing; from the LXXXIV Olymp. to the XCIV, in which he

\* *Vita Democrit.*

† *De Educat. Puer.*

|| *Vita Democ.*

he died. Now the earliest of this is above an Hundred Years after the last period of *Phalaris*.

I am sensible that \* *Michael Pfellus* refers this Saying to *Simonides*; and † *Istodorus Peleus*: to the *Lacedæmonians*. But these two are of little authority, in a case of this nature, against *Plutarch* and *Dio- genes*. Neither would the matter be mended, should we accept of their testimony. For *Simonides* was but Seven Years old, when *Phalaris* was kill'd. And were it a *Lacedæmonian* Apophthegm, though the date be undetermined, it might fairly be presumed to be more recent than He.

**M**R. B. animadvert, that among the several Pretenders to this Sentence, Λόγος ἔργου σου, I decide in favour of *Democritus* for a very good reason; because otherwise it would be of no use to me in the present Debate. One half of which words are a misrepresentation, and the other half a mistake.

P. 138.

I decided in favour of *Democritus*, not to serve a present turn; but for just and perpetual reasons. There are Two, that ascribe it to *Democritus*; and but One to each of the others. Nay I will now add a third in *Democritus*'s behalf, (a) Πένταδλος, ὁ Διούκειος ὁ Ἀκθονεῖτης, &c. Τὸ τε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Λόγος ἔργου σου ἀλίη: which, according to the present reading, is *Oratio Mercurii flagellum*, as *Wolffius* and *Portus* translate it: but it ought to be corrected, Λόγος ἔργου σου. And

(a) *Suid.*  
in τῷ Πέντ.

besides

besides the number, even the quality of *Democritus's* Witnesses is greater than the other's, in a case of this nature. For *Isidorus*, a Christian Writer, was not versed so well in Heathen Authors, as *Plutarch*, and *Laertius*; and *Pfellus*, I suppose, is too Modern, to be set in Competition with them; being a thousand years younger than *Plutarch*, and nine hundred than *Laertius*. In this part therefore Mr. B. has misrepresented me.

P. 139. The other, as I said, is a mistake; where he says, *otherwise it would be of no use to me, and, if any of them have it, except Democritus, Phalaris might have used it after them.* What will not a man say, that can say such things *with equal regard to Truth and Honour*? If we attribute it to *Simonides*, could *Phalaris* use it after him?

\* See here P. 42, 43. Though it be evident beyond all question, \* that *Simonides* was a very Child at the latest Period of *Phalaris's* Life? I had observed this in my Dissertation; Mr. B. has not one word in refutation of it, and yet could suffer these crude Assertions to drop from his Pen. Nay further, if we allow *Isidorus's* account, and give the Saying to the *Lacedaemonians*; yet it's very great odds; that it's younger than *Phalaris*. For if we examine the *Laconic Sentences* collected by *Plutarch*, we shall find four parts of five there to be later than *Phalaris's* time.

P. 138. But Mr. B. adds, that the words of *Plutarch*,  $\alpha\tau\ \Delta\eta\mu\acute{o}\kappa\epsilon\tau\tau\upsilon$ , do not imply, *That he thought Democritus to be the Author of the Saying, but only that he had met with it in Democritus's Works.* I am weary of dealing with such poor Objections, that have no Sap nor Spirit in them. In another place the same Author says, that  
(b) ac-



(b) according to Simonides,

\* Ἀθηλαῖ ἱππῶ πῶλαῖ ὡς ἄμα τρέχαιν.

And (c) according to Plato, Λόγῳ κεφοτάτῳ ἰσχυροτάτῳ λαρυτάτῳ ζημία. Does not *Plutarch*

here intimate, that *Simonides* and *Plato* were the first Authors of these Sayings? There is nothing more common in him and others, than *ἔργῳ ἄλλοτῳ*, *ἔργῳ ἑυεπίδῳ*, *ἔργῳ μέλανδρον*, &c. Now if we allow of Mr. B's exception, That these may not be the Authors of the Passages there attributed to them, but may have pillaged them from others; we shall have as many Plagiaries, as Writers.

He insists further, *That Laertius tells us, Solon used to say, Λόγον εἰδωλον ἦν ἔργων; so that he does not make Democritus the Author of the Sentence we speak of.* But with the Examiner's leave, there is a difference between Λόγῳ εἰδωλον ἦν ἔργων, and Λόγῳ ἔργῳ σικιά: and if *Laertius* had not thought so, he would not have named them both. If the words in *Phalaris's* Epistle had been Λόγῳ εἰδωλον ἦν ἔργων; I had never made an Objection from them, against the Epistles: because *Solon* was as old as the true *Phalaris*. But since the words are, Λόγῳ ἔργῳ σικιά; which, as *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, and *Suidas* assure us, was the peculiar Phrase and Turn that *Democritus* gave to that Thought, 'tis an Objection unanswerable.

But by virtue of an *old Saying*, as he calls it; *Nil est dictum, quod non dictum prius; he believes, that Λόγῳ ἔργῳ σικιά might be lit upon a hundred times, before Democritus made it famous.* I perceive the Gentleman understands not the *old Saying* he speaks of. The first that used it, was *Terence* in the Prologue to *Eunuchus*:

O where

(b) *ἔργῳ ἑυεπίδῳ*  
*Σιμωνίδῳ*  
 (c) *ἔργῳ ἄλλοτῳ*  
*Πλάτωνος*.

P. 138.

P. 137,  
 139.

where he excuses himself for borrowing some Characters from *Menander*, in these elegant Verses,

*Quod si Personis iisdem uti aliis non licet;  
 Qui magis licet currentes servos scribere,  
 Bonas matronas facere, meretrices malas,  
 Parasitum edacem, gloriosum militem,  
 Puerum supponi, falli per servum senem,  
 Amare, odisse, suspicari? denique  
 Nullum est JAM dictum, quod non dictum sit  
 prius.*

His excuse is this, That all Characters were already exhausted by the numbers of Poets, that had gon before; (there being at that time above 2000 Greek Comedies extant, besides the Latin ones,) so that nothing could NOW be said, that was not said already. NOW, he says, that is, in his own time, in the Rear of so many Poets: but it had been very absurd in *Epicharmus's* Mouth, or any other of the first Writers of Comedy. And 'tis as absurd in our Examiner, to infer from this Saying, that a Saying could not be first lit upon by *Democritus*, who comes so early in the Chronology of Learning. Surely every Saying had some Beginning; unless Mr. B. will suppose, that the World and Humane Race have been eternally as they are now. But he himself affords a full Refutation of his *Nihil est dictum*: for there are many such *Nostrum's* in his Book, such proper and peculiar Mistakes, as were never thought on, nor said by any Man before him.

VIII.

**I**N the LI Epistle to *Eteonicus*, there is another Moral Sentence: *Θνητὸς γὰρ ὄντας ἀθάνατον ἐργῆν ἔχειν, ὡς φασί τινες, ἔδεσθαι; Mortal Men ought not to entertain Immortal Anger.* But I am afraid, he will have no better success with this, than the former. For \* *Aristotle*, in his *Rhetoric*, among some other sententious Verses, cites this Iambic, as commonly known;

\* *Lib. ii. cap. 21.*

Ἀθάνατον ἐργῆν μὴ φύλαττε θνητὸς ὄν.

This, though the Author of it be not named, was, probably, like most of those Proverbial *Gnomæ*, borrow'd from the Stage; and consequently, must be later than *Phalaris*, let it belong to what Poet you please, Tragic or Comic.

But because it may be suspected, that the Poet himself might take the Thought from common usage, and only give it the turn and measure of a Verse; let us see, if we can discover some plainer footsteps of Imitation, and detect the lurking Sophist under the mask of the Tyrant.

† *Stobæus* gives us these Verses out of *Euripides's Philoctetes*:

† *Tit. xx. Περὶ Ὄς γῆν.*

Ὡσπερ ᾧ θνητὸν ἐν τῷ σώμῳ ἡμῶν ἔφυ,  
 Ὅυτω θεωροῖται μηδὲ πῶ ὀργῶν ἔχειν  
 Ἄθανάτον, ἕως σωρηνεῖν ὅπισθα.)

Now to him that compares these with the words of the Epistle, 'twill be evident, that the Author had this very passage before his Pen; there is ἔχειν and θεωροῖται; not only a sameness of sense, but even of words, and those not necessary to the Sentence: which could not fall out by accident. And where has he now a Friend at a pinch, to support his sinking credit? for *Euripides* was not born in *Phalaris's* time. Nay, to come nearer to our mark; from \* *Aristophanes* the famous Grammarian, (who, after *Aristotle*, *Callimachus*, and others, writ the *Διδασκαλία*, *A Catalogue and Chronology of all the Plays of the Poets*; a Work, were it now extant, most usefull to ancient History,) we know that this very Fable, *Philoctetes*, was written Olymp. LXXXVII; which is CXX Years after the Tyrant's Destruction.

\* Argument.  
 Medea Eur.

I Had said, that the *Iambic Verse* quoted by *Aristotle*,

Ἄθανάτον ὀργῶν μὴ φύλαττε θνητὸς ὄν,

was probably borrowed from the Stage. This does not please the Examiner; for he comes upon me with this gravelling Question, *Why more probably borrow'd from the Stage, than from Archilochus's*

chilochus's Iambics? *the Fragments of which are full of those Proverbial Sentences.* I'll tell you, Sir, why more *probably* from the Stage than from *Archilochus*. First, because in *Aristotle's* time there were a thousand *Iambics* of the Stage for one of *Archilochus's*. The Plays of the old Comedy were (a) CCCLXV; of the middle Comedy DCXVII: nay *Athenæus* says, (b) That he himself had read above DCCC Plays of the middle Comedy. Add to these all the Tragedies, which in all probability were more than the others; and it will be reasonable to suppose, that there were as many whole Plays in *Aristotle's* days, as there were single Iambic Verses in all *Archilochus's* Poems. And secondly, Because *Aristotle* in the very same place, where he cites this Sentence, brings several others: all of which, except one, we are sure are fetched from the Stage, out of *Euripides* and *Epicharmus*: and even that One is very likely to be taken from the same place. And now I would beg leave, in my turn, to ask the Examiner a question: What he means, when he says, *The Fragments of Archilochus's Iambics are full of those Proverbial Sentences?* For I believe, there are not ten Iambics of *Archilochus's* now extant; and but two of them are Proverbial Sentences. He tells me in another place, *That collecting Greek Fragments is a fit Employment for me, and I have succeeded well in it.* But when he pleases to produce those Iambics of *Archilochus's* full of such sententious Sayings, I'll acknowledge his Talent at that Employment to be better than mine.

My Inference was, that if this Iambic came from the Stage; it must be later than Phalaris,

(a) *Prolog.*  
ad *Arist.*  
(b) *Athen.*  
p. 366.

P. 285,

P. 140.

let it belong to what Poet soever, Tragic or Comic. This Consequence, says Mr. B. I can never allow; because I am very well satisfied, that there were both Tragic and Comic Poets before the days of Phalaris. The Age of Tragedy he reserves for another Section; but for Comedy he produces *Sufarion*, who is said to have invented it before the Tyranny of *Pisistratus*.

'Tis the Examiner's good fortune, to be never more in the wrong, than when he talks most superciliously, and with the greatest assurance. He can never allow my inference, and he is very well satisfied. But I must tell him, to his further satisfaction, That though we suppose Plays were acted a little before or in *Phalaris's* time; yet it does not presently follow as a Consequence, That *Phalaris* could cite that Verse out of a Poet, whether Tragic or Comic.

First, Because it is an *Iambic Verse*; and it was a good while after the invention of Comedy and Tragedy, before that Measure was used in them.

(c) Poet. c. iv. Τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ἐχρησάτο. So also in *Rhet.* iii, 1.

*Aristotle* assures us of this, as far as it concerns Tragedy; (c) *The measure*, says he, in Tragedy was changed from Tetrametres to Iambics. For at first they used Tetrametres, because the Trochaic foot is more proper for dancing. And the same reason will hold for Comedy too: because

(d) *Donatus*, *Comædia fere vetus, ut ipsa quoque olim Tragedia, simplex carmen fuit, quod Chorus cum Tibicine concinbat.*

that, as well as Tragedy, was at first (d) nothing but a Song perform'd by a Chorus dancing to a Pipe. It stands to reason therefore that there also the Tetrametre was used, rather than the Iambic;

(c) Poet. c. xxiv, & iv. which, as the same (e) *Aristotle* observes, was fit for Business rather than Dancing, and for Discourse rather than Singing.

And

And secondly, Because both Comedy and Tragedy in their first beginnings at *Athens* were nothing but *extemporal* Diversions, not just and regular Poems; they were neither publish'd, nor preserv'd, nor written; but like the Entertainments of our Merry-Andrews on the Stages of Mountebanks, were bestow'd only upon the present Assembly, and so forgotten. *Aristotle* declares this expressly; (f) *Both Tragedy and Comedy*, says he, were at first made EX TEMPORE: and another very good Writer, *Maximus Tyrius* tells us, (g) *That the ancient Plays at Athens were nothing but Chorus's of Boys and Men, the Husbandmen in their several Parishes, after the labours of Seed-time and Harvest, singing* EXTEMPORAL Songs. *Donatus*, or whoever is the Author of that Discourse about Comedy, says, (h) *Theſpis was the first that writ his Plays, and by that means made them public*. But He was younger than the Tyrant's time, as it will appear more manifestly anon. So that *Phalaris*, as I conceive, could not meet with this Verse in thoe days, when the Plays were not written; unless Mr. B. will bring him over the Sea *incognito* to the Merriments in the *Attic Villages*.

And This perhaps may be the true reason; why the most of those that have spoken of the origin of Comedy, make no mention of *Sufarion* or his Contemporaries; but ascribe the invention of it to *Epicharmus*. For as it seems, nothing of that kind was written and transmitted to Posterity before the time of that *Sicilian*. *Theocritus* therefore is express and positive, *That Epicharmus INVENTED Comedy*.

(i) Ἄτε φωνὰ δώειθ, χώνης ὁ τῶν Κομῶδιων  
Εὐρῶν Ἐπίχαρμθ.

(f) Poet. c. iv Γενομέ-  
νῃ ἢν ἀφ' ἀρχῆς ΑΥ-  
ΤΟΣΧΕ-  
ΔΙΑΣ ΠΙ-  
ΚΗ, καὶ ἀν-  
τὴ καὶ ἡ κω-  
μῶδια.

(g) Dissert. xxi. Ἄσ-  
ματα ἁ-  
δοντες ΑΥ-  
ΤΟΣΧΕ-  
ΔΙΑ

(h) *Theſpis autem primus h.ec scripta in omnium notitiam protulit.*

(i) *Theoc. Epig. 17.*

- (k) *Them. Orat. xix.* Comedy, says (k) *Themistius*, BEGAN of old in Sicily; for *Epicharmus* and *Phormus* were of that Country. *Epicharmus*, says (l) *Suidas*, together with *Phormus*, INVENTED Comedy at Syracuse.
- (l) *Suid. EmX.* And *Solinus* in his description of *Sicily*, (m) *Here*, says he, was Comedy FIRST INVENTED. Some are of opinion, says (n) *Diomedes*, That *Epicharmus* FIRST made Comedy. *Aristotle* makes some small intimation of *Susarion's* Pretenses; but he expresses himself so, that he does as good as declare in favour of *Epicharmus*. I'll give the Reader his own words: (o) *The Pretenders*, says he, to the invention of Comedy are the *Megarenses*, both those *Here* (he means the *Magarenses* near *Attica*) and those in *Sicily*: for *Epicharmus* was of that place, who is much older than *Chionides* and *Magnes*. When he says, *The Megarenses that are Here*, he may hint perhaps at *Susarion*, who was born at that *Megara*: but he plainly signifies, that his claim was of no great weight, by passing him over without a name. He might allow him to be the Author of some *extempore* Farces, that may be called the first Rudiments of Comedy; and that's all that with justice can be granted him. And with this opinion all those fall in, who assert that Comedy is more recent than Tragedy: for the same persons suppose *Thespis* to be the inventor of Tragedy, who lived about *Olymp. LXI*. *Horace*, after he had given an account of the rise of Tragedy and Satyr;
- (p) *Art. Poet. v. 281.* (p) AFTER these, says he, came the old Comedy: *Successit vetus his Comædia. His*, says the ancient Scholiast, *scil. Satyris & Tragædia*. And
- (q) *DeCom.* (q) *Donatus* is very positive, That Tragedy is senior to Comedy, both in the Subject of it, and the time of its Invention.



Well then; if *Epicharmus* was the first Writer of Comedy, it will soon appear, that the true *Phalaris* could not borrow an Iambic from the Stage. For it's well known, that (r) *Epicharmus* lived with *Hiero* of *Syracuse*: and the Author of the *Arundel Marble* places them both at *Olymp.* LXXVII, 1. when *Chares* was Archon at *Athens*: which is LXXVIII years after *Phalaris's* death. 'Tis true, *Epicharmus* lived to a very great age, to xc years, as (f) *Laertius* says, or to xcvi, as (t) *Lucian*. Now allow the greater of these numbers for the true term of his Life; and suppose too that he died that very year, when he is mention'd in the *Marble* (though it cannot fairly be presumed so) yet he would but be xviii years old in the last year of *Phalaris's* Reign: which perhaps will be thought too young an age to set up for an Inventor; for all great Wits are not so very early and forward, as \* a Young Writer that I have heard of.

Or again, if *Phormus*, who is join'd with *Epicharmus*, be supposed the first Poet of the Stage; the matter will not be at all mended: for even He too is too young to do the *Epistles* any service. His name is written different ways, *Athenæus* and *Suidas* call him (u) *Phormus*; but *Aristotle*, (x) *Phormis*. In *Themistius* 'tis written (y) *Amorphus*, which is an evident Depravation. Some learned men would write it *Phormus* too in *Aristotle*: but if that be true, which *Suidas* relates of him, (z) that he was an Acquaintance of *Gelo* the *Syracusan's*, and Tutor to his Children; the true reading must be *Phormis*. For he is the same *Phormis* that, as (a) *Pausanias* tells at large, came to great honour in the service of *Gelo*, and of *Hiero* after him: and that I think is a proof sufficient

(r) *Plut.*  
*Schol. Pind.*  
&c.

(f) *Laert.*  
*Epich.*  
(t) *Luc. in*  
*Macrob.*

\* *Præf. p. 3.*

(u) Φόρμος.  
(x) Φόρμις.  
*Poet. c. v.*  
(y) Ἀμορ-  
φός.

(z) *Suid. in*  
*Φόρμ.*

(a) *Eliac. i.*

sufficient, that he did not invent Comedy as early as the time of *Phalaris*.

Upon the whole matter, I suppose, from what has been said, these Four things will be allow'd; That the Authorities for *Epicharmus* are more and greater than those for *Susarion*: That if *Epicharmus* was the first Comedian, *Phalaris* could not cite a passage out of Comedy: That allowing *Susarion* to have contributed something towards the invention of Comedy, yet his Plays were extemporal, and never publish'd in writing, and consequently unknown to *Phalaris*: and lastly, That if they were publish'd, 'tis more likely they were in *Tetrametres* and other Chorical Measures, fit for Dances and Songs, than in Iambics. So far is it from being a just Consequence, *If Comedy was but heard of at Athens, Phalaris might quote Iambics out of it;* though it gave such great satisfaction to the learned Examiner.

'Tis true, there are five Iambics extant, that are father'd upon *Susarion*, and perhaps may really be his:

Ἀκέετε λεῶς· Σοσσειῶν λέγει πάδε,  
 Υἱὸς Φιλίνης Μεγαρόθεν Τειποδίσκιθ·  
 Κακὸν γυναῖκες· ἀλλ' ὅμως, ᾧ δημόται,  
 Οὐκ ὄζειν οἰκεῖν οἰκίαν ἀνευ κακῆ.  
 Καὶ γὰρ τὸ γῆμαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ γῆμαι κακόν.

The first four of these are produced by *Dionysius Scholasticus* in his Commentary on *Dionysius Thrax*, a MS now in the Royal Library; the last with three others by (b) *Stobæus*; the first, third, and fourth by (c) *Diomedes* the Latin Grammarian; and the third and fourth by (d) *Suidas*. The Emendation of the second Verse is owing to the excellent (e) Bishop *Pearson*; for

(b) *Stob.*  
*Tit.* lxxvii.

(c) *Lib.* 3.  
 p. 486.

(d) *Suid.* v.

ὡς τε συν.

(e) *Vind.*  
*Ignat.* ii, 11.

for it's very faulty in the MS. But the first Verse, as he has publish'd it,

Ἀκέετε λέξεως, Συσαιρίων τάδε λέγει,

has two errors in it against the measures of Iambics. So that to heal that flaw in the Verse, for λέξεως its written λέξιν in the Latin *Diomedes*. But the true reading is Ἀκέετε λεῶς, as it's extant in *Stobaeus*; that is, *Hear, O People*. 'Tis the form that Criers used, and means the same thing with our *O Yes*. (f) *Plutarch* tells us, *That in the Parish of the Pallenians of Attica 'twas unlawful for the Crier to use that common Form, Ἀκέετε λεῶς: because a certain Crier, called Leos, had formerly betrayed their Ancestors. Stratonicus the Musician made a Quibble about it; (g) for as he once was in Mylasa, a City that had few Inhabitants, but a great many Temples; he comes into the Market place, as if he would proclaim something; but instead of Ἀκέετε λαοί, as the Form used to be, he said Ἀκέετε ναοί. In Lucian's Sale of Philosophers, the Form that Mercury the Crier uses, is Ἀκεε,σίγα. And so much by way of digression, to supply the emendation of the incomparable Pearson.*

If I would imitate somebody's artifice in suppressing and smothering what he thinks makes against him; I might easily conceal a passage of this yet unpublsh'd MS, which carries in it a specious objection against something I have said. *Diomedes* introduces those Verses of *Sufarion* with these words: (b) *One Sufarion, says he, was the beginner of Comedy in Verse: whose Plays were all lost in oblivion, but there are two or three Iambics of a PLAY of his still remembred.* Here's an express

(b) Πρῶτον μὲν ἔν Συσαιρίων περὶ τῶν ἑμμέτρων Κωμῳδίας ἀρχηγὸς ἐγένετο, ἔ τὰ μὲν δρῆματα λήθη κατενεμήθησαν· δύο ἢ ἢ τρεῖς ἰαμβοὶ τῶν δρῆματ' ὅτι μνήμη φέρονται. ! testi-

testimony, that *Susarion* used Iambics in his *Plays*: though I have newly endeavoured to make it probable, that in the first infancy of Comedy, the Iambic was not used there; as we are certain from *Aristotle* that it was not in Tragedy. But I have one or two Exceptions against *Diomedes's* evidence. First, he stands alone in it; he is a man of no great esteem; he lived many hundreds of years after the thing that he speaks of; so that it ought to pass for no more than a Conjecture of his own. And again, I would have it observed, that these five Iambics are spoken in the person of *Susarion*; which will go a great way towards a proof, that they are no part of a *Play*. For when the Poet in his own name would speak to the Spectators, he makes use of the *Chorus* to that purpose, and it is called a \*Παεγ'βαις; of which sort there are several now extant in *Aristophanes*. But the measures that the *Chorus* uses at that time, are never Iambics, but always Anapæsts or Tetrametres. And I believe there is not one instance, that the *Chorus* speaks at all to the Pit in Iambics; to the Actor it sometimes does. And lastly, if these Verses of *Susarion's* had been known to be borrowed from a *Play*, it could not have been such a secret to *Aristotle*. For it's plain, I think, that he had met with no certain tradition of any *Play* of *Susarion's*: if he had, he would never attribute the invention of Comedy to the *Sicilians* so long after him. This argument will not seem inconsiderable; if we remember, what an universal Scholar that Philosopher was: and that he had particularly applied himself to know the History of the Stage; having writ a Treatise of the *Διδασκαλίαι*, *An Account of the Names*,  
and

\* Schol. *Aristoph. He- phæst. Pol- lux.*

and the Times, and the Authors of all the Plays that ever were acted. If the Verses therefore are truly *Sufarion's*; 'tis probable, they were made upon some other occasion, and not for the Stage.

To return now to our Examiner; let us see a little how he manages his *Sufarion*; for it's a wonder, if besides a general fault in producing a weak Argument, he do not add several incidental ones, which a more skillfull Manager might have avoided. And to justify my suspicion of him, his very first Sentence has two or three errors in it. *The Chronicon Marmoreum*, says he, informs us, that Comedy was brought INTO ATHENS by *Sufarion*, or rather that a STAGE was by him first erected in Athens. And from the word STAGE he would draw an inference, That *Sufarion* was not the Inventor, but an Improver only of Comedy. Now I affirm, that the Marble Chronicon says nothing here about ATHENS, or a STAGE. I will set down the whole Paragraph, as it was publish'd from the Original by Mr. *Selden* and Mr. *Young*.

P. 140.

P. 141.

Αφ' ἧ ἐν ΑΘ . . . αἰς κωμῶ . . . ρ . . . ἐδη . . . σανι . .  
 .. των Ἰκαερίων ἠυρέντ⊕ Σκασαρίων⊕ κὶ δολον . . τεδ  
 .. πτω τον ἰρα . . . δ . . . ἀρσιχο . . . . . νοινε  
 . . . ερ . . . ⊕ . . . . .

In this worn and broken condition the passage was printed by Mr. *Selden*; and the Supplements that, have been made to it since, are only learned mens Conjectures; and may lawfully be laid aside, if we have better to put in their places. The first word of it, ἐν αθ. . . αἰς, Mr. *Selden* guesf'd to be ἐν ἀθῆναις in Athens: wherein he is follow'd by *Palmerius*, *Pearson*, *Marsham*, and every body since. But, with humble submission to those great names, I am perswaded it should not be

so corrected. For the Author of the Marble, when he would say, *In Athens*, always uses *Ἀθήνησιν*, and never *ἐν Ἀθήναις*. So in Line the 5th *Ἀφ' ἧ δίκῃ Ἀθήνησιν*, and 33. *Ἀφ' ἧ Ἀθήνησιν*, and 61. . . *ἐν Ἀθήνησιν*, and 70. *Ἐνίκησεν Ἀθήνησιν δίδασκῶν*, so in 79, 81, 83, 85: besides what comes almost in every Epoch of it, *Ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησιν*. 'Tis not credible therefore, that in this single passage he should say, *ἐν Ἀθήναις*. Besides that it is not true in fact, that *Sufarion* found Comedy at *Athens*: for it was at *Icarus*, a Country Parish in *Attica*, as (i) *Athenæus* informs us; which is the reason, that (k) *Clem. Alex.* calls *Sufarion* an *Icarian*. And the Marble it self in this very place names the *Icarians*, *τῶν Ἰκαερίων*. But surely the same person could not act first both at *Icarus* and *Athens*, in Country and City at once. 'Tis observable therefore, that in another Epoch, where the Marble says, *That Tragedy was first acted by Thespis*, (l) who was an *Icarian* too; there's nothing said of *Athens*. Our Examiner therefore is quite out, when he quotes it as the words of the Marble, *That Sufarion brought Comedy into ATHENS*.

(i) P. 40.  
(k) Συστα-  
εῖων Ἰκα-  
ερίων.  
Strom. I.

(l) Suid.  
Θεσπ.

P. 140,  
141.

(m) Exer-  
cit. p. 702.  
(n) Vind. Ig-  
nat. ii, 11.

His next mistake is, when he tells us, as out of the Marble, *That Sufarion set up his STAGE at Athens*. The whole foundation of this imaginary *Stage* is that fragment of a word . . . *συνε* . . . which the very ingenious and learned (m) *Palmerius* fancied ought to be, *ἐπὶ συνεῖσι*, *acted upon Boards*; and his Conjecture is approv'd by the great (n) *Pearson*. This, in the Edition of the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, was, I know not why, chang'd into, *ἐν συνεῖσι*, *in Boards*. And the Examiner, who without question, understands how Comedies may be put *into Boards* (though the *Groaning Board* of famous

mous memory might rather belong to some Tragedy) judiciously follows this (o) casual oversight, in that elegant Edition.

(o) See the Notes there, p. 203, 204.

I desired my worthy Friend Dr. Mill, to examin with his own Eyes this passage in the Marble, which is now at Oxford, and makes part of the Glory of that noble University. And he informs me, that those Letters, which Mr. Selden and Mr. Young took to be ΣΑΝΙ, are now wholly invisible, not the least footstep being left of them: and as for ΕΝΑΘ . . the two last letters are so defac'd, that one cannot be certain they were ΑΘ, but only something like 'em I am of opinion therefore, that the entire writing in the Marble was not ἐν Ἀθήναις, but ἐν ἀπύλαις, In *Plaustris*: and that ΣΑΝΙ has no relation to Σαυίδης, Boards; but is the last Syllable of a Verb. So that I would fill up the whole passage thus: ΑΦ ΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΠΗΥΑΕΙ ΚΟΜΩΔΙΑΙ ΕΦΟΡΕΘΗΣΑΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΙΚΑΡΙΩΝ ΗΥΡΟΝΤΟΣ ΣΟΤΣΑΡΙΩΝΟΣ: that is, Since Comedies were carried in Carts by the Icarians, Sufarion being the Inventor. That in the beginning the Plays were carried about the Villages in Carts, we have a witness beyond exception:

(p) Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse Cæmæna (p) Horat. in Art. Poet.

Dicitur, & PLAUSTRIS VEXISSE poemata Thespis.

And so the old Scholiast upon the place; *Thespis primus Tragedias invenit, ad quas recitandas circa vicus PLAUSTRO quoque vehebatur ante inventionem scenæ.* And I suppose, it's sufficiently known, that Ἀπύνη is the same with PLAUSTRUM. *Hesychius* and *Suidas*; Ἀπύνη, ἄμαξα. *Eustathius* twice; Ἄμαξαν μὲν ἢ Ἀπύνην εἰπεῖν ταυτὴν

ἔτιν. *Glossarium Philoxeni*; *Plaustrum*, ἀμαξία.  
*Plostrum*, ἀμαξία.

If this Conjecture of mine may seem probable, the next I dare pass my word, will amount even to certainty. The words in the Marble, as Mr. *Selden* publish'd them, are these; Καὶ δολον . . . τεθ . . . πωπυνοισχα . . . δ' . . . αρισχο . . . νοινς . . . ες . . . ⊕ . . . . . Out of which broken pieces the ingenious (q) *Palmerius* endeavour'd to make this Sentence, κὶ δόλων ⊕ τεθελππρω, ἢ ἰχάδων ἀρσιχον, πίδου οἶνς: that is, *Dolon* (together with *Sufarion*) was inventor of Comedy; the prize of which was a Basket of Figs, and a Hogshead of Wine; which were carried home by the Victor in a Chariot with four Horses. But he ingenuously confesses, that he never read any thing of this *Dolon* a Comic Poet, nor of such Prizes as a Basket of Figs, and a Hogshead of Wine; nor that they were convey'd home in a Chariot. However this emendation of his is approved and follow'd by the learned Publisher of *Marmora Oxoniensia*.

I was lead by the very Sense of the place to suspect, that Mr. *Selden* or Mr. *Young* had copied the Inscription wrong; and that instead of ΔΟΛΟΝ . . . ΤΕΘ . . . ΙΠΠΩΤΟΝ, they ought to have read it, ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΤΕΘΗ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ: for the difference in these Letters is very small, and such as might escape even a curious Eye in so dim an Inscription. I communicated by Letter this suspicion of mine to the Reverend Dr. *Mill*; who will bear me witness that I sent this Correction to him, before he had look'd upon the Stone: and I ask'd the favour of him, that he would consult the Marble it self; and he return'd me this answer, That the writing in the Marble is fair



fair and legible enough in this very manner, ΚΑΙ ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΤΕΘΗ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΙΣΧΑΔΩ .. ΑΡΞΙΧΟ .. ΚΑΙ ΟΙΝΟΥ. I conceive therefore, this whole passage should thus be restor'd: καὶ ἄθλον ἐπέθει πρῶτον, ἰσάδων ἄρσιχθ, καὶ οἶνε ἀμφορεὺς, that is, *And the Prize was first propos'd, a Basket of Figs, and a small Vessel of Wine.* Dolor, we see, and his Coach and Four are vanish'd already: and as for the Prizes for the Victory, which *Palmerius* owns he knew nothing of, I think I can fairly account for them out of a passage in (r) *Plutarch*: *Anciently, says he, the Feast of Bacchus was transacted Country-like and merrily: first there was carried (Ἀμφορεὺς οἶνε) A VESSEL OF WINE and a Branch of a Vine; then follow'd one, that led A GOAT (τεταύρον) after him; another carried (ἰσάδων ἄρσιχον) A BASKET OF FIGS; and last of all came the Phallus (ὁ Φάλλθ.)* Now as both Tragedy and Comedy had their first rise from this Feast of *Bacchus*; the one being invented by those that sung the (f) *Dithyramb*, (f) *Arist.* and the latter by those that sung the *Phallic*: *Post. c. iv.* so the Prizes and Rewards for those that perform'd best, were ready upon the spot, and made part of the Procession; *The Vessel of Wine, and the Basket of Figs* were the *Premium* for Comedy, and *the Goat* for Tragedy. Both the one and the other are express'd in these Verses of *Dioscorides's*, never yet publish'd; which shall further be consider'd in the xi Section, *about the Age of Tragedy*: Βάκχθ ὅτε τευτῆν κατὰ γοι χορὸν, ᾧ ΤΡΑΓΟΣ ἄθλον, X' ᾧ ἠϊκὸς ἦν ΣΥΚΘΝ ΑΡΞΙΧΟΣ ἄθλαθ ἔπ.

(r) *Plut.*  
Περὶ φιλῶ.  
πλῆτ.

(f) *Arist.*  
*Post. c. iv.*

Now I would ask the Examiner one question, If he can really think *Sufario* made regular and finish'd Comedies with the Solemnity of a Stage; when the Prize, we see,

P

that

that he contended for, was the cheap purchase of a Cask of Wine and a parcel of dried Figs? These sorry Prizes were laid aside, when Comedy grew up to maturity; and to carry the day from the rival Poets, was an honour not much inferior to a Victory at *Olympia*.

P. 141. I'll forgive Mr. B. his double mistake of xxx years, when he says, *Sufarion must fall in between the 610th and 589th year before Christ*. For I find, some other person has already reprehended him for't. And I am well pleased with his judgment of Bishop (t) *Pearson's* performance, *That he has proved BEYOND ALL CONTROVERSY, that Sufarion is a distinct Poet from Sannyrion*. I see the Gentleman, if he be free and disinterested, can pass a true censure. *Casaubon* and *Selden*, as famous men in their Generations, as Mr. B. is in this, thought both those names belong'd to the same person: but Bishop *Pearson* by one single Chronological Argument has refuted them, says Mr. B. *beyond all controversy*. I may say, without breach of modesty, I have refuted *Phalaris's* Epistles by a dozen Chronological proofs, each of them as certain as that One of the Bishop's; besides my Arguments from other Topics: and yet (to see what it is to be out of favour with Mr. B.) *I have proved nothing at all*. Mr. B. no doubt has good Motives for his giving such different characters: but I would ask him, why he says, *Mr. Selden's opinion would bring Sufarion down to Aristophanes's time?* It would just do the contrary, and carry *Sannyrion* up above *Pisistratus's* time. For the Epoch in the Marble was not doubted by Mr. *Selden*.

P. 141. *The Bishop*, says Mr. B. *has proved that Sannyrion must live in Aristophanes's time*. This is true; but it still leaves his Age undetermined, within

within the wideness of xxxx years ; for, so long *Aristophanes* was an Author. If Mr. B. had been cut out for improving any thing ; he might easily have brought *Sannyrio's* time to a narrower compass. For *Sannyrio*, in his Play call'd *Danae*, (u) burlesqu'd a Verse of *Euripides's* O-  
*restes*. But *Orestes* was acted at Olymp. xcii, 4. when (x) *Diocles* was Archon at *Athens*. *Danae* therefore must have come soon after it, or else the Jest would have been too cold. The *Frogs* of *Aristophanes*, where the same Verse is ridicul'd, (y) were acted the third year after, Olymp. xciii, 3. So that we may fairly place the date of *Sannyrio's Danae* between Olymp. xcii, 4. and Ol. xcv.

(u) Schol. ad *Ranas* *Aristoph.* p. 142.  
 Schol. *Orestes* v. 279.  
 (x) *Id.* v. 371, 370.  
 (y) *Argum.* *Ranas*.

We are come now to the Second part of my Argument from this passage in *Phalaris's* Epistle, *Θνητὸς γὰρ ὄντας ἀθάνατον ὄργην ἔχειν, ἃς φασὶ πνεύς, ἔωσθήκει*; *Mortal men, as some say, ought not to bear immortal Anger.* The Thought, as I observ'd, was to be met with in two several places ; in a Poet cited by *Aristotle*, and in *Euripides's Philoctetes*. Allow then first, that the Writer of the Epistle borrow'd it from the Former of these : then, as I have hitherto endeavour'd to prove, and as I think, with success, he could not be as ancient as the true *Phalaris* of *Sicily*. But the Reader, I hope, will take notice, that all this was *ex abundanti* ; for there are plain and visible footsteps, that he has stole it, not from *Aristotle's* Poet, but out of *Philoctetes*, which was not made till sixscore years after *Phalaris's* death. So that let the dispute about *Comedy* and *Sufarior* fall as it will (though I think that to be no hazard;) yet he will still be convicted of a Cheat, upon this second Indictment.

The words of the pretended *Phalaris* are ;  
Θνητὸς ὄντας ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν ἔχειν ἔωροσθήκει. The  
words of *Euripides* are,

Ὡσπερ ὃ θνητὸν καὶ τὸ σώμ' ἡμῶν ἔφου,

οὕτω ωροσθήκει μηδὲ ὄργῳ ἔχειν

Ἀθάνατον ———

In the comparing of which, I remark'd, that besides the words *Θνητὸς* and *Ἀθάνατος ὀργὴν*, there are other words also, that are found in both passages, *ὀργῳ ἔχειν* and *ωροσθήκει*. As for *θνητὸς* and *ἀθάνατος ὀργὴν*, they are necessary to this Sentence, and the Thought cannot be express'd without them; for one cannot express this opposition of Mortal and Immortal, upon which the whole Thought turns, in other Greek words than *θνητὸς* and *ἀθάνατος*. It might be said therefore in *Phalaris's* behalf, That if two or more persons should hit upon this Thought, (which is far from impossible) there is no avoiding but they must needs fall into the very same expressions of *θνητὸς* and *ἀθάνατος ὀργὴν*; and yet none of them might steal them from any of the rest: as we see all the three words are found in that other Verse quoted by *Aristotle*,

Ἀθάνατον ὀργῳ μὴ φύλαττε, θνητὸς ἄν.

To occur then to this plausible pretense; I observ'd, there were Other words in both passages alike; *ὀργῳ ἔχειν* and *ωροσθήκει*; and that here there was no room for this specious objection. For *ἔχειν* and *ωροσθήκει* are not necessary to the Thought, as *θνητὸς* and *ἀθάνατος* are; because there are several other words, that signify the same things: so that the Sentence, as to this part of it, might be varied several ways; as one may say, *ὀργῳ φυλάττειν*, as well as *ἔχειν* (and so the Poet in *Aristotle* has it) or *ὀργῳ πρῆεν*, or *ὀργῳ τρέφειν*

ὄχι. And so instead of *προσῆκει*, one may say, ἔδει, ἔπρεπει, ἔπρεπον ὄζειν, ἔπροσῆκόν ὄζειν ; or ἔπρηπτόν, ἔφυλακτέον, and many other ways ; which by being intermix'd would produce a great number of changes. So that upon the whole, since the Writer of the Epistle has the very numerical words of *Euripides*, in a case where it's so much odds, that he would not have lit upon them by chance; I look'd upon it, as I still do, to be a plain instance of Imitation, and consequently a plain proof of an Imposture.

Well, what says our severe Examiner to this? why truly, with a pretended Jest, but at the bottom in sober earnest, *He lets Phalaris snift for himself, and is resolved not to answer this argument.* I will not say, how ungenerous a design this is, to leave his *Sicilian Prince* in the lurch. But I fear, it's too late now to shake him off with Honour: his *Phalaris* will stick close to him longer than he will wish him. However, instead of an answer to Me, he desires me to answer Him, *Whether it was prudent in me to accuse Phalaris of a Theft, by a pair of Quotations pillaged from his poor Notes on this Epistle?* Poor Notes! he may be free with them, because he claims them, as \* *his own*; and yet as *poor* as he calls them; if common fame may be believed, somebody run in debt for them. But he *desires my answer*, and I will give it him; for the accusation is a very high one. To *pillage his poor Notes* would be as barbarous, as to rob the Naked; and I dare add, to as little purpose. My defense is, That these two passages which I have quoted, are in *Aristotle* and *Stobæus*: and I believe I may truly say, that I had read them in those two Authors, before Mr. B. knew the names of them. In other places, he confess-

P. 143.

P. 143.

\* P. 35.

P. 285.

les, and makes it part of my character, *that I have applied my self with success to the collection of Greek Fragments*: why might I not have these Two then out of the original Authors? Are these Sentences vanish'd out of *Aristotle* and *Stobæus*, since the memorable date of Mr. B's Edition of *Phalaris*? If ever they were used since, or shall be used hereafter, must they needs be *pillaged* from Him? Alas! one may safely predict, without setting up for a Prophet, that these Sentences will still be quoted, when his *poor Notes*, and his poor Examination too, will have the happiness to be forgotten. If Mr. B. had made the same Inference that I do from these Sentences, there had been some colour for his accusation of Theft, but he barely cites them in his Notes: and it's another great instance of the Sagacity of our Examiner, that when he even stumbled upon Arguments, yet he could not *make use of them*.

(z) View  
of Dissert.  
p. 19.

I had taken notice from the Scholiast on *Euripides*, *That Philoctetes was acted Ol. LXXXVII.* But an (z) unknown Author, that has mixed himself in this Controversie, has been pleas'd to object, *That some others say, the Phœnissæ was acted then; so Scaliger's 'Ολυμπιάδων ἀναγγραφή, and Aristophanes's Scholiast.* But here are several mistakes committed in this short objection. First, the Author seems not to have known, that there were four plays of *Euripides's* acted in one year: there's no consequence therefore in this argument; for *Phœnissæ* and *Philoctetes* might both of them be acted at Ol. LXXXVII. Then, both here and in other places, he argues from the *'Ολυμπιάδων ἀναγγραφή*, as if it was an ancient piece. But *Scaliger* himself confesses, it's his own work; and in this passage, that Great man mistook him-  
self

self either by hast, or by trusting to his memory: for instead of φοίνισσαι, he design'd to have writ Μήδεια, out of the Scholiast on *Euripides*; and such oversights are not unfrequent in that (a) Col- (a) See ction of his. Again, the Author is very much here, p. out in quoting the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*: 157, 158. which I suppose he might copy from the learned Mr. *Barnes's* (b) *Life of Euripides*. But so far (b) See. is that Scholiast from affirming, that the *Phæ-* xxvi. *nissæ* was acted Olymp. LXXXVII, that I will prove from him, it was acted after Olymp. xci, 2. For he (c) twice declares, that the *Phæ-* (c) P. 382, *nissæ* was not then acted, when *Aristophanes* 585. Ed. brought his *Aves* upon the Stage; which was Basil. at (d) Olymp. xci, 2. when *Chabrias* was Archon. (d) Ibid. And again, (e) he gives an account, why *Ari-* 366. *stophanes* in his *Ranæ* rather chose to ridicule the (e) Ibid. *Andromeda* of *Euripides*, which was then VIII 132. years old, than *Hypsipyle* or *PHOENISSÆ*, or *Antiope*, all which had been acted (f) a little while (f) Περὶ ὀ- before. But the (g) *Ranæ* was acted Olymp. ληγὸν διδου- xciii, 3. when *Calkias* was Archon. It is plain χ. δέντων. therefore, that the *Phænissæ* must have been (g) Ibid. acted between Olymp. xci, 2. and xciii, 3. I p. 128. dare so far rely upon this unknown Author's Candour, as to believe he will be satisfied with this reply. And I think there are no more of his Animadversions, that concern Me or these Dis- sertations, that require a particular answer.

I have nothing more to say at present upon this Article of Comedy: but that I may not break it off abruptly without taking leave of the Examiner, I would desire one piece of Justice at his hands; That the next time he burlesques some knotty Paragraph of mine or any of his future Antagonists, he would not add to it of his

P. 142.

own, Four marks of Parentheses, ( ) ( ) like Knots upon a string, to make it look the more *knottily*. 'Twould be a very dear bargain, to purchase a much better Jest than that, at the expense of Truth and Integrity.

## IX.

THE XII Epistle exhibits *Phalaris* making this complement to his Friends; Ὡν εὐτυχόντων καὶ αὐτὸς ἑτέρῳ συμπλακῶ δάμῳ, ἠδὲ εἰς ἐδὲν ἡτῆον εὐτυχεῖν δόξω; *That while they continued in prosperity; his joy for That, though himself should fall under misfortunes, would still make him happy.* But methinks those words, Ἐτέρῳ Δάμῳ, *the Other God or Genius*, that is, the *Bad one*, have a quaintness in them something Poetical, and I am mistaken, if they be not borrowed from some Retainer to the Muses. And now I call it to mind, they are \* *Pindar's*,

\* *Pyth.* 3.

Δάμῳ δ' ἑτέρῳ.

Ἐς κακὸν τρέφαις ἐδαμάτατόνιν.

or *Callimachus's*; for this *Scazon* of his is there cited by the Scholiast,

Οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' ἔς ἑγεν ἄτερῳ Δάμῳ.

Whether of these our Author made bold with, I cannot determin. *Pindar* I should incline to guess, but that I find him familiar with *Callimachus* upon another occasion; Epist. CXXII. speaking of *Perillus's*



lus's invention of the Brazen Bull; Ὑπερ  
 ἐμὲ τ' Ὀλεθρον εὔρει κατὰ τῆς ἑπιβουλεύον-  
 των ἀχθιμότητος. Where he has taken  
 that expression, τ' Ὀλεθρον εὔρει, from these  
 Verses of † *Callimachus* that concern the

† *Schol.*  
*Pind.*  
*Pyth. 1.*

Πρώτῳ ἐπεὶ τ' παῦρον ἐκάνισεν, ὅς τ' Ὀλεθρον  
 εὔρει, τ' ἐν χαλκῷ ἢ περὶ γνώμῳ.

But be it either of them as you will, I  
 suppose the Ages of both those Poets are  
 well enough known; so that without any  
 computation of Years, one may pro-  
 nounce these fine Epistles not to belong to  
*Phalaris* himself, but to his Secretary, the  
 Sophist.

**T**HE Examiner, after a long Prologue of  
*Banter* and *Grimace*, which he thinks he  
 has a great Talent at, comes at last to that little  
 Reasoning, that he can spare upon this Article.  
 He will not allow ἔτερον δαίμων to be a Poetical  
 Expression; for which, says he, of the words is  
 poetical, ἔτερον or δαίμων? Ἐτερον here signifies  
 neither more nor less than Another; and δαίμων is  
 taken for πῶς Fortune; and so they are used in  
 Prose Authors. Was there ever such an admir-  
 able Touchstone found out, to try Poetical ex-  
 pressions by? If the several words taken asunder  
 have nothing Poetical in them; then to be sure,  
 the whole can have nothing Poetical. Will  
 he please to lend it me a little, to make an essay  
 upon a Verse or too; as,

P. 144.

(a) Luna, dies, & nox, & noctis signa severa: (a) *Lucret.*  
 The men of Letters have believ'd hicherto, that V.  
 the

the latter part of this Verse was in the Poetical stile, and that the Prose of it was *sidera*. But by the Touchstone, I discover that *nox* signifies neither more nor less than night; and *signa* nothing but signs, and *severa* nothing but severe; which are the common meanings of those words: There's nothing therefore of an *Air of Poetry* there, but it's all plain and vulgar Language.

Virgil.  
Georg. IV.

*Cum Proteus consueta petens è fluctibus antra  
Ibat : eum vasti circum gens humida ponti  
Exultans, rorem late dispergit amarum.*

I believe the Author of these Verses thought himself above the pitch of common Prose, when he call'd the Fish *Humida gens Ponti*, and the Sea-water *Rorem amarum*: but Mr. B. can prove he was mistaken, for he can shew him in *Varro's* Prose, which was writ before the *Georgics*, *Gens a Nation*, and *humida moist*, and all the 'rest, if you take them single, in the very same sense that *Virgil* uses them. If the Examiner by this time be out of love with his Touchstone, I will then make bold to tell him, That 'tis not the separate words  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\theta$ ,  $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\nu$ ; but the particular sense that is put upon them, when they are joyn'd together, that gives them a Poetical Air. That  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\theta$   $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\nu$ , the *Other Genius*, should, without reference to the opposit one, signifie absolutely the *Evil Genius*, is truly a quaintness something poetical. So the Scholiast on *Pindar* thought it, a Writer of very good esteem, if we may put His judgment in the Scale against Mr. B's; for he explains it,  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\theta$ ,  $\delta\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\pi\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$ ; and adds the passage of *Callimachus* to justify *Pindar* in the use of the Phrase: which certainly he needed not have done, were it as familiar and prosaical, as our Censurer would make it.

His

His next exception, of the very same features and complexion with the former, is about ὀλεθρον εὖρε; which I had charged upon the Sophist, as a Phrase borrowed from *Callimachus*. The Latin, he says, of this Greek, invenere Tormentum, is in Horace; and he'll engage at a venture to find these two words together in a Prose-writer. Here's your man of resolution, he'll engage at a venture; and indeed his whole Book seems to be writ so. But I'll excuse him that trouble; and since it will so much oblige him, I will shew him those two Greek words (which will serve his turn much better than his Latin ones) as close together as can be, in a Verse of *Hermesianax's*, (b),

P. 145.

Ἐίποκε τοι δαίμων, Ευειπίδην, ΕΥΡΕΝ ΟΛΕΘΡΟΝ  
 Ἀμφὶ βίῃ συγγῶν ἀνπάσαντι κυνῶν.

(b) Athen.  
 p. 598.

But I hope, in return, he'll be pleased to remember, that I did not lay the stress of the argument upon this, That the two words ὀλεθρον εὖρε came together in *Callimachus*; but, That they concern'd the same business; for both the Sophist and the Poet were speaking of *Perillus* and his Bull. And if Mr. B. with his *Index-hunting*, will engage to find the same words in another Author, and upon the very same occasion; I'll engage too, without any venture, to shew that this other Author too had been trading with *Callimachus*.

Mr. B. will not pass even the shortest Section without giving us a cast of his Learning, though it be quite besides the subject. *Callimachus*, he says, *Dorizes*, in saying ἄτερον for ἔτερον. If the Examiner here had not catch'd at a Jest, he might have sav'd a mistake in earnest. For under favour, this ἄτερον is not the *Doric* Idiom, but the *Ionic* and the *Attic*. *Herodotus* uses it, (c) Ἐσι δὲ καὶ ἄτερον λεγῶν: and *Sophocles* in his A-

P. 143.

(c) Herod.  
 iv, 11.  
 jax,

*jax*, Εἰδ' ἄτερος ἑρπηρός; and some other Writers in those Dialects: but if Mr. B. has some second hand Writers, which tell him 'tis *Doric* too, he will find them mistaken.

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He concludes this Article with telling the World, *That I have lately reprinted these two Criticisms with my Fragments of Callimachus.* And yet the world very well knows, that those Fragments of *Callimachus* were printed a good while before the Dissertation; and I will tell him further, that the Fragments were *printed*, before one single Line of the Dissertation was *writ*. This it is to *engage at a venture*; but he ventures on still, and *if he guesses right, 'tis the only part of the Dissertation that I ever will put into Latin.* Now I seriously protest, that out of kindness to Him, besides other reasons, I have no design, nor desire to have it in Latin: yet when I consider what an awkward *Guesser* he is, and perpetually in the wrong; 'tis a kind of a Preface to me, that he now *guesses* no better.

## X.

THE XXIII Epistle is directed to *Pythagoras*; and there he gives to his Doctrine and Institution the name of *Philosophy*; Ἡ Φαλαροῦ προσηνὴς τὸ Πυθαγόρου ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ πλείστον ὕπον δεκεὶ καλεῖσθαι. And so again in the LVI. he gives him the title of *Philosopher*, Πυθαγόρου παρ' ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ. I could shew now, from a whole crowd of Authors, that *Pythagoras* was the first man that invented that word; but I shall content my self with

with two, *Diogenes Laertius*, and *Cicero*.

The former says, \* Φιλοσοφίαν παρῶτα ὠνόμασε Πυθαγόρας, ἢ ἑαυτὸν Φιλόσοφον, 26. P. 3. &

ἐν Σικωῶνι διαλεχόμενον Λέοντι, τῷ Σικωωνίων τυραννῶ, ἢ Φλιασέων; *Pythagoras first named Philosophy, and called himself Philosopher, in conversation with Leon the Tyrant of Sicyon, or, as some say, of Phlius.*

The latter tells us, † *That when Pythagoras had discoursed before Leon; the Tyrant much taken with his wit and eloquence, asked him what Art. or Trade he professeth.*

*Art, says Pythagoras, I profess none, but I am a PHILOSOPHER. Leon, in admiration at the newness of the name, enquires*

*|| what those Philosophers were, and wherein they differed from other men. What a difference*

*is here between the two Tyrants? The one knows not what Philosopher means; the other seems to account it as*

*threadbare a word, as the name of Wise Men of Greece; and that too, before ever he had spoken with Pythagoras. We cannot*

*tell, at this distance of time, which Conversation was first, that with Phalaris, or that with Leon. If Phalaris's was the first;*

*the Epistles must be a cheat. But allowing Leon's to be the first, yet it could not be long before the other. And 'tis very*

*hard to believe, that the fame of so small a business could so soon reach Phalaris's*

† *Tuscul. Quæst. l. v.*

|| *Quinam essent Philosophi, & quid inter eos & reliquos interesset.*

ear in his Castle, through his Guard of Blue-coats, and the loud bellowings of his Bull: Nay, could we suppose him to have heard of it; yet surely when he had written to *Pythagoras*, he would have usher'd the Word in with some kind of introduction, *That Science which you call Philosophy*; and not speak of it as familiarly, as if it had been the language of his Nurse.

**T**HE summ of my Argument from the word φιλόσοφος, is this; That it was invented in *Pythagoras's* time, and by himself; and perhaps not till after his Conversation with *Phalaris*; or if before, yet it's very improbable that *Phalaris* should have heard of the word, before he had ever seen the man; nay though he had heard of it, he would not have used it so vulgarly and familiarly; but have signified by some short Preamble, that the word was new and *Pythagoras's* own.

P. 160. Let us see now, how the candid Mr. B. represents it. *He finds fault*, says he, *with Phalaris, for calling Pythagoras Philosopher: why? because Pythagoras himself invented that word.* Now this is so far from being the whole Argument, that it's no part of it at all. For I do not blame his *Phalaris* for using the word φιλόσοφος, *because Pythagoras invented it*; but *because he could not have then heard of it*, or if he had, he should have prefaced it with something, to signify its newness, and that *Pythagoras was its Author*. Is not this a most proper and honourable way of giving the world an account of my performance? But however he harangues upon this mock argument of his own;

own ; Could Phalaris! therefore, says he, pay Pythagoras a greater complement, than by using the word ? Queen Elizabeth first coin'd the word *Fœminilis* in a Speech of hers to one of the Universities : could that Body have show'd her a handsomer piece of respect, than by using that very word to her afterwards as freely, as if it had been one of the best age of Latin ? All this, as I have plainly shown, does not at all concern Me or my Argument : yet I mention it, that the Reader may see, what a rare Judge of Decency and good Sense the Examiner is. For I dare appeal to all persons truly of that Character ; if that wise Princess would not have despis'd such a piece of mean pedantic Flattery ; and rather have commended the manly freedom of Him, that told a greater Person than herself, upon his coining a barbarous word, *Hominibus, Cæsar, civitatem dare potes, Verbis non potes: Your Majesty may naturalize Men, but you cannot naturalize Words.* And what a clamour does Mr. B. make, because I first used, as he thinks, the word *Commentitious* ? yet the same man here, in his great wisdom, would have a Learned University make Barbarisms a purpose, because a Lady chances to do so. But 'tis to be hoped, that Reverend Body is not under the same Direction with Mr. B.

P. 287.

I had ask'd the Question, *How came the fame of so small a business, as Pythagoras's Discourse with Leon, to reach the ear of Phalaris, who was so difficult of access; being intrench'd commonly within his Castle, and encompass'd with his Guard of Executioners ?* The Examiner, who is puzzled at nothing, can very easily account for this : for one may as well ask, he says, *how he came to hear his name was Pythagoras ?* Fame, that

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told

told him the one, must tell him the other too. An extraordinary acuteness indeed ! if he hear of any man's Name, he can give an account with the same facility, of all his Conversation. A man that had got this admirable faculty, would have had mighty Preferment in *Phalaris's* Court. A certain Gossip of old, as the story goes, would needs tell her Comrades, what *Jupiter* once whisper'd to *Juno* in her ear. The Company was inquisitive, how She could know it then : but *Mr. B.* would have answer'd for her, *That they might as well ask her, how she came to know his name was Jupiter; Fame that told her the one, must tell her the other too.*

These are all the Animadversions, that *Mr. B.* could afford upon this Topic, except a small puny Cavil against an expression of mine, *The first Inventor* ; which shall be answered, when I come to examin his Exceptions to my Stile. But on the next head, *The original of Tragedy*, he resolves to overflow all banks with a Spring-tide of Learning : let the Reader therefore prepare, that he be not carried away with the Flood.

## XI.

**I**N the LXXIII Epistle, he is in great wrath with one *Aristolochus*, a Tragic Poet that no body ever heard of, for writing *Tragedies against him*, κατ' ἐμῶν γράφειν Τραγῳδίας: and in the XCVII. he threatens *Lysinus*, another Poet of the same stamp with the former, for writing against him both *Tragedies and Hexameters*, ἀλλ' ἐπι



ἢ τραγωδίας εἰς ἐμὲ γράψαι. Now to forgive him that silly expression, of writing *Tragedies against Him*, for He could not be the Argument of Tragedy, while he was living; I must take the boldness to tell him, who am out of his reach, that he lays a false crime to their charge: For there was no such Thing nor Word as *Tragedy*, while he tyranniz'd at *Agrigentum*. That we may slight that obscure story about *Epi- genes the Sicyonian*, *Thespis*, we know, was the first Inventor of it according to *Horace*. Neither was the Name of Tragedy more ancient than the Thing; as sometimes it happens, when an old Word is borrowed and applied to a new Notion; but both were born together: the Name being taken from *Τραγῶν*, the *Goat* that was the Prize to the best Poet and Actor. But the first performance of *Thespis's* was about \* the LXI Olymp. which is more than twelve Years after *Phalaris's* death.

\* *Marm.*  
*Arund. Sui-*  
*das in Oligo-*  
*π.*

I Had made this short reflection upon the Epistles, *That Aristolochus and Lylinus, two Tragic Poets mention'd there, were never heard of any where else.* This is arraigned by Mr. B. with great form and solemnity: but before he begins, he is inclin'd to guess from *Aristolochus's* name, that he was a Gyant Tragedian, rather than a Fairy one. But his Consequences are all of a piece, both when he jests, and when he's serious. For if he argue from the Etymology of his name,

P. 163.

Q

*Aristo-*

*Aristolochus* denotes a person that was good at  
 (a)  $\Delta\acute{\omicron}\chi\omicron\varsigma$ . (a) *lurking and ambuscade*, which surely is not the  
 proper character of a *Gyant*. If he argue from  
 the Bigness of his name; he might have remem-  
 bred, that *Borborocætes* and *Meridarpace*, the  
 names of two Heroes in *Batrachomyomachia*, make  
 a more terrible sound, than *Achilles* and *Hector*.  
 And we have instances in our own time, that a  
 man may be called by a great Name, and yet be  
 no *Gyant* in any thing.

Well, now he begins his Remarks; and he  
 finds the footsteps of this *Aristolochus* in a name-  
 less piece usually printed with *Censorinus*: For  
 there is Numerus Aristolochius; which must come  
 from *Aristolochus a Post*, as *Aristophanius* there  
 comes from *Aristophanes*. Upon which he fur-  
 ther enlarges: and 'tis a difficult Problem, whe-  
 ther he shews more Learning here in the Mar-  
 gin, or more Judgment in the Text. The pas-  
 sage which he cites, is thus.

*Numerus Saturnius:*

*Magnum numerum triumphat | hostibus devictis.*  
*Sunt qui hunc Archebolion vocant.* That is, Some  
 call the Saturnian Verse *Archebolion*. *Ludovicus*  
*Carrio* makes this note upon it, That the common  
 Editions, before his, had it *ARISTOLOCHIUM*; but  
 the MSS. *Aristodolium*. Now to which Read-  
 ing of the three must we stand? to *Archebolion*,  
 or *Aristolochium*, or *Aristodolium*? Mr. B. who  
 will never be guilty of improving any place,  
 leaves his Reader here at large, to take which of  
 them he pleases: only he puts in for his Thirds;  
 because *Aristolochium* has a chance to be the  
 right, as well as either of the others. But what  
 if I shall prove, that all three are wrong, and  
 the true Lektion is *ARCHILOCHIUM*? then his  
*Aristo-*

*Aristolochus* must vanish into *Fairy-land* again.

The first that used the *Saturnian Verse* among the *Latins* was *Nævius*, an old Poet before *Ennius's* time: The Measures of the Verse will be best known by Examples. The two first are out of *Nævius*:

(b) *Novem Jovis concordes | filiae sorores.* (b) *Atilius*

*Ferunt pulchras pateras | aureas lepidas.* *Fortun p.*

The latter of which has two false measures in it, 2679.

and ought to be corrected thus out of (c) *Plotius*, (c) *Plot. p.*

and (d) *Nonius Marcellus*: 2650.

*Ferunt pulchras creterras | aureas lepistas.* (d) *C. de*

The following was made by the *Metelli*, *Nævius's* Enemies: *Vasis.*

(e) *Dabunt malum Metelli | Nævio Poeta.* (e) *Atilius*

Now it's observ'd by (f) *Terentianus Maurus*, *ibid.*

a most elegant Writer; that the *Latins* were (f) *Terent.*

much mistaken, in supposing the *Saturnian Verse* p. 2439.

to be an invention of their Countrymen; for

the original of it was from the *Greeks*. *Fortu-*

*natianus* says the same; and he adds, that it was

to be met with in *Euripides*, and *Callimachus*,

and *ARCHILOCHUS*. The instance that he brings

is this, and he calls it *ARCHILOCHIUM*:

*Quem non rationis egentem | vicit Archimedes.*

And so (g) *Servius* brings another *ARCHILOCHI-* (g) *Centim.*

*UM*: p. 1825.

*Remeavit ab arce tyrannus | hostibus devictis.*

These two Verses indeed are not really *Archilochus's*,

but made by those *Grammarians* conformably

to his measures: but I can give you some

that are truly his own: (b) *Hephaest*

*Ασών δ' οί μιν κατέπεδεν | ήταν οί ο πολλοί.* p. 48, 50.

*Ερέω πολυ φίλταθ' έταίρων | τέρφεαι δ' άκρών.*

*Φιλέειν συγγόν περ έοντα | μηδέ διαλέγεσθαι.*

(i) Περω- And *Hephæstion* assures us, (i) That *Archilochus*  
 τος τέπις was the first that used this sort of Verse. Now I  
 Αρχιλοχος suppose, I scarce need to observe, that these  
 κέχρηται. ARCHILOCHIAN Verses are the same with the SA-  
 TURNIAN; the Measures themselves sufficiently  
 shew that; for there's no difference at all, but  
 only a Dactyl for a Spondee or Trochee, which  
 was a common Variation even in the Latin *Satur-*  
*nians*; as in these two that follow, out of the  
*Tabulæ Triumphales*:

(k) *Atilius* (k) *Fundit, fugat, prosternit | maximas legiones.*  
 Fort. *ibid.* *Duello magno dirimendo | regibus subigendis.*

I have distinguish'd the middle Pause of every  
 Verse by this mark |, that the Reader, though  
 perhaps unacquainted with this part of Learning,  
 may have a perception of the Measure. And  
 I suppose, he may be pretty well satisfied, that  
 the true reading in Mr. B's Author is not *Aristo-*  
*lochium*, but *Archilochium*. As for the two o-  
 ther names, *Aristodolium* and *Archebolum*; the  
 former is a manifest Corruption; the latter (as  
 it seems) was in no MS nor Print, but a bare  
 conjecture of *Carrio's*, and a very erroneous one:  
 for the *Archebulion* (as he ought to have call'd  
 it) had quite different measures, as will appear  
 by these instances:

(l) *Hephæst.* (l) *Αγέτω θεός, & γδ' ἔχω δίχα πῦρ δ' αἰδέειν.*

p. 27 (m) *Tibi nascitur omne pecus, tibi crescit herba.*

(n) *A. il.* The Reader will excuse this Digression, because  
 p. 1673. I have given a clear emendation, where the great  
 Mr. B. attempted it in vain; which would be  
 an Honour much more valuable, if I had it not  
 so very often.

P. 164. “ But suppose, says Mr. B. that no body heard  
 “ of these Tragedians but in *Phalaris*; what  
 “ then? Will the Doctor discard all Poets that  
 “ are

“ are but once mention’d in old Authors? what  
 “ at this rate will become of *Xenocles* and *Py-*  
 “ *thagelus*; whom (at least the *first* of them)  
 “ the Doctor will be hard put to’t to find men-  
 “ tion’d by any body, but once by *Aristophanes*?  
 Very hard put to’t indeed! to find an Author  
 that is mention’d in so common a Book, as *Æ-*  
*lian’s* (n) *Various History*: where we have both (n) *Ælian.*  
 the Name of this *Xenocles*, and his Age too, and ii, 8.  
 the Titles of Four of his Plays, *Oedipus*, *Lycaon*,  
*Bacchæ*, and *Athamas*; with which he got the  
 Prize from his Antagonist *Euripides*, Olymp.  
 xci, 1. ’Tis true, *Ælian* is in indignation at  
 it; and, ’Tis ridiculous, says he, that this little  
*Xenocles* should carry the Prize from *Euripides*;  
 especially, when those Plays of *Euripides* were some  
 of the best, that he ever made. The Judges were  
 either senseless and unlearned, or else they were  
 bribed. This is the just Verdict and Censure of  
 impartial Posterity; and *Euripides*, could he  
 have foreseen it, would not have chang’d this  
 posthumous Honour for the Applauses that *Xe-*  
*nocles* won from him. And by the way therefore, I P. 163.  
 would advise Mr. B. (if I may return him his own  
 words) not to be too vain upon his Performance;  
 when he hears it cried up by those that are not  
 competent Judges. *Bavius* and *Mævius* (whom  
 Mr. B. mentions here) had many Admirers, while  
 they lived; or else they had been below the no-  
 tice of *Virgil* and *Horace*. But Posterity gave  
 them their due; for that will flatter no man’s  
 Quality; nor follow the Clamour of a Party.  
 But to return to *Xenocles*; there’s a Fifth Play of  
 his, *Licymnius*, mention’d by the (o) Scholiast on (o) *Schol.*  
*Aristophanes*; and two Fragments of it are pro- *Arist. P.*  
 duc’d by *Aristophanes* himself. Mr. B. says, he is but 120.

once mention'd by that Poet; but besides the passage of (p) *Ranæ*, which Mr. B. meant, there are (q) P. 120. (q) three others, where he is spoken of, under 364, 464. the title of *the Son of Carcinus*. He is mention'd too in a Fragment of *Plato* the Comedian's:

(r) *Ib.* 465.

(r) — Ξενοκλῆς ὁ δωδεκαμύχων

Ὁ Καρύνε παῖς τῆς θαλαπίης. —

(f) *Ib.* 364. He was ridicul'd also by (f) *Pherocrates*, another (t) *Suid* in Comic Poet. And we may hear of him in (t) *Suidas*, in more places than one. What does the Examiner mean then, by his putting me hard to't? I'll do much harder matters than this, to do Him any service. But I am persuaded he was encouraged to write thus at a venture; because *Vossius* says nothing of *Xenocles*, in his Book *de Poetis Græcis*.

If the Examiner had not had the ambitious vanity to shew, as he thought, his great Reading and Critic, he might fairly have escaped these two Blunders about *Aristolochus* and *Xenocles*. For what is it that he is driving at? or who is it, that he disputes with? Did I make That my Argument against *Phalaris*, That his two pretended Tragedians were nowhere else to be heard of? No surely, but because he names two Tragedians in an age of the world, when Tragedy it self was not yet heard of.

This therefore is the main point, which Mr. B. and I must now contend for, *The first Date and Origin of Tragedy*. In my Dissertation, I espoused the opinion of those Authors, that make *Thespis* the Inventor of it, professing in express words, That I slighted the obscure story of *Epigenes* the Sicyonian. This, I think, is a sufficient proof, that I knew there were some weak

Pretenses

Pretences made to Tragedy before *Thespis's* time, but I believed them over-balanced by better Authorities. And yet what is there in this long-winded harangue of Mr. B's from p.165 to 180; but the bringing with ostentation and grimace, those very obscure Pretences, which I declar'd I had slighted; and every bit of it (except his own Faults as usual) scraped together at second hand from the commonest Authors? In opposition to which tedious Declamation, I shall first vindicate *Thespis's* title to the *Invention* of Tragedy; and in the next place enquire into his *Age*; and in the last examin Mr. B's Performance in the same order as he has presented it.

The famous Chronological Inscription in the *Arundel Marble*, which was made Olymp.cxxix, in the time of *Ptolemee Philadelphus*, above cclx years before Christ, declares that *Thespis* was the FIRST that gave being to Tragedy; (u) Ἀφ' ἧς Θέσπις ὁ ποιητὴς . . . . . ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΔΙΔΑΞΕ . . . . The word *πρῶτος* is not in the printed Editions: but my Learned Friend Dr. *Milk*, whom I consulted on this occasion, assures me, 'tis plainly so in the Marble it self, which is now at *Oxford*. I shall give a further account of this by and by: but allowing even the common Reading, as it's publish'd by Mr. *Selden*; yet it's evident and agreed by all, that the Author of this Inscription delivers this as the First Æra of Tragedy. Besides him, the Epigrammatist *Dioscorides* gives the *Invention* of it to *Thespis*:

Θέσπιδ' εὐρεμα τῆτο, τὰ δ' ἀγχιῶπν ἄν ὕλαν  
 Παίγνια, κὶ κώμους τῆς δὲ τελεοτέρους  
 Αἰγιόχ' ἐψύχωσε, νοήσιμα εἰτα χαρῆξας

Q 4

Γεῖσι =

Γράμματα, χαϊμάρῳ δ' οἷα καταρδόμενα·  
 Καὶ τὰ κτ' σκηνὴν μετεκρίνισεν· ὃ γίμα πάντων  
 Δέξιον, ἀρχαίων ἢ δὴ τις ἡμῶν.

Thus the Epigram is publish'd by the very learned Mr. *Stanley*, before his noble Edition of *Æschylus*: and I have not now leisure to seek, if it was printed any-where before. In the third Verse, which is manifestly corrupted, Mr. *Stanley* corrected it *ὀνήσιμα* for *νοήσιμα*, as appears by his Translation, *UTILE*; the other word he leaves untouched. The Epigram it self is extant in the MS *Anthologia Epigram. Græc.* a Copy of which I have by me, by the kindness of my Excellent Friend the late Dr. *Edward Bernard*: and there the third Verse is thus:

Αἰγιόχῳ ἔξυψαίσε νοήσιμα εὐτα χαρῆξας.

Out of which disjointed words, I have extracted, as I humbly conceive, this genuine Lecti-  
 on:

Αἰγιόχῳ ἔξυψατε, νεοσμίλευτα χαρῆξας  
 Γράμματα—

A, the last Letter of *νοήσιμα*, was mistaken for Δ. *ἔξυψαίσειν*, he raised and exalted the stile of Tragedy by *νεοσμίλευτα γράμματα*, his new made and new carved words: which is the very thing, that *Aristophanes* ascribes to him:

(x) *Arist.*  
*Ran* p.169.

(x) Ἀλλ' ὃ πρῶτῳ ἄρ' Ἑλλήνων πνευμάτων  
 σμυνά·

and the Writer of his Life; (y) Ζηλοῖ τὸ ἀδελφόν  
 οὐτὰ *Æsch.* καὶ ὑπέεργον, ONOMATOPOIΗΙΑΙΣ καὶ ὀπιδέτοις χρά-  
 μενθ. But our Epigrammatist, though he gives *Æschylus* the honour of improving Tragedy, is as positive, that *εὑρεμα* the Invention of it belongs to *Thespis*: which will further appear from another Epigram by the same hand, made upon *Thespis* himself, and never yet publish'd; but  
 it's



it's extant in the same Manuscript Anthology :

Διοσκορίδῃ εἰς Θέσπιν τραγῳδῶν.  
 Θέσπις ὄδῃ, Τραγικὴν ὅς ἀνέπλασε πρῶτ' ἄσπιν,  
 Κωμῆταις νεαροῖς καινοτομῶν χάριτας,  
 Βάκχ' ὅτε τειπὸν κατὰ γοῖ χροῖν, ᾧ τρέγ' ἄθλον.  
 Χ' ὠτικὸς ἦν σύκων ἄρριχ' ἄθλ' ἔτι.  
 Οἱ δέ με πλάσσει νεοί, τὰ δ' ἔμυεῖ αἰῶν,  
 Πολλὰ πρὸ στυ, φήσει, χ' ἄτερα· τ' ἄλλα δ' ἐμά.

The second Distich, which in the MS is faulty and unintelligible, is thus perhaps to be corrected :

Βάκχ' ὅτε τειπὸν κατὰ γοῖ χροῖν, ᾧ τρέγ' ἄθλον,  
 Χ' ὠτικὸς ἦν σύκων ἄρριχ' ἄθλ' ἔτι.

*Cum Bacchus ducat triplicem chorum ; i. e. cui Hircus,*

*Et cui Attica ficuum cista præmium erat, ut adhuc fabula est.*

By the three Chorus's of *Bacchus* he means the *Trina Dionysia*, the three Festivals of *Bacchus* ; the *Διονύσια τὰ ἐν Λίμναις*, the *Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστυ*, and the *Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄγρως* ; at which times, that answer to *March, April* and *January*, both Tragedies and Comedies were acted. Afterwards indeed they added these Diversions to the *Παναθήναια*, which fell out in the Month of *August* ; but because This last was an Innovation after *Thespis's* time, the Poet here takes no notice of them. But to dismiss this ; the substance of the Epigram imports, *That Thespis was the FIRST contriver of Tragedy, which was then a NEW Entertainment.* After *Dioscorides*, we have *Horace's* Testimony in *Thespis's* favour :

(2) *Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse camænæ  
 Dicitur, & plaustri vexisse poemata Thespis,  
 Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fœcibus ora.*

(2) *Hor. in  
 Arte Poet.*

And

And I think, this Poet's opinion is not only well explain'd, but confirm'd too by the old Scholiast ; who tells us, (a) *Thespis was the FIRST INVENTER of Tragedy*. To all these we may add *Plutarch*, whose expression implies something further, (b) *That Thespis gave the rise and beginning to the very Rudiments of Tragedy* ; and *Clemens of Alexandria*, who makes *Thespis, The Contriver of Tragedy*, as *Sufarion was of Comedy*. And without doubt, *Athenæus* was of the same judgment ; when he said, (d) *Both Comedy and Tragedy were found out at Icarus, a place in Attica* : for our *Thespis* was born there. And in another place he says, (e) *The ancient Poets, Thespis, Pratinas, Cratinus, and Phrynichus, were called ὄρχιστοι Dancers ; because they used Dancing so much in their Chorus's*. Now if we compare this with what *Aristotle* says, (f) *That Tragedy in its infancy was ὀρχιστικώτερον, more taken up with Dances, than afterwards* ; it will be plain, that *Athenæus* knew no ancienter Tragedian than *Thespis* : for if he had, it had been to his purpose to name him. But there's a fault in that passage, which by the way I will correct : for, *Κεῖν* ⊕, *Cratinus*, who is named there, was a Comedian, and does not suit with the rest. The true reading I take to be *Καρκίν* ⊕, *Carcinus*, who was an ancient Tragic Poet, and is burlesqu'd once or twice by (g) *Aristophanes* for this very dancing humour, that *Athenæus* speaks of. He had three Sons, that he brought up to dance in his Chorus's ; who, upon that account are called there among many other Nick-names, ὄρχισται, *Dancers*. To go on now about *Thespis* ; *Suidas* acquaints us, *That Phrynichus was Scholar to Thespis, who FIRST introduc'd Tragedy* ; and *Donatus* passes

(a) Schol. in edit. Cruquii.

(b) Plut. Solon. Ἀρχομένων τῆς ποίης Θεσπίου ἢ δὴ τὴν

Τετραγώνων κινῆσιν.

(c) Clem. Strom. 1. ἐπεὶ ὄρχισται

Τετραγώνων.

(d) Athen. p. 40.

(e) Id. p. 22.

(f) Arist. Poet. v.

(g) Arist. p. 364, 464. Suid. in Καρχ.

passes his word, (b) *That if we search into Antiquity, we shall find that Thespis was the FIRST that INVENTED it.* But what need we any particular witnesses? when we have *Plato* telling us at once, (i) *That it was the universal opinion in his time, that Tragedy began with Thespis or Phrynichus:* and though he himself was of a different sentiment, yet he proposes it as a Paradox: and we may see what little credit his Paradox had; when every one of those I have cited, came after him, and yet for that matter begg'd his pardon.

The Pretenses that are made *against Thespis*, besides some general Talk (which shall be consider'd, when I examine Mr. B's advances upon this Topic) are for one *Epigenes* a *Sicyonian*. This is the only person, mention'd by name, that can contest the matter with *Thespis*. And who is there that appears in behalf of this *Epigenes*? But one single Witness; and he too does but tell us a Hear-say, which himself seems not to believe.

*Thespis*, says (k) *Suidas*, is reckon'd the xvth *Tragic Poet* after *Epigenes* a *Sicyonian*: but some say,

*Thespis* was the second after him; and others, the very First of all. And again, where he explains the Proverb, Οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ Διόρυσον; (l) It was occasion'd, he says, by a *Tragedy* of *Epigenes* a *Sicyonian*: but he adds, *That others give a different and better account of it.* Now if this be all,

that's said for *Epigenes's* Plea; nay, if it be all that's said of him upon any account (for I think nobody mentions him besides *Suidas*) I suppose this ill supported Pretense to *Tragedy* will soon be over-ruled: unless perhaps the very Weakness of it may invite Mr. B. to espouse the cause. For I observe that His Judgment, like other mens Valour,

(b) *Retro prisca volentibus reperitur Thespis Tragicæ primus inventor.*

(i) *Plat. in Min. 'Ως οἶονται, ἀπὸ Θέσπιδος.*

(k) *Suid. in Θέσπιδος.*

(l) *In Οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόρυσον.*

- lour, has commonly the generosity to favour the weaker side. 'Tis true, there are too very great men, (m) *Lilius Gyraldus*, and (n) *Gerard Vossius*, besides others, who affirm, that this same *Epigenes* is cited, and some of his Tragedies named, by *Athenæus*. If this be so, it will quite alter the case; and the Trial must be call'd over again. But with Mr. B's leave, I will once more take the boldness to contradict great Names: for I affirm, that the *Epigenes* in *Athenæus* was a Comic Poet, and many Generations younger than his pretended Names-fake the Tragedian.
- (o) *Suid.* *Suidas* himself is my Voucher; (o) *Epigenes*, says he, a Comic Poet; some of his Plays are *Ἡερίνη*, and *Μνημάτιον*, and *Βακχεΐα*, as *Athenæus* says in his *Deipnosophists*. *Gyraldus* indeed would draw this Testimony over to his own side; and for *Κωμικός*, he corrects it *Τραγικός*. But *Athenæus* himself interposes, and forbids this alteration:
- (p) *Athen.* (p) *Epigenes*, says he, the Comic Poet says thus in his *Bacchæ*; 'Αλλ' εἴ τις ὥσπερ χῆν' ἔτρεφέ με λαβῶν πῆγνης ὀσιτευτόν. The Verses are to be distinguished thus:
- Κωμωδοποιός ἐν Βάκχαις.
- 'Αλλ' εἴ τις ὥσπερ χῆνά μ' ἔτρεφεν λαβῶν  
Σιτευτόν —

The words themselves shew they belong to Comedy, when they tell us of fatted Geese. And indeed the very subject of all his Fragments do

- plainly evince it: (q) the next tells us of Figs at a Supper:

(q) P. 75. *Ἐπιγάνης ἐν Βαγγύα.* Εἴτ' ἔρχεται χελιδονίων μετ' ὀλίγον  
Σκληρῶν ἀδρὸς πινάκισκῳ —

Correct it,

— Εἴτ' ἔρχεται  
Χελιδονίων μετ' ὀλίγον σκληρῶν ἀδρὸς  
Πινάκισκῳ —

And

And another out (r) of the same Play, and three out of *Μημιάπον*, and two out of *Ηρωίνη*, are all about *Cups*: the last of which will inform us a little about the Poets Age,

(r) P. 498.  
Επηγ. εν  
Βακχία.

(f) Τὴν Θεικλειον δευρο κὶ τὰ Ῥοδιακὰ  
Κόμισον——

(f) Athen.  
p: 502.

Fetch hither the Thericlean, and the Rhodian Cups:

For by his naming the (t) *THERICLEAN CUP*, (t) See here we may be sure, he was no older than *Aristophanes's* time: nay that he was considerably younger, (u) *Julius Pollux* will assure us; where he calls

(u) Poll.  
vii, 10.

him one of the Writers of *New Comedy*: Τῶν ὀ νέων πρ Κομικῶν, Επηγίνης εν Πονηκῶ. Τρεῖς μόνες σκώληκας ἔτι, τέτρως δὲ μ' ἔασον καταγαγεῖν. The measures of the Verses are thus:

——— Τρεῖς μόνες

Σκώληκας ἔτι· τέτρως δὲ μ' ἔασον καταγαγεῖν.

Well, I hope, I have fully shewn, without offending their Athes, that *Gyraldus* and *Vossius* were mistaken about *Epigenes*. I would only add; that we ought to correct in *Suidas*, *Ηρωίνη* for *Ηερίνη*; and *Βακχία* for *Βακχία*: and I take the three words in *Athenæus*, *Βάκχαις*, *Βεργχία*, and *Βακχία*, to be so many depravations of one and the same Title of a Play.

The Reader will please to take notice of *Phalaris's* expression, That (u) *Aristolochus* wrote *Tragedies against him*: and to remember too, what I have shew'd before, that both *Comedies* and *Tragedies* for some time were unpremeditated and extemporal; neither publish'd nor written. Allowing then, that this *Epigenes*, or any other *Sicyonian*, started *Tragedy* before *Thespis*; still it will not bring *Phalaris* off; unless his Advocate can shew, that *Tragedy* was written before *Thespis's* time. But there's no ground nor colour

(x) Ep. 63.  
ΓΡΑ-  
ΦΕΙΝ  
τεργχίαστ-  
as.

colour for such an assertion; none of the Ancients countenance it; no Tragedy is ever cited older than He. *Donatus* says expressly, he was the first that *writ*: and it's incredible, that the belief of his first inventing Tragedy should so universally obtain, as we have shewn it did; if any Tragedies of an older Author had been extant in the World. Nay, I will go a step further, and freely own my opinion, *That even Thespis himself publish'd nothing in writing*: and if this be made out, the present argument against the Epistles will still be the stronger. Though even without it it's unanswerable; if *Thespis* be younger than the true *Phalaris*, which I will prove by and by. But I expect now to hear a Clamour against *Paradoxes*, and opposing great Authors upon slight or no grounds; for the *Arundel Marble* mentions the *Ἀλκίσις* of *Thespis*, and *Julius Pollux* his *Πενθεύς*, and *Suidas* four or five more; and *Plutarch*, with *Clemens Alexand.* produce some of his Verses. No question, but these are strong Prejudices against my new Assertion or rather Suspicion: but the sagacious Reader will better judge of it, when he has seen the Reasons I go upon.

This I lay down, as the Foundation of what I shall say on this subject, That the famous *Heraclides* of *Pontus* set out his own Tragedies in *Thespis's* name. *Aristoxenus the Musician* says (they are the words of (y) *Diogenes Laert.*) *That Heraclides made Tragedies, and put the name of Thespis to them.* This *Heraclides* was a Scholar of *Aristotle's*; and so was *Aristoxenus* too, and even a greater man than the other: so that I conceive, one may build upon this piece of History, as a thing undeniable. Now

(y) *Laert. Herac. Φησὶ δ' Ἀεστῆεν ὁ Μουσικὸς καὶ Τραγωδίας αὐτὸν ποιῆεν, καὶ Θέσπιδ' αὐτὰς ἐπιγράφην.*

Now before the date of this Forgery of *Heraclides's*, we have no mention at all of any of *Thespis's* Remains. *Aristotle* in his Poetry speaks of the Origin and Progress and Perfection of Tragedy; he reads a Lecture of Critic upon the Fables of the first Writers: yet he has not one Syllable about any piece of *Thespis's*. This will seem no small indication, that nothing of his was preserved; but there's a passage in *Plato*, that more manifestly implies it. (z) *Tragedy*, says he, is an <sup>(z) *Plato*</sup> ancient thing, and did not commence, as people <sup>in *Minoe.*</sup> think, from *Thespis*, nor from *Phrynichus*. Now from hence I infer; if several persons in *Plato's* time believ'd Tragedy was invented by *Phrynichus*, they must never have seen nor heard of any Tragedies of *Thespis*. For if they had, there could have been no Controversie, which of the two was the inventor; for the one was a whole Generation younger than the other. But *Thespis's* Tragedies being lost, and *Phrynichus's* being the ancientest that were preserv'd, it was an inducement to several to believe him the first Author.

'Tis true indeed, that after the time of *Heraclides*, we have a few Fragments of *Thespis's* quoted, and the names of some of his Plays: but I will now shew, that every one of those passages are cited from *Heraclides's* counterfeit Tragedies, and not the works of the true *Thespis*.

As for the Author of the *Arundel* Marble, who was but a little younger than *Heraclides*, and *Aristoxenus*, and might possibly know them both; he is commonly indeed supposed to mention *Thespis's* ΔΑΛΧΗΣΙΣ; for Mr. *Selden* from the broken pieces of the Inscription concluded That to be the true reading; and his Conjecture has been embrac'd

embrac'd by all that have come after him. I my self too was formerly of the same opinion: but being now more concern'd to examin narrowly into it, I am fully satisfied, that we were all mistaken. The words of the Marble are these, as Mr. Selden copied them. Αφ ου Θεσπιδος Ποιητης

..... αλ . . . Θ εδιδαξεν αλ . . . στιν . . . . . τεθνηο . .

εργθ . . . But the Reverend Dr. Mill assures me,

that at present there's nothing of ΑΛ . . . ΣΤΙΝ

to be seen; and if any thing can be made of the

first Letter, it seems to be O rather than A. I

suppose, it's plain enough already from the E-

(a) See above, p. 206.

poch about (a) *Susarion*, that Mr. Selden was

not over accurate in copying the Inscription; and

this very place before us is another proof of it;

for instead of ΑΧΙ . . . ΟΣ as he publish'd it, I

am inform'd by the same very good hand, that

it's yet legibly and plainly ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΟΣ. But

besides the uncertainty of this Αλ . . . στιν, which

is now wholly defac'd in the Marble: the very

Inscription it self evinces, that it ought not to

be read ΑΛΚΗΣΤΙΝ. For the Author of it never

sets down the name of any *Play*; not when

(b) *Lin. 65.* he gives the date (b) of *Aeschylus's* first Victory;

(c) *Lin. 72.* not when he speaks (c) of *Sophocles's*; not where

(d) *Lin. 76.* he mentions (d) *Euripides's*; nor upon any other

occasion. And 'tis utterly improbable, that he

would do it in one single place, and omit it in so

many others that equally deserv'd it. Add to

(e) *Suid. in* all this, the express Testimony of *Suidas*, (e) *That*

Φρύων Πρω- *Phrynicus was the First, that made Women the*

τος γυναι- *Subject of Tragedy, his Master Thespis having in-*

κειον πρῶ- *troduced no body but Men. There could be no*

σωπεν ει- *Play therefore of Thespis's with the Title of*

σήμερον. *Alcestris.*



I shall now consider the passage in *Clemens Alexandrinus*: (f) *Theſpis the Tragic poet*, ſays (f) *Clem. Strom. v. Θεſπις ὁ τραγικός ὧδε πως γέγραπεν.*  
that very excellent Author, writes thus:

\* Ἴδε σοι σπένδω ΚΝΑΞΖΒΙ τὸ λευκόν,

Ἀπὸ θηλαμῶνών θλίψας κνακῶν.

\* Ἴδε σοι ΧΘΥΠΤΗΝ πρὸν μίξας

Ἐρυθρῶ μίλιτι, χῆ ἦσ' ἁν, Πὰν

Δικίρωσ, ἴδεμαι βωμῶν ἀρίων.

\* Ἴδε σοι Βερίν αἰδοπα ΦΛΕΓΜΟΝ Δείλω

This ſuppoſed fragment of *Theſpis*, as *Clemens* himſelf explains it, and as I have (g) further proved out of *Porphyrus*, relates to thoſe four artificial words, Κναξζβι, χθύπησ, φλεγμῶ, Δείψ, which comprehend exactly the whole xxiv Letters of the Greek Alphabet. Now I ſay, If theſe xxiv Letters were not all invented in *Theſpis's* time; this cannot be a genuine fragment of His. The Conſequence I think is ſo very plain, that even Mr. B. with his new System of Logic cannot give us a better. We muſt know then, that it was a long time after the uſe of Greek Writing, nay of writing Books too, before the Greek Alphabet was perfected, as it now is, and has been for 2000 Years. 'Tis true, there were then the very ſame Sounds in pronunciation (for the Language was not alter'd) but they did not expreſs them the ſame way in Writing. E ſerv'd in thoſe days for both E and H; as one Engliſh E ſerves now for two diſtinct Sounds in THEM and THESE, So O ſtood for both O and Ω: and the ſound of Z was expreſſed by ΔΣ, of Ξ by ΚΣ, of Ψ by ΠΣ: and the three aspirates were written thus, ΤΗ, ΠΗ, ΚΗ, which were afterwards Θ, Φ, Χ. At that time we muſt imagin the firſt Verſe of *Homer* to have been written thus:  
ΜΕΝΙΝ ΑΕΙΑΕ ΤΗΕΑ ΠΕΛΕΙΑΔΕΟ ΑΚΗΙΑΕΟΣ :

R

And

And the same manner of Writing was in *Thespis's* time : because the Alphabet was not compleated till after his Death. For it's universally agreed, that either *Simonides*, or *Epicharmus*, or both, invented some of the Letters. *Pliny* says, (b) That Z H Ψ Ω are reported to be *Simonides's*: and that *Aristotle* says, There were XVIII old Letters; and believesthat Θ and X were added by *Epicharmus*, rather than *Palamedes*. *Marius*

(b) *Plin. vii. 56. Simonid m. Melicum Z H Ψ Ω. Ar. Stoteles xviii prietas fuisse, & duas ab Epicharmo additas Θ X, quam à Palamede mavult.*

*Victorinus* says, (i) *Simonides* invented Θ Φ X. *Simonides* added Four, says \* *Hyginus*, and *Epicharmus* Two : but *Jo. Tzetzes* says, (k) *Epicharmus* added Three, and *Simonides* Two. But these little differences are of no consequence in our present Argument: for the whole xxiv are mentioned in this pretended fragment of *Thespis's*. 'Tis sufficient then for our purpose, if any of them were invented either by *Epicharmus*, or *Simonides*. For *Epicharmus* could not be above xxvii years old, and very probably was much younger, at *Olymp. Lxi*, which is the latest period of *Thespis*: And (m) *Simonides* at the same time was but xvi, as we have it upon his own word. Now to wave the authority of the rest; even *Aristotle* alone, who could know the Truth of what he said from so many Inscriptions, written before *Epicharmus's* time, and still extant in his own, is a Witness infallible. This Passage therefore ascribed to *Thespis* is certainly a Cheat; and in all probability it's taken from one of the spurious Plays, that *Heraclides* father'd upon him.

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(m) See above, p. 42.

In the next place, I will shew that all the other Passages quoted from *Thespis*, are belonging to

to the same Imposture. (n) Zenobius informs us, That at first the Chorus's used to sing a Dithyramb to the honour of Bacchus: but in time the Poets left that off, and made the Giants and Centaurs the Subject of their Plays. Upon which the Spectators mock'd them and said, That was nothing to Bacchus. The Poets therefore sometimes introduced the Satyrs, that they might not seem quite to forget the God of the Festival. To the same purpose we are told by Suidas, (o) That at first the Subject of all the Plays was Bacchus himself, with his company of Satyrs; upon which account those Plays were called Σατυρικά: but afterwards as Tragedies came in fashion, the Poets went off to (p) Fables and Histories, which gave occasion to that saying, This is nothing to Bacchus. And he adds, That Chamæleon says the same thing in his (q) Book about Thespis. This Chamæleon was a very learned man, and a Scholar of Aristotle's. And we may gather from the very name of this Treatise of his, that Thespis was some way concerned in this alteration of Tragedy: either he was the last man, that used all Satyrical Plays, or the first man that left them off. But whether of the two it was, we could not determine; unless Plutarch had help'd us out in't; (r) when Phrynichus and Æschylus, says he, turned the Subject of Tragedy to Fables and dolefull Stories, the People said, What's this to Bacchus? For it's evident from this passage of Plutarch compared with the others before, that the true Thespis's Plays were all Satyrical, (that is, the Plot of them was the story of Bacchus, the Chorus consisted of Satyrs, and the Argument was merry) and that Phrynichus and Æschylus were the first Introducers of the new and dolefull

(n) Zenob. v, 40. Ἄντας ἕξ Κενταύρους λέγειν ἐπιχειροῦν. Perhaps the true reading is Τίθαιτας.

(o) Suid. in Ουδῆν πρὸς Διόν.

(p) Ἐἰς μύθους ἕξ Ἴσοειας ἐτραγῳδοῦσαν.

(q) Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ περὶ Θέσπιδος.

(r) Plut. Symp. l. 1. c. 1. Φρυνίχου ἕξ Αἰσχύλου ἔτραγῳδοῦσαν εἰς μύθους ἕξ πᾶσιν ὡραίων.

Tragedy. Even after the time of *Thespis*, the serious Tragedy came on so slowly, (f) that of fifty Plays of *Pratinas*, who was in the next Generation after *Thespis*, two and thirty are said to have been Satyrical.

But let us apply now this Observation to the Fragments ascribed to *Thespis*; one of which is thus quoted by *Plutarch* :

(f) *Plut.*  
*de aud.*

*Poet.*

Τὰ ἢ τῶ  
Θέσπιδος  
ταυτή.

(u) Πόρρω  
ἤσανῆς καὶ  
λύπης ἰ-  
δρυται τὸ  
Θῆον.

(t) *Oegis* ὅτι Ζεὺς πᾶσι πρωτεύει θεῶν,

οὐ ψεύδεται ἐδὲ κόμπων, ἐμωρὸν γέλων

Ἀσκῶν· τὸ δ' ἠδὲ μὲν ἐκ ἐπίσταται.

What differs this, says *Plutarch*, from that saying of *Plato*, (u) That the Deity was situated remote from all Pleasure and Pain? Why truly it differs not at all; and I think there needs no other proof, that it could not belong to a Satyrical ludicrous Play, such as all *Thespis*'s were. For surely this is not the Language of *Bacchus* and his Satyrs: nay, I might say, it's too high and Philosophical a strain even for *Thespis* himself. But suppose the Author could have reach'd so elevated a Thought; yet he would never have put it into the mouth of that drunken voluptuous God, or his wanton Attendants. Even *Æschylus*, the grave reformer of the Stage, would rarely or never bring in his Heroes talking Sentences and Philosophy, (x) believing that to be against the Genius and Constitution of Tragedy: much less then would *Thespis* have done so, whose Tragedies were nothing but Droll. 'Tis incredible therefore, that this Fragment should be genuine; and we may know at whose door to lay it, from the hint afforded us by *Plutarch*, though he was not aware of it. For the Thought, as he has shewn us, was *Plato*'s; and to whom then should the Fragment belong, but to *Heraclides* the

(x) Τὸ  
γνωμολο-  
γικὸν ἀλ-  
λότερον τῆ.  
Τραγωδίας  
αὐτῆς ἢ γέμε-  
ναι. *Vita*  
*Æsch.*

coun-

counterfeit *Thespis*, who was (*γ*) at first a Scholar of *Plato's*, and might borrow the notion from his old Master ?

Another Verse is quoted by (*z*) *Julius Pollux* out of *Thespis's Pentheus* :

Ἔργω νόμιζε νευείδας ἔχεν ἐπενδύτην.

Where for νευείδας ἔχεν, we may correct it νεβείδ' ἔχεν. Now the very Titles of this Play Πενθεύς, and of the others mention'd by *Suidas*, Ἀθλα Πελοῖς ἢ Φόρβας, and Ἱερεῖς, and Ἡΐδοι, do sufficiently shew, that they cannot be Satyrical Plays, and consequently not *Thespis's*, who made none but of that sort. The learned (*a*) *Casau-* *bon*, after he has taught us from the Ancients, that *Thespis* was the Inventor of Satyrical Plays; Yet among the Plays, says he, that are ascribed to *Thespis*, there's not one that appears to have been Satyrical. Πενθεύς indeed seems to promise the fairest to be so ; but we have observed, that the old Poets never brought the Satyrs into the story of *Pentheus*. I have willingly used the words of *Casaubon*, though I do not owe the observation to him; because his Judgment must needs appear free and unbiass'd; since he had no view nor suspicion of the consequence I now make from it. For the result of the whole is this; That there was nothing publish'd by *Thespis* himself; and that *Heraclides's* Forgeries imposed upon *Clemens*, and *Plutarch*, and *Pollux*, and others. Which by the way would be some excuse for Mr. *B.* if his obstinate persisting in his first mistake, did not too widely distinguish his case from theirs.

(*z*) *Poll.*  
vii. 13.  
Θέσπης ἐν  
τῷ Πενθῷ.

(*a*) *Casaubon*,  
*de Sat.* p.  
157, & 30.

The next thing, that I am to debate with Mr. *B.* is the Age of the true *Thespis*. And the Witness, that upon all accounts deserves to be

first heard, is the Author of the *Arundel Marble*; for he's the ancientest Writer now extant, that speaks of his Age; he is the most accurate in his whole Performance, and particularly he was curious and inquisitive into the History of Poetry and the Stage; as appears from the numerous *Æra's* there, belonging to the several Poets; and, which is as considerable an advantage as any, we have the Original Stone still among us; so that his Numbers (where they are still legible) are certainly genuine; and not liable, as written Books are, to be alter'd and interpolated by the negligence or fraud of Transcribers. The remaining Letters of *Thespis's* Epoch are these; Αφ' ἧ Θέσπης ὁ ποιητὴς . . . . πρῶτον ὅς κ' ἐβδούξεν . . . . τῆσσι δ' . . . ἐβύθη: which imply almost as manifestly, as if the whole was intire, *That Thespis FIRST invented Tragedy, and the GOAT was made the Prize for it.* The very year indeed, when this was done, cannot now be known from the Marble; for the Numbers are worn out by time and weather; but we can approach as near to it, as the present argument requires. For we are sure, it must be some year in the interval between the preceding and following Epochs; because the whole Inscription procedes in due order and succession of time. Now the preceding Epoch

(a) *Lin.* 57. is, (b) *Cyrus's Victory over Cræsus, and the taking of Sardes*; which, as all the best Cronologers, *Scaliger, Lydiate, Petavius, &c.* agree, was Olymp. LIX, 1. or at lowest, at Olymp. LVIII, 2. The following is, (c) *The beginning of Darius's Reign, Olymp. LXV, 1.* But if Tragedy was invented by *Thespis* between the Olympiads LIX, 1. and LXV, 1. how could *Phalaris* have intelligence of it, who was put to death before, at Olymp. LVII, 3. This

This Account in the Marble establishes and is mutually establish'd by the Testimony of *Suidas*; who informs us, (d) That *Thespis* made (a) *Suid* in (the first) *Play at Olymp.* LXI, which period falls in between the two Epochs, that go before and after *Thespis*. And Mr. *Selden*, who first publish'd the Inscription, and view'd and measured the Stone, supplies the numbers there from this passage of *Suidas*, and (e) the Space, he says, where (e) *Spatio* the Letters are defac'd, agree with that Supplement. lacune annuente. Mr. *Selden* has been follow'd by every body since; and *Suidas's* Date is confirmed by another Date about *Phrynichus*, *Thespis's* Scholar. For (f) *Phrynichus* taught at *Olymp* LXVII, which is XXIV years after *Thespis*, and is a competent distance of age between the Scholar and the Master. But if Mr. *B.* will still protest against this Supplement of the Marble; let him do here as he did before in the Epoch of *Sufarion*; take fairly P. 141. the middle of the account between the two Epochs before and after it. And what will he get by it? The former Epoch is *Olymp.* LIX, I. The latter LXV, I. The middle of these two is *Olymp.* LXII, I, which is IV years later, than *Suidas* himself places him.

But let us see Mr. *B.'s* noble attempt to invalidate this Testimony of the *Arundel Marble*: for like a young *Phaeton*, he mounts the Chariot, and boldly offers to drive through the loftiest Region of Critic, but he is tumbled down headlong in a most miserable manner. The thing he enterprizes is this; He charges the Graver of P. 168. the Marble with an omission of a whole Line; or perhaps of several, for this he does not determine. The Original Paper, which the Graver was to copy, he supposes to have been thus;

Αφ' ἔ Θέσπης ὁ ποιητῆς . . . . .

Αφ' ἔ Φρύνιχου ὁ ποιητῆς . . . . . αχι . . . ος  
 εἰδαξεν αλ . . . στιν . . . . . πῆθι ὁ . . . εἰρος . . .

The space between Θέσπης ὁ ποιητῆς and Αφ' ἔ Φρύνιχου, which is now omitted by the negligence of the Graver, contain'd, as he imagins, the Epoch belonging to *Thespis*, that is, the Name and the Date of his Play, and of the *Athenian Archon*. But when the Graver had cut the first Line, as far as Ποιητῆς; he unluckily throws his Eye upon the lower Line, and finding the word Ποιητῆς there in the same situation, he thinks himself right, and goes on with the rest that followed it; and so tacks the Epoch to *Thespis* which really and in the Original belong'd to *Phrynichus*.

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P. 169.

This wonderfull Atchievement our Examiner seems mightily pleas'd with; he inculcates it once and twice, and applauds his own Sagacity in it: but perhaps he will be a warning hereafter to all young and unfledg'd Writers, to learn to go, before they pretend to fly.

The Pretenses for this charge upon the *Marble-Graver* are so very weak and precarious, so improper and useles to Mr. B's own design; that I confess I should be wholly astonish'd at his management, if I was not now a little acquainted with this odd Work of his, as himself calls it. His first Pretense is, That Ἀλκίσις, which the Graver has made to be *Thespis's Play*, was the name of a Play of *Phrynichus*; but is no-where reckon'd among *Thespis's*, but here. But I have already shewn, that Ἀλκίστιν was only a Supplement of Mr. *Selden's*, and a very false Conjecture, from the dim Letters ΑΛ . . . ΣΤΙΝ; which now are quite vanish'd: and that really neither Ἀλκίσις

P. 68.

P. 168.

See here,

P.

nor



nor any other title of a Play are mention'd in the Marble. But suppose it was Ἄλκηστι there; pray where is the consequence, that Mr. B. would infer from it? Did *Thespis* make no Tragedies, but what are mention'd by *Suidas*? Does not *Suidas* himself expressly say, (g) *That those were the names of some of his Plays, not ALL that he ever made? And what an admirable argument is it; Alcestis was a Play of Phrynichus's, therefore none of Thespis's had the same Title? As if the same Story and the same Persons were not introduc'd over and over again by different hands? Among the few Tragedies that are yet extant, we have an Ἠλεκτρα of Sophocles, and another Ἠλεκτρα too of Euripides. Nay besides this very Ἄλκηστι of Phrynichus, and another called Φοίνισσι, there was an Ἄλκηστι and Φοίνισσι of Euripides too, both which are still in being. Why then might not Phrynichus write one Tragedy after Thespis, as well as Euripides write two after Him?*

(g) *Suid!*  
 Θέσπ. ἢ  
 δ'εξμάτων  
 αὐτῶ, Ἄ-  
 δλα Πε-  
 λίς, &c.  
 Not τὰ  
 δ'εξμάτα.

The next Pretense for accusing the Marble-Graver of an Omission of some Lines is, *Because it's a case that is known often to have happen'd in the copying of Manuscripts.* Here's another consequence the very twin to that which went before. *Because Omissions often happen in copying of MSS, therefore this IS an Omission in the Epoch of Thespis.* If this argument had any force in't, it would equally hold against all the other Epochs of this Marble, and against all Marbles and MSS whatsoever. For what will be able to stand the shock, if this can be thrown down by saying, *That Omissions often happen?* Mr. B. if he would make good his Indictment against the Graver, ought to prove from the Place it self, from the

P. 168.

want

want of Connexion, or some other Defect there, that there's just reason to suspect some lines have been left out. But to accuse him upon this general Pretense, because *other Copiers have been negligent*, has exactly as much Sense and Equity in it, as if Mr. B. should be charged with meddling in what he understands not, and exposing his Ignorance, *Because it's a case, that is known often to have happen'd in the crude Books of Young Writers.* And besides this, there's another infirmity that this Argument labours under. For though a Copier may sometimes miss a Line or two, by taking off his Eye; yet if he have but the common diligence at last to compare his Copy with the Original, he discovers his own Omissions, and presently rectifies them: and by this means it comes to pass, that such deficiencies in the Texts of MSS are generally supplied and perfected by the same hand in the Margin. Though we should suppose therefore, that the Stone-Cutter might carelessly miss something; yet can we suppose too, that the Author of the Inscription would never read what was engraved there? Would a person of Learning and Quality, as he appears to have been, who had taken such accurate pains to deduce a whole Series of Chronology from before *Deucalion's Deluge* to his own time, and for the benefit of Posterity to engrave it upon Marble, and set it up in a conspicuous place as a publick Monument, be at last so stupidly negligent as not to examin the Stone-Cutter's Work, where the missing of a single Letter in the numbers of any *Æra*, would make the Computation false, and spoil the Author's whole design? What mad work would it make then, if, as Mr. B. affirms, whole Lines were omit-

omitted by the Stone-Cutter, and pass'd uncorrected? Is it possible that the worthy Author of the Monument (I might say perhaps, *The Authors*, for it seems to have been done at a publick Charge) should act so inconsistently? Mr. B. if he pleases, may think so, or affirm it without thinking; but when he catches me affirming it, I'll give him leave to tell me again in his well-bred way, *That my head has no Brains in't*.

For the Epoch it self assures me, that there was no Omillion here by the Stone-cutter. The words are, Ἀφ' ἧς Θέσπης ὁ ποιητὴς . . . . . ἀφ' οὗ ὡς ἐξεδάξαν . . . τῆς δ' ἑξῆς. Now if all the words after ποιητὴς belong to *Phrynichus*, as Mr. B. says, and not to *Thespis*, as the Stone-cutter says; pray, what's the meaning of ΠΡΩΤΟΣ, FIRST? *Thespis*, I know, FIRST *invented Tragedy*; and that was worthy of being recorded here; as the Invention of Comedy was before. But what did *Phrynichus* FIRST find out, that deserv'd to be named here? Why he (*h*) FIRST *brought-in* (c) *Suid.* *Women into the Subject of his Plays*; which is a ἀξύν. business of less moment, than that of *Aeschylus*, who first added a Second Actor; or of *Sophocles*, who added a Third: yet neither of these two Improvements are register'd in the Marble: and why then should that of *Phrynichus* be mention'd, when *Theirs* are omitted? But I will not charge it as a fault upon Mr. B. that he neglected to gather this hint from the word ΠΡΩΤΟΣ; for the common Editions of the Marble have it not. But I'm afraid, he will not easily excuse himself for not observing the next words; . . . τῆς δ' ἑξῆς; which have been always hitherto thought to signifie, *That the GOAT was made the Prize of Tragedy*. Now certainly the proper  
place

place of mentioning this *Prize* was at the Epoch of *Thespis*, the Inventor of *Tragedy*: for so the the Prizes of *Comedy*, *the Cask of Wine*, and *the Basket of Figs*, are mention'd in the Epoch of *Sufarion*, the Inventor of *Comedy*. And what a Blindness was it in Mr. B. not to observe this; when he so boldly tells the Stone-cutter and the Man that set him on work, that they have drop'd a whole Line, and that these words belong to *Phrynichus*? Pray what could ΤΡΑΓΟΣ the *GOAT* have to do, in the Epoch of *Phrynichus*? Does Mr. B. believe, that sorry Prize was continued, after *Tragedy* came into Reputation? Would *Phrynichus*, or any body for him, have been at the Charge of a Stage, and all the Ornaments of a Chorus and Actors, for the hopes of winning a Goat, that would hardly pay for one Vizard? In the following Epochs of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, &c. there's no mention of the *Goat*: and if this Epoch had belong'd to *Phrynichus*, no *Goat* had been here neither.

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But Mr. B. the rather suspects, *That the Graver did make an Omission*; because the next *Æra* in the *Marble* falls as low as *Olymp. LXVII*: before which time it is not to be doubted, but the *Alcestis* of *Phrynichus* (that *Phrynichus* who was *Thespis's* Scholar) was added. Now with his leave, I shall make bold to ask him one Question, in words of his own, *Whether it was proper and prudent in him to accuse the Stone-cutter of Negligence, by an Argument that discovers a shameful Negligence in himself?* For the next *Æra* is not so low as *Olymp. LXVII*. As Mr. *Selden* has publish'd it, 'tis but *Olymp. LXV. 4*. But without doubt Mr. *Selden* mistook the Letters of the *Inscription* (as the Learned Dr. *Prideaux* observed before

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before me) and for ΠΙ read ΙΙΙ, *i. e.* 3. instead of 6. So that the true Æra, that comes next after *Thespis*, is Olymp. LXV, 1; but the Æra that Mr. B. speaks of, Olymp. LXVII is the *next but one* after *Thespis*. Is not Mr. B. now an accurate Writer, and a fit person, to correct a Stone-cutter? Or shall we blame his Assistant, *that consulted Books for him?* But the Assistant may be rather supposed to have writ this passage right; and the Mistake be Mr. B's: *for that is a Case known often to have happen'd in the copying of Manuscripts.*

Prof.

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But the Gentleman makes amends with telling us a piece of most certain News; *For it is not to be doubted*, he says, *but the Alcestis of Phrynichus was acted before Olymp. LXVII*. Now I would crave leave to enquire of him, How he came to hear this News? But perhaps he'll tell me, *I may as well ask, how he came to hear his Name was Phrynichus? Fame that told him the One, must tell him the Other too.* But if he do not trust too much to *Fame* (which I advise him not to do, for she often changes sides) I would then tell him a piece of News, quite contrary to His; *That it is not to be doubted, but Alcestis was NOT acted before Olymp. LXVII.* Because that Olympiad was the very first time that *Phrynichus* wrote for the Stage; and he was alive, and made Plays still, xxxv years after. I will tell him too some other particulars about this *Phrynichus*: but before I do that, he'll give me leave to expostulate a little about his Conduct in this Quarrel with the Stone-cutter: the whole ground of which, as the case plainly appears, was this. Mr. B. would have *Thespis* placed earlier in the Marble than Olymp. LXI; because *Phalaris*

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wat

was dead before that Olympiad, and consequently could not hear of Tragedy, unless *Thespis* was earlier. Upon this he indites the Stone-cutter for an idle fellow; who after he had grav'd  $\text{Αφ' ἔθ' ἑσπεῖς ὁ ποιητὴς}$ , skipp'd a whole Line, and tacked the words, which concerned *Phrynichus*, to the name of *Thespis*. Now allowing that the poor Stone-cutter should confess this, and plead guilty; pray what advantage would Mr. B. and his *Sicilian Prince* get by't? For let it be, as he would have it;  $\text{Αφ' ἔθ' ὁ ἑσπεῖς ὁ ποιητὴς}$  . . . . . and that the line, that should have come after, was really omitted. Yet however since *THE-SPIS* is named there, there was something said about him in the very original, which the Graver should have copied; and though the Æra of it be lost by the *Graver's negligence*; yet we are sure from the method of the whole Inscription, that this lost Æra must needs be later than that which comes before it. But the Æra that comes before it, *Cyrus's Victory over Cræsus*, is Olymp. LIX, 1. or at soonest LVIII, 2. And the *Death of Phalaris*, as Mr. B. himself allows through all his Examination, was at Olymp. LVII, 3. What is it then, that he aims at in his charge against the Stone-cutter? Could he carry his Point against him never so clearly; yet his *Phalaris* is still in the very same condition: for he died, we see, VIII years or v at least, before *Thespis* is spoken of in the *Original* Inscription. And is not this a substantial piece of *Dulness*, ('tis one of his own civil words) to make all this bustle about Omissions in the Marble: when, if all he asks be allow'd him, he is but just as he was before. I am afraid his Readers will be tempted to think, that, whether the  
 Stone

Stone-cutter was so or no, his Accuser has here shewed himself a very ordinary Workman.

Having thus vindicated the *Graver* of the Inscription from the insults of our Examiner, I shall now put in a word in behalf of the *Author* of it. That excellent Writer here tells us, that the *first* performance of *Thespis* was after Olymp. LIX, 1. For this is the plain import of his words; and those learned Men, *who have taken pains to illustrate this Chronicle*, have all understood 'em so. But Mr. B. will not take up with this Authority; for he affirms, *Some of Thespis's Plays were acted about Olymp. LIII; and if this here about Olymp. LX was his, it was rather one of his Last, than the First: but his real opinion is, that it was neither his First nor Last; but Phrynichus's Play erroneously applied to Thespis.* Now in answer to this, I dare undertake from the same Topic, that Mr. B. uses, *i. e. a comparison of Thespis's Age with Phrynichus's*, to prove the very contrary, That this Play about Olymp. LX could not be *Phrynichus's*; and that in all probability 'twas the very first of *Thespis*.

*Suidas*, to whom the whole learned World confess themselves much obliged for his accounts of the Age and Works of so many Authors, tells us, (i) *Phrynichus was Thespis's Scholar*; and Mr. B. himself expressly (k) affirms the same. *Plato* names them both together, as Pretenders to the Invention of Tragedy; where he says, (l) *That Tragedy did not begin, as men believe, from Thespis, nor from Phrynichus.* And if any one will infer from this passage of *Plato*, That the two Poets were nearer of an Age, than Master and Scholar usually are; he will make my Argument against *Phalaris* so much the

stronger;

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169.

(i) *Suid in*  
*Φρύν. Με-*  
*θύσις Θέσ-*  
*πιδος.*  
(k) P. 168.  
(l) *Plato*  
*in M. 100.*

stronger: for by this means *Thespis* will be nearer to *Phrynichus's* Age, and remoter from *Phalaris's*. But I am willing to suppose with Mr. B. that *Phrynichus* was Scholar to *Thespis*: so that if we can but fix the Scholar's Age, we may gather from thence the Age of the Master. Now *Phrynichus* made a Tragedy at *Athens*, which he intituled, *Μιλίτη ἄλωσις*, *The taking of Miletus*.

(m) *Strabo*  
xiv. p. 635.

Μιλίτη  
ἀλωσιν  
ὑπὸ Δα-  
ρείου.

(n) *Herod.*  
vi. c. 21.

(o) *Plut.*  
*Præc. Reip.*  
*gerendæ.*

(p) *Æl.* xii,  
17.

(q) *Liban.*  
*Tom I.* p.  
506.

(r) *Amn.*  
xxviii, 1.

(s) *Schol.*  
*Arist.* p.  
364.

(t) *Tzet.*  
*Chil.* viii,  
156.

(u) *Schol.*  
*Arist.* p.  
318

(x) *Athen.*  
p. 635.

Φρύνιχος ἐν  
Φοινίκαις.

*Callisthenes* says (they are the words of (m) *Strabo*) that *Phrynichus* the Tragic Poet was fined by the Athenians a Thousand Drachms, for making a Tragedy called, *The taking of Miletus* by *Darius*. And *Herodotus* an older Author than he, When *Phrynichus*, (n) says he, exhibited his Play, *The Taking of Miletus*; the whole Theatre fell into Tears, and fined the Poet a thousand Drachms, and made an order, that no body ever after should make a Play of that Subject.

The same thing is reported by (o) *Plutarch*, (p) *Ælian*, (q) *Libanius*, (r) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the (s) *Scholias*t on *Aristophanes*, and (t) *Joh. Tzetzes*. But the taking of *Miletus*, the whole story of which is related by *Herodotus*, was either at *Olymp. LXX*, or *LXXI*, as all Chronologers are agreed. And the Tragedy of *Phrynichus* being made upon that Subject, we are sure that he must be alive after *Olymp LXX*. But there's another Tragedy of his, called *Φοινίκαις*, which will shew him to have been still alive above xx years after that *Olympiad*. It is cited by the (u) *Scholias*t on *Aristophanes*; and (x) *Athenæus* gives us an *Iambic* out of it:

Ψαλλοῦσιν ἀντίσπας' αἰέθοντες μέλη.

But the Writer of the Argument of *Æschylus's* *Persæ* has the most particular account of it; *Glaucus*, says he, in his Book about the Subjects

of



of Æschylus's Plays, says, (y) his *Perſæ* were borrow'd from the *Phœniſſæ* of Phrynichus; the first Verse of which Phœniſſæ is this;

Τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ Περσῶν ἦν παλαι βεβηκότων.

(y) Ἐκ τῆς  
Φοινισσῶν  
Φρυνίχου  
τῆς Πέρ-  
σαις ὁμοί-  
ως πεπενηδαί.

and an Eunuch is introduc'd, bringing the news of (z) Xerxes's Defeat, and setting Chairs for the Ministers of State to sit down on. Now it's evident from this Fragment, that Phrynichus was yet alive after Xerxes's Expedition, i. e. Olymp.

(z) Τὴν τῆς  
Ξέρξεως  
ἡπείαν.

LXXV, 1. Nay, three years after this Olympiad, he made a Tragedy at Athens, and carried the Victory; Themistocles (a) being at the Charge of all the Furniture of the Scene and Chorus; who in memory of it, set up this Inscription: ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΦΡΕΑΡΙΟΣ ΕΧΟΡΗΓΕΙ ΦΡΥΝΙΧΟΣ ΕΙΔΙΑΣΚΕΝ ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ ΗΡΧΕΝ, i. e. The-

(a) Plut.  
in Themist.  
Χορηγῶν  
τῆς τραγῶ-  
δος.

mistocles of the Parish of Phreari was at the charge; Phrynichus made the Tragedy; and Adimantus was Archon. And I am apt to believe, that Phœniſſæ was this very Play, which he made for Themistocles. For what could be a more proper Subject and Complement to Themistocles, than Xerxes's Defeat, which he had so great a hand in. Now we are sure from the name of the Archon, that this was done at Olymp. LXXV, 4. and how long the Poet survived this Victory, there is no body now to tell us.

To compare this now with Mr. B's Doctrine about the Age of *Thespis* and *Phrynichus*: 'Tis not to be doubted, says he, but the *Alceſtis* of Phrynichus was acted before Olymp. LXVII. There spoke an Oracle: 'tis not to be doubted, because we find him still making Tragedies xxxvi years after. Mr. B. declares his Opinion twice, That a Play acted about Olymp. LX was not made by *Thespis*, but by *Phrynichus*. Who will not rise up now to this

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P. 158,  
169.

Gentleman's Opinion? That Play must needs be *Phrynichus's*, because he was working for the Stage still, nay and carried the Prize there, LXIII years after that Olympiad. This, I think; is a little longer, than Mr. *Dryden's* *Vein* has yet lasted, which Mr. *B.* says is about xxxvi years. But I can help him to another instance, that will come up with it exactly to a single year.

P. 169.

(b) *Marm.*  
*Arund.*

For (b) *Sophocles* begun Tragedy at the age of xxviii, and held out. at it till the age of xci; the interval LXIII. If this Example will bring off Mr. *B.* for saying, the Play is *Phrynichus's*, against the plain Authority of the Marble, it is at his Service: but with this reserve, that he shall not abuse me for *Lending* it; for I have had too much of that already.

But, If I may venture to guess any thing, that Mr. *B.* will think or say; I conceive, that upon better consideration, he will be willing to

(c) *Suid. in*  
*Φρύν. Επί-*  
*κη δ' ἄν τ'*  
*ξ' ἔ' ὀ-*  
*λυμπιά-*  
*δ'.*

allow *Suidas's* words, (c) *That Phrynichus got the Prize at Olymp. LXVII*, to be meant of his *First Victory*. For so we find in the Marble, that the (d) *First Victories of Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides*, are the only ones recorded. And if

(d) *Marm.*  
*Arund.*  
*Πρώτων ἐ-*  
*πίκτητε.*

*Phrynichus* began at Olymp. LXVII, then the distance between his *First* and his *Last* (that we know of) will be xxxvi years; which is the very space that Mr. *B.* assigns to *Aristophanes* and Mr. *Dryden*. And it hits too with what the same *Sui-*

(f) *Suid. in*  
*Θέσπ.*

*das* has deliver'd about *Thespis*, (e) *That he exhibited a Play at Olymp. LXI*. For if we interpret this passage, like the other about *Phrynichus*, That it was *Thespis's First Play*: then the Master will be older than the Scholar by about xxv years: which is a competent time, and, I believe, near upon the same, that the very *Lear-*  
ned

ned Person, whom Mr. B. so much honours by *letting the world know, he had all his knowledge in these matters from him*, (which they, that know that person's eminent Learning, will think to be no Complement to him) is older than Mr. B. And I humbly conceive, that all these Hits and Coincidences, when added to the express Authority of the Marble, which sets *Thespis* after Olymp. LIX, will bring it up to the highest probability, that *Thespis* first introduced Tragedy about Olymp. LXI; which is XIV years after the true *Phalaris* was dead.

P. 60.

I observe Mr. B's emphatical Expression, *The Alcestis of Phrynichus*; that *Phrynichus who was Thespis's Scholar*: which seems to imply, that he thought there were two *Phrynichus's*, both Tragic Poets: and indeed the famous (g) *Lilius* (g) *Gyraldus*, almost as learned a man as Mr. B. was of the same opinion. It's necessary therefore to examin this point, or else our Argument from the Date of *Phrynichus's Phœnissæ* will be very lame and precarious: for it may be pretended, the Author of *Phœnissæ* was not *that Phrynichus, that was Thespis's Scholar*. Now, with Mr. B's gracious permission, (for I dare be free with *Gyraldus*) I will endeavour to shew, that there was but One Tragedian of that name. 'Tis true there were two *Phrynichus's* that wrote for the Stage, the one a Tragic, the other a Comic Poet; that's a thing beyond question: but the point that I contend for, is, that there were not two *Phrynichus's* Writers of Tragedy.

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(g) *Lilius* (g) *Gyraldus*.  
De Poetis.

The Pretense for asserting two Tragic Poets of that name is a passage of *Suidas*; who, after he had named  $\Phi\rho\upsilon\nu\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , &c. *Phrynichus, the Son of Polyphradmon or Minyras, or Choro-*

cles, *the Scholar of Thespis*; and *that his Tragedies are nine*, (b) Πλευρώνια, Αιγύπιοι, &c. sub-joins under a new head, Φρύνιχ, &c. Phrynichus, *the Son of Melanthes, an Athenian Tragedian*; *some of his Plays are Ανδρομίδα, Ηειρόν and Πυρρίχαι*. This latter place is taken word for word out of (i) *Aristophanes's* Scholiast, who adds that the same man made the Tragedy called, *The taking of Miletus*. Now it may seem from these two passages, that there were two *Phrynichus's* Tragic Poets: for the one is called the Son of *Melanthes*, the other not: and the three Plays ascribed to the latter are quite different from all the Nine that were made by the former. But to take off this Pretense; I crave leave to observe, that the naming his Father *Melanthes* is an argument of small force: for we see the other has three Fathers assign'd to him; so uncertain was the Tradition about the name of his Father: some Authors therefore might relate, that his Father was called *Melanthes*; and yet mean the very same *Phrynichus*, that according to others was the Son of *Polyphradmon*. And then the second Plea, that the Plays attributed to the one are wholly different from those of the other, is even weaker than the former: for the whole Dozen mention'd in *Suidas* might belong to the same *Phrynichus*. He says indeed, *Phrynichus Polyphradmon's Son. writ Nine Plays*; because the Author, he here copies from, knew of no more. But there might be more notwithstanding his not hearing of them; as we see there were really two, *The taking of Miletus*, and *Phœnissæ*; that are not mention'd here by *Suidas*.

Having shewn now, what very slight ground the Tradition about two Tragedian *Phrynichus's* is

(b) Suid in  
Φρύν. leg.  
Πλευρών-  
νία.  
ex Tzetze  
ad Lyco-  
phronem.  
(i) Σχολ. Α-  
ριστ Vesp.  
p. 367.

is built on ; I will give some Arguments on my side, which induce me to think there was but one. And my first is, Because all the Authors named above, *Herodotus, Callisthenes, Strabo, Plutarch, Ælian, Libanius, Ann. Marcellinus, Joh. Tzetzes*, who speak of the Play call'd, *The Taking of Miletus*, stile the Author of it barely, Φρύνιχος ὁ Τραγικός, *Phrynichus the Tragedian* ; without adding ὁ Νεώτερος, *the Younger* ; as all of them, or some at least, would and ought to have done ; if this person had not been the famous *Phrynichus*, that was *Thespis's* Scholar. And so when he is quoted on other occasions, by *Athenæus, Hephestion, Isaac Tzetzes, &c.* he is called in like manner, *Phrynichus the Tragic Poet*, without the least intimation that there was another of the same name and profession.

Besides this, the very Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, and *Suidas*, who are the sole Authors produced to shew there were two Tragedians, do in other places plainly declare, there was but one. *There were four Phrynichus's in all*, says the (k) Scholiast,

1. *Phrynichus, the Son of Polyphradmon, the Tragic Poet.*
2. *Phrynichus, the Son of Chorocles, (l) an Actor of Tragedies*
3. *Phrynichus, the Son of Eunomides, the Comic Poet.*
4. *Phrynichus, the Athenian General, who was concerned with Astyochus, and engaged in a Plot against the Government.*

(k) *Schol.**Arist. p.*

397, 130.

And so

*Suidas* in

Φρύν. and

Λύκις.

(l) See also

p. 113, 358.

Τραγικός

ἑταίριος.

What can be more evident, than that according to this Catalogue there was but one of this name, a Tragedian ? but 'tis no wonder, if in Lexicons and Scholia compiled out of several Authors,

- there be several things inconsistent with one another. So in another place both the (m) Scholiast and (n) *Suidas* make this fourth *Phrynichus*, the General, to be the same with the third the Comic Poet: on the contrary, (o) *Ælian* makes him the same with the first; and he adds a particular circumstance, *That in his Tragedy Πυρρίζαι he so pleased the Theatre with the warlike Songs and Dances of his Chorus, that they chose him as a fit person to make a General.* Among the Moderns some fall in with *Ælian's* story, and some with the other: but with all deference to their Judgments, I am persuaded both of them are false. For *Phrynichus* the General was stabb'd at
- (m) *Schol.*  
p. 157.
- (n) *Suid.* in  
Φρύν. &  
Παλαίσ-  
μασι.
- (o) *Æl.*  
*Var. Hist.*  
iii, 8.
- (p) *Thucyd.* *Athens*, Olymp. xcii, 2, as (p) *Thucydides* relates: but a more exact account of the circumstances of his Death is to be met with in (q) *Lyfias* and (r) *Lycurgus* the Orators. This being a matter of Fact beyond all doubt and controversy; I affirm, that the Date of his Death can neither agree with the Tragic nor the Comic Poet's History; being too late for the one, and too early for the other. 'Tis too late for the Tragedian; because he began to make Plays, as we have seen above, at Olymp. lxvii; from which time, till Olymp. xcii, 2, there are cii years: and even from the Date of his *Phœnissæ*, that were acted at Olymp. lxxv, 4. which is the last time we hear of him, there are lxxvi years to the death of *Phrynichus* the General. And then it's too early for the Comedian; for we find him alive v years after, contending (f) with his Play called *The Muses* (quoted by *Atheneus*, *Pollux*, *Suidas*, &c.) against *Aristophanes's Frogs*, at Olymp. xciii, 3. when *Callias* was Archon.
- (q) *Lyfias*  
*contra A-*  
*goratum,*  
p. 136.
- (r) *Lycurg.*  
*contra Le-*  
*ocratem,* p.  
163, 164.
- (f) *Argum.*  
*Ran. Arist.*

Again, I will shew there was but one *Phryni-*  
chus

chus a Tragedian: *Aristophanes* in his *Vespæ* says, that the old men at *Athens* used to sing the old Songs of *Phrynichus*;

(r) — κ' μινυείζοντες μέλι

Αρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυνηχίεστα.

(r) *Arist.*  
*Vespæ* p. 318.

'Tis a conceited word of the Poet's making; and *σιδωνο*, which is one member in the Composition of it, relates to the *Phænissæ* (i. e. the *Sidonians*) a Play of *Phrynichus*'s, as the Scholiast well observes. Here we see, the Author of *Phænissæ* (whom they suppose to be the latter *Phrynichus*) is meant by *Aristophanes*; but if I prove too, that *Aristophanes* in this very place meant the *Phrynichus*, *Thespis*'s Scholar; 'twill be evident, that these two *Phrynichus*'s (whom they falsely imagin) are really one and the same. Now that *Aristophanes* meant the Scholar of *Thespis* will appear from the very words, μέλι ἀρχαῖα, *Ancient Songs and Tunes*. *Ancient*, because That *Phrynichus* was the second, or as some in *Plato* thought, the first Author of Tragedy. And *Songs and Tunes*; because he was celebrated and famous by that very character. (u) *Phrynichus*, says the Scholiast on this place, had a mighty name for making of Songs: but in another place he says the same thing of *Phrynichus* the Son of *Polyphradmon*; who according to *Suidas* was *Thespis*'s Scholar, (x) *He was admired*, says he, for the making of Songs: (y) *They cry him up for the composing of Tunes: and he was before Æschylus*. And can it be doubted then any longer, but that the same person is meant? 'Tis a Problem of *Aristotle*'s, Διὰ τί οἱ περὶ Φρύνηχον μᾶλλον ἦσαν μελοποιοί; (z) *Why did Phrynichus make more Songs than any Tragedian does now a days?* And he answers it, Ἡ διὰ τὸ πολλαπλάσια εἶδ' ὅτε τὰ μέλι ἐν ταῖς ἤδ' μέτρων τραγωδίαις; correct

(u) P. 318.

Δὲ ὄνομα-  
τ' ἦν κα-  
τάλις ὅτι  
μελοποιία.

(x) P. 397.

Ἐθαυμά-  
ζετο  
ὅτι μελο-  
ποιίαις.

(y) P. 166.

Ἐπανύσθη  
εἰς μελ. ἦν  
ὁ πρὸς Αἰ-  
σχύλου.

(z) *Arist.*

*Πρω.* xix,  
31.

it, τὰ μέλη τῶν μίτρων ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις. Was it, says he, because at that time, the Songs (sung by the Chorus) in Tragedies were many more than the Verses (spoken by the Actors?) Does not Aristotle's very question imply, that there was but one *Phrynichus* a Tragedian?

I will add one Argument more for it, and That, if I do not much mistake, will put an end to the Controversie. For I will prove that the very passage in *Aristophanes*, where the Scholiast, and *Suidas* from him, tell us of this (supposed second) *Phrynichus* the Son of *Melanthas*, concerns the one and true *Phrynichus* the Scholar of

(a) *Athen.*  
i p. 22.  
Οἱ ἀρχαῖ-  
οι ποιηταί.

*Thespis*. The ancient Poets (says (a) *Athenæus*) *Thespis*, *Pratinas*, *Carcinus*, and *Phrynichus*, were called, ὀρχηστικοί, Dancers: because they not only used much dancing in the Chorus's of their Plays, but they were common Dancing-Masters, teaching any body that had a mind to learn. And

(b) *Arist.*  
*Poet.* iv.

to the same purpose (b) *Aristotle* tells us, that the first Poetry of the Stage was ὀρχηστικώτερον more set upon Dances, than that of the following Ages. This being premised (though I had occasion to to speak of it before) I shall now set down the

(c) *Arist.*  
*Vesp.* p. 364.

words of the (c) Poet:

Ὁ γὰρ γέρον, ὡς ἔπιε διὰ πολλῆ χεῖνε,  
Ἦκετέ τ' αὐλῆ, ὡραιαῖς τῶ πρόγραμματι,  
Ὀρχέμεν ὅ τ' νυκτὶς ἔδεν παύσεται  
Τὰρχαῖ' ἐκείν' οἷς Θέσπις ἠγωνίζετο  
Καὶ τὰς τραγωδίας φησιν ἀποδείξειν κείνης  
Τὸν νῦν, διορχησόμεν ὀλίγον ὕστερον.

(c) *Schol.*  
*ibid* Οχι-  
τραγωδίας, ἔ  
γὰρ δὴ ὁ  
τραγικός.  
So *Suidas*  
in Θέσπ.

Which are spoken by a Servant concerning an old fellow his Master, that was in a frolick of Dancing. Who the *Thespis* was, that is here spoken of, the Scholiast and *Suidas* pretend to tell us; for they say, (c) 'Twas one *Thespis* a Har-



per, not the Tragic Poet. To speak freely, the Place has not been understood this thousand years and more; being neither written nor pointed right. For what can be the meaning of *Κέρυς* ἢ νῦν? The word *Κέρυς* alone signifies the whole; and ἢ νῦν is superfluous and needless. (d) So in

(d) *Arist.*  
*Nub.* p. 107.

Οὐχὶ διδάξεις τῶ πᾶν, κέρυς ᾶν.

I humbly conceive the whole passage should be thus read and distinguish'd :

Ὀρχόμενος ἢ νυκτὸς ἔδεν πάρεται

Τᾶρχαί' ἐκείν', οἷς Θέσπης ἠγωνίζετο.

Καὶ τὰς τραγωδίας φησὶν ἀποδείξειν κέρυς

Τὸς νῦν, διορχούμενος ὀλίγον ὕπερ.

*All night long*, says he, *he dances those old Dances that Thespis used in his Chorus's : and he says, he'll dance here upon the Stage by and by, and shew the Tragedians of these times to be a parcel of Fools, he'll out-dance them so much.* And who can doubt now, that considers what I have newly quoted from *Athenæus*, but that *Thespis*, ὁ ἀρχαίος, the Old Tragic Poet (who lived cxiiv years before the Date of this Play) ὁ ὀρχιστικός, the common *Dancing-Master* at *Athens*, is meant here by *Aristophanes*? So that the Scholiast and *Suidas* may take their *Harper* again for their own *Diversion*; for it was a common practice among those *Grammarians*, when they happen'd to be at a loss, to invent a story for the purpose. But to go on with *Aristophanes*: the old fellow begins to dance, and as he dances, he says;

Κληῖθε χαλάσω τάδε· κ' ἄν δὴ

Σχίσματα ἀρχή

(Οἱ. Μᾶλλον δὲ γ' ἴσως μανίας ἀρχή)

Πλευρὸν λυγίσαντο ὑπαὶ ῥώμης.

So the Interlocution isto be placed here, which is faulty in all the Editions. *Make room there,* says he, *for I'm beginning a Dance, that's enough to strain a man's Side with the violent motion.* After a line or two he adds :

Πτήσσει Φρύνιχθ, ὥσπερ ἀλέκτωρ,  
(Οἱ. Τάχα Βαλλήσεις)  
Σκέλθ' ἐρῶμιόν γ' ἐκλακπίζων.

Thus the words are to be pointed, which have hitherto been falsely distinguish'd. But there's an error here of a worse sort, which has possess'd the Copies of this Play, ever since *Adrian's* time, and perhaps before. Πτήσω signifies, *to crouch and sneak away for fear*, as Poultry do at the sight of the Kite; or a Cock, when he is beaten at fighting. The (e) Scholiast and (f) *Ælian* tells us, that Πτήσσει Φρύνιχθ, ὥσπερ ἀλέκτωρ, Phrynichus *sneaks like a Cock*, became a Proverb upon those *that came off badly in any affair*; because *Phrynichus* the Tragedian came off sneakingly, when he was fined 1000 Drachms for his Play, *Μιλίτης ἄλωσις*. Now with due reverence to Antiquity, I crave leave to suspect, that this is a Proverb coin'd on purpose, because the Commentators were puzzled here. For in the first place, *To sneak away like a Cock*, seems to be a very improper Similitude: for a Cock is one of the most bold and martial of Birds. I know there's an expression like this, of some nameless Poet's :

(g) *Plut. in Alcib.* (g) Ἐπὴν ζ' ἀλέκτωρ δ' ἄλλον ὡς κλίνας πῆρον.  
*He sneak'd like a Cock, that hangs down his wings when he's beaten.*

But this case is widely different; for the Comparison here is very elegant and natural, because the circumstance of *being beaten* is added to it:

but

but to say it in general of a Cock, as if the whole species were naturally timid, is unwarrantable and absurd. As in another instance; *He stares like a man frightned out of his wits*, is an expression proper enough: but we cannot say in general, *He stares like a Man*. I shall hardly believe therefore, that *Aristophanes*, the most ingenious man of an Age that was fertil of great Wits, would let such an expression pass him, *He sneaks like a Cock*. But in the next place, the absurdity of it is doubled and tripled by the Sentence that it's joyn'd with: *Phrynichus*, says he, *kick- ing his legs up to the very Heavens in his Dances, crouches and sneaks like a Cock*. This is no better than down-right Non-sense; though to say something in excuse for the Interpreters, they did not join ἐκλακπίζων with φρύγιχον, as I do, but with the word that follows in the next Verse. But if the Reader pleases to consult the passage in the Poet, he will be convinced, that the Construction can be no other, than what I have made it. *Εκλακπμοῖς*, says *Hesychius*, χῆμα χειρῶν, ὀρχήσεως σύνπνον (correct it, (b) χῆμα χειρῶν ὀρχήσεως, σύνπνον) was a sort of Dance lofty and vehement, used by the Chorus's. And *Julius Pollux*, Τα ἐκλακπίσματα, γυναικῶν ἢν ὀρχήματα· ἔδει δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶ ὤμων ἐκλακπίσαι; (i) The ἐκλακπίσματα, says he, were the Dances of Women; for they were to kick their Heels higher than their Shoulders. But I conceive, here's a palpable fault in this passage of *Pollux*: for certainly this kind of Dance would be very unseemly and immodest in Women. And the Particle δ, For, does further shew the reading to be faulty. For how can the throwing up the Heels as high as the Head in dancing be assign'd as a Reason, why the Dance must belong

(b) So *Pollux* iv, 14. Τὸ ὀρχήσασθαι ἔλκειν, χῆμα ὀρχήσεως χειρῶν.  
(i) *Pollux* *ibid.*

to Women? It would rather prove it belong'd to Men, because it required great Strength and Agility. But the Error will be remov'd, if instead of γυναικῶν we correct it γυμνικῶν. The Dance, says he, was proper to the γυμνικοί, *Exercisers*; for the Legs were to be thrown up very high, and consequently it required *Teaching* and *Practice*. Well, it's evident now; how every way absurd and improper the present passage of *Aristophanes* is. If I may have leave to offer at the Emendation of so inveterate an Error, I would read the place thus:

ΠΑΗΣΣΕΙ Φρυγίχῳ, ὡσπερ ἀλέκτωρ

(Οἱ. Τάχα βαλλήσεις)

Σκέλῳ φρυγίον γ' ἐκλακτίζων.

*i. e. Phrynichus STRIKES like a Cock, throwing up his Heels very lofty.* This is spoken by the old Fellow, while he's cutting his Capers; and in one of his Frisks he offers to *strike* the Servant that stood by, with his Foot as it was aloft. Upon which the Servant says, *Τάχα βαλλήσεις, You'll hit me by and by with your capering and kicking.* Πλήωω is the proper term for a Cock, when he strikes as he's fighting; as Πλήκτεον is his *Spur*, that he strikes with. The meaning of the passage is this, That in his Dances he leap'd up, and vaulted, like *Phrynichus*, who was celebrated for those Performances: as it further appears from what follows a little after:

(k) *Arist.*  
p. 365.

(k) Καὶ τὸ Φρυγίχειον

Ἐκλακπιάτω πῆ ὄπως

Ἀδόντες ἄνω σκέλῳ

Ἦζωσιν οἱ θεαταί.

Which ought to be thus corrected and distinguished:

Καί,

Καί, τὸ Φρυγίχαιον,  
 Εκλακτισάτω τις ὄπως  
 Ἰδόντες ἄνω σκέλῃ,  
 Ὡζῶσιν οἱ θεαταί.

i. e. *And in Phrynichus's way, frisk and caper ; so as the Spectators seeing your Legs aloft, may cry out with admiration.* Now to draw our inference from these several passages, it appears, I suppose, sufficiently, that the *Phrynichus* here spoken of by *Aristophanes*, was, as well as the *Thespis*, famous for his Dancing; and consequently, by the authority of *Athenæus* quoted above, he must be ὁ ἀρχαῖος Φρύνιχος, the *Ancient Phrynichus*, ὁ ἀρχισκὸς, the *Master of Dancing*. Upon the whole matter then, there was but one Tragedian *Phrynichus*, the Scholar of *Thespis*; and if so, we have fully proved already from the Dates of his Plays, that his Master *Thespis* ought not to be placed earlier than about Olymp. LXI.

But I have one short Argument more, independent of all those before, which will evidently prove, that *Thespis* was younger than *Phalaris*. For to take the earliest account of *Thespis*, which Mr. Boyle contends for, he was Contemporary with *Pisistratus*. But *Pisistratus's* eldest Son *Hippias* was alive at (l) Olymp. LXXI, 2. and after that, was at the Battle at *Marathon*, Olymp. LXXII, 2. where he was slain according to (m) *Cicero*, (n) *Justin*, and (o) *Tertullian*; but if *Suidas* say true (out of *Ælian's* Book, *De providentia*, as one may guess by the Style and matter) (p) he surviv'd that fight, and died at *Lemnos* of a lingering Distemper: and this latter account seems to be confirmed by *Thucydides* and *Herodotus*: for the one says, (q) *He was with the Medes at Marathon*, without saying he was kill'd there; and

(l) *Marm. Arund.*

(m) *Cic ad*

*Att. ix. 10.*

(n) *Just.*

ii, 9.

(o) *Tert.*

*adv Gentes*

(p) *Suid. in*

*Ἰππίας.*

(q) *Thuc.*

vi. p. 452.

and the other not obscurely intimates, that he was not killed ; for he says, (r) *His tooth that drop'd out of his head upon the Attic ground, was the only part of his Body that had a share in that Soil* : There are only two Generations then from *Theſpis's* time to the Battle of *Marathon* : but there are Four from *Phalaris's* ; for (f) *Theſpis* the Fourth from that *Telemachus*, that deposed *Phalaris*, got the Government of *Agrigentum* Olymp. LXXIII, 1. but three years only after that Battle ; and he was then at least about XL years old, as appears from the Ages of his Son and Daughter. I'll give a Table of both the Lines of Succession.

1. *Telemachus*. *Phalaris*.

2. *Emmenides*.

*Theſpis*. 1. *Pisistratus*. 3. *Enesidamus*.'

2. *Hippias*. Ol. LXXII, 2. 4. *Theron*. Ol. LXXII, 2.

'Tis true, *Hippias* was an old Man at that time ; though it appears by the Post and Business that *Herodotus* assigns him, that he was not so very old as some make him. But however let him be as old, if they please, as *Theron's* Father ; yet still the case is very apparent, that *Theſpis* is one whole Generation younger than *Phalaris*.

It may now be a fit season to visit the Learned Examiner, and to see with what Vigour and Address he repels all these Arguments, that have settled the time of *Theſpis* about Olymp. LXI. His Authorities are *Diogenes Laertius* and *Plutarch*, who shall now be examin'd. The point which Mr. B. endeavours to prove, is this ; That *Theſpis* acted Plays in *Solon's* time, and consequently before the Death of *Phalaris*. Now the words of *Laertius*, which are all he says that any

any ways relate to this affair, are exactly these.

(r) *Solon*, says he, *hindred Thespis from acting of Tragedies, believing those false Representations to be of no use.* Hence the Examiner infers, that *Thespis* acted his Plays in the days of *Solon*: so that his Argument lies thus: *He was hindred from acting Tragedies, Ergo, he acted Tragedies, i. e.* he acted them, because he did not act them. Is not this now a Syllogism worthy of the acute Mr. *B.* and his new System of Logic? And is it not a much better Argument, if you turn it's face the quite contrary way? For if *Solon*, when *Thespis*, as we may suppose, made Application to him for his leave to act Tragedies, would not suffer him to do it: is it not reasonable to infer, that *Thespis* acted none, till after *Solon's* Death? which is the very account, that I have establish'd by so many Arguments.

But are not the Words of *Plutarch* more clear and express in the Examiner's behalf? 'Tis true. for this Author relates particularly, (f) *That Solon saw one of Thespis's Plays, and then disliking the way of it, he forbid him to act any more.* But what then? how does it appear, that this was done before *Phalaris's* Death? If I should allow this story in *Plutarch* to be true: yet Mr. *B.* will find it a difficult thing, to extort from it what he aims at. *Why, yes,* he says, *Solon was Archon Olymp. XLVI, 3. which is XLIV years before Phalaris was kill'd.* Here Mr. *B.* supposes, that this business with *Thespis* happen'd in the year of *Solon's* Archonship; which is directly to oppose his own Author *Plutarch*; who relates at large, how *Solon*, after he was Archon, travell'd abroad x years; and after his return (how long after we cannot tell) this thing pass'd between him and *Thespis.*

(r) *Laers.*  
*Solone.*  
Θέσπυ ἐ-  
κώλυσε  
τραγωδί-  
ας ἀγειν-  
τε ἐ-  
δύσκειν,  
ὡς ἀνωφε-  
λῆ πῆν  
ψευδολο-  
γίαν.

(f) *Plut.*  
*Solone.*

- P. 166. *Thespis.* But *Eusebius*, says Mr. B. places the Rise of Tragedy Olymp. XLIII, 2. a little after Solon's Archonship. Will Mr. B. here stand to this against the plain words of *Plutarch*? Mr. B. either does or may know, that *Eusebius's* Histories are so shuffled and interpolated, and so disjointed from his Tables; that no wise Chronologer dares depend on them in a point of any niceness, without concurrent Authority. But,
- P. 167. says he, take the lowest account that can be, that Solon saw *Thespis's* Plays at the latter end of his life; Solon died at the end of the (t) LIII, or the beginning of the LIVth Olympiad; i. e. XIV years before Phalaris died. Now here's a double misrepresentation of the Author he pretends to quote. For there's nothing in *Plutarch* about Olymp. LIII or LIV. He only tells us that one *Phanias* said, Solon died when *Hegestratus* was Archon; who succeeded *Comias*, in whose year *Pisistratus* usurp'd the Government. But we know
- (u) *Marm.* the Date of *Pisistratus's* Usurpation is (u) Olymp. *Arund.* LIV, 4. *Comias* being then Archon. So that Solon according to *Phanias's* Doctrine, died at
- (t) *Plut.* Olymp. LV, 1. which is IV years later than Mr. *Solon.* B. makes him say. But to pardon him this fault, which in Him shall pass for a small one; yet the next will bear harder upon him; for he brings in this Date of *Solon's* Death, out of *Phanias*: as if it was a point uncontroverted, and allow'd by *Plutarch* himself. Whenas *Plutarch* barely mentions it, without the least token of Approbation; and places before it a quite different account from *Heraclides* (an Author as old as *Phanias* and much more considerable) That Solon lived, ΣΤΙΧΝΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ, A LONG TIME after *Pisistratus's* Usurpation. Nay there's some ground for
- Con-



Conjecture, that *Plutarch* disbelieved *Phanias*; for he (x) espouies that common story about (x) *Plut.* *Solon's* Conversation with *Cræsus*; who came *Solone.* not to the Crown till Olymp. LV, 3. which is two years after *Solon's* Death, according to *Phanias*: and yet *Solon* did not see *Cræsus* at his first Accession to the Throne; but after he had conquer'd xiv Nations in *Asia*, as *Herodotus* tells it. So that for any thing that Mr. B. has proved, *Solon* might possibly have this Controversie with *Thespis*, after the Death of the *Sicilian Prince*. But what if it was before his Death? Must the Fame of this new Diversion call'd Tragedy, which was then a dishonourable thing, and quash'd by the Magistrate, needs fly as far as *Sicily*, to the *Prince's* Court? As if a new Show could not be produced at a *Bartholomew Fair*; but the Foreign Princes must all hear of it.

But I must frankly observe on Mr. B's side (what he forgot to do for himself) that as *Plutarch* tells this story of *Thespis*, it must have happen'd a little before *Pisistratus's* Tyranny. For he presently subjoyns, That when *Pisistratus* had wounded himself; and pretending that he was set upon by Enemies, desired to have a Guard; You do not act, says *Solon* to him, the part of *Ulysses* well; for he wounded himself to deceive his Enemies, but you to deceive your own Countrymen: *Laertius* tells it a little plainer; That when *Pisistratus* had wounded himself; (y) *Solon* said, Ay, (y) *Laert.* this comes of *Thespis's* acting and personating in his *Solone E-* Tragedies. Take both these Passages together, *τα εὐρα.* and it must be allowed, that as far as *Plutarch's* credit goes, it appears that *Thespis* did act some of his Plays before Olymp. LIV, 4. But we have seen above, that the *Arundel Marble* and *Suidas*

set the Date of his first Essay about Olymp. lxi. And the Age of *Phrynichus* his Scholar strongly favours their side; for by Their reckoning, he began his Plays about xxv years after his Master; but by *Plutarch's*, above L. And whose Authority now shall we follow? Though there's odds enough against *Plutarch*, from the Antiquity of the Author of the Marble, who was above 300 years older than he; and from his particular diligence and exactness about the History of the Stage; yet I'll make bold to add another Reason or two, why I cannot here follow him. For he himself tells me in another place, (z) *That the first that brought Μύθους ἔπειαν the Stories and the Calamities of Heroes upon the Stage, were Phrynichus and Æschylus*: so that before them all Tragedy was Satyrical, and the Subject of it was nothing else but *Bacchus* and his Satyrs. But if this affair about *Thespis*, and *Solon*, and *Pisistratus* be true, then *Thespis* must have represented *Ulysses* and other Heroes in his Plays; for it's intimated, that *Thespis's* acting gave the hint to *Pisistratus* to wound himself, as *Ulysses* did. So that this latter Passage of *Plutarch* is a refutation of his former. The case seems to me to be this. Some body had invented and published this about *Solon*, as a thing very agreeable to the character of a wise Law-giver; and *Plutarch*, who would never balk a good story, though it did not exactly hit with Chronology, thought it a fault to omit it in his History of *Solon's* Life. We have another instance of this in the very same

(a) *Plut. in Solone.* Treatise: for he tells at large the (a) Conversation that *Solon* had with *Cræsus*; though he prefaces it with this, *That some would shew by Chronological Arguments, that it must needs be a Fiction.*

(z) *Plut. Symp. Quæst. l.*  
1.

(a) *Plut. in Solone.*

on. Nay, he is so far transported in behalf of his Story, (b) that he accuses the whole System of Chronology, as a Labyrinth of endless uncertainty. And yet he himself upon other occasions can make use of Chronological Arguments, when he thinks they conduce to his design. As in the Life of *Themistocles*, he falls foul upon *Stesimbrotus* (an Author, as (c) he himself owns, Contemporary with *Pericles* and *Cimon*; who, as (d) *Athenaus* says, had seen *Pericles*, and might possibly see *Themistocles* too) for affirming, That *Themistocles* conversed with *Anaxagoras* and *Melissus* the Philosophers: (e) Wherein he did not consider Chronology, says *Plutarch*; for *Anaxagoras* was an Acquaintance of *Pericles*, who was much younger than *Themistocles*; and *Melissus* was General against *Pericles* in the Samian War. Here we see, this great Man could believe, that an Argument drawn from Time is of considerable Force: and yet, with humble Submission, Chronology seems to be reveng'd on him in this place, for the slight he put upon't in the other. For *Pericles* was not so remote from *Themistocles*'s time, but that one and the same Person might be acquainted with them both, and even they themselves be acquainted with one another; the one being made General (f) within XVI years after the other's Banishment. And first for *Anaxagoras*; he might very well be personally known to *Themistocles*; for he was born at Olymp. LXX, I. as (g) *Apollodorus* and *Demetrius Phalereus* two excellent Writers testify; and began to teach Philosophy in Athens at XX years of age, Olymp. LXXV, I. when *Callias* was Archon; the very year of *Xerxes*'s Expedition, when *Themistocles* acquired such Glory; and IX

(b) *Id. Xerxes*  
 νικῶν τῶν  
 λεγόμενοις  
 κατέστη,  
 &c.

(c) *Plut. in*  
*Cimone.*  
 P. 589.

(e) *Plut. in*  
*Themist.*  
 'Οὐκ εἶ  
 ἤν' ἔξο-  
 νων ἀνῆ-  
 μεν &c.

(f) *Diod.*  
 p. 41, &  
 47.

(g) *Laert.*  
 in *Anaxag.*

years before he was banished. The same Authors inform us, that *Anaxagoras* continued xxx years teaching at *Athens*; so that he had ix entire years to cultivate a Friendship with *Themistocles*. And in the second place what hinders, but that *Melissus* too might be *Themistocles's* Friend; and yet be the *Samian* General in the War against

(b) *Thucyd.* *Pericles*, which was (b) at Olymp. LXXXIV, 4? For suppose him to have been of the same age with *Anaxagoras*: he might then, as we have seen already, have been acquainted with *Themistocles*: nay suppose him, if you please, x years older; and yet he would be but LXX years old when he was General to the *Samians*. And what is there extraordinary in that? *Anaxagoras* himself survived that War (i) XIII years: and we have had in our own time more Generals than one, that were LXXX years of Age.

P 166, But Mr. B. will prove, that I myself allow  
170. Plutarch's account of *Thespis*, and am obliged to defend it, as much as He is: because I own'd in

(k) *D. dissert.* another place, that he was (k) Contemporary with  
*ad Mal p.* Solon. The Reader shall judge between us,  
46. *Solon: a-* when I have told him the Case. *Johannes Ma-*  
*qualis fuit.* *lalas* and another Writer relate, that soon after the Siege of *Troy*, in *Orestes's* time, one *Themis* or *Theomis* (i. e. as I corrected it, *Thespis*) First invented Tragedies: in opposition to which I affirm'd, that the true *Thespis* lived in *Solon's* time, long enough after the taking of *Troy*. Now certainly there was no need of exactness here, where the distance of the two Ages spoken of was so many whole Centuries. I had no need to determin *Thespis's* age to a particular Year, but to say, he lived in the time of *Solon*; as without question he did, and may be supposed about

about xx years old before *Solon* died, if he made Tragedies at Olymp. LXI. Mr. B. is pleased to call that Dissertation my *Soft Epistle* to Dr. *Mill*; which is Ironically said for *Hard*: and indeed to confess the truth, it is too *hard* for him to bite at; as appears by his most miserable Stuff about (l) *Anapæstic Verses*.

P. 166.

(l) See above, p. 133 &amp;c.

And so much for the Age of *Thespis*: I shall now consider the Opinion of those, that make Tragedy to be older than He. And what has the Learned Examiner produced to maintain this Assertion? (m) Nothing but two common and obvious Passages of *Plato* and *Laertius*, which every Second-hand Writer quotes, that speaks but of the Age of Tragedy: one of which passages tells us, (n) *That Tragedy did not commence with Thespis nor Phrynichus, but was very old at Athens: the Other, (o) That of old in Tragedy the Chorus alone performed the whole Drama; afterwards Thespis introduced one Actor.* This is all he brings, except a hint out of *Aristotle*; who affirming that *Æschylus* invented the second Actor, implies, he says, that *Thespis* found out the first. Now for two of his Authorities, *Laertius* and *Aristotle*; these words of theirs do not prove, that Tragedy is older than *Thespis*. For *Thespis* might be the first Introducer of one Actor; and yet be the Inventor too of that sort of Tragedy, that was performed by the Chorus alone. At first his Plays might be but rude and imperfect, some Songs only and Dances by the Chorus, and the Hemichoria, i. e. the two Halves of the Chorus answering to each other: afterwards by long use and experience, perhaps of xx, or xxx, or xl years, he might improve upon his own Invention, and introduce one A-

(m) P. 170, 171, 172.

(n) *Plato* in *Min.*

πίτυ παλαιόν.

(o) *Laert.* in *Plat.*

P. 172.

ctor, to discourse while the Chorus took breath. What inconsistency is there in this? *Æschylus*, we see, is generally reported as the Inventor of the second Actor: and yet (p) several believed, that afterwards he invented too the Third Actor; for in the making of LXXV Plays, he had time enough to improve further upon his first Model. Where then is Mr. B's consequence, that he would draw from *Laertius* and *Aristotle*? But he has *Plato* yet in reserve, who affirms, *That Tragedy was in use at Athens long before Thespis's time.* I have already observ'd in answer to this, That *Plato* himself relates it as a Paradox; and no body that came after him, would second him in't. He might be excus'd indeed by this distinction, that he meant, *Αυτοχαιδάσματα*, the *Extemporal Songs* in Praise of *Bacchus*, which were really older than *Thespis*, and gave the first Rise to Tragedy: were it not that he affirms there, (q) That *Minos* the King of *Crete* was introduc'd in those old Tragedies before *Thespis's* time. Which by no means may be allowed: for the old Tragedy was all *Σαυεικὴ καὶ ὀρχησικὴ*, dancing and singing; and had no serious and dolefull Argument, as *Minos* must be, but all Jollity and Mirth.

Mr. B. here takes his usual freedom of giving my Character; *He believes*, he says, *Laertius's works are better known to me, than Plato's.* What Authors he believes I am best acquainted with, is to me wholly indifferent: but since he seems curious about my acquaintance with Books, I'll tell him privately in his Ear, that the last acquaintance I made of this sort, was with the worst Author I ever yet met with. But surely one would think now, that the Examiner himself was very well versed in *Plato*, since he's so pert upon Me,

(p) *Vita*  
*Æsch.* Τὸν  
τέττον ὑ-  
ποκρίτην  
αὐτὸς ἔβ-  
εῖσε.

(q) *Plat.*  
*in Minoe.*

Pf 171.

Me, and believes that I am not. Now the Reader shall see presently, and by this very passage of *Plato*, whether Mr. B. knows that Author, or rather casts his Eye upon him, as he did on *Seneca* and the *Greek Tragædians*. The Interlocutors in this Dialogue, are *Socrates* and one *Minos* an *Athenian*, his Acquaintance; and the Subject of half of their Discourse, is to vindicate *Minos*, the ancient King of *Crete*, from the character of Cruelty and Injustice, which the Tragic Poets by their Plays had fasten'd upon him. Now our Examiner with his wonderfull Diligence and Sense, believes the Person, that talks there with *Socrates*, to be *Minos* the old King of *Crete*, who lived above DCCC years before him: (r) *Minos*, says he, asks *Socrates*, how men come to have such an opinion of HIS Severity; i. e. of *Minos's* own that speaks; as plainly appears there from Mr. B's Context. Is not this Gentleman now very well qualified to pass Censures upon Writers? That can make *Plato's* discourses to be like *Lucian's, Dialogues of the Dead*? Nay, that can put the Dead and the Live together in Dialogue? and be almost like *Mezentius*, (the *Phalaris* of his Age, and therefore worthy of Mr. B's respect) who

P. 160.

(r) Edit. 7.  
last Leaf

*Mortua quinetiam jungebat corpora vivis?*

If he had read that short Treatise of *Plato's*, without being fast asleep, he might see some of those numerous places, which will tell him, that *Minos* the Interlocutor there, was not *Minos* of *Crete*. Dost thou know, says *Socrates* to him, which of the Cretan Kings were good men, as *Minos* and *Rhadamanthys*, the Sons of *Jove* and *Europa*? *Rhadamanthys*, replies the other, was a good man, they say; but *Minos* was cruel, severe,

P. 137.

and unjust. *Have a care, says Socrates again to him, this borders upon Blasphemy and Impiety. But I'll set you right in your opinion of Minos; lest you, who are a Man, the Son of a Man, should'st offend against a Hero, the Son of Jove. If these places be not sufficient to make the Examiner sensible of his Blunder; I'll give him several others, when he and I next talk together. And I'll tell him This further before-hand; that in my opinion, Plato himself publish'd this Dialogue without naming the Interlocutor; it was only Σωκράτης ὁ ἄλλος, Socrates and Somebody. Afterwards Minos was made the name of that unknown Person, from Μίνως the title of the Dialogue. But I hardly think, that he that first did it, ever imagin'd, such an ingenious Author as Mr. B. could have been caught in so sorry a Trap.*

To convince us that Tragedy was older than *Thespis*, Mr. B. assures us, *That Plutarch in the Life of Theseus EXPRESSLY tells us, that the acting of Tragedies was one part of the Funeral Solemnities, which the Athenians performed at the Tomb of Theseus. But he has been told already by Another, that there's (f) no such thing in Plutarch's Life of Theseus; or if there was, yet Tragedy would not on that account be older than Thespis; for Theseus had no Tomb at Athens before the days of Thespis. Mr. B. has pleaded guilty to this, and (t) confessed that he took it at second-hand from Ful. Scaliger, who says, (u) Tragediam esse rem antiquam constat ex historia; ad Thejei namque Sepulchrum certasse Tragicos legimus. I'll tell him too of another that took it at the same hand; the Learned Ger. Vossius, (x) Aiunt quidam, says he, Thejei ad Sepulchrum certasse Tragicos, atque eam fuisse Tragædiarum vetustissimam,*

P. 176.

(f) View  
of Differt.  
P. 72.

(t) P. ult.  
3d Edit.

(u) Scal. de  
Poet. i, 5.

(x) Voss.  
Poet. ii, 12.



*tustissimam.* Well, I will not impute this to Mr. B. as a Fault, since *Scaliger* and *Vossius* have erred before him: I'll only observe the difference between those Great Men, and the Greater Mr. B. They cite no Authority for what they say, because they said it only at second hand; Mr. B. who took it at trust from them, believing that they had it out of *Plutarch's* Life of *Theſeus*, cites Him for it *at a venture* in his Margin, and in the Text says, He *expresly* tells us so. What poor and cowardly Spirits were They in comparison of Mr. B? They wanted the manly and generous Courage to quote Authors they had never read, with an Air of Assurance. 'Tis a great Blot upon their Memories; but however we'll let it pass; and examin a little into the story of *Theſeus's* Tomb, because such great men have been mistaken in't. For were it true that Tragedies had been acted at *Theſeus's* Tomb, (which is not so) yet those Tragedies would be so far from being the First, that they came LX years after *Theſpis* had exhibited his. *Theſeus* died in Banishment, being murder'd and privately buried in the *Isle of Scyros*: and about DCCC years afterwards, the Oracle enjoyn'd the *Athenians* to take up his Bones and carry them to *Athens*, which was accordingly done by *Cimon*, Olymp. LXXVII, 4. Μετὰ τὰ Μυθικά, says *Plutarch*, Φαίδωνος Ἀρχοντος, (y) After the Medes Invasi- (y) *Plut. ix*  
 on, when *Phædon* was *Archon*, the Oracle bid the *Theſeo*.  
*Athenians* fetch home the Bones of *Theſeus*, and it was done by *Cimon*. If the Reading be not corrupted, this Oracle was given Olymp. LXXVI, 1. for then *Phædon* was *Archon*: and at this rate it will be seven years before the Oracle was obey'd. But I rather believe; that for Μυθικά  
 Φαίδωνος

Φαίδων⊕, we ought to correct it, Μηδικὰ Ἀφεψίων⊕, *When Aphepsion was Archon.* A was lost in Ἀφεψίων⊕, because Μηδικὰ ends with that Letter, and *αι* and *ε* are commonly put one for the other; being anciently pronounced both alike.

(z) *Laert.*  
*in Socrat.*

Now Ἀφεψίων was Archon, (z) Olymp. LXXVII, 4. which was the very year that *Cimon* fetcht *Theseus's* Bones, as *Plutarch* relates it; who adds too,

(a) *Plut.*  
*Cim.* —

that (a) Ἀφεψίων was the Archon. *Diodorus* in the *Annal* of that year, says *Phædon* was Archon: for so the old Reading is, Ἀρχοντες Ἀθήνησι Φαίδων⊕. The late Editions substitute Φαίδων⊕: but the true Lektion is Ἀφεψίων⊕, as appears from *Laertius* and *Plutarch*: and this Depravation in *Diodorus* confirms my Suspicion about the first passage in *Plutarch*; for as here Ἀφεψίων⊕ was chang'd into Φαίδωνος; so there it might be into Φαίδωνος. The *Arundelian* Marble calls him *Apsepsion*; placing Ἀρχοντος Ἀψεψίωνος at this very

(b) *Meurf.*  
*Archont.*  
ii, 6, 7.

year. *Meursius*, (b) from these faulty places in *Plutarch* and *Laertius*, makes *Phædon* to have been thrice Archon, about Ol. LXXIII, 3. at Ol. LXXVI, 1. and LXXVII, 4. whereas really he was but once Archon at Ol. LXXVI, 1. But there's another mistake committed by *Jos. Scaliger*, that has had very odd Consequences. *Scaliger* in his *Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγεγραφή*, which he collected from all the Notes of Time, that he could meet with in any Authors, makes Ἀφεψίων to be Archon at Olymp. LXXIV, 4. This

(c) See here  
p. 158, and  
115.

I am perswaded, he did not do out of design, but pure forgetfulness: (c) for he intended to have set it at Olymp. LXXVII, 4. but in the interval between reading his Author, and committing this Note to writing, his Memory deceiv'd him, and he put it at Olymp. LXXIV, 4. This Suspicion of mine will be made out from *Scaliger's* own words there, Ὀλυμπ. οδ. δ. Ἀφεψίων.

Σωκράτης

Σωκράτους ἐγεννήθη κατὰ πῦας, compared with *Laertius's*, from whence they are taken, (d) Σω- (d) *Laert.*  
 κράτους ἐγεννήθη ὅτι Ἀφελίανος ἐν πύλῃ δ. ἔτει τ' εζ. Ὀ- in *Socr.*  
 λυμπιάδος. After this comes *Meursius*, who mi-  
 stakes that Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγεγραφή, for an ancient  
 Piece first publish'd out of MS by *Scaliger*; and  
 seeing *Aphepsion* named there as Archon Olymp.  
 LXXIV, 4. (e) he interpolates *Laertius* to make (e) *Meurf.*  
 him agree with it; by which means he makes *Arch.* ii, 7.  
 two falsehoods in *Laertius's* Text, which was  
 right before he medled with it: for he sets *A-*  
*phepsion* at Olymp. LXXIV, 4. instead of LXXVII, 4.  
 and at Olymp. LXXVII, 4. he puts *Phædon*, instead  
 of *Aphepsion*. And besides this, (f) he dates (f) *Ibid.*  
*Cimon's* taking of *Scyros*, and the fetching of *The-*  
*seus's* Bones, at Olymp. LXXIV, 4. because *Plu-*  
*tarch* says, (g) *Aphepsion* was Archon at the time (g) *Plut.*  
 of that Action: which is a mistake of a dozen *Cimon.*  
 years; for this was done Olymp. LXXVII, 3 and  
 4. as is plain from (h) *Diodorus*, and intimated (h) *Diod.*  
 even by *Plutarch* himself. Nay, to see how Er- p. 45.  
 ror is propagated, even *Petavius* too was caught  
 here; (i) for at Olymp. LXXVII, 4. he takes no- (i) *Petav.*  
 tice of *Laertius's* inconsistency, as he thought *Doctr*  
 it: He makes *Socrates* to be born, says he, at this *Temp* 11.  
 Olympiad: but he names *Aphepsion* for the Ar- p. 570.  
 chon, who was not in this year, but Olymp. LXXIV, 4.  
 And again at Olymp. LXXIV, 4. (k) *Petavius* (k) *Ibid* p.  
 makes *Aphepsion* to be Archon, and cites *Laer-* 567.  
*tius* for it in the life of *Socrates*: and he adds,  
 That in this year *Cimon* fetch'd *Theseus's* Bones  
 from *Scyros* to *Athens*. Here we see are the ve-  
 ry same mistakes that *Meursius* fell into; and  
 the sole occasion of them all, was the heedless-  
 ness of *Jof. Scaliger*. But *Petavius* has yet another  
 mischance; for he adds, that (l) upon the bring-  
 ing *Agon.*

ing of *Theseus's Bones*, the Prizes for Tragedians were instituted: which is part of the error of *Ful. Scaliger*, and *Ger. Vossius*, that we have noted above. The original of which seems to have been this mistaken passage of *Plutarch*; who after he has related how the Bones of *Theseus* were brought in Pomp to *Athens* by *Cimon*; (m) \*Εδεντο ὃ, says he, καὶ εἰς μνήμῳ ΑΥΤΟΥ καὶ τῶν τραγωδῶν κείσιν ὀνομασίην γνομένην. Now it seems that some believed ΑΥΤΟΥ to be spoken of *Theseus*: and from thence they coin'd the story of Tragedies being acted at his Tomb. But it plainly relates to *Cimon*, who with the rest of the Generals sat Judge of the Plays of *Sophocles* and *Aeschylus* at that Olymp. LXXVII, 4. (n) and gave the Victory to the former. Upon the whole then, first it appears against Mr. B. that Tragedies were not acted among the Solemnities at *Theseus's* Tomb: and secondly, that *Theseus's* Tomb was not built till Olymp. LXXVII, 4. in *Aeschylus* and *Sophocles's* time, long after *Thespis*: so that were it true, that Tragedies had been one of those Funeral Solemnities; yet it would be no Argument for that Antiquity, that Mr. B. assigns to Tragedy: But these are mistakes of his only for want of Reading: the next that I am going to mention let others judge from what want it procedes. The case is this; A certain Writer has accused Mr. B. of a false Citation of *Plutarch's* Life of *Theseus*; (o) for there's no such thing as he quotes in that Life. In the Life of *Cimon* indeed there's something that an ignorant Person might construe to such a Sense. To this Mr. B. replies, That he owns he was misled by *Ful. Scaliger*; who affirms the thing, but quotes no body for it; And perhaps, says Mr. B. further, I was too hasty in

(m) *Plut.*  
*Cim.*

(n) *Plut.*  
*ibid.* See  
*Marm. A-*  
*rund. E-*  
*poch.* 57.

(o) View  
of *Dissert.*  
p. 72.

p. ult. 3d  
Edit.

not fully considering the whole passage of Plutarch in the Life of Cimon, relating to this matter. Now this Excuse implies an affirmation, that he had his Eye on that passage in the Life of Cimon, when he wrote that about Tragedies at Theseus's Tomb. But the contrary of this is manifest from his own Book; for he quotes not the Life of Cimon, but the Life of Theseus, where there is not one Syllable of Tragedies. So that he quoted Plutarch at a venture, without looking into him at all. Where's the truth then of his not fully considering? If Mr. B's very Excuses stand in need of excuse, how inexcusable must the Rest be!

'Twas the Examiner's purpose, to shew some footsteps of Tragedy before the time of Thespis. But he has not observed a Passage of Herodotus, (because his Second-hand Writers did not furnish him with it) which of all others had been fittest for his turn. The Sicyonians, (p) says that Historian, in every respect honour'd the Memory of Adrastus, and particularly they celebrated the story of his Life with Tragical Chorus's; not making Bacchus the subject of them, but Adrastus. But Clisthenes assign'd the Chorus's to Bacchus, and the rest of the Festival to Melanippus. This Clisthenes, here spoken of, was Grandfather to Clisthenes the Athenian, who was the main Agent in driving out the Sons of Pisistratus, at Olymp.

LXVII. And since Tragical Chorus's were used in Sicyon before that Clisthenes's time; it appears they must be long in use before the time of Thespis, who was one Generation younger than Clisthenes himself. And agreeably to this, Themistius tells us, (q) That the Sicyonians were the Inventors of Tragedy, and the Athenians the Finishers. And when Aristotle says, (r) That some of

(p) Herod.  
v. c. 67.

Τὰ πῦρτα  
αὐτῶν τετρα-  
γυκοῖσι χο-  
ροῖσι ἐτέ-  
τερον.

(q) Them  
Orat. xix.

Τετραγυκοῖ-  
ας εὐρεταῖ  
μὲν Σικυ-  
ωνιοί, τε-  
λεσιουργοὶ  
ἢ Ἀθηνοὶ  
ποιηταί

(r) Arist.

the Poet 3.

the Peloponnesians pretend to the Invention of it; I understand him of these Sicyonians; Now if Mr. B. had but met with this place of *Herodotus*; with what triumphing and insulting would he have produced it? what plenty of Scurrility and Grimace would he have pour'd out on this occasion? But I have so little apprehensions either of the force of this Argument, or of Mr. B's Address in managing it; that I here give him notice of it, for the Improvement of his next Edition. The truth is, there is no more to be inferr'd from these Passages; than that before the time of *Theſpis*, the first Grounds and Rudiments of Tragedy were laid; there were Chorus's and extemporal Songs, *ἀνταρδίαςται*, but nothing written nor publish'd as a Dramatic Poem: so that *Phalaris* is still to be indicted for a Sophist; for saying his two Fairy Poets (*f*) wrote Tragedies against him. Nay the very word *Tragedy* was not heard of then at *Sicyon*; though *Herodotus* names *Τραγῳδίας χοροῖς*, *The Tragical Chorus's*; which by and by shall be consider'd.

(*f*) *Epist.*  
63, 97.

P. 172.

Mr. B. is so very obliging, that if I'll suffer my self to be taught by him, he'll set me right in my Notion of Tragedy. I am willing to be taught by any body, much more by the great Mr. B. though as to this particular of Tragedy,

P. 59.

I dare not honour my Self, as Mr. B. honours his Teacher, by telling him, *That the Foundation of all the little knowledge I have in this matter was laid by Him.* For there's nothing true in the long Lecture that he reads to me here about Tragedy, but what I might have learnt out of *Aristotle*, *Julius Scaliger*, *Gerard Vossius*, *Marmora Oxoniensia*, and other common Books. And as for the Singularities in it, which I could

not

not have learnt in other places, (if I, who am here to be taught, may use such freedom with my Master) they are such Lessons, as I hope I am now too old to learn. I will not sit into them too minutely; for I'll observe the respect and distance that's due to him from his Scholar: but there's one Particular, that I must not omit; when he tells me, as out of Aristotle, that the Subject of Primitive Tragedy was *Satyrical Reproofs of vicious Men and Manners of the times*: so that he explains very dextrously, as he thinks, the Expression of Phalaris, *That the Poets wrote Tragedies AGAINST him*: for the meaning, he says, is this, *That they wrote Lampoons, and abusive Satyrical Copies of Verses upon him*. But it were well, if this would be a warning to him, when he next pretends to teach others; to consider first, how lately he himself came from School. The words of Aristotle that he refers to, are, (t) *That Tragedy* (t) *Arist. at first was Σατυρικὴ*; which Mr. B. in his deep Judgment and Reading, interprets *Satyre and Lampoon*, confounding the *Satyrical Plays* of the Greeks with the *Satire* of the Romans: though it's now above a hundred years, since (u) Casaubon writ a whole Book on purpose, to shew they had no Similitude nor Affinity with one another. The *Greek Satyrical* was only a jocosse sort of Tragedy, consisting of a Chorus of Satyrs (from which it had its name) that talk'd lasciviously, besitting their character: but they never gave *Reproofs to the vicious Men of the Times*, their whole Discourse being directed to the Action and Story of the Play, which was *Bacchus*, or some ancient *Hero* turn'd a little to ridicule. There's an entire Play of this kind yet extant, *The Cyclops of Euripides*; but it no more concerns the

P. 173.

P. 180,  
181.(t) *Arist. Poet. 4.*

(u) If. Casaub. De Satyrical &amp; Satira. Par. 1595.

*vicious*

vicious Men at Athens in the Poet's time, than his *Orestes*, or his *Hecuba* does. As for the abusive Poem or *Satire* of the Romans, it was an Invention of their Own; *Satira tota nostra est*, says (x) Quintilian, *Satire is entirely Ours*: and if the Greeks had any thing like it, 'twas not the Satyrical Plays of the Tragic Poets; but the old Comedy, and the *Silli* made by *Xenophanes*, *Timon*, and others. *Satire*, says (y) *Diomedes*, among the ROMANS is NOW an abusive Poem, made to reprove the Vices of Men. Here we see 'twas a Poem of the Romans, not of the Greeks; and 'twas now, that is, after *Lucilius's* time, that it became abusive; for the *Satire* of *Ennius* and *Pacuvius* was quite of another nature. And now which of my *Masters* must I be taught by? by *Quintilian* and *Diomedes*? or by the young *Orbilius*, that has lash'd *Scaliger* and *Salmasius* at that insolent rate? But Mr. B. offers to prove, that the old Tragedy had a mixture of *Lampoon*, from *Thespis's* Cart that he carried his Plays in; From which Cart, says he, *Scurrility* and *Buffoonery* were so usually uttered, that *Ἐξ αμαξίων*, and *Ἐξ αμαξίης λέγειν*, became *Proverbial Expressions* for *Satire* and *Jeering*. What an odious word's here, *Ἐξ αμαξίων*! Sure all the *Buffoonery* of that Cart he talks of, could not be so nauseous, as this one *Barbarism*. I desire to know in what *Original Author* (for his second-hand Gentlemen he must excuse me) this wonderfull word may be found: the *Original* of which seems a mistake of *ἐξ αμαξίων* for a *Participle* *Ἐξ αμαξίων*. But to leave This to keep company with (z) *Ἀπηνίδει* and *Σελωνίδαι*; I'll crave leave to tell him, that they were other *Carts*, and not *Thespis's*, that this *Proverb* *τὰ ἐξ αμαξίων* was taken from. For they generally

(x) Quint.  
x, 1.

(y) Diomed.  
p. 482.

P. 215.

P. 180.

(z) See  
here, p 128.



generally used Carts in their Pumps and Processions, not only in the Festivals of *Bacchus*, but of other Gods too. And particularly in the *Eleusinian* Feast, the Women were carried in the Procession in *Carts*, out of which they abused and jeered one another: *Aristophanes* in *Plutus*;

Μυσηίοις ἢ τοῖς μεγάλοις ὀχυμένω

Ἐπὶ τῷ ἀμάξῃς

Upon which passage the (a) old Scholiast and *Suidas* have this note: *That in those Carts the Women, ἐλοιδόρην ἀλλήλαις, made abusive Jest* one upon another; and especially at a Bridge over the River *Cephissus*, where the Procession used to stop a little; from whence to abuse and jeer was called (b) *κφειζειν*. These *Eleusinian* Carts are mention'd by *Virgil* in the first of his *Georgics*;

(a) Schol. Arist. p. 48. Suid. in τὰ Ἐξ ἀμάξων.

(b) Hesych. Γεφ.

(c) *Tardaque Eleusinae matris volventia plaustra*: which most of the Interpreters have been mistaken in: for the Poet means not that *Ceres* invented them, but that they were used at her Feasts.

(c) Georg. i, v. 163.

But besides the *Eleusinian*, there was the same custom in many other Festival Pumps; whence it was that *Πομπύειν* and *Πομπία* came at last to signify *scoffing* and *railing*. So *Demosthenes* takes the word; and his Scholiast says, (d) *That in those Pumps they used to put on Vizards, and riding in the Carts abuse the People; from whence*

(d) Demost. De Coroná, p. 134. Edit. Par.

says he, comes the Proverb, *ἔξ ἀμάξῃς με ὕβρει*; which *Demosthenes* uses in the (e) same Oration.

(e) P. 159.

So that the very passage of this Orator, which Mr. B. cites in his Margin, is not meant of the Carts of *Tragedians*. 'Tis true, (f) *Harpocration* and *Suidas* understand it of the *Pomp* in the Feasts of *Bacchus*: but even there too, they were

(f) Harp. in Πομπύεια. Διονυσιακαῖς ἑορταῖς.

not the *Tragic*, but the *Comic* Poets who were

Suid. in Ἐξ ἀμάξῃς. Ἐρῶν.

so abusive; for They also had their Carts to carry their Plays in. *The Comic Poets*, says the (g) Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, rubbing their faces with Lees of Wine, that they might not be known, were carried about in Carts, and sung their Poems in the High-ways; from whence came the Proverb,  $\Omega\varsigma\ \tilde{\epsilon}\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\alpha}\xi\eta\varsigma\ \lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ , To rail as impudently as out of a Cart. Mr. B. concludes this Paragraph with a kind Hint, That the Doct̄or may perhaps before he dies, have a convincing proof, that a Man may be the Subject of such Tragedies (i. e. such Lampoons and Abuses from Carts) while he is Living. I heartily thank him for telling the world, what worthy Adversaries I am like to have, and what honourable Weapons they will use; and to requite his kindness, I assure him, that I shall no more value, nor be concern'd at those *Lampooning Tragedies*, than if they were really spoken out of Carts, which perhaps may still be the fittest Stage for such kind of Tragedians.

P. 180.

There are two Passages of *Horace* and *Plutarch*, that concern the Rise and Origin of Tragedy;

(h) *Hor. in Arte Poet.*

(h) *Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse Camænae Dicitur, & plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis.*

(i) *Plut. in Solone.*

And (o)  $\text{Α}\rho\chi\alpha\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\ \tilde{\nu}\tilde{\nu}\ \mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \Theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\iota\upsilon\ \tilde{\eta}\tilde{\delta}\eta\ \tau\acute{\iota}\nu\ \text{Τ}\epsilon\alpha\gamma\omega\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon\ \kappa\iota\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$ . Now the first of these, as Mr. B. glosses upon it, means it was an *Unknown kind of Tragic Poetry*, which Thespis found out; and implies, there was another *Known kind in use before him*. The latter, he says, may import, that Thespis did not invent, but only gave *Life and Motion to Tragedy by making it Dramatic*. Now Mr. B. either seriously believes these Interpretations, or not. If he does; the best advise his Friends can give him, is to trouble his head no more with

P. 175.

P. 176.

with

with Critic, for it will never do him credit. If he *does not* believe them; where's that Modesty becoming a young Writer, or that Sincerity becoming a Gentleman, or that Prudence becoming a Man? 'Tis a dangerous thing to trifle with the World, and to put those things upon others, which he believes not himself. No man ever despis'd his Readers, that did not suffer for't at the last. However whether Mr. B. believes these Interpretations or not; I am resolv'd not to refute them. For though I have often had already, and shall have still, a very ignoble Employment in answering some of his little Cavils; yet I have Spirit enough to think, that there may be *some* Drudgery so very mean, as to be really below me.

We are come now to the last point about *Tragedy*, and that is the Origin of the Name. I had observ'd, *That the Name of Tragedy was no older than the Thing; as sometimes it happens, when an old Word is borrowed and applied to a new Notion.* So that the very word, *τραγωδία*, which the false *Phalaris* uses in his Epistles, was not so much as heard of in the days of the true one. Mr. B. commences his Answer to this, with an acuteness familiar to him. *What does he mean?* says he, *Names I thought were invented to signify Things, and that the Things themselves must be before the Names by which they are called.* Now I leave it to the sagacious Reader to discover, what I cannot do, the pertinency and the drift of this passage of Mr. B's. However, let it belong to any thing or nothing, 'tis a proposition false in it self, *That Things themselves must be before the Names by which they are called.* For we have many new Tunes in Music made every day, which

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never existed before; yet several of them are called by *Names*, that were formerly in use: and perhaps the Tune of *Chivy Chase*, though it be of famous Antiquity, is a little younger than the name of the Chase it self. And I humbly conceive, that Mr. *Hobbes's* Book, which he called the *Leviathan*, is not quite as ancient, as it's Name is in *Hebrew*. So very fortunate is Mr. *B.* when he endeavours at subtilty and niceness. 'Tis true, where *Things* are Eternal; or as old as the World, which we call the Works of Nature, they *must* be older than the *Names* that are given them: but in things of Art or Notion, that have their Existence from Man's Intellect or Manual Operation, *the Things themselves* may be many years younger than the *Names* by which they are called; and so the thing Tragedy may possibly be younger, than the Name that it is called by.

The Reason therefore, why I affirm'd, *That the Name of Tragedy was no older than the Thing*, was because good Authors assured me, that the word *Tragedy* was first coined from the *Goat* that was the Prize of it, which Prize was first constituted in *Thespis's* time. So the *Arundel* Marble in the Epoch of *Thespis*: Καὶ ἄδλον ἐτέθη ὁ Τεγ-  
 γῶ; And the *Goat* was appointed for the Prize. So *Diſcorides* in his Epigram upon *Thespis*;

— ὦς τεγῶ ἄδλον.

And *Horace* speaking of the same Person;

*Carmine qui Tragico vilem certavit ob Hircum.*  
 And because I was fully persuaded by them, that this was the true Etymology of the word: and that the Guesſes of some *Grammarians*, Τεγ-  
 γῶδία quasi τευγῶδία, or Τεγγῶδία quasi τεγχεῖα  
 ῶδία, and other such like, were absurd and ridicu-  
 culous;

culous; I thought, as I do still, that the very Name of Tragedy was no older than *Thespis*; and consequently could not have been found in the Epistles of the true *Phalaris*.

But I have not forgot, what I my self lately quoted out of *Herodotus*; that the *Sicyonians* before *Thespis*'s time honoured the Memory of *Adrastus*, (k) *τραγικῶν χορῶν*, with *Tragical Chorus*'s. (k) Herod. v. 6. 67. If this be so, here appears an ample Testimony, that the *Word* Tragedy was older than *Thespis*. But for a man that meddles with this kind of Learning, the first Stock to set up and prosper with, is sound *Judgment*; which gives the very Name and Being to *Critic*, and without which he will never be able to steer his course successfully among many seeming Contradictions. As in this passage of *Herodotus*, which is contrary to what others assure us, what course is to be taken? must we stand dubious and neuters between both, and cry out upon *the uncertainty of Heathen Chronology*? or must we not rather say, That *Herodotus*, who himself lived many years after *Thespis*, when Tragedy was frequent and improved to its highest Pitch, made use of a *Prolepsis*, when he called them *τραγικῶν χορῶν*; meaning such Chorus's as gave the first Rise to that which in his time was call'd Tragedy? So we have seen before, that *Porphry*, and *Jamblichus*, and *Conon* speak of *Taurominium* at a time, when that name was not yet heard of; but they meant the City *Naxos*, that was afterwards called so. Such an Anticipation is common and familiar in all sorts of Writers. And if *Herodotus* in another place, where he says, (l) *That the Epidaurians* (long before *Susarion* lived in *Attica*) honour'd (l) Herod. v. 6. 83. the Goddesses *Damia* and *Auxesia* *χορῶν γυναικῶν*

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τοια νετρομοια, with Chorus's of Women, that used to abuse and burlesque the Women of the Country, had call'd them *χεριον κομικον* Comical Chorus's, he had said nothing unworthy of a great Historian: because those Chorus's of Women were much of the same sort, that were afterwards called Comical; though perhaps at that time the word Comical was not yet minted.

P. 178. But let us see, what Mr. B. advances, to shew that the Name of Tragedy is older than *Thespis*. *It cannot reasonably be question'd*, says he, *but that those Bacchic Hymns they sung in Chorus round their Altars (from whence the regular Tragedy came) were called by this Name Tragedy from ΤεσυϞ, the Goat, the Sacrifice, at the offering of which these Odes were sung.* But he presently subjoins, *That as to this we are in the Dark, and have only Probabilities to guide us.* If we are in the Dark, I dare affirm, that the Examiner will leave us so still; for it is not his Talent, to give Light to any thing; but rather to make it darker than it was before. *It cannot reasonably*, he says, *be question'd.* Why not I pray? Because it would be a *Question*, that He could not answer. I know no other *unreasonableness* in questioning it; for he has not one Authority for what he supposes here, That the name of Tragedy was as old as the Institution of Sacrificing a Goat to Bacchus. But on the contrary, we have express Testimonies, that it was no ancients than when the Goat was made the Prize to be contended for by the Poets. As besides the Passages cited before, *Eusebius* says in his Chronicle, *Certantibus in Agone Tragos, i. e. Hircus in Premio dabitur; unde aiunt Tragædos nuncupatos*: So *Diomedes* the Grammarian; *Tragædia à τεσυϞ & ᾠδῆ dicta,*

*dicta, quoniam olim auctoribus Tragicis, τραγῳδία, id est, Hircus, præmiæ cantus proponebatur.* Etymol. Mag. Κέκληται τραγωδία, ὅτι τραγῳδία τῆ ἀδῆ ἄδλον ἐπίσετο.

*Philargyrius (m) on Virgil's Georgics: Dabatur Hircus præmiæ nomine, unde hoc genus poematis Tragædiæ volunt dictam.* All the other Derivations of the word Tragedy are to be slighted and exploded. But if this be the true one, as certainly it is; the word cannot possibly be ancients than *Thespis's* days, who was the first that contended for this Prize. Besides this, we have very good Authority, that *those Bacchic Hymns, from whence the regular Tragedy came,* were originally call'd by another name, not *Tragedy*, but *Dithyramb*. So (n) *Aristotle* expressly teaches; *Tragedy*, says he, had its first Rise from those that sung the *Dithyramb*. Διδύραμβος, says *Suidas*, ὕμνος εἰς Διόνυσον, i e *Dithyramb* means the *Bacchic Hymn*. The first Author of the *Dithyramb*, as (o) some relate, was *Lafus Hermionensis* in the First *Darius's* time: or as (p) others, *Arion Methymæus* in the time of *Periander*. But as it appears from *Pindar*, and his (q) *Scholiast*, the Antiquity of it was so great, that the Inventor could not be known: and *Archilochus*, who was much older than both *Lafus* and *Arion*, has the very word *Dithyramb* in these wonderfull and truly *Dithyrambic* Verses:

(r) Ὄς Διωνύσι' ἀνακτ' καλὸν ἐξάρεξαι μίλ'

Οἶδα Διδύραμβον, οἶνω συγκρασηνυθεὶς φρένας.

So the Verses are to be corrected and distinguished, being a pair of *Trochaics*. And Mr. B. may please to observe, that *Archilochus* too as well as *Suidas*, defines a *Dithyramb* to be a *Bacchic Hymn*, which Mr. B. erroneously makes to be peculiar to *Tragedy*. I will tell him also anon, that the Cho-

(m) Georg. ii. v. 183.

(n) Arist. Poet. iv. Ἀπὸ τῶ ἐξ ἀρχόντων τ' Διδύραμβον.

(o) Suid. Λάσος Arist. Schol. p. 362, 421.

(p) Suid. Ἀρίων Arist. Schol. 421.

(q) Pind. Olym. 13. (r) Athen. p. 628.

rus belonging to the *Dithyramb* was not call'd a *Tragic*, but *Cyclian Chorus*.

P. 179. Mr. B. has fail'd in his first attempt about the Date of the word *Tragedy*: but he has still another Stratagem to bring about his design. For he will prove that *Τετραγῳδία* comprehended originally both *Tragedy* and *Comedy*: and since *Comedy* was as ancient as *Susarion*, who was near forty years older than *Thespis*; it follows that the word *Τετραγῳδία*, which *Comedy* was then called by, must be older too than *Thespis*. This being the Point he promised to prove, he presently shifts hands, and changes the Question; for he has quoted five Passages, one out of *Athenaus*, three out of the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, and one out of *Hesychius*, to shew that *Τετραγῳδία* signifies *Comedy*. Which is a thing so known and common, and confess'd by all, that he might as well take pains to prove *Κωμῳδία* signifies *Comedy*. But what's all this to *Τετραγῳδία*? Must *τετραγῳδία* signify *Comedy*, because *τετραγῳδία* does? An admirable Argument, and one of Mr. B's beloved sort. He may prove too, whensoever he pleases, that *Lacerna* means a *Lamp*, because *Lucerna* does; and a great many other Feats may be performed by this Argument. But in his other Citations, with which his Margin is plentifully stuff'd out, there's One to shew that *Τετραγῳδία* signifies *Tragedy*, and Two, that *Τετραγῳδία* signifies *Comedy*. Now, the first of these is besides the Question again; for though *τετραγῳδία* should stand both for *τετραγῳδία* and *κωμῳδία*, yet it does not at all follow, that *τετραγῳδία* may stand for *κωμῳδία*. If Mr. B. had studied his new Logic more, and his *Phalaris* less; he had made better work in the way of Reasoning. 'Tis as if some School-

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boy



boy should thus argue with his Master: *Pomum* may signifie *Malum* an *Apple*, and *Pomum* too may signifie *Cerasum* a *Cherry*; therefore *Malum* an *Apple* may signifie *Cerasum* a *Cherry*. But besides the failure in the Consequence, the Proposition it self is false; for *τραγωδία* does not signifie *Tragedy*: nay, to see the strange Felicity of Mr. B's Critic, even his other Assertion is false too; for *τραγωδία* never signifies *Comedy*. Let us examin his Instances.

*Τραγωδία*, says Mr. B. signifies *Tragedy* properly so called, in this passage of (f) Aristophanes: P. 179.

— Αυτὸς δ' ἔνδον ἀναβάντων ποιεῖ

(f) *Arist.*  
*Achara* p.  
278.

*Τραγωδία*—

For this is spoken of Euripides. But what then? Why Euripides being a Tragic Poet; *τραγωδία*, when applied to him, must needs signifie *Tragedy*. I am unwilling to discourage a Gentleman; and yet I cannot but take notice of his unlucky Hand, whenever he meddles with Authors. Here he interprets *τραγωδία*, *Tragedy*: and yet the very Jest and Wit of this Passage consists in this, that the Poet calls *Euripides's* Plays *Comedies*. And so the Scholiast interprets it, *τραγωδία* ἢ κωμῶν, ἀντιτὴ κωμῶν. *Euripides* was accused by *Aristophanes*, and several of the Ancients, for debasing the Majesty and Grandure of *Tragedy*, by introducing low and despicable Characters instead of Heroic ones; and by making his Persons discourse in a mean and popular Style, but one degree above common Talk in *Comedy*; contrary to the practise of *Aeschylus* and *Sophocles*, who aspired after the sublime Character, and by Metaphors and Epithets and Compound Words made all their Lines strong and lofty. And particularly in (t) *Aristophanes's* *Ranæ*, where

(t) *Arist.*  
*Ranæ* p. 167,  
c.

*Aeschylus*

*Æschylus* and *Euripides* are compared together, the latter is pleasantly burlesqu'd and rally'd on this very account. What could *Aristophanes* then say smarter in this Passage about him, than in derision of his Style and Characters to call his Tragedies *Comedies*?

Well; let us see, if in his next point, Mr. B. is more fortunate, That *τεγρωδία* may signify *Comedy*. There's a Fragment, he says, of *Aristophanes's* ΓΗΡΥΤΑΔΗΣ preserved, where *τεγρωδὸς* signifies a *Comedian*:

(u) *Athen.*  
p. 551.

(u) Καὶ τίνες ἂν εἴεν; πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων  
Ἀπὸ τοῦ τεγρωδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ τεγρικῶν χορῶν  
Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλικῶν Κινῆσιος.

Now *Sannyrion* being a *Comic Poet*, as it's very well known; 'tis a clear case, as Mr. B. thinks, that ἀπὸ τοῦ τεγρωδῶν means *one of the Comedians*. No doubt the Poet meant to say, that *Sannyrion* was sent *Ambassador* from the *Comic Poets*, *Meletus* from the *Tragic*, and *Cinesias* from the *Dithyrambic*. This was *Aristophanes's* Thought; and therefore I affirm, that his words could not be ἀπὸ τοῦ τεγρωδῶν, as now they are read. So far from that, that if *τεγρωδῶν* could signify *Comedians*, yet he would not have used the word in This place, where *τεγρικῶν χορῶν* immediately follows. For what a wretched Ambiguity would be here, and wholly unworthy of so elegant a Poet? since *τεγρωδῶν* and *τεγρικῶν χορῶν* are words of the same Import; and if the former may signify *Comedy*, the latter may do so too. So that if the Persons *Sannyrion* and *Meletus* had not been well known, the Passage might appear a mere Tautology, *Tragedians* and *Tragedians*, or *Comedians* and *Comedians*: or if the signification was varied, the one word meaning *Comedi-*  
ans

ans, and the other Tragedians ; yet it had been uncertain whether of the two was the Comedian, and whether the Tragedian ; because both the words, according to Mr. B. may be interpreted in either signification. These, I conceive, are such just Exceptions against the vulgar Reading of this Passage ; that a Person, who esteems *Aristophanes* as he deserves, may safely say, he never wrote it so. If Critic had ever once smiled upon Mr. B. or if there was not a kind of Fatality in his Errors, he could scarce have miss'd this most certain Correction,

— Πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων

Ἀπὸ τῶν τραγωδῶν —

By which all the Ambiguity or Tautology vanishes ; for *τραγωδῆς* never signified any thing but a Comedian. And how easie and natural was the Depravation of *τραγωδῶν* into *τραγωδῶν* ? *Τραγωδῆς* being the much rarer word, and as I believe, not to be met with in Prose or serious Writings : for it was a kind of jeering name, and not so honourable as *Κωμῆς*. However, the Corruption of this Passage is very ancient ; for the Author of the Epitome of *Athenæus*, who lived before *Eustathius*'s time, *i. e.* above 10 years ago, read it *τραγωδῶν* ; for here he calls

(x) *Sannyrion* a Tragedian. But in *Ælian*'s days the true Reading *τραγωδῶν* was still extant in *Athenæus* : for that Author transcribes this very Passage into his *Various History*, and from it he calls (y) *Sannyrion* a Comedian, and *Melirus* a Tragedian.

But that Mr. B. may not wonder at the change of *τραγωδῶν* into *τραγωδῶν*, I'll tell him of one or two other Corruptions in the very same Passage ;

(x) *Epit. Athen MS*  
*Σαννυρίων*  
*να τῶν τραγωδῶν*  
 (z) *Æl. Var Hist.*  
 x. 6 *Σαννυρίων ὁ Κωμῆς*  
*πινθῆς.*

— Ἀπὸ ὃ ἦν τετραμῶν χρεῶν  
 Μέλιτϙ, ἀπὸ ὃ ἦν κυκλικῶν Κινησίας.

For the Learned *Casaubon* instead of Μέλιτϙ  
 (a) *Casaub.* reads it Μέλιτϙ: (a) Because, says he, neither  
*ad Athen.* this Verse here, nor any other wherein he is men-  
 p. 857. tion'd, will allow the second Syllable of his Name to  
 be long. But with humble Submission, whether  
 his Name be written Μέλιτϙ or Μέλιτϙ; I af-  
 firm, that those very Verses both allow and re-  
 quire, that the second Syllable of it should be  
 long. As first in this of *Aristophanes*, if the first  
 Syllable of Κυκλικῶν be short, the second of Μέ-  
 λιτϙ must be long. *Casaubon*, 'tis true, as his  
 observation shews, believ'd the first of Κυκλικῶν  
 to be of necessity long: but as it's plain, that it  
 may be short; so that it actually is so in several  
 passages (I might say, all) of the same Poet, will  
 be seen by and by. The other Verse that *Casaubon*  
 produces, is this out of *Ranæ*;

Σκολιῶν Μελίτε, καὶ Καεικῶν αὐλημάτων.

But even here too the second Syllable of Μελίτε  
 is long; for ΚΑΙ ought to be struck out, as will  
 be plain from the whole passage;\*

(b) *Arist.* (b) Οὗτϙ δ' ἀπὸ πάντων μὲ φέρεי πορνιδίον,  
*Ran.* p 180. Σκολίων Μελίτε, Καεικῶν αὐλημάτων,  
 Θρήνων, Χορέων ἄρα ὃ δηλωθῆσεται.

Who does not see now, that if ΚΑΙ be inserted in  
 the second Verse, a great part of the Elegancy  
 is lost? for the whole Sentence runs on, without  
 any Particle of Conjunction. But to put the  
 matter quite out of doubt, this very Verse is cited  
 in (c) *Suidas*, and ΚΑΙ does not appear there: but  
 (c) *Suid.* in it easily crept into the Text, because the next  
 Μέλιτϙ. word begins with the same Letters ΚΑ. Up-  
 on the whole therefore, the fault that *Casaubon*  
 found in the passage of *Athenæus* is really  
 none.

none. But there is one, which he did not find, and that is κυκλικῶν instead of κυκλίων: for the Verse should be corrected thus;

Μέλιντ⊙, ἀπὸ ᾧ ἦδ' κυκλίων Κινησίας.

So (d) *Ælian* cites it from this very place, Κινη- (d) *Æl* x, 6. σίας Κυκλίων χορῶν ποιητής. And (e) *Aristophanes* (e) *Arist.* speaks so in other places: *Nub* p. 79.

Κυκλίων τε χορῶν ἀσμάτοκράμπας, ἄνδρας μετρωε-  
φόνους.

And again, speaking of the same *Cinesias*;

Ταυτὴ πεποίηκας ἢ κυκλιοδιδάσκαλον;

And so all manner of Writers call them Κύκλιοι χοροί, and never Κυκλικοί; *Suidas*, Scholiasts on *Pindar* and *Aristophanes*, *Hesychius*, *Plato*, *Plutarch*, and others. This *Cyclian* Chorus was the same with the *Dithyramb*, as some of these Authors expressly say; and there were three Chorus's belonging to *Bacchus*, the Κωμικός, the Τετραγικός and the Κύκλι⊙; the last of which had its Prize, and its (f) Judges at the *Dionysia* as the other two (f) *Æsch.* had. The famous *Simonides* won LVI of these *contra Ctesiph.* p. 87. Victories, as *Tzetzes* informs us from an *Epitaph* upon that Poet's Tomb: Καὶ τὸς μὲν κεῖτ' ἄς τὸς ἐκ Διονυσίων, εἰ μὴ δὴ κείως τὸς Κυκλίους

(g) Ἐξ ὅπ' ἐπὶ πεπύκοντα, Σιμωνίδην, ἦραο νίκας  
Καὶ τρίποδας, θνήσκεις δ' ἐν Σικελῶν πεδίῳ.  
Κεῖω ᾗ μνήμην λείπεις, Ἑλλησι δ' ἔπαινον  
Εὐξυνέτε ψυχῆς τοῖς ὀπιζινομένοις.

So this Epigram is to be corrected; for it's faultiness in *Tzetzes*. Indeed it is not express'd here, what sort of Victories they were: so that possibly there might be some of them obtain'd by his Tragedies; if that be true which *Suidas* tells us, that *Simonides* made Tragedies. But I rather believe, that he won them all by his *Dithyrambs* with the *Cyclian* Chorus's; and I am confirmed in it by his own Epigram, not publish'd before:

(b) Ἐξ

(g) *Tzet.*  
*Chil.* i, 24.

(b) *Anthol.*  
*Epigr. MS.*

(b) Ἐξ ὄπῃ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδῃ, ἦραο ταύρους  
καὶ τρίποδας, πρὶν τίνδ' ἀνδέμεναι πίνακα.  
Τοσάκι δ' ἰμερέεντα (διδαξάμενθ) χορὸν ἀνδρῶν,  
Ἐυδέξε νίκας ἀγλαδὸν ἄρμ' ἐπέβης.

I have supplied the third Verse with διδαξάμενθ, which is wanting in the MS. But it's observable, that instead of νίκας, as it is in *Tzetzes*, the MS Epigram has ταύρους: which I take to be the Author's own word, but being not understood, it was chang'd into νίκας. For Ταῦςθ a Bull was the Prize of *Dithyramb*, as a Goat was of Tragedy: which was the reason, why *Pindar* gives to *Dithyramb* the Epithet of βουλάτης;

(i) *Pind. O-*  
*lymp. xv.*

(i) Ταὶ Διωνύσει πύθεν ἔξέφαναν  
Σὺν βουλάτῃ χάριτες  
Διδυρμίω —————.

He calls the *Dithyramb* βουλάτης, says the Scholiast, because the Bull was the Prize to the Winner; that Animal being sacred to Bacchus. And as the *Dithyrambic* Poets contended for a Bull, so the *Harpers*, *Κιθαροῦδοι*, contended for a Calf: *Aristophanes*:

(k) *Acharn.*  
p. 261.

(k) Ἄλλ' ἔτερον ἦδην, ἠνίκ' ὄπῃ μῶσχω ποτὲ  
Δεξίθεθ εἰσῆλθ' ἀσόμενος Βοιώπων.

Some, says the Scholiast, interpret it ὄπῃ μῶσχω for a Calf: because he that got the Victory with his Harp, had a Calf for his Premium. He seems indeed to give preference to the other Exposition, that makes Μῶχος the name of an Harper, and the Modern Translators follow him in it: but the former is the true meaning of the Passage, as both the Language and the Sense sufficiently shew. I will crave leave to add two things more relating to this matter: First, That this triple Chorus, the *Comic*, *Tragic*, and *Cyclian*, may perhaps be meant in that Epigram of

*Diof.*

*Dioscorides*, which I have produced above,

Βάκχος ὅπ τευλὸν κατὰ γοι χοεῖν —.

Neither shall I contend the point, if any one will embrace this Exposition: but for my own part, I prefer the other, which makes it relate to *Trina Liberalia*, the three Festivals of *Bacchus*. And Secondly, That these Prizes, the Bull and the Calf, appointed for the Dithyramb and Playing on the Harp (if they really were continued till *Simonides's* Death, and *Aristophanes's* time; and if those Passages of theirs related to the present Custom, and not the first Institution only) may induce some to believe, that the old Prizes for Tragedy and Comedy might be continued too, though they be not taken notice of.

However, be this as it will, the (l) Arguments used above are not weakn'd at all by't. For it's plain from the Epochs of *Aeschylus*, &c. in the *Arundel Marble* (where those Prizes are not mention'd) that the Epochs of *Sannyrion* and *Thespis* (where they are mentioned) were proposed to us by that Author, as the first Rise of Comedy and Tragedy.

Mr. B. has one Passage more, which is his last Anchor, to prove his notable point, *That the word Tragedy may signifie Comedy*. 'Tis in the Greek *Prolegomena* to *Aristophanes*, gather'd out of some nameless Authors; the words are, (m) Ἐστὶ δὲ ταύτῳ (Κωμῳδίας) εἶπεν ἢ τραγωδίας, οἷον ἐν τραγωδίᾳ πνα ἔσαν, ὅπ τραγία χεῖόμενοι ἐκωμῳδῶν; i.e. *Comedy may be called Tragedy, quasi Trygædia, because the Actors besmear'd their Faces with Lees of Wine*. Here we see the Testimony is positive and full, that Comedy may be call'd Tragedy, which is the thing that Mr. B. undertook to prove; and what is there now remaining but

(l) See above, p. 210, 252.

(m) Proleg. Arist. p ix.

but to congratulate and applaud him? But I think one could hardly pitch upon a better instance, to shew that he that meddles with these matters, must have *Brains*, as Mr. B's Phrase is, as well as *Eyes in his Head*. A man that has that Furniture in his upper Story, will discover by the very next words in that nameless old Author, that the Passage is corrupted. For it immediately follows, *Καὶ τὸ μὲν Τραγωδίας τὸ εἰς ἔλεον κινήσει τὰς ἀκροατάς, τὸ δὲ Κωμωδίας τὸ εἰς γέλωτα*. So that the whole Sentence, as the common Reading and Mr. B. has it, is thus; *Comedy may be also called Tragedy: and 'tis the Design of Tragedy to excite Compassion in the Auditory; but of Comedy to excite Laughter*. Is not this now a most admirable Period, and all one, as if he had said; *Comedy may be called Tragedy, for they are quite different things?* Without all doubt, if he had really meant, *Comedy may be called Tragedy*; in those following words he would have said; *τὴν τραγωδίαν τὴν κωμῶν λεγόμενης, 'tis the Design of Tragedy properly so called: and not have left them as they now are, a piece of flat Nonsense*. But the Fault, one may say, is now conspicuous enough; but what shall be done for an Emendation of it? even That too is very easie and certain; for with the smallest Alteration the whole Passage must be read thus: *Ἐστὶ δὲ ταύτῳ εἰπῶν καὶ τραγωδίαν, οἷον ἐστὶν τραγωδίαν τινὰ ἔπαν, ὅτι τραγῶν χερόμενοι ἐκωμῶδον*. And so we have it, in almost the very same words, in another Writer among the same Prolegomena, (n) *Τὴν αὐτῶν δὲ (Κωμωδίαν) καὶ τραγωδίαν φασὶν, ὅτι τραγῶν διαχειρόντες τὰ πρόσωπα ὑπεκείνοντο*. The import of both is, *That for κωμωδία one may use the word τραγωδία*; which is true and right; for the words are synonymous; as  
appears

(n) *Ibid.* p.  
vii.



appears from several places in *Aristophanes*, and the old Lexicographers.

I have now dispatht all the Examiner's Instances, which he has brought to shew that *τραγωδία* may signify Tragedy, or *τραγωδία* signify Comedy: and it would seem a very strange thing in any other Writer but Mr. B. that he should bring half a dozen Examples, that are either false or nothing to his purpose, and be ignorant of that single one, that is plainly and positively for him. I crave his leave to produce it here, and to change my Adversary for a while; if Mr. B. will not be affronted, that I assign him a Second so much inferior to him, the great *Isaac Casaubon*. This Author in his most excellent Book, *De Satyrica Poesi*, as Mr. B. has done, teaches us, (o) *That at first both Comedy and Tragedy were called τραγωδία or τραγωδία, as appears from Athenæus; where he says, (p) Both Comedy and Tragedy were found out in the time of Vintage; (τρυγῆς) ἀφ' ἧς δὴ καὶ τραγωδία τὸ πρῶτον ἐκλήθη καὶ κωμωδία. Which, says Casaubon, I thus correct, ἐκλήθη καὶ ἡ τραγωδία καὶ ἡ κωμωδία, that is, From which word τρυγῆ Vintage, both Comedy and Tragedy were at first call'd τραγωδία.* This is Casaubon's first proof, and we see it solely depends upon his own Emendation of *Athenæus*; which, with humble submission, I take to be a very wrong one. For it is not in the Text, as he has cited it, ἐκλήθη ΚΑΙ κωμωδία (which would truly show some defect in it) but ἐκλήθη ἡ κωμωδία, both in his own and the other Editions. He was deceived therefore by trusting to his *Adversaria*, without consulting the Original; for there's no other Pretense of altering the Text, but from the Particle ΚΑΙ. He goes on;

(g) Casaub.  
P. 22.

and tells us, (g) That both τραγωδία and τραγωδία were at first a common Name, both for Tragedy and Comedy; but afterwards it was divided, διασπάδην, as Aristotle says, and the ancient Critics witness. Now the Passage in Aristotle, which he refers to, has nothing at all either about Tragedy or Comedy; but it speaks of Poetry in general:

(r) Arist.  
Poet. cap.  
iv.

(r) Διασπάδην ὅ καὶ τὰ οἰκεία ἦν ἢ ποίησις, That it was divided and branched into sorts, according to the several Humors of the Writers; some singing the Stories of Heroes, others making Drolls and Lampoons, and a third sort Hymns and Encomiums, all as their several fancies lead them. But Mr. Casaubon subjoins this Quotation following; Τραγωδία τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν ὄνομα κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κωμωδίαν. ὕστερον δὲ τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ὄνομα ἔχεν ἢ τραγωδία, ἢ ὅτι κωμωδία ἴδιον; i. e. Tragedy was of old a common name, both for it self and Comedy; but afterwards that common name became peculiar to Tragedy, and the other was called Comedy. Which Passage is taken out of the Etymologicon Magnum, though a little interpolated and depraved by Casaubon himself. For that Author, after he has given several Etymologies of the word τραγωδία,

(f) Etymol.  
Mag. v.  
τραγωδ.

at last he says, (f) Ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς τραγῶδος τραγωδία ἦν ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα τῆς κοινῆς καὶ πρὸς τὴν κωμωδίαν ἔπει ἐπισημαίνεται τὰ τῆς ποιήσεως ἐκτέρας ἄλλ' εἰς αὐτὴν ἐν ἦν τὸ ἄδλον, ἢ τραγῶς. ὕστερον δὲ τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ὄνομα ἔχεν ἢ τραγωδία ἢ ὅτι κωμωδία ἐννομασθαι, &c. where we must not refer the words ὄνομα κοινὸν τοῦ Τραγωδία, as Casaubon does; but to Τραγωδία which immediately comes before: for the meaning of it is this; That Τραγωδία might have its name by a little variation from τραγωδία: which word τραγωδία signified of old, not Tragedy only, but Comedy too: for at that time, these two sorts of Poetry were

were not distinguish'd, but had one and the same Prize, (τρυγᾶ) a Vessel of Wine : afterwards Tragedy retain'd that old name (ο only being chang'd into α) and the other was call'd Comedy. 'Tis an Error therefore in *Casaubon*, when he tells us as from this Writer, that Τραγωδία once signified Comedy : for the thing that this Writer affirms is this, That Τρυγωδία once signified both Tragedy and Comedy : which is a Proposition very much different from that other of *Casaubon's*.

But however, if this Passage of the *Etymologicon* will not serve *Casaubon's* purpose, it may be usefull to Mr. B's. 'Tis true, it will not come up to his main point, which he undertook to make out ; That under the word Tragedy, both Tragedy and Comedy were at first comprehended (which alone, and nothing less than it, will signifie any thing to the Age of Tragedy) yet it plainly affirms, what He by two mistaken instances in vain attempted to prove, That τρυγωδία once signified Tragedy. It concerns me therefore to give an answer to this passage ; because I have already flatly denied, that τρυγωδία ever signified Tragedy. And I think I need not be at much trouble for a Reply ; when the Author himself affords me one in this very place. For the grounds of his Assertion he declares to be these Two : that τραγωδία is derived from τρυγωδία ; and that τρυξ Wine was the common Prize both to Comedy and Tragedy. Now both these are plain mistakes ; for the true Derivation of τραγωδία is from τραγῶ a Goat, as I have fully shewn above ; and that the Prize was not the same, but the Goat was for Tragedy, and the Wine for Comedy, the *Arundel Marble*, (to name no more)

P. 179.

expressly affirms, in the Epochs of *Sufarion* and *Theſpis*. If the groundsthen, that he walks upon, fail him; his Authority too must fall with him; for he is alone, without any other to support him; all the rest confining the signification of *τραγωδία* to Comedy alone. *Τρυγωδῆν, κωμωδῆν*, says *Hesychius*. *Τρυγωδία, ἢ κωμωδία*, says *Aristophanes's* Scholiast. In the present Editions of *Suidas*, we read *Τρυγκωμωδία*, without any Exposition: but the true Reading, as the very order of the Alphabet shews, is *τραγωδία, κωμωδία*; and so *H. Stephanus* affirms, that he found it in his MS. All these Three are older than the Author of the *Etymologicon*; and if ever any before their time had used *τραγωδία* for Tragedy, either all or some of them would have told us of it.

If I may have leave to talk without proof, as well as some others, I should rather suspect that *κωμωδία* was the old and common name both for Tragedy and Comedy; till they came to be distinguish'd by their peculiar Appellations. For the Etymology of the word (*κωμωδία, ἐν κώμαις ὠδὴ, a Song in Villages*) agrees equally to them both: both Tragedy and Comedy being first invented and used in the Villages, as all Writers unanimously say. And 'tis remarkable, that *Dioscorides* in his Epigrams, calls the Plays of *Theſpis* *κῆμος*;

(\*) See above, p. 231, 232.

(τ) Θέσπιδ' εὐρέμα πᾶτο, τὰδ' ἀγροῖσιν ἀν' ὕλαν  
παίγνια, καὶ κωμοῦς τέσδε τελειότερους.

And again, he says, *Theſpis's* Plays were an Entertainment to the *κωμῆται*;

Θέσπις ἔδε τραγικὴν ὅς ἀνέπλασε πρῶτ' αἰοιδὴν,  
κωμηγαῖς νεαροῖς καινοπυμῶν χάριτας.

So that even *Theſpis's* Plays might at first, and for

for a little while, be call'd Comedies; which was a word already in use from the time of *Su-  
farion*. But when men understood the difference between the two Sorts, and a distinct Prize was appointed to *Thespis's*, it was natural to give each sort a particular Name taken from the several Prizes; and the one was called *τραγωδία* from the (u) Goat, the other *κωμωδία* from the (u) T<sup>ed</sup>-  
(x) Cask of Wine. The very likeness that is γ<sup>o</sup>.  
between the two words, is no small confirma- (x) T<sup>o</sup>ξ.  
tion, that this account of them may be true: But I only propose it as a Guess, to set against the Conjecture of the Author of the *Etymologicon*; and perhaps it might be accounted as probable as His, if it had not the disadvantage of coming so many Centuries after it.

Mr. B. having at last made an end of his Mistakes in this Article about *Tragedy*; I am very glad too to make an end of my Animadversions upon them. For I am sensible how long I have detain'd the Reader upon this Subject: though I hope both the Pleasure and the Importance of it, and the vast number of Faults that call'd upon me for Correction, will excuse the Prolixity. Which I will not encrease further, by a repetition of what has been said; for even a short Account of each, where the Variety of things touch'd on is so great, would amount to a long Story. I will only crave leave to say, That of the Three points, which the Learned Mr. B. undertook to make out, every one has been carried against him; and that the incident Mistakes, which he has run into, have not fail'd to increase in Number, proportionably as this Article of his exceeded in Length.

P. 165.

## XII.

HAD all other ways failed us of detecting this Impostor, yet his very Speech had betray'd him. For his Language is *Attic*, the beloved Dialect of the Sophists, in which all their *Μελέται*, or *Exercises* were compos'd; in which they affected to excell each other, even to Pedantry and Solœcism. But he had forgot that the Scene of these Epistles was not *Athens*, but *Sicily*, where the *Doric* tongue was generally spoken and written; as besides the testimonies of others, the very Thing speaks it self in the Remains of *Sicilian* Authors, *Sophron*, *Epicharmus*, *Stesichorus*, *Theocritus*, *Moschus*, and others. How comes it to pass then, that our Tyrant transacts every thing in *Attic*, not only foreign Affairs of State, but domestic Matters with *Sicilian* Friends, but the very Accounts of his Household? Pray, how came that Idiom to be the Court Language at *Agrigentum*? 'Tis very strange, that a Tyrant, and such a Tyrant as He, should so doat on the Dialect of a Democracy, which was so eminently *μισοτύραννος*, the *Hater of Tyrants*; which, in his very days, had driven out *Pisistratus*, though a generous and easie Governour:

nour : especially , since in those early times, before Stage-Poetry and Philosophy and History had made it famous over *Greece*, that *Dialect* was no more valued than any of the rest.

I would not be here mistaken ; as if I affirmed, that the *Doric* was absolutely universal, or original in *Sicily*. I know, that the old *Sicani*, the Natives of the Isle, had a peculiar Language of their own ; and that the *Greek* Tongue there, like the *Punic*, was only a Foreigner, being introduced by those Colonies that planted themselves there. Most of which coming from *Corinth*, *Crete*, *Rhodes*, &c. where all spoke the *Doric* *Dialect* ; thence it was that the same Idiom so commonly obtained almost all over *Sicily* ; as it appears to have done, to omit other testimonies, from the ancient Medals of that Island, ΤΑΥΡΟΜΕΝΙΤΑΝ, ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ, ΘΕΡΜΙΤΑΝ, ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΑΝ, ΑΙΤΥΒΑΙΤΑΝ, ΣΕΛΙΝΩΝΤΙΩΝ, &c. all which words , inscribed upon their Money, demonstrate the *Doric* *Dialect* to have been then the Language of those Cities. 'Tis true, there came some Colonies to *Sicily*, from *Eubœa*, and *Samos*, and other places ; which, in those Parts where they settled, might speak, for a while, the *Ionic* *Dialect* ; and afterwards,

being mixed with the *Dorians*, might make a new sort of Dialect, a compound of both: as \* *Thucydides* observes of *Himera*, that the Language of that City was at first a medly of *Doric* and *Chalcidic*. But that is no more than what happen'd even in *Greece* it self, where there were many † *ἰσοδιαίρεται τομυγαί*, local *Subdivisions* of every Dialect, one Country having always some singularity of Speech, not used by any other. But those little peculiarities do not hinder us from saying in general, that the *Sicilians* spoke *Doric*. For the other Dialects were swallowed up and extinguished by those two powerfull Cities of *Dorian* Original, *Syracuse*, and *Agrigentum*, that shared the whole Island between them. *Syracuse* was a *Corinthian* Colony, and spoke || the Dialect of her Mother City. *Agrigentum* was first built by the *Geloans* of *Sicily*, who had been themselves a Plantation of the *Cretans* and *Rhodians*, both of which were *Dorian* Nations. So that upon the whole, though in some other Towns, and for a time, there might be a few footsteps of the *Ionic* Dialect; yet our Sophist is inexcusable, in making a Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, a City of *Doric* Language and Original, write Epistles in such a Dialect, as if he had gone to School at *Athens*.

But

\* *Lib. vi.*  
P. 414.

† *Vetus*  
*Auctor*  
περὶ Δια-  
λέκτων.  
*Herod. i.*  
142.

|| *Theocrit.*  
*Id. xv.*



But some Apologies have been offer'd for his using the *Attic Dialect*; as first, *because Phalaris was born at Astypalæa, an Island of the Sporades, where was an Athenian Colony.* This is thought to be a good Account of his speaking in that Idiom. It were easie to overthrow this argument at once; by refuting our spurious Epistles, and by shewing, from much better Authority, that *Phalaris* was a *Sicilian* born. But I may speak perhaps of that by and by; and I'll have every Proof I bring stand by it self, without the support of another. Let us allow then, that *Phalaris* came from *Astypalæa*, an Island of the *Sporades*, mention'd by \* *Strabo* and † *Pliny*. 'Tis true, some of the Editors of *Phalaris* have discovered a new place of his birth, *Astypalæa*, a City of *Crete*, never mention'd before by any Geographer, situate in the 37<sup>th</sup>. deg. of Longit. bearing South and by North off of *Utopia*. And I am wholly of their opinion, that he was born in that, or in none of them. But because Tradition is rather for the Island, we will beg their good leave to suppose it to be so: and There, as it seems, was formerly a Plantation of *Athenians*; and *Phalaris* being one of their Posterity, must needs, for that reason, have a twang of their Dialect.

\* *Lib. x.*  
*p. 488.*  
 † *Lib. iv.*  
*cap. 12.*

lect. Now, what a pity 'tis, that *Phalaris* himself, or his Secretary, did not know of this Plantation, when he writ the *CXX* Letter to the *Athenians*, ὦ Ὀσφρότατοι γηγενεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι! What a fine Complement would he have made them upon that subject of their Kindred! If any one know an express testimony, that there was an *Athenian* Colony at that *Astypalæa*, he can teach me more than I now remember.

|| *Thucyd.*  
p. 10. Καὶ  
Ἰωνας μὲν  
Ἀθηναῖοι  
καὶ Νησιω-  
τῶν τὰς  
πολλὰς  
ᾤκισαν.  
*Isocrat. Pa-*  
*nathen.*  
*Plutarch.*  
*De exilio.*

This I know in general, from || *Thucydides* and others, that the *Athenians* sent Colonies to most of the Islands; and so That may come in among the rest. But what then? must the Language for ever afterwards be *Attic*, where-ever the *Athenians* once had footing? *Thucydides* says in the same passage, That they planted *Ionia*. They had Colonies at *Miletus*, at *Ephesus*, and most of the Maritim Towns of *Asia Minor*. Nay, the *Ionians* and the *Attics* were anciently one People, and the Language the same: and when *Homer* says,

\* *Strabo*, p.  
333, 392.

\* Ἐνθάδε Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰάονες——

by the latter he is known to mean the *Athenians*. And yet we see, that in process of time, the Colonies had a different Dialect from that of the Mother Nation. Why then must *Astypalæa* needs be *Attic*? and that so tenaciously, that twenty Years

Years living in *Sicily* could not at all alter it in one of her Islanders? He was part of that time a † Publican, or Collector of Taxes and Customs: Could not that perpetual negoci and converse with *Dorians* bring his mouth, by degrees, to speak a little broader? Would not He that || aim'd || *Ibid.* at Monarchy, and for that design studied to be popular, have quitted his old Dialect for that of the Place; and not by every word he spoke make the invidious discovery of his being a Stranger? But what if, after all, even the *Astypalæans* themselves should be found to speak *Doric*? If we make a conjecture from their Neighbourhood, and the company they are put in, we can scarce question but they were *Dorians*. \* *Strabo* says, the Island lies between *Cos*, and *Rhodes*, and *Crete*, με-<sup>488.</sup>ταξὺ τῷ Κῶ μάλιςα καὶ Ῥόδῳ καὶ Κρήτης. And that all these three used the *Doric* Dialect, is too well known to need any proof. But to answer this in one word; we have direct Evidence, that this *Astypalæa* was a *Dorian* Colony, and not an *Athenian*: for it was planted by the *Megarians*, as *Scymnus Chius* says expressly:

† Ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ᾧ κεῖμένη τῷ Κρητικῷ  
\* Ἀποικίος ἔστιν Ἀστυπάλαια Μεγαρέων,  
Νῆπος πελαγία. —

† *Scymn.*  
*Ch. v. 550.*

But

But let us hear the Second Apology for the Atticism of *Phalaris*. He is defended by the like practice of other Writers; who being *Dorians* born, repudiated their vernacular Idiom for that of the *Athenians*; as *Diodorus* of *Agyrium*, and *Empedocles* of *Agrigentum*. So that, though *Phalaris* be supposed to be a Native of *Sicily*, yet here is an excuse for him, for quitting the Language. But I conceive, with submission, that this Argument is built upon such Instances, as are quite different and aliene from the case of our Epistles.

The Case of *Empedocles* and *Diodorus*, the one a Poet and the other an Historian, is widely remote from that of our Tyrant: The former, being to write an Epic Poem, shou'd an excellent judgment in laying aside his Country Dialect for that of the *Ionians*; which *Homer* and his followers had used before him, and had given it, as it were, the dominion of all Heroic Poetry. For the *Doric* Idiom had not Grace and Majesty enough for the Subject he was engaged in; being proper indeed for Mimes, Comedies, and Pastorals, where Men of ordinary rank are represented; or for Epigrams, a Poem of a low vein; or for Lyrics, and the Chorus of Tragedy, upon the account of the *Doric* Music; but not

to be used in Heroic, without great disadvantage. And the Historian likewise, with the rest of that and other *Dorian Nations*, *Philistus*, *Timæus*, *Ephorus*, *Herodotus*, *Dionysius Halic.* &c. had great reason to decline the use of their vernacular Tongue, as improper for History; which besides the affectation of Eloquence, aims at Easiness and Perspicuity, and is designed for general use. But the *Doric* is coarse and rustic, and always clouded with an obscurity; ἐχέουσι πὶ ἐν ἀσαφῆς ἢ Δωριδῶν διαλέκτῃ, says || *Porphyry*; who attributes the decay of the *Pythagorean Sect* to their writing in that Dialect. And now, what affinity is there between *Phalaris's* case, and that of Historians, or Heroic Poets? What mighty motives can be here for assuming a foreign Dialect? The Letters are dated in the middle of *Sicily*, mostly directed to the next Towns, or to some of his own Domesticks, about private Affairs, or even the expenses of his Family, and never designed for the public view. If any will still excuse the Tyrant for Atticizing in those Circumstances, 'tis hard to deny them the Glory of being the faithfullest of his Vassals.

|| *Vita Pythag. p. 205.*

P. 34.

THE Examiner begins his Remarks upon this Article with a *point*, that he owns is *not very material*. He acknowledges there are *several Attic ways of Speech in the Letters*; but for all that they are not *properly Attic*. Which Cavil seems to be started here for no other design, but to bring in that cutting Jest, *That Dr. B. has abundance of pure Anglicisms in his Latin*; which when he or any body for him shall shew by instances, I'll then consider what to answer: but in the mean time it will pass for a Calumny. He adds, *That Homer mixes Atticisms in his Style, and yet no body will say he wrote Attic*. Which is very crudely said, and shews, Mr. B. had no true view of the Progress of Dialects. For if I should ask him what the *Attic Dialect* was in *Homer's* time, I might stay long enough before he could tell me. 'Tis well known, that the *Ionians* were *Athenian Colonies*; and at first the *Ionic* and *Attic* were one and the same Dialect. Now those Colonies were carried into *Asia* by *Neleus*, (a) but *CLXX* years before *Homer* was famous: and even *Homer* himself calls the *Athenians*, *Ἰαῖοι*, *Ionians*. If I should say then, that in *Homer's* time there was little or no difference between the *Attic* and *Ionic* Language, how could Mr. B. disprove it? For the difference we now see between *Homer* and the *Attic* Writers is no just measure in the case. Because *Homer* lived near (b) *ccc* years before the *Athenians* had any writer of their own. So that, as we may gather from the proportion of time, there was not near so great a change made in the Dialects, between *Neleus's* and *Homer's* time, as between *Homer's* and *Tyrtaeus's* or *Solon's*.

See here  
p. 314.

(a) *Marm.  
Arund.*

(b) *Marm.  
Arund.*

But

But he chastises me for saying, *That the Sophists affected to excell one another in writing Attic, even to Pedantry and Solæcism.* For he declares, *He is at a loss for the meaning of this, and to him 'tis an incomprehensible degree of Affectation.* What Mr. B. is at a loss for, or what he cannot comprehend, I now know his Reach too well to be very solicitous. He may say therefore, if he pleases, that *Lucian* too writ Nonsense, where he says, (c) *That one Socrates was wont to rallie, τὸς σολοικίζοντας Ἀπικῶς, those that affected* ATTIC SOLOECISMS. Here's the very same incomprehensible Expression, that I am reproved for by our great Master of Sense and Language. But for fear *Lucian* should have no better Quarter from him in his next Book, than I had in this last, I'll endeavour to clear this point to the Examiner, so that, if possible, he may apprehend us both. 'Tis known that *Philostratus* and *Ælian* have been ever thought the most Attic of all the Tribe of the Sophists. Now the great *Photius*, where he gives us a Character of *Philostratus's* Style; (d) *His Syntax*, says he, is so very odd, that no Writer's was ever like it; for it looks more like Solæcism, than any thing of Syntax. Neither does he this out of ignorance; but because some of the Ancients might speak so now and then, he does it every where with Affectation. And *Eustathius*, after he has given some instances of Solæcism in *Euripides* and *Sophocles*, (e) *But*, that some, says he, of the old and good Orators made Solæcisms on purpose to give a new turn and quaintness to their Style, appears plainly in the Writings of *Philostratus*. This, we see, was the Judgment of *Photius* and *Eustathius*, no despicable Authors: and by Mr. B's permission, I'll give

(c) *Lucian*  
Solæc. p.  
981.

(d) *Photius*  
p. 540.  
Ἀσυνταξίαις  
μᾶλλον  
ἰοικέναι  
ἢ συντάξε-  
ως ὅπῃν  
μετέχουσιν.  
(e) *Eustathius*  
ad *Iliad*.  
p. 179.  
Σολοικισ-  
τῶν ἢ ἑ-  
πινοήτων  
πρῶτον.

give an Example or two to justify their Censure.

(f) *Philost. Apol.* P. 155. Οἱ ὃ Ωρεῖται, (f) says *Philostatus*, χαλκαῖ μὲν αὐταῖς αἱ πέτραι. Here's a plain Solœcism; a Nominative Case without any Verb following it: another Writer would have said, Τοῖς ὃ Ωρεῖταις,

(g) P. 159. χαλκαῖ μὲν αἱ πέτραι. Again, says he, (g) Καὶ πρὸς πυρρίχαις αὐτοὶ ὄντες, αὐλῶν μὲν μετὰ πάντα ἦν. And

(h) P. 227. ἄγαν, (h) Τὸν λυωμένον μὲν, κοιμίζεσθαι αὐτῷ τὴν

(i) P. 325. λύπην ὑπὸ τῆς αὐλῆς. And again, (i) Δομεπανὸς ἐπιβελεύειν ἑαυτῷ φήσας, οἱ μὲν εἰς νήσους καθείχεσθαι.

All these are gross Solœcisms, *the last part of the Sentence not agreeing nor answering to the first*;

(k) *Suid. v.* (k) which is the proper definition of a Solœcism.

Σολοικ.

(l) *Cor.*

Περὶ Διαλεκτῶν.

(l) *Corinthus* too observes it, as a peculiar way of the *Attics*, to put Nominatives instead of Oblique Cases; and he instances in *Aristophanes* and *Philostatus*. I shall add to these a few Passages out of *Ælian*, the other great Pattern of

the *Attic* Style. (m) Οἱ ἴπποι, says he, τὰς κίπιας ἐλεφασίδας ἔφασαν αὐτὸς ἔχειν. (n) Ὅτι μὲν ἄρρενες καὶ πολεμικοὶ κήμηλοι, καὶ ἐκτέμνεσθαι αὐτὸς οἱ Βακτεριοί.

(o) *Ibid.*

iv, 55.

(o) *Var.*

*Hist.* ii, 41.

the *Attic* Style. (m) Οἱ ἴπποι, says he, τὰς κίπιας ἐλεφασίδας ἔφασαν αὐτὸς ἔχειν. (n) Ὅτι μὲν ἄρρενες καὶ πολεμικοὶ κήμηλοι, καὶ ἐκτέμνεσθαι αὐτὸς οἱ Βακτεριοί. (o) Λακώδης ὃ καὶ Τίμων οἱ φιλόσοφοι, καὶ τέτρες πτεῖν πύμπολύφασπ.

If these Examples be not sufficient to give Mr. B. some clearer apprehension, what it is to solœcize in the *Attic* way, it's to no purpose to add more; but he must still continue at a loss for the meaning of this deep Reflecti-  
ON.

P. 35.

(p) *Neque cum Siculis*

*Scriptori-*

*bus placu-*

*erit semper*

*Dialectus*

*Dorica, A-*

*grigentino-*

*rum Ty-*

*rannus ali-*

*â ut deb-*

Well; he recovers himself out of this deep Puzzle, and now he comes to my Argument, which, says he, I will make free to call a silly one, because it is my Own, and mention'd by Me in My Preface to Phalaris. Indeed, as this Argument lies in His Preface, (p) being barely hint-  
ed there, and neither back'd with any proof, nor guarded from any Exceptions, and usher'd in  
with



with a false Proposition, *That the Sicilian Writers* .ALWAYS used the *Doric Dialect* ; he shall have my consent to call it as *silly* as he pleases. But with humble Submission, as the Argument is manag'd in My Dissertation, Mr. B. will find it much easier to *call* it so, than to prove it.

(I.) His first *good Reason*, why his *Sicilian Prince was not obliged to speak Doric*; is, because *he was no Native of Sicily*. Which we are sure of, says he, *if the Credit of the Letters stand good* ; and though Dr. B. pretends that he can refute this from better Authority ; yet he has not throughout his Dissertation said one Syllable to shake it ; nay, he says, *the Dr. contends without any manner of Proof or Reason, that Phalaris was a Sicilian born*. Now though I have as little reason as any body to be concern'd for this Gentleman's Reputation ; yet it really afflicts me to see him so pert and positive in a thing that's evidently false. For in the xvi Section of my Dissertation I had these very words ; *Lucian makes both Phalaris, and his Smith Perilaus to be born at Agrigentum ; but the Letters bring one of them from Astypalæa, and the other from Athens*. What can be more express, than that *Lucian* is here produced against the Letters, to shew *Phalaris* was born in *Sicily*. Yet Mr. B. avers above once, that I have not one Syllable, not any manner of Proof or Reason to shew he was a *Sicilian*. If I did not enter further into that Particular, 'twas because I then thought there was no need of it ; and by mentioning *Lucian* alone, I was as good as my promise, which was only this, *That I might speak perhaps of that by and by*. But since Mr. B. has come forth in such Fury to fight *Phalaris's Battles*

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cles for him; I shall now think it worth my while to produce other Authorities, and to shew him to his comfort, that neither all *threatned History*, nor all flattering Applauses, have the luck to live long.

That *Phalaris* was of *Agrigentum*, a *Sicilian* born, we have another positive Testimony of *Lu-*

(q) *Lucian*  
*Ver Hist.*

ii. p. 761.

Φάλαειν  
ἢ Ἀγε-  
ραντινον.

(r) *Polyan.*

ν Φάλαειν

Ἀγεραντι-  
τινον.

(s) *Suid.*

Φάλ. Α-

γεραντι-  
νον.

(t) *Oros. i.*

20. *Phala-*

*ris Siculus.*

(u) *Phot.*

Ep 207.

Τὸν Ἀγε-  
ραντινον

ἠγόρευεν.

\* *Cic. iv.*

*in Verr. m.*

*Lucian*, besides that cited before. (q) *The damn'd*, says he, *broke out of Hell, and were headed by Phalaris the AGRIGENTINE, and Busiris the Ægyptian, &c.* And so *Polyænus* calls him, (r) *Phalaris the AGRIGENTINE, a Publican.* And to

these we may add *Suidas*, who says, (s) *Phalaris the AGRIGENTINE was Tyrant over all Sicily.*

Which *Orosius* thus expresses, (t) *Phalaris the SICILIAN was Tyrant, &c.* And *Photius* styles him, (u) *Phalaris the AGRIGENTINE Tyrant.* Are

not all these Witnesses pretty open and express; and we have others yet, that make broad intima-

tion of it. *When Scipio*, \* says *Tully*, *restor'd Phalaris's Bull, which he found at Carthage, to the*

*Agrigentines; he desir'd them to consider, whe-*

*ther it was better for the Sicilians to be Slaves to their OWN Countrymen (Suis servire) or to be Sub-*

*jects to the Romans: when the same Bull was a Monument both of their OWN Cruelty (DOMESTICÆ*

*Crudelitatis) and of the Roman Clemency.* Now if *Phalaris* had been a Foreigner, this Speech of *Scipio's* had been very weak, and, like the Ar-

guments of *Mr. B.* might have been turn'd upon the Author. *Heraclides* tells us, (x) That when the *Agrigentines* got *Phalaris* into their power, they burnt his Mother also, and his Friends. Which implies he was not an Alien, but had relations in the Country; though the Letters pretend he was both a Stranger and an Orphan. This very

Book,

(z) *Heracl.*  
*in Polit.*

Τὴν μητέρα  
αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς  
συνεταίμους.

Book, as it seems, of *Heraclides*, is quoted by (y) *Cicero* for another Story about *Phalaris's* Mother: and if *Heraclides* had made *Phalaris* to be no Native of *Sicily*; we suppose sure that *Cicero*, who had read him, would never put that Speech into *Scipio's* Mouth. And what says our Examiner now to his *threatned History*? I am afraid, the Threats, are executed not only upon this Piece of History, but upon the whole Body of the Epistles. For since the Epistles give out *Phalaris* for an *Astypalean*, whom all the Historians that speak of his Lineage declare to be an *Agrigentine*, 'tis a shrewd token of an Imposture: at least it evidently proves thus much, That either none of them ever heard of *Phalaris's* Epistles, or none of them believed them genuine; either of which is sufficient to rout the Mock *Sicilian Prince*, and all them that take up Arms for him.

But Mr. B. is very angry, because I was *mer-ry* at a mistake of his, where he calls *Astypalæa*, a City of Crete; which I said, was a *Discovery*, that no Geographer had made before. He would ask me, he says, *seriously*, Do not the Epistles themselves PLAINLY suppose it? And do not You in the 58th Page EXPRESSLY own that they do so? Now I, in my turn, desire the favour of asking Mr. B. one of his own Questions, *Was it worth his while to forge this little Piece of History?* (the remainder of this Question to Me, *Only in order to contradict his BETTERS*, I leave for Mr. B's own use, and never will borrow't of him.) *And is the pleasure of inventing a circumstance* (again I leave him the words that follow, *Merely to be RUDE with*) *an equivalent to the shame of being told on't?* For in both these Particulars, he has too well imitated that Sophist, whom he

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has so ill defended. First, the Epistles are so far from PLAINLY *supposing*, that *Astypalæa* was in Crete, that they do not suppose it at all. All that is said there is no more than this, (z) *That Phalaris was born at, and banish'd from Astypalæa*: and that some time after, (a) *He invited his Wife to come to him from Crete to Agrigentum*. Now how does this suppose or imply, That *Astypalæa* was in Crete? Might not his Wife leave *Astypalæa*, where her Husband's Memory was odious, and retire into Crete? Is it necessary, that because She was in Crete after her Husband's Banishment, that *Astypalæa* too must be in Crete? *Themistocles* was born and lived and married at Athens; but after he was banish'd, his Wife and Children (b) were in *Epirus*: must Athens therefore be in *Epirus* too? A notable inference! and yet exactly the very same with Mr. B's, who, because *Phalaris's* Wife was in Crete, would make *Astypalæa* in Crete too, though no body ever heard on't there. In the second place he wrongs me; or rather Himself, when he says, I EXPRESSLY own, that the Epistles suppose it. For the very words he refers to, are these; *Which seems an intimation, that the Sophist believ'd Astypalæa to be a City in Crete*. Let the Candid Reader judge now, what an Adversary I have to deal with. Is a SEEMING intimation an equivalent Phrase in his Language, to EXPRESS owning? If so, I'll have no further controversie with him. I had reason to say, it was *seemingly* intimated; because I saw this was the only Authority to make an *Astypalæa* in Crete; an Error that no body could possibly have fallen into, had there been nothing *seeming* here, nothing like such an intimation.

But

(z) Ep. 4.  
 & 119.  
 (a) Ep. 69.

(b) Plut.  
 The n.

Section xv.

But why, says Mr. B. is not Astypalæa a City in Crete? what has the Dr. to oppose to it? Has he then a List of all the Hundred Cities there? If he has, 'tis a mightier Discovery in Geography, than that of Mine? And again he inculcates it, No Geographer has mention'd this City in Crete; no more have they several of the other Ninety Nine. Now whether shall we admire more, his Learning or his Reasoning? his Learning, that he knew that great Secret that, Crete was call'd *ἑκατόμητις*, because it had a Hundred Towns in't; or his Reasoning, that Astypalæa is a City of Crete, because I cannot refute it with a List of all the Hundred? By the same way of arguing he may affirm, when the humour takes him, that Oxford too was a City of Crete; and what will the Dr. have to oppose to it? But the misfortune is, that the old Fatality of mistaking still pursues our Examiner: for what if I should give him a List of all the Hundred Cities of Crete? Then his Facetiousness and his assuming Air will sit but awkwardly upon him. And yet such a List is so very easie to come at, that above xx years ago (c) there was one printed to my hand, not only of a Hundred, but a Hundred and twenty Cretan Cities, with an account of the several Authors that mention every one of them. For there were a Hundred Cities there even in Homer's time, and several were founded after. Is not the Examiner now a great Judge of Discoveries in Geography? Have Geographers never spoken of several of the Ninety Nine? Methinks, as he says, he ought to have look'd about him, before he resolv'd to be Positive.

However, Mr. B. urges for his own Justification, that He was not the first, that made this (false)

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(c) See  
Meursius's  
CRETA.

P. 37.

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*Discovery, but mistook after great Names, Goltzius, and Fazellus.* If he thinks it a more venial fault to make a mistake at Second hand after others, than to produce one out of his own Store, he shall have the benefit of this Plea ; for I'll be as easie to him as he can desire. 'Tis enough for me, that the error is evident, and that Mr. B. slipt into it ; but whether he led or follow'd, it matters not at all. But he goes on again, and expostulates, *Will the Dr. discard all places, that occur but once in Ancient Authors?* and so he flourishes for a whole Page out of *Diodorus* and *Scylax*. But I have answer'd him already, that *Astypalæa* of Crete does NOT ONCE occur in Ancient Authors. 'Tis true, in some New Geographers we meet with it, such as *Nageorgus* in his Preface to *Phalaris*, *Boyle* in his Preface and Index ; who, by mistaking the Author that they publish'd, have banter'd the world with an enchanted City, that no body can see but they. I must speak *warily* therefore, as Mr. B. tells me, that it occurs in no Old Geographers : and that I think I may safely say.

A very worthy Person, having occasion to speak of *Phalaris*, had said, *He was born at Astypala an Island of the Cyclades.* Which in the former Edition of these Dissertations, I had gently corrected thus, *Astypalæa one of the Sporades.* Upon this Mr. B. resolves to *do right to that Learned Man, whom I take upon me*, he says, *to correct without the least ground or colour of Reason.* But Mr. B. had been better advised, to have staid till that Learned Man had ask'd his Assistance. I am sure, when that person is on the side of Truth, he needs no such Defender as Mr. B. and if he chances to be mistaken (as the most

Learned

P. 23.

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Learned may sometimes be) he is too candid and just to accept of such a Defender. As in the present Case, I dare say for him, he would be ashamed to make use of such poor shifts, as Mr. B. supplies him with. For Mr. B. maintains *Astypala* to be a legitimate word, because we read it *Ἀστυπάλη* in the present Copy of *Scylax*, one of the most corrupted Books in the world. But the very Adjectives form'd from the name of this City, *Ἀστυπάλαιος*, and *Ἀστυπάλαιότης*, shew plainly that the primitive name is *Ἀστυπάλαια*: so *Ἰστιαῖος* is from *Ἰστία*; *Διλαῖος* from *Δίλαια*, *Ποπδαῖος* and *Ποπδαίτης* from *Ποπίδαια*. But neither *Ἀστυπάλαιος* nor *Ἀστυπάλαιότης* can by any Analogy be form'd from *Ἀστυπάλη*. We must correct *Scylax* then by other Authors; and not think to maintain and propagate one fault by another. Well, Mr. B. goes on to confute me, for saying, *The Astypalæa in Phalaris seem'd to be the Island of the Sporades, rather than the Cyclades* My reason was, because *Stephanus*, besides that of the *Cyclades*, names another (d) Situate between Rhodes and Crete: which nearness to Crete, whither (e) *Phalaris's* Wife and Son are supposed to have fled, makes it probable, that That was the Island mention'd in the Epistles. Now Mr. B. would overthrow This two several ways: First, the Nearness, he says, of this *Astypalæa* to *Crete*, is no argument at all, but rather the contrary. For those that fly are usually glad to get as Far as they can out of the reach of their Pursuers. Wonderfull Aphorism, and taken from the justest view of human Nature! I should have thought now; that they are usually glad, to get as soon as they can out of reach. But hereafter, if a Merchant man be chased by a Privateer, she must not make to the

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(d) *Steph.*v. *Ἀστυπ.*(e) *Ep.* 69.

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(f) Num-  
bers: c. 35.  
v. 14.

B. 39.

*next* safe Harbour; but according to Mr. B's Conduct, bear away for the *remotest*. Mr. B. has been so kind, as several times to bid me study the Holy Scripture; I crave leave therefore, to propose one Text to him, and desire his Comment upon it: (f) God commanded the *Israelites* to build three Cities of Refuge beyond *Jordan*, and Three in the Land of *Canaan*. Did not the Persons therefore, that fled for Manslaughter, strive to reach the *next* City of Refuge? or did they usually cross the River *Jordan*, and take their course to the City *farthest* from home; that the Pursuer might have time and space to overtake them? If Mr. B. can make out this latter to be the true Interpretation; he may then persuade us, that it was very absurd in *Phalaris's* Wife, to steer towards *Crete*, the nearest place of safety; and that she ought to have got as far off as she could, towards *Carthage* or *Hercules's* Pillars; no matter whether the Season was contrary, or the Vessel old and leaky, or not victuall'd for so long a Voyage. But secondly, says he, *This Flight of hers, is a mere Fiction, and there's no such thing supposed, or in the least intimated in the Epistles*. These are very hard Expressions; but we are used to have such from Mr. B. when his Arguments are soft enough. *Phalaris* fled from *Astypalæa*, and left his Family behind him; this is plain from the Epistles. And the next news we hear of his Wife is, that she was in *Crete*. Now if *Astypalæa* was not in *Crete*, which I have clearly shew'd already; then her flight from *Astypalæa* to *Crete* is both *supposed* and *intimated*. But indeed, if with some *new* Geographers one can spy out an *Astypalæa* in *Crete*, invisible to all the Ancients; then he is well quali-



qualified to believe on Mr. B's side, that no flight is supposed. The Examiner closes this first part with a sorry, but yet a very spitefull Quibble about the word *Gratuitously*; which is a privileged Slander, and cannot with good Manners be answer'd in the manner it deserves. And to speak freely, I can scarce resent it from Mr. B. because I cannot believe it's his own; I impute it rather to some under-jobbing Assistant, of a low sordid Spirit, which this Calumny is a Picture of, than to a Gentleman that challenges the Title of Honourable.

Before we leave the Examiner's first Argument, let us see a little what he drives at in all this bustle about *Phalaris's* Country. Why, to convince us, that *his Prince* was not oblig'd to write Doric, he would shew that he was no Native of *Sicily*. Grant this, and let him be born where the Examiner would have him, at *Astypalæa* in *Crete*. Now we are as sure, that the Island of *Crete* spoke *Doric*, as that *Sicily* it self did. And is not Mr. B. then a Man of quick Thought and Foresight, to bring an Argument which ends just where it first set out, without advancing one Inch? Nay, if *Phalaris* was born in the *Island Astypalæa*; I had shewn it to be highly probable, that *Doric* was the Mother-Tongue there; and not a word has been yet said to disprove me. But he may now see a direct Testimony of it, which I have added out of *Scymnus Chius*. So that upon every Supposition his Argument is vain and idle.

II. But we are come at last to the second Point; for *supposing*, that *Phalaris* was a *Sicilian* born; yet Mr. B. will give *good reasons*, why he should not use the *Doric Dialect*. If the  
Reader

Reader pleases to run over what I had said in my Dissertation upon this Head; he will see, that I my self had given several Examples of Authors, who being Natives of Sicily or other *Dorian* Countries, had writ Books in another Dialect, as *Diodorus, Empedocles, Philistus, Timæus, Ephorus, Herodotus, Dionysius Hal. &c.* But I had shewn the case of *Phalaris* to be quite different from theirs; and the Difference turn'd upon these points, That *Phalaris's* Writings are private Letters, to his Domestic Servants, about Family Affairs, never design'd to be publish'd, and written at a time, when the *Attic* Dialect was not yet in fashion. These therefore are the Considerations, that Mr. B. should have spoken to, if he design'd to seek after Truth, and not merely to raise a Dust. But instead of answering to the Purpose, his main Performance here is to fill up my *&c.* and to add more Names of such Authors, as departed from the Dialect of their Country. A very easie piece of work, but quite besides the Question: and yet it's no little matter of comparison, to see how forrily he acquits himself, even where to acquit himself well had been a vain and useles Labour.

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*Agathyrſides*, says Mr. B. the Historian of Samos, had he follow'd the Dialect of his Country, would have written in Doric. Thus it is in his First Edition; for at that time in his great Learning, he thought the *Samians* spoke Doric. But in the next he corrected it *Ionic*; which I mention for his Commendation, and as an instance of his Improvement. But 'tis a pity he could go no further; for if I had the honour to have been in his Assistant's place, I could have told him, that there was no such man, as *Agathyrſides*

*Agathyrfides* an Historian of *Samos*. Mr. B. will say, he is quoted by (g) *Stobæus*, *Agathyrfidæ* (g) *Serm. Samii in IV rerum Persicarum*. So indeed it was in the Copy that *Gesner* made use of: but the true reading is *Agatharchides*, as appears by *Plutarch*, (h) who relates the same Story word for word from Ἀγαθᾶρχιδῆος Σάμου ἐν δευτέρᾳ τῆς Περσικῆς. Neither can it be said, that the error may lie in *Plutarch's* Copies, and not in *Stobæus*; for the same Author is cited twice in *Plutarch's* Book *About Rivers*; but *Agathyrfides* is never once heard of, but in this corrupted place of *Stobæus*.

Another of Mr. B's Writers that departed from their Country Dialect, is *Andronicus Rhodius* in his *Paraphrase of Aristotle's Ethics*: but he should have remember'd, that the old MS. it self has no name of any Author; for *Dan. Heinsius* the first Editor of it, informs us, that *Andronicus's* name was prefix'd to it by a Modern and a very Unlearned Hand. Mr. B. adds, *That we may know, Epimenides did not write in the Cretic Dialect, from the short Citation out of him in St. Paul,*

Κρήτες αἰεὶ θεοῦσι, καὶ δὲ θεοῖα, γαστέρας ἀεθαί.

For the Cretans are said to use αἰεὶ instead of αἰεῖ. That this Poem of *Epimenides* was not in Cretic, I readily own. But the proof that Mr. B. brings of it does not seem to be good. For the Cretans might use both αἰεὶ and αἰεῖ too. As in a Letter of this very *Epimenides* written in the Cretic Idiom, extant in (i) *Laertius*, we read, Εἶχε τὸν ἀεθᾶν AEI. And in a Cretic Inscription among the *Marmora Oxon.* (k) Οἱ ΤΟΚ ΑΕΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΝΤΕΣ, that is, οἱ τὸκ' αἰεῖ. Mr. B. therefore, had he known of it, should rather have cited this following Fragment of *Epimenides*, (l),

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(i) *Laert.**Epimen*(k) *Marm.**Oxon p.*

116.

(l) *Ælian**H An xii.*

7. Τὰ Επμ.

μειδῶ εἰ-

Καὶ πᾶ.

Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ γένε' εἰμὶ Σελήνης ἠὲ κόμοιο,  
 'Ἡ δεινὸν φείξασ' ἀπεσίπατο θῆρα λέοντα,  
 'Ἐς Νεμεαίαν ἄγασ' αὐτὸν διὰ πότνιαν Ἥραν.

For this Passage plainly proves what Mr. B. aims at, that *Epimenides's* Poems were not *Cretic* but *Ionic*. 'Ἐς Νεμεαίαν is a Correction of the Learned *Gesner's*; for the Vulgar Reading is 'Ἐννεμεαίαν: perhaps it might be mended without varying a Letter. 'Ἐν Νεμέῃ ἀνάγασ' —

P. 41. Mr. B. goes on, and tells us, *That Alcæus, Sappho, and Simonides were born in places where the Ionic was spoken, and yet wrote their Lyric Poems in Æolic or Doric.* 'Tis true indeed, that *Simonides* was born at *Ceos*, (m) *Whose Inhabitants were Ionians, being an Athenian Colony*, as *Herodotus* tells us; for the *Athenians* themselves were anciently *Ionians*. Mr. B. therefore has the luck to be right in one of the three. But for the other two, *Alcæus* and *Sappho*, how scandalously is he mistaken! I protest I am ashamed even to refute such miserable trash; though Mr. B. was not ashamed to write it, nay to value himself upon't. What part is it that I must teach him? That *Alcæus* and *Sappho* were Natives of *Lesbos*? but 'tis almost incredible he should be ignorant of that. Or that the Language of *Lesbos* was *Æolic*? Yes, there his wonderfull Learning was at a loss, and he believ'd it was *Ionic*. But his *Scylax*, that he lately vapour'd with (if instead

(m) *Scylax*  
 p. 34. Νῆ-  
 σ' Ἀιο-  
 λὶς Λέ-  
 σ'.

(o) *Steph.*  
 ὡς Ἀἰολ.  
 (p) *Herod.*  
 l. c. 151.

of a wrong word *Ἀσυπάλῃ*, he had learnt any good out of him) might have taught him a better Lesson; *Lesbos*, (n) says *Scylax*, an *ÆOLIAN* Island. The *Inhabitants* of *Lesbos*, (o) says *Stephanus*, are call'd *ÆOLIANS*. Five *Æolian* Cities, (p) says *Herodotus*, are in the Island of *Lesbos*. Nay it was the *Metropolis*, as it were, of all

all the *Aeolian* Cities, as *Strabo* says expressly, (q)  $\Sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\acute{\nu}\ \delta\epsilon\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\eta\tau\epsilon\acute{\rho}\ \pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma\ \eta\ \Lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\beta\Theta\ \acute{\upsilon}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \text{A}\iota\omicron\lambda\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omega\nu.$  But there's a Passage in (r) *Aeolian* and *Suidas*, that may seem to countenance our Examiner's mistake; for in reckoning up the *Ionian* Cities, they have  $\text{Π}\epsilon\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\eta,\ \Lambda\epsilon\sigma\beta\omicron\varsigma,\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma.$  Tho' the misfortune is, that for  $\Lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\beta\Theta$  we must read it there  $\Lambda\epsilon\beta\epsilon\Delta\omicron\varsigma,$  as it's plain from *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, and others. I had corrected this, when I knew not that any other had done it. But it was well for me, that before I printed it, I lit on *Meursius's Fortuna Attica*, where I found the same correction. For if Mr. B. had met with the same Passage; when he next appears in Print, I had been branded for a Plagiary. And yet I do not believe *Meursius* was a Plagiary; though I find, that long before his time this very same Emendation, and by the same Proofs, was made by *Brodans* in his Notes upon (s) *Anthol. Epigram.* For a Man would have very hard measure, if because another, whom he knew not of, had lit upon the same thought, he must be traduced as a Plagiary: Though it appear from the rest of his Performances (which are certainly New and his Own) that he was very able to do That too without stealing from others. And this alone will be a sufficient Answer to that Calumny of Mr. B's, which by and by we shall come to.

The Examiner, in the depth of his Reading, goes from Writers to *Coins*, that have been struck in *Dorian Countries*, and yet the *Inscription of them not pure Doric*. Among others he tells us, of  $\text{Ξ}\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\varsigma\ \iota\epsilon\epsilon\acute{\nu}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\Theta,$  a *Cretan Money*. This was borrow'd from *Monsieur Harduin's* very excellent *Book Of the Coins of Cities and People*: but I find other Persons, as well as my self,

(q) *Strabo*  
P. 616.  
(r) *Æl.*  
*Var. Hist.*  
viii, 5.  
*Suid.* v.  
*Ionia.*

(s) *Lib. iv.*  
*cap. 715*  
*Næss.*

Hardu-  
in, Num.  
illustr. p.  
261.

self, have but ill usage from Mr. B. when he borrows any thing of them. For there is no such Cretan Money; neither does *Harduin* give the least intimation of it. There's an Inscription indeed, but no Money, that has  $\text{Ευσείρηξ ιερεῖ ἀγῶν}$ ; and 'tis extant in *Gruter*, p. 1094. belonging to *Lyttus* a City of Crete. And 'tis with equal faithfulness and diligence, what Mr. B. presently adds, *That in some other Inscriptions it is Ευσείρηξ*. This is the Reverse of the former Blunder: for his Author *Harduin* here says Money, and not *Inscription*; and he says  $\text{Κεντάρηξ}$ , not  $\text{Ευσείρηξ}$ : which last word in the *Doric* Termination, Mr. B. will not find either in *Inscription* or Money. I will leave the credit of this Citation to be divided between Mr. B. and his Assistant: for it's a plain case that one or both of them have an excellent hand at transcribing of Authors. But besides this, Mr. B. mentions  $\text{ΥΕΑΗ}$  the *Inscription of a Coin*, belonging to *Velia*, a Town in *Magna Græcia*: which *Velia* he supposes, in his great Learning, to have been a *Dorian* Colony; but *Herodotus* and *Strabo* will tell him, that it was an *Ionic*; and the Planters were the *Phocæans*, who were driven out of *Asia* by *Harpagus*.

P. 44.

*But the most remarkable instance of all*, says Mr. B. *is that of Zaleucus, King of the Locrians, a Doric Colony, the Preface to whose Laws is preserved in Stobæus and Diodorus, and has plainly nothing of the Doric Dialect in it.* And again a little after, *I will add*, says he, *Zaleucus too, who we are sure was a Pythagorean, from very good Authority.* And I am sure too, that this is a remarkable instance, though not the most of all, of Mr. B's great Abilities in all parts of Learn-

P. 53.

Learning. For he has turn'd the Commonwealth of the *Locrians* into a Monarchy; and of a poor Shepherd and Slave, as *Zaleucus* is said to have been, he has made a KING. These are no ordinary Performances; and they shew the Gentleman has well improv'd himself in *Phalaris's* Service. But why forsooth must *Zaleucus* be a King? Merely, because Mr. B. had heard he was a Law-giver. And if it chance to lie in his way, he will make *Draco* and *Solon* Kings of *Athens* by the very same Argument: though (t) *Aristotle* informs us, that the best and most of the Law-makers were Men of the middle Rank. But to pass over this scandalous mistake, I have a matter of greater consequence to debate with him; for I am persuaded (notwithstanding Mr. B's very good Authority) that *Zaleucus* was no *Pythagorean*; and that the System of Laws ascribed to him, and produc'd by *Diodorus* and others, may be as mere an Imposture, as *Phalaris's* Epistles.

The Title of that Book, as *Stobæus* and others quote it, was *ZALEUCUS's* Laws: but we have good reason to suspect, that there was no such Person as *Zaleucus* a Law-giver; and if this be true, the Cheat is apparent. *Timæus* the *Sicilian*, a man of a virulent Style, but an inquisitive and accurate Writer, expressly maintain'd, against the common Tradition of his Time, That there was no such man as *Zaleucus*. *Cicero* in a (u) Letter to *Atticus*, among other vulgar Errors takes notice of this: *Who has not said, says he, that Zaleucus was Law-giver to the Locrians? Must Theophrastus therefore be despised, if that Story be refuted by Timæus, an Author you are much versed in?* And again, in his

(t) *Arist.**Polit. iv,*

11. Τῶν

μέσων πο-

λιτῶν.

(u) *Lib. vi.**Ep. i. A**Timæo tuo**Familiari.*

(x) *De Legibus* ii, 6. his Book of Laws; (x) Before I give you the Law it self, says he, I will preface something in its Commendation, as I see Zaleucus and Charondas have done. To which his Brother Quintus replies, That Timæus denied, there was any such Person as Zaleucus. But Theophrastus, says Cicero again, (an Author, as I think, no worse than Timæus, as many think, a better) affirms there was such a man; and the Locrians my Clients, have still a Tradition of it: but whether there was such a man or no, it's nothing to this matter. Here we see the Orator, in Complement as it seems to his Locrian Clients, speaks in favour of the Vulgar Tradition: but in his private Letter to Atticus, he gives it up as a Fable, and joins it with that notorious Error about Eupolis's being drown'd Olymp. xci, 2. which, he says, Eratosthenes refuted, shewing several Comedies that Eupolis made and exhibited after that year. As for Cicero's Locrians, who, he says, still preserv'd the Tradition about Zaleucus; we may oppose to them some Locrians in Timæus's time, who lived above cc years before Cicero. For Timæus in that very (y) place of his History, where he reprehended Aristotle and Theophrastus for their Narratives about the Locrians, said, he conversed with one Echebrates, a Locrian of Note and Quality, and had his Informations from him about the Affairs of that City. If Echebrates therefore in that Age did not believe, there was any Zaleucus; he's certainly as credible, as Cicero's Locrians, who come so many Generations afterwards, after so many Revolutions and Changes in the Constitution of their Government. 'Tis true, Polybius falls very foul upon Timæus for abusing Aristotle and Theophrastus, and charges

(y) See Excerpta ex Polyb. p. 45, &c.



charges him with some fallhoods relating to the *Locrians*: but there's nothing now extant, implying, that *Polybius* defended *Theophrastus* against him, in this particular of *Zaleucus*. There's a Passage indeed in the \* *Excerpta* of *Polybius*, where a Law of *Zaleucus* is mention'd: but the word  $\Phi\eta\sigma\iota$  there intimates that he gives it not as his own Narrative, but repeats the words of some-body else. But however let that be as it will; *Whether there was such a man or no*, as *Cicero* says, I will not contend: but I think so much may be safely concluded from it; That either this Book of *ZALEUCUS'S LAWS* was not yet made in *Timæus's* time; or else he condemn'd it for an Imposture; nay, not he only, but *Echecrates* a Citizen of *Locri*, and therefore a very competent Judge about a Story of that Country.

But I rather think the Book was made after the days of *Timæus*: for I observe that those that speak of *Zaleucus* before, and at that time, make him a poor Shepherd, and much older than *Pythagoras*: but after that time, they commonly describe him as a (y) Man of Quality, and a Scholar of that Philosopher's. Now this new Account of him was in all probability gather'd from some Passages in that *System of Laws* ascribed to him: for where else could they meet with it? So that if I can shew from the oldest and best Writers, that he was more ancient than *Pythagoras*; this new and false Story in the later Authors, being taken from that System, will convict it of a Cheat.

The account that *Aristotle* gave of him is this, (z) *That when the Locrians had consulted the Oracle, how they might be rid of their Seditious, they were bid to make themselves Laws.* Upon this,

(y) *Diod. Sic. p. 84*  
*Ευγενής.*

(z) *Pind. Schol ad*  
*x Olymp.*  
 $\Phi\eta\sigma\iota\upsilon\ \text{Αε}\iota\text{-}$   
 $\sigma\omicron\tau\epsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma.$   
*&c.*

a certain Shepherd, named Zaleucus, told them, That He could furnish them with very good Laws. And being ask'd, Whence He could have them? he said, Minerva appear'd to him in a Dream, and would give him them. Whereupon they gave him his Freedom (for he was then a Slave) and so he became their Law-giver. And agreeably to this, Suidas tells

(a) Suid. v.  
Zάλ. ἦν  
ἢ ἀπὸ τε-  
ῶν δ' ἑλός  
τε κ' ἰσο-  
μύ.

us, (a) That at first he was a Slave, and a Shepherd. Either of which Circumstances are sufficient Proofs, that he was no Pythagorean: for if he was another man's Slave, and oblig'd to look after Sheep at Locri; how could he have either time or leave to be at Crotona with Pythagoras near a hundred Mile from home? and especially to continue there the v Years of Silence, according to the Discipline of the School? Besides, a Slave would not have been admitted into that Society, had he had never such opportunities.

And we have another Argument from the same Passage of Aristotle, that Zaleucus was no Scholar of Pythagoras. For he ascribed all his Laws to Minerva, from whom he pretended to receive them in Dreams. This Aristotle has told us, as he is cited by the Scholiast on Pindar. And that we may not question the Scholiast's Authority, the great (b) Clemens Alex. assures us, that both

(b) Clem.  
Strom. i. p.  
152.

(c) Plu-  
tarch. Περὶ  
τῶν ἐπι-  
την, &c.  
Idem in  
Numa. Val-  
ter. Max.  
1. 2. Theo-  
doret ad  
Grac. Serm.  
ix.

Aristotle and his Scholar Chamaleo say, That Zaleucus gave it out, that he had his Laws from Minerva. Plutarch too falls in with this account, where he tells us, (c) That Zaleucus said, Minerva used to appear to him, and give him Laws, which were all entirely Hers, and no part of them his Own. Now I humbly conceive, that this Project of Zaleucus's has nothing of a Pythagorean in it. For Pythagoras's Scholars ascribed every thing to their Master; it was always *ἄντις*

ἔφα with them, HE SAID IT: and the greatest Oath was to swear by Him,

Οὐ μὰ τὴν ἀμείβεσθαι ψυχᾷ ὀρκίζοντα πετρακτύν.

If Zaleucus therefore had been of that Society, he would certainly have honour'd his Master by imputing his Laws to his Instructions: but being a poor illiterate Shepherd, and of no Authority with the people, he very craftily acquired it, by taking nothing upon Himself, but laying all to *Minerva*.

Again, *Strabo*, informs us, (d) That the Locrians were generally believ'd to be the First that used WRITTEN Laws: and that Zaleucus took them, as *Ephorus the Historian* says, from the Cretic, and the Laconic, and the Areopagetic (e) Customs. And so *Scymnus Chius*, speaking of these Locrians, says, They were the First that had WRITTEN Laws, which were supposed to be made by Zaleucus;

(f) Τέτις ὃ πρᾶτος φασὶ χεῖρασαι νόμοις

Γεραπλοῖσιν, ἐνὸς Ζαλευκος ἱπποδρόμου δουρῆ.

(g) *Clemens Alexand.* forgot himself perhaps, when he said, That Zaleucus the Locrian was the first that made Laws; for he ought to have said, made WRITTEN Laws, as *Ephorus* and *Strabo* said before him. But if Zaleucus's written Laws were the most ancient, 'tis most certain he could not be a *Pythagorean*. For *Draco's* Laws were (h) Written ones at *Athens*; and He lived about Olymp. xxxix, as *Tatian*, *Clemens*, and *Eusebius* expressly say; or as (i) *Diodorus* in one of his lost Books, He was XLVII years before *Solon*: which being reckon'd from *Solon's* Archonship, Olymp. XLVI, 3. will fall upon Olymp. xxxv, 1. If Zaleucus then was before *Draco*, he must be longer before *Pythagoras*, who by the very earliest ac-

(d) *Strabo*

p. 259.

Νόμοις

ἠγγελά-  
σθαι.

(e) *Νομί-*

μων, i. e.

ἀγγελῶων.

(f) *Scym-*  
*nus*, v 313.

(g) *Clem.*

*Strom.* i. p.

133.

(h) *Joseph.*

c. *Appion* i.

p. 2.

Γερα-  
φέντας νό-

μους.

(i) *Ulpian*

in *Demost.*

*Timocr* p.

480; Ὁ δὲ

Δεφκαῶν

πρὸς Σό-

λων ὅτι ἐ-

πιθὸν ἐπι-

σάραλλον τα

ἔτεσον, ὡς

ἔστιν ὁ Δι-

ὀδοῦσ.

count was not born, till Olymp. XLIII, 4.

All this is further confirmed by *Eusebius*, who places *Zaleucus* the celebrated Law-giver of the Locrians, at Olymp. XXIX; which is XL years before *Draco*, and about LX before *Pythagoras* was born. *Aristotle* indeed reprehends their ignorance,

(k) *Arist.* (k) who would make *Onomacritus* to have been the First that was skill'd in Law-making; and that *Thales* was his Acquaintance; whose Scholars were *Lycurgus* and *ZALEUCUS*, and *Zaleucus's* Scholar was *Charondas*: for they talk, says he, inconsistently with Chronology. The *Thales*, that is meant here, was not the *Milesian*; but the ancient *Cretan*, who is \* generally assigned as a Master to *Lycurgus*. So that *Aristotle* seems to find fault, that they made *Zaleucus* too a Scholar of that *Thales*. For at that rate he must have lived † CVIII years before the First Olympiad; i. e. cc years, before *Locri* was built, || Ol. XXIV. How then could he be a *Locrian*, and a Lawgiver there? This is the Ignorance of Chronology, which the Philosopher censures here: but however it's no inconsiderable Argument, that *Zaleucus* was older than *Pythagoras*, who came above ccc years after *Lycurgus*.

(k) *Arist.*  
Polit ii,  
58. Ασκέ-  
σις ὅτι τινες  
πρὸς Χρόνον  
λέγοντες.

\* *Strabo* p.  
482. Sect.  
tus *Empir.*  
p. 68. La-  
ert in *Thal.*  
† *Clemens*,  
*Plutarch.*  
C<sup>c</sup>  
|| *Euseb.*  
*Strabo.*

And we have yet a further Discovery of it from the Orator *Demosthenes*, who to persuade the *Athenians* not to change any Law upon small and frivolous Pretenses, gives the example of these *Locrians*, (l) With whom, says he, it's a Law, that a Man who shall propose to make any new Law, shall do it with a Rope about his Neck; which he shall be strangled in, if he do not carry his Point: which has been such a Guard and Defense to the Laws, that there has been but One New one made in MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED YEARS. Now that *Demosthenes* here speaks of *Zaleucus's* Laws,

(l) *Demost.*  
in *Linocr.*  
p 469. Ἐν  
ἀλλείσῳ ἢ  
διακρίσις  
ἢ τισιν.

Laws, is plain enough from his naming the *Locrions*; but it appears further from the Law it self. For (m) *Hierocles* and *Polybius's* Author say expressly, that this Law about the Rope was ZALEUCUS's; and it's produced by (n) *Stobæus*, as out of *Zaleucus's* own Preface to his Body of Laws. 'Tis not very clear indeed, what the Orator means here, whether it was more than cc years from the first Date of *Zaleucus's* Laws to the introducing of that One New Law; or whether from the first Date of them to the Orators own time, which he calls more than cc years, there was but one new Law made. The first Interpretation seems the more probable: but even the Latter will be a sufficient proof, that *Zaleucus* could not be *Pythagoras's* Scholar. For this Oration against *Timocrates* was spoken Olymp. cvi, 4. when *Theodemus* or *Eudemus* was Archon, as (o) *Dionysius Halic.* says in express words; and (p) *Plutarch* says it implicitly, when he tells us *Demosthenes* made it at the xxvii or xxviii year of his Age. For he was born (q) at Olymp. xcix, 4. and his xxviii year falls at Olymp. cvi, 4. Now to compute only Two hundred years backwards from this Olympiad, and it reaches to Olymp. lvi, 4. when *Pythagoras* by the very earliest reckoning had been but xiii years in *Italy*, and vii of those were spent in his Room under ground: and I suppose what *Demosthenes* calls MORE than cc years will amount above the remaining Five; nay, I may moderately say, above the whole xiii. But thus much I am sure may be safely concluded from it, that if *Zaleucus* was really *Pythagoras's* Disciple, the Learned Mr. *Dodwell's* Calculation must be wrong, which makes *Pythagoras* first set foot in *Italy* at Olymp.

(m) Hieroc.  
apud Stobæum,  
Sermon. 37.  
Polyb. xii.  
p. 661.  
(n) Stob.  
Sermon. 42.

(o) Dion.  
Hal. De Demost.  
(p) Plur.  
vita Demost.  
(q) Dionys.  
Ibid.

Olymp. LXVII, 2. for that Olympiad falls XLII years within *Demosthenes's* Two Hundred, without adding those years to the Account, which the Orator means by MORE. I make the reckoning from *Pythagoras's* going to *Italy*, because *Zaleucus* one of the *Locrians* of *Italy* could not be his Scholar till he came thither. For *Theodoret* was quite out, (q) when he thought the *Locrians*, whom *Zaleucus* gave Laws to, were those of *Greece* near *Acarmania* and *Phocis*.

(r) *Theod.*  
c. *Græc.*  
Serm. ix.

Take all these Arguments together, and I conceive their united Force will effectually refute Mr. B. who is sure that *Zaleucus* was a *Pythagorean*. But besides that, they will go a considerable way to refute the Book it self too, which pass'd abroad in the World under the Name of *Zaleucus*. For if any Intimation was given in that Book, that the Author was a *Pythagorean*; the Imposture of it is very evident. And yet it's hard to give any other Reason, that should induce the later Writers to call him a *Pythagorean*, as (f) *Diodorus* does expressly, Μαθητὴς Πυθαγόρου τῆς Φιλοσοφίας, *The Scholar of Pythagoras the Philosopher*; and so *Laertius*, *Porphyrus*, and *Jamblicus*; and *Seneca* thus flourishes upon it, (r) That *Zaleucus* and *Charondas* learnt their Laws in the silent and sacred Recess of *Pythagoras*. Thus we see the more Recent Authors with one voice make him a *Pythagorean*; and yet every one of the Old; that speak of him, make him earlier than that *Philosopher*; as *Ephorus*, *Demosthenes*, *Aristotle*, *Chamæleo*, *Theophrastus*, *Timæus*, the youngest of whom was about ccl Years before the eldest of the others. What can be the cause of this Difference? but that in the interval between these Old and those Later Writers, in the times of the

P. 53.

(f) *Diod.*  
Sic p. 84.

(r) *Sen. Ep.*  
50.

the

the *Ptolomees*, when the Forging of Books came to be a Fashion and a Trade, some Impostor made a System of Laws under the name of *Zaleucus*, and in it gave a broad Hint, that he was a Scholar of *Pythagoras*.

The Impostor had taken care to insert those Laws of *Zaleucus*, which he had met with in Ancient Writers, into his counterfeit System. As that Law, which *Demosthenes* mentions, *That he that proposed a new Law, should do it with a Halter about his Neck*, appears in the very Preface of the counterfeit Book, which (u) *Stobæus* has given us. And his Forgery met with good Entertainment, because the old Constitution of the City *Locri* was then alter'd, and was no longer in Being to discover the Cheat: which imposed therefore upon *Diodorus*, and others; and prevail'd upon *Cicero* himself so far, that he seems to stand Neuter, and pronounces on no side. For it appears there, that *Cicero* meant this very Preface, that *Stobæus* afterwards met with. \* *Before I give you the Law it self, says he, I'll preface something in commendation of it, as I see Zaleucus and Charondas have done.* And he gives a *Proæmium*, as he calls it, much to the same sense with those of *Zaleucus* and *Charondas* in *Stobæus*. But however this Impostor has not done every thing so artificially, but that even from the Fragments, that are still left of his Book, it may seem very questionable, if it was not supposititious.

I. *Demosthenes* has inform'd us, *That the New Law which alone was made at Locri in the compass of above cc years, was, That he that blinded a Man with one Eye should lose Both his own; for the Old Law of Zaleucus was Lex Talionis, an Eye for an Eye.* But *Diodorus* makes this to be one of the

Laws of *Charondas*, and tells the same Story about a *Man with one Eye at Thurii*, and that the Laws there which had continued the Same a long time, were never changed but upon This and Two other occasions. They are both very good Authors, and 'tis a very tender point to say whether of them we should follow. But with submission to better Judgments, I will lay down some Reasons, why I think *Demosthenes* is in the right here. He calls the City, where he says this Law was so long in force, Πόλις ΕΥΝΟΜΟΥΜΕΝΗ, (x) a well-governed City; and this is the very Character that is generally given of *Locri*: The Locrians, (y) says *Strabo*, were πλείστον χρόνον ΕΥΝΟΜΗΘΕΝΤΕΣ, for a long time under good Government. And *Pindar* puts this Compliment upon them,

(x) *Demosthenes*.  
c. *Timocr.* p. 468.

(y) *Strabo*.  
p. 259.

(z) *Pindar*.  
*Olymp.* x.

(z) Νέμει ὃ ἀτρέκεια πάλιν Λοκρῶν Ζεφυρίων —  
Where he means, says the Scholiast, ὅτι ΕΥΝΟΜΕΙΤΑΙ, That they have a good Government.

(a) *Plato*.  
*Leg.* 1. p. 17.

(b) *Idem*.  
*Timæo*.

(c) *Proclus*.  
*ad Tim.* p. 22.

And *Plato* tells us, (a) That the Locrians seem to have been εὐνομιώτατοι, the best governed People in all that Country: And again he says, (b) That *Timæus* was of *Locri*, εὐνομιώτατης πόλεως, the best regulated City in Italy: which (c) *Proclus* thus explains; That the Locrians εὐνομήνῳ were well govern'd, is evident: for their Law-maker was *Zaleucus*. But on the contrary, the *Thurians*, where *Diodorus* lays the Scene of this Story, were so far from being celebrated on this account; that they are censured for their Misgovernment. So *Ephorus* complains of them (d) in *Strabo*; and *Aristotle* in his (e) *Politics* brings them in twice as examples of ill management. *Demosthenes*'s Story therefore is more agreeable to This matter of Fact, than that of

(d) *Strabo*.  
p. 260.

(e) *Aristotle*.  
*Pol.* 2. 7.

*Diodorus*



*Diodorus* is. And again, *Demosthenes* says here, that the *Locrians* were under a happy Government above *cc Years*; as *Strabo* also says, (f) *(f) Strab.*  
 πλείστον χρόνον, a very long time: which is really *ibid.*

true in Fact, as appears by a Computation from the Date of *Zaleucus's Laws* to the time that *Dionysius* the Younger tyrannized there and ruin'd all at *Olymp. cvi, 1.* Now *Diodorus* too would magnify the continuance of *Charondas's Laws* at *Thurii*, when he says, ἐν παντί τῶ μάλιστα πάντα χροῖνω, (g) *In ALL the time after Charon-* (g) *Diod.*  
*das there were but three changes made in them.* p. 82.

But this account of a long continuance is not warranted by History; for it's certain from Himself and others, (h) That the City *Thurii* (h) *Diod.*  
 was but first built *Olymp. lxxxiv, 1.* or a little p. 75. *Plu-*  
 before: and the Government was quite subverted *rarch. Vi.*  
 within *lly* years, at *Olymp. xcvi. 3.* three parts *Lyfia, &c.*

in Four of the People being slain, (i) and the (i) *Diod.*  
 rest sold for Slaves by their Neighbors the *Lu-* p. 313.  
*canians.* Upon the whole then *Demosthenes's* *Strabo* p.  
 Account seems more agreeable to Truth. But <sup>263.</sup>

how happen'd it, That *Diodorus* should be so mistaken, and ascribe a Law to *Charondas*, which we see was *Zaleucus's*? Is there not just ground of suspicion, that *Diodorus* was impos'd on by that spurious Book of *Zaleucus's Laws*, where this Law was forgotten by the Impostor? If so, it will open a discovery of another Counterfeit: for we see the Law was omitted, where it ought to have been enter'd; and it was put among *Charondas's*, where it ought not to have been. That Copy therefore of *Charondas's Laws* must by this account be a Cheat too, and by the very same Hand. For as it seems the Impostor had read something about the Law, but was mistaken in fathering

fathering it upon a wrong Person. But of *Charondas's* Laws I shall say more anon. This must needs seem the most probable account of *Diodorus's* Error; if we believe he has truly told us what he found in those Books of Laws, and did not forget himself. But there's some reason to suspect, that he trusted to his Memory, and so might possibly mistake one Lawgiver for the other. For he tells us too, (k) That the Law concerning *the Halter* was one of *Charondas's*; which (l) *Stobæus* attributes to *Zaleucus*, and pretends to cite it in *Zaleucus's* own words out of his Preface. (m) *Hierocles* too and *Polybius's* Author ascribe it to *Zaleucus*; but They might have it at second Hand. So that all this Matter must lie between *Diodorus* and *Stobæus*. If *Diodorus* has quoted faithfully, *Zaleucus's* Book of Laws were a Cheat: if *Stobæus* was a faithful Transcriber, then this Argument fails against *Zaleucus's* Book; and falls upon *Diodorus* himself.

(k) *Diod.*  
p. 82.

(l) *Stob.*  
*Serm.* 42.

(m) *Hierocles*  
*apud.*  
*Stob.* 37.  
*Polyb.* p.  
661.

II. We have Two Words of those Laws of *Zaleucus* preserved in *Hesychius*; ΛΕΠΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΧΕΙΑΣ, says he, λεῦκ⊕ ἐν Νόμοις, τὰς δραχμὰς λεπτὰς μὲν τὰς ἐξωβόλους, παχείας ὃ τὰς πλέον ἐχέσας: That is, *The words λεπτὰς κὶ παχείας Thin and Thick in the Laws of Zaleucus are spoken of Drachms: the Thin Drachms weighing Six Oboli, and the Thick above Six.* In the printed *Hesychius* it's λεῦκ⊕; but *Salmasius*, *Gronovius*, and other Learned men have observed, and the Thing it self speaks, that the true Reading is Ζάλευκ⊕; for the preceding word ending in ΑΣ, the following ΖΑ was swallow'd up, as it frequently happens when Syllables are alike. Now I say, if *λεπτὰς κὶ παχείας, Thin and Thick Drachms*, were in the

the Laws of Zaleucus, as Hesychius assures us; that pretended Book of Laws must appear a meer Cheat. For Julius Pollux informs us, who they were that called those Drachms *παχέας*, Thick ones, and upon what occasion. (n) Τὴν Αἰγναίαν <sup>(n) Pollux.</sup> δραχμῶν, says he, μίζω τῆς Ἀθητικῆς ἕσταν (λέγε γὰρ ὀβολὸς ix, δ. Ἀθητικῆς ἰσχυρὸν) οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ΠΑΧΕΙΑΝ δραχμῶν ἐκέλευν, μίσει δὲ Αἰγινήτων Αἰγναίαν ὀνομάσαι μὴ θέλοντες, i. e. The Ægeian Drachm which was bigger than the Attick (for it weigh'd x Attic Oboli) was call'd by the Athenians ΠΑΧΕΙΑ the Thick Drachm; for they would not call it the Ægeian, out of Hatred to that People. The case is this; The Attic Drachm weigh'd six Attic Oboli; and so the Ægeian Drachm weigh'd six Ægeian Oboli: but the Ægeian Obolus was bigger than the Attic, in the proportion of x to vi; and so consequently the Ægeian Drachm, and the Summs made up of it, the Mine and Talent, exceeded the Attic Drachm, Mine and Talent in the same proportion. Now the Ægeian Drachm being often current at Athens (for Ægina is close by it) and in other places of Trade; the Athenians, who mortally hated the Ægeians, would not call that Money Ægeian, as the rest of the World did, but Thick; because it was thicker than their own, weighing almost twice as much. The whole History of this Enmity between the Athenians and Ægeians is given largely by (o) Herodotus. If ΠΑΧΕΙΑ then for an Ægeian <sup>(o) Herod.</sup> Drachm was a word peculiar to the Attics, and lib. v, & proceeded purely from the Hatred between the vi. two Nations; how comes the word in that sense to be found in Zaleucus's Laws? What had the Ægeians offended Him, who liv'd at Locri in Italy, remote enough from them and their Quarrels?

rels? Why did not He call it *Ægean*, as all the World did except the *Athenians*? Nay even among the *Athenians* themselves they seem to have been the Tradesmen and Rabble only, that call'd them Παχέας, and not the Men of Quality: as appears plainly from *Thucydides*, where we have ΑΙΓΙΝΑΙΟΣ ὀβολός, ΑΙΓΙΝΑΙΑ δ'ερχμῆ, ΑΙΓΙΝΑΙΟΝ τάλαντον; but never ΠΑΧΥΣ ὀβολός, nor ΠΑΧΕΙΑ δ'ερχμῆ. And would *Zaleucus* put a word in his Laws, which a grave Writer would not use in his History? But why must the *Ægean* Money be at all taken notice of by *Zaleucus*? What was the *Locrian* Commonwealth concern'd with the *Ægeans*? They were very far asunder, and the latter were poor and inconsiderable in the time of that Lawgiver, and consequently could have very little or no Traffick with his Ci-

(p) *Thucyd.* tizens. *Thucydides* tells us, (p) that before *Themistocles's* time neither the *Ægeans* nor *Athenians*

(q) *Herod.* were considerable at Sea; and *Herodotus* says, (q) ix, 79. That the beginning of the Wealth and Power of *Ægina* was the Plunder that was carried thither and sold, after *Xerxes's* Army was routed at *Platææ*. There was no reason then nor occasion to bring the *Ægean* Money into the body of his Laws; much less to speak of it under the Nick name of Παχέας; which the *Locrians* could not know the meaning of, till it were explain'd to them out of *Greece*. Nay, there's reason to suspect, that *Zaleucus's* true Laws were made before the Hatred began between the *Athenians* and *Ægeans*; and consequently before Παχέα δ'ερχμῆ was ever used in that sense. *Herodotus* relates the first original of that Hatred, which was about a couple of Statues: and the occasion of his mentioning it is this. About Olymp. LXXIX, the *The-*

*bans* desired the assistance of the *Ægineans* in a War against *Athens*; and the *Ægineans*, says he, (f) remembering the Quarrel about the *Statues*, were ready enough to enter into an alliance against the *Athenians*. Now from Olymp. LXIX to the time of *Zaleucus* Olymp. XXIX, there are no fewer than CLX years; and if the business of the Statues were as long ago as that, 'twas a very stale and cold Pretense to begin a new War upon. Surely if they had been at Enmity for eightscore Years, in all that tract of Time some Skirmishes or Pickerings would have happen'd between them; that might serve for a fresher Complaint and a greater Incentive to War, than an old Scuffle six Generations ago. 'Tis very probable therefore that *Zaleucus* had made his Laws, before the Quarrel began, which gave Rise to the Expression, Παχῆα δειχμῆ. Add to all this, that among the *Dorian Greeks* of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and consequently among the *Locrians*, there was no such sort of Money as δειχμῆ or ὀβολός; but their Species were quite different both in Value and Name, Οὐγκία, νῦμμῶ, λίτρα, as I'll shew further in Section XIV. And if this be made out, who will question but these pretended Laws must be spurious? For if the Name and Species of δειχμῆ was quite foreign to the *Locrians*; what had Δειπῆς ἢ πεχίας to do there? One might as well expect to find them in the XII Tables at *Rome*, as in the Laws at *Locri*. 'Tis most probable then, that some Sophist drew them up; and having been bred among the *Athenians*, he was senseless enough to put such words into the Mouth of *Zaleucus*, as he heard spoken at *Athens*: just as the Forger of *Phalaris's* Letters has made the Tyrant talk *Attic*, as if he had quite forgot he was a *Sicilian*. III.

III. *Diodorus* tells us, One of *Zaleucus's* Laws was, (f) *That no body should wear Cloths as fine as Milesian Cloths, if he was not a Catamite*; *μηδὲ ἰμάτιον ἼΣΟΜΙΑΗΣΙΟΝ φορεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ ἑταιρεύηται.* Now methinks it is very odly worded in a *Locrian Law*, to characterize the Cloths for mens Habits, by comparing them with the Manufacture of *Miletus* in *Asia* at so vast a distance from *Italy*. For considering the remoteness of the Places, and the smallness of Trade in those early times, it may justly be question'd, Whether the *Milesian Cloths*, though in *Greece* they were celebrated for their Fineness, were at all heard of at *Locri*; much less were so famous there, as to deserve to come into their Laws. And besides this, the word *ἰσομιλήσιον*, i. e. EQUAL to *Milesian Cloths*, never found that I know of but here, seems a very unfit Expression for a Law. For how many doubts and questions would arise about that *Equality*? and what a wide Door was open'd to Delators and Sycophants? If he had absolutely forbid the wearing of *Milesian Cloths*; the Law had been clear, and had amounted to a Prohibition of importing that Commodity. But as it is *ἰσομιλήσιον*, and not *Μιλήσιον*; it seems to be contrived on purpose for the encouragement of Barretors. Nay, though he had forbidden *Milesian Cloths* even that too had been very improper: for to what purpose should he declare by Law such Goods to be contraband, which even before that Prohibition were never imported? For the *Locrians* might have as fine or finer Cloths, and at a much lower rate from their next Neighbors, the *Apulians* and *Calabrians*, and particularly from *Tarentum*, than the *Milesians* could bring them. To be sure then, the

the *Milesians* would never carry Cloths with the Charge and Hazard of so long a Voyage, to a Market where others could both out-do them, and under-sell them. Such a Trade would have been as unprofitable, as to carry Silphium to *Cyrene*, or Frankincense to *Arabia*. The best Wool ( $\tau$ ) says *Pliny*, is the *Apulian*; and what in Italy ( $\tau$ ) *Plin.* is call'd the Wool of the Greek Cattle, but abroad <sup>viii, 48.</sup> is call'd *Italic*; in the third place comes the *Milesian*. By the *Greek Cattle*, *Pliny* means the *Tarentine*, as ( $\nu$ ) *Columella* explains it; *Græcum pecus, quod plerique Tarentinum vocant.* The finest Sheep, says the same ( $\kappa$ ) *Columella*, are the *Milesian*, the *Calabrian*, and *Apulian*; and among these the *Tarentine* are the best. And the *Tarentines* were as famous for the Effeminate-ness of their Habit, as the *Milesians* themselves. All the *Tarentines*, ( $\gamma$ ) says *Clearchus*, wore fine and transparent Cloaths, such as Women wear now a days. <sup>(\gamma) Athen. p. 522.</sup> Infomuch that a sort of thin Woman's Garment had its name from them, *Ταεαντινον*, ( $\alpha$ ) as we <sup>(\alpha) Id. p. 622.</sup> read in *Athenæus*: but in that place, a MS *Athenæus*, and the MS *Epitome* both of them in His Majesty's Library, have it *Ταεαντινον*, which may seem the better Reading: though ( $\alpha$ ) *Eustathius* seems to have found neither of them in his Copy, but *Ταεαντινιδον*. <sup>(\alpha) Eust. ad Dionys. v. 376.</sup> In all probability then had the true *Zaleucus* design'd to restrain the Luxury of Apparel, he would rather take notice of his next Neighbors, the *Tarentines*, whom all the *Locrians* knew, than of the *Milesians* whom few of them had so much as heard of; and instead of *Ἰσσυμιλήπον*, he would say *Ἰσσυταεαντινον*. But the counterfeit *Zaleucus*, being a *Græcian* Sophist, and knowing that the *Milesian* Cloths had the greatest Vogue in the *Greek* Markets,

was

was so discreet, as to forbid Them by name, in a Body of Laws, which he cut out for *Italy*.

IV. The pretended Preface of *Zaleucus*, which *Stobæus* has described word for word, begins with this Sentence ; *Every Member of a Commonwealth in the first place ought to believe, there are Gods, Ἀναβλέποντας εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς διακόσμησιν καὶ ΤΑΞΙΝ, which they will know, by looking up to Heaven and the World, and considering the Beauty and Order there.* Now I presume, I have proved already beyond all reasonable Exception, that *Zaleucus* lived some Generations before *Pythagoras*'s time : and if so, this Preface cannot possibly be His ; because *Pythagoras* was the First that used the word ΚΟΣΜΟΣ to signify the WORLD or the HEAVENS.

(b) *Laert.*  
*Pythag.*  
Τὸν ἕξ-  
τον πρῶ-  
τον ὀνομα-  
σαι Κόσ-  
μον.

(c) *Plut.*  
*Pl. Phil.*  
ii, 1.

(d) *Gal. p.*  
429.

(e) *Schol.*  
*ad Iliad. i.*  
u. 1.

(b) *Phavorinus* says, (they are the words of *Laertius*) That *Pythagoras* first named the Heavens ΚΟΣΜΟΣ. So *Plutarch* too *De Plac. Philos.*  
(c) *Pythagoras* first call'd the whole Compass of the Universe ΚΟΣΜΟΝ, from the Order τὸ ΤΑΞΕΩΣ he observed there. And the very same words are in the *Philosophical History* ascribed to (d) *Galen*. Add to these the Scholiast on *Homer*, (e) who says, Ἡ τῆς κόσμου ΤΑΞΙΣ, the Order of the Universe was named ΚΟΣΜΟΣ by *Pythagoras* : and the Anonymous Author of that Philosopher's Life, Πρῶπτε, says he, Πυθαγόρας τὸ οὐρανὸν ΚΟΣΜΟΝ προσηγήρευσεν. Is it not plain now, that the Writer of *Zaleucus*'s Laws was younger than *Pythagoras* ? since he not only cites ΚΟΣΜΟΣ in the very same signification, that *Pythagoras* first put upon't ; but subjoins too the word ΤΑΞΙΣ, which we see here was the very Reason, why *Pythagoras* call'd the World ΚΟΣΜΟΣ. 'Tis true, in those Passages of *Plutarch* and *Galen*



en, there immediately follows, Θαλῆς κ' οἰοῖ ἀφ' αὐ-  
 τῆ ἕνα τὸ κόσμον. From whence perhaps, a Man  
 of Mr. B's Sagacity and Learning may infer,  
 that *Thales* too, who was a Generation before  
*Pythagoras*, and as many say, was his Master,  
 call'd the Universe ΚΟΣΜΟΣ. But surely we  
 must not think *Plutarch*, and the other Author  
 so very stupid, as to contradict themselves in  
 one and the same Line. We must understand  
 them, that *Thales* spoke of the Thing signified by  
 Κόσμος, but not that he used the Word: he might  
 say, ἐν τὸ πᾶν, or ἐν τὸ σύστημα τῶ ὄλων, or some o-  
 ther Expression of the same import. And be-  
 sides, we are informed by very good Hands, *La-*  
*ertius* and *Themistius*; that *Thales* writ nothing  
 himself: so that if Κόσμος had really occur'd in  
 any Treatise ascribed to him; it had been a  
 good Argument that the Treatise was spurious,  
 but none at all, that *Pythagoras* did not first call  
 the Universe ΚΟΣΜΟΣ.

V. In the same Preface it presently follows,  
 Ὡς ἔπιπᾶται θεὸς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου φαύλου, ἔδὲ περιπίπεται  
 δαπάναις ἔδὲ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑΙΣ ἢ ἀλισκομένων, καὶ δάπερ  
 μωχθὲρὸς ἀνθρώπου. Where instead of ἀλισκομένων,  
 which in this place makes no tolerable Sense, the  
 true reading seems to be ἀλισγεμένων; and then  
 the meaning will be, *That God is not honour'd*  
*by a Wicked Man, nor pleased with the costly and*  
*pompous Sacrifices of polluted Persons, as if he was*  
*a vile Mortal.* Now this Paragraph alone is suf-  
 ficient to detect the Imposture of these pretend-  
 ed Laws. For as I have shown above, the true  
*Zaleucus* lived before *Draco*, who made Laws  
 for the *Athenians* at or before Olymp. xxxix:  
 but the word ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ was not coin'd, nor the  
 thing express'd by it invented, till *Thespis* won

the Goat, the Prize of his Play, about Olymp. LX, above LXXX years after *Draco*. How then came the word *Τετραγώνια* into the Laws of *Zaleucus*, which were written above cxx years before *Thespis*? I do not wonder now, that *Zaleucus* was so generally believ'd to have all his Laws from *Minerva*: for nothing less than a Deity could have foreknown the word *Τετραγώνια*, a whole Century and more before it came into being. But besides, that the very word was not at all heard of in *Zaleucus's* time; we must observe too, that it's used by him metaphorically for *Sumptuousness and Pomp*; which is a Sense that could not be put upon it till a long time after *Thespis*. For in the Infancy of Tragedy, there was nothing pompous nor sumptuous upon the Stage; no Scenes, nor Pictures, nor Machines, nor rich Habits for the Actors; which, after they were introduced there, gave the sole occasion to the Metaphor. For the first Scene was made by *Agatharchus* for one of *Æschylus's* Plays, as, (f) *Vitruvius* tells us; *Primum Agatharchus Athenis, Æschylo docente Tragœdiam, scenam fecit, & de ea commentarium reliquit.* This *Agatharchus* was a Painter, who learn'd the Art by himself without any Matter; as *Olympiodorus* says in his MS. Commentary on *Plato's Phædo*, *Τερόνασι πνες κ̅ αὐτοδίδακτοι Ηεράκλειτ̅ ὁ Αιγύπτι̅ κωρρός. . . Φήμι̅, Αγάδαρχος ὁ γεφεύς.* For it's most probable he means the same *Agatharchus*, that made *Æschylus's* Scene for him. And that all the other Ornaments were first brought in by *Æschylus*, we have the unanimous Testimony of all Antiquity. Now the first Play that *Æschylus* made was at Olymp. LXX, and the last at Olymp. LXXX; and in what part of this XL years Interval he in-

vente d

(f) *Vitruv.*  
Pr. f. Lib.  
vii.

vented those Ornaments for Pomp and Show, we cannot now tell. But suppose, if you please, that he invented them at the very first Play; and that the Metaphor, that makes *Τετραγώνια* signifie Pomp, came immediately into use upon the sight of them; neither of which are at all probable: yet even still it will be above *CLX* years after the time of the true *Zaleucus*.

VI. The last Argument that I shall offer against the Laws of *Zaleucus*, is this, That the Preface of them, which *Stobæus* has produc'd, is written in the Common Dialect, as the old Grammarians have call'd it, whereas it ought to be in *Doric*; for That was the Language of the *Locri Epizephyrii*, as it appears from the Treatise of *Timæus* the *Locrian*, extant in *Plato*; and from the Epigrams of *Nossis*. I do not know, that it has yet been observ'd, that this *Nossis* was a *Locrian*; and therefore I shall make bold to give an Epigram or two of hers, which will shew at once both her Country and her Dialect.

Ω ξῆν', εἰ πύ γ' ἔπεις πητὶ καλλιχρον Μιτυλάναν,  
 Τῶν Σαπφῶς χρείτων ἄνδρος ἐναυσίμενθ,  
 Εἰπᾶν, ὡς Μύσαισι φίλα, τίνατε Λόκειωσα  
 Τίκτην ἰοῖσι, ὅτι θ' οἱ τῆρομα Νόσις ἴδι.

So this Epigram is to be read, which is faulty in *Berkelius's* Notes upon *Stephanus*; and the meaning of it is, that *Nossis* addresseth herself to a Traveller, and desires him, if ever he go to *Mitylene*, where *Sappho* was born, to say, That a *Locrian* Woman writ Poems like hers, and that her name was *Nossis*. *Ἰοῖσι* is the Accusative *Doric* and *Æolic* for *ἰοῖς*, i. e. *χρείτας*. And that this is the true sense of it, will be further evident from another Epigram of hers, not pub-

lish'd before, where she celebrates the *Locrians* her Countrymen.

Ἐν τετα Βρέντιοι ἄνδρες ἀφ' αἰνομόρων βάλον ὤμων,

Θηρόμενοι Λοκρῶν χερσίν ὑπ' ὠκυμάχων·

Ἐὼν ἀρετὰν ὑμνεῦντα, θεῶν ὑπ' ἀνάκτορος κείντας·

Οὐδὲ ποθεῦντι κακῶν πάχους, ἔς ἔλιπον.

The Import of which is, That the *Locrians* had obtain'd a Victory over the *Brutians* their Neighbors; and had hung up in the Temples of the Gods those Shields they had taken; which now did not desire to return to those Cowards that wore them before. And by this we may have some Discovery of *Nossis's* Age, which hitherto has been thought uncertain; for the *Βρέντιοι* or *Βρέπιοι*, whom she speaks of here, were not form'd into a Body, nor call'd by that Name, (g) till Olymp. cvi, 1. in *Dionysius* the Younger's time. She cannot therefore be more ancient than Olymp. cvi; but that she was a little younger, is plain from her (h) Epigram upon the Tomb of *Rhintho* the *Tarentine*, or as she calls him, the *Syracusan* her Contemporary, who lived in the time of (i) the first *Ptolemee*, about Ol. cxiv. Her Mother's name was *Theophilis* the Daughter of *Cleocha*; as another Epigram of her's taught me, yet unpublisch'd:

Ἦρα τιμήεσσα, Λακείνιον ἂ τὸ θυῶδες

Πολλάκις ἔρανόθεν νικωμένα καθερῆς,

Δέξαι βύσπιον εἶμα, τί τι μετὰ παιδὸς ἀγαυᾶς

Νοσίδος ὕφανευ Θεούφιλιν ἂ Κλεόχας.

In the MS it is *Θευφίλης*. And we may observe, that even this too confirms it, that she was a *Locrian*; because she speaks of *Λακείνιον*: for the famous Temple of *Juno Lacinia* was not far from *Locri*, in the Neighborhood of *Crotona*. She had a Daughter call'd *Melinna*, as another

(g) *Diod. p.*  
418.

*Strabo, p.*

255

*Justin,*  
xxiii, 1.

(h) *Anthol.*  
iii, 6.

(i) *Suid.*  
Piv. 3.

MS Epigram seems to shew; though it's possible, she may mean there another's Daughter, and not her Own; however it deserves to be put here, for its singular Elegancy :

Αυτομέλινα τέτυκται ἴδ' ὡς ἀγανδν τὸ πρόσωπον

Ἄμὲ ποτοπᾶζειν μελιχῶς δοκέει.

Ὡς ἐτύμως θυγάτης τᾶ ματίει πάντα ποτῶκει.

Ἡ καλὸν, ὄκκα πέλοι τέκνα γονεῦσιν ἴπα.

Αυτομέλινα, that is, *Melinna her self*, not her Picture; 'tis so exactly like her: so ἀυπζωή, ἀυτοαλήθεια. In the MS it's ἄμε, but the true Reading is ἀμὲ, *Doric* for ἐμέ. For ποτῶκει the MS has it προσῶκει; but I have chang'd πρὸς into the *Doric* Preposition ποτῆ. From the Preterperfect Tense of Verbs the *Dorians* form a Present, as from δέδουκα they make δεδόκω; from δέδουκα, δεδύκω. So that from προσ-έοικε, *to be like*, as a Picture's like the Original, our Female Poet forms ποτ-εοίκω; and then contracts it ποτῶκω. So much was necessary to be said, to make this Epigram intelligible. I return now to the *Locrian* Dialect, which a) *Locrian Song*, Λοκεικὸν ᾄσμα, in (k) *Athenæus* sufficiently proves (k) *Athenæus* to be the *Doric*. p. 697.

Μὴ προσῶς ἄμ' ἱκετεύω· πειν καὶ μόλεν κείνον, ἀνίσω

Μὴ κακὸν μέγα ποιήσης καί με τινὲ δειλάκρον.

Ἀμίτρα καὶ ἦδη τὸ φῶς, διὰ τὰς θυεῖδ' ἔκ ἐσσηῆς;

So this Passage ought to be read, and the Version should be thus :

*Ne prodas me, obsecro: prius quam Ille veniat, surge. Sunt verba mulieris ad mæchum suum, Ut surgere velit, priusquam Vir domum redeat & ipsum deprendat. And 'tis now apparent, what good reason Athenæus had to call the Locrian Songs μοιχκοί: and we cannot doubt but he means the Locrians (l) *Athenæus* of Italy; if we consider (l) what account he gives p. 516. of the Women of that place. And now to bring*

this Argument to a conclusion : since it evidently appears, that the *Locrian* Language was *Doric*; without all question the Laws of that City were written in that Dialect, as certainly as *Solon's* Laws at *Athens* were written in *Attic*. These of *Zaleucus* therefore are commentitious, because they are not in *Doric*. Unless Mr. B. will be as zealous for his King *Zaleucus*, as he is for his Prince *Phalaris*; and contend that the King's Laws were *transdialected*, as well as the Prince's Epistles.

I. This Metaphor of *Τεργωδία* for Solemnity and Pomp invites me to step out of my way a little, and to consider the Laws ascribed to *Charondas*; for we have there too the very same Metaphor.

(m) *Died.*  
p. 79, to  
84.

(n) *Stob.*  
*Serm.* 42.

(m) *Diodorus* speaks prolixly of these Laws, and the Proemia of them are recorded in (n) *Stobæus*; where among others we have this, *That a man who is a Slave to Riches ought to be despised, as one of a mean Spirit, κ̄ κατὰ πληθόμενος ἐπὶ κτημάτων πλουτελῶν κ̄ βίᾳ τραγωιδουμένον*, since he's smitten so much with Wealth, and a sumptuous and pompous Life. This, as I observ'd already, is the very same figure of Speech with that in *Zaleucus*, and is borrow'd from the costly and gawdy Ornaments of the Stage. Now the Laws of the *Thurians* were made at *Olymp.* LXXXIV, which was the time when that Colony was planted: but I hardly think, that this Metaphor of *Τεργωδία* for Magnificence and Pomp was so early in use, as *Olymp.* LXXXIV. At that time *Æschylus* was newly dead, *Sophocles* was in his Prime at LIV years of Age, and *Euripides* had just enter'd upon the Province of Tragedy. Now the last of these Poets was so far from giving occasion to this Metaphor by the rich Ornaments

of his Scenes and Actors, that he was noted for the quite contrary way, as introducing his Heroes in mere Rags. So *Æschylus* accuses him in

(o) *Aristophanes's Ranæ* ;

ᾠ πλωροποισὶ καὶ βακισοῦρραπιδόδω.

(o) *Arist.*  
*Ran* p.164.

And the Comedian himself in another (p) of his Plays most pleasantly rallies him upon the same account ; and reckons up Five of his shabby

(p) *Id. A-*  
*charn. p.*  
279, 280.

Heroes, that gave names to as many of his Tragedies, *Oeneus, Phœnix, Philoctetes, Bellerophontes, Telephus.* 'Tis true, it appears from this very ridiculing of *Euripides*, that the other Tragedians were not guilty of the same fault of bringing Beggars upon the Stage : but however even the Persons that They introduc'd were not clad so very gorgeously, as to make Tragedy become a Metaphor for *Sumptuousness.* For Money was at that time a scarce Commodity in Greece, especially (q) at *Athens*, and the people were frugal ;

(q) *Cic.*  
*Tuscul. v.*

so that they had not much to lay out upon Ornaments for the Stage ; nor much inclination, had they had it. Nay we are sure, that for a

hundred years after the beginning of the *Thurian* Government, the Expense and Furniture of Tragedy was very moderate: for *Demosthenes* in his Action against *Midias*, (r) which was made Olymp. cvii, 4, has inform'd us, that the Charge of a *Tragic Chorus* was MUCH LESS than that of the *Chorus of Musicians*, which usually perform'd too at the same Festivals of *Bacchus.* Τραγωδοῖς,

(r) *Demost.*  
*Halic. de*  
*Demost.*

(f) says he, κερρήνηκῆ ποτε ἔτθ' ἐγὼ ὃ Ἀυληταῖς ἀνδράσι. Καὶ ὅτι τὸ το ἀνάλωμα ἐκείνης τ' δαπάνης πολλῶ πλεόν ἔστιν, ἔδειξ ἀγνοοῖ δῆπρ. i. e. *Midias* was once the Furnisher of a *Tragic Chorus* ; but I, of a *Chorus of Musicians* : and there's no body but knows that the Expense of this is MUCH GREATER

(f) *Demost.*  
*c. Midiam.*  
p. 362.

than the Charge of that. And yet the Cost even of a Music Chorus was no very great matter; as we gather from this, that *Demosthenes* alone bore it all, and voluntarily too. 'Tis true, he magnifies it as much as he can, and questions whether he should call it (*t*) *Generosity* or *Madness* in himself, to undertake an Expence above his Estate and Condition: but we ought to receive this as a Cast of his Rhetoric; for to be sure, he would never undo himself, by taking an Office, which no body forc'd upon him. But another Orator, *Lysias*, a little ancienter than he, has given us a punctual account of the several Expences of the Stage. (*u*) When *Theopompus*, says he, was Archon (Olymp. xcii. 2.) I was Furnisher to a Tragic Chorus, and I laid out xxx Minæ. Afterwards I got the Victory with the Chorus of Men, and it cost me xx Minæ. When *Glaucippus* was Archon (Olymp. xcii, 3.) I laid out viii Minæ upon the Pyrrhichists. Again I won the Victory with the Chorus of Men, and with that and the charge of the Tripus, I expended l Minæ. And when *Diocles* was Archon (Olymp. xcii, 4.) I laid out upon the Cyclian Chorus iii Minæ. Afterwards, when *Alexias* was Archon (Olymp. xciii, 4.) I furnish'd a Chorus of Boys, and it cost me above xv Minæ. And when *Euclides* was Archon (Olymp. xciv, 2.) I was at the charge of xvii Minæ upon the Comedians, and of vii upon the young Pyrrhichists. Now an Attic Minæ being equivalent to three Pounds of English Money, it is plain from this Passage of *Lysias*, that the whole charge of a Tragic Chorus did but then amount to xc Pounds Sterling. By the way, I

(t) *Ibid.*  
p. 336.

(u) *Lysias*  
in *Απολ.*  
*Δωδεκά-*  
*ατ.*  
d.

(x) P. 5.

Οὐδ' ἔτι τὸ πρὸ τῆς αὐτῆς φουλῆς εἰς Διονύσια χρονηγῆσαι, τίτασι  
ἐγένετο



ἐγένετο, τραγωδῶν ἢ καὶ πυρρῖέταις ὕσατο. Correct  
 it, τέταρτο ἐγένετο τραγωδῶν, καὶ πυρρῖχσταῖς ὕσατο.  
*This man, says he, being to furnish out Chorus's  
 at the Festivals of Bacchus, did it so meanly; that  
 in the Tragic Chorus he came but the fourth, and  
 in the Pyrrichists he was last of all.* And now I  
 refer it to the Reader, whether considering this  
 true account of the small charge of a Tragic Cho-  
 rus, even in *Lysias* and *Demosthenes's* time, he  
 can think it probable, that at the LXXXIVth O-  
 lympiad the Tragic Ornaments were so famous  
 for their Richness, as to give Rise to the Meta-  
 phor of *τραγωδία* for Sumptuousness: especially  
 in *Italy*, where perhaps at that time no Trage-  
 dy had ever been acted. I must own, it seems to  
 me a very unlikely thing, that this Metaphor  
 should so quickly obtain even in common Con-  
 versation; much less be admitted into a Body of  
 Laws, where the Language ought to be plain  
 and proper; and where any Metaphor at all  
 makes but a very bad Figure, especially a new  
 one, as this must needs be then, which perhaps  
 could not be understood at first hearing by one  
 half of the Citizens. 'Tis true, when Tragedy  
 was propagated from *Athens* into the Courts of  
 Princes, the Splendor of the Tragic Chorus was  
 exceedingly magnificent; as at *Alexandria* and  
*Rome, &c.* which gave occasion to that Complaint  
 of *Horace's*, That the Show of Plays was so very  
 gawdy, that few minded the Words of them.

Hor. *lib.*  
 ii, 1.

*Tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur, & artes  
 Divitiæque peregrinæ: quibus oblitus Actor  
 Cum stetit in scena, concurrat dextera lævæ.  
 Dixit adhuc aliquid? nil sane. quid placet ergo?  
 Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.*

And in another place he says, the Tragic Actor  
 was, *Regali*

*Id. in Arte  
Poet.*

*Regali conspectus in Auro nuper & Ostro.*

'Tis no wonder therefore, that in those Ages *Τεργασια* might be used metaphorically to signify Riches and Splendor; and so *Philo* and *Lucian*, and some others use it: but I do not find any example of it within a whole Century of the Date of *Charondas's* Laws.

(y) *Theo-  
doret. c.  
Græc. Serm.  
9.*

II. But this Objection will be much more considerable, if *Charondas* really lived before the Original of the *Thurian* Government, and even before *Eschylus* himself the first Inventor of Tragic Ornaments: for it will then be of equal force against *Charondas's* Laws, as against those of *Zaleucus*. *Theodoret* tells us, (y) That *Charondas* is said to have been the first Law-maker of Italy and Sicily. And if this be true, he must be Senior to *Zaleucus* himself, and before the very name of Tragedy; much more before the use of this Metaphor taken from it. Or if we allow

(z) *In A-  
ristot. Pol.  
ii, 12.*

of Their reckoning, (z) that make *Charondas* the Scholar of *Zaleucus*; it's more than enough to our present purpose: for they supposed his Master *Zaleucus* to have been Contemporary with *Lycurgus* the Spartan: by which account they must place *Charondas* ccc years before *Thespis*. Nay even according to *Eusebius*, *Zaleucus's* Laws bear Date above cc years before the Founding of *Thurii*; and above c before the Original of Tragedy. But we have a better Authority than these: I mean *Heraclides* in his Book of Govern-

(a) *Hera-  
clid. de Po-  
lit. No-  
μοις ἐχ-  
θόντο τοῖς  
Χαρώνδῳ  
τῷ Κατα-  
ναίῳ.*

ments; who informs us, (a) That the Rhegians of Italy were govern'd by an Aristocracy; for a thousand men, chosen out according to their Estates, manag'd every thing: and their Laws were those of *Charondas* the Catanian: but *Anaxilas* the Messanian, made himself Tyrant there. Which ac-

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count is confirmed in the main by *Aristotle*, when he says, (b) *The Oligarchy of Rhegium was chang'd into a Tyranny by Anaxilas*. Here I conceive *Heraclides* has very plainly asserted, that *Charondas's* Laws were made before the time of *Anaxilas*: but we are sure (c) this *Anaxilas* died at Ol. LXXVI, 1. after he had reigned at *Rhegium* and *Messana* XVIII years at the least, which com- mence from Olymp. LXXI, 3. Now the first Vi- ctory, that *Aeschylus* won at the Stage, was at Olymp. LXXIII, 3. and we may fairly suppose, because he never got the Prize till then, that he had not invented Scenes and Machins and the o- ther Ornaments before. If *Charondas's* Laws therefore were made but the very year that *Anax- ilas* usurp'd the Government; yet they are old- er by VIII years than the original of Tragical Scenes. But without question, *Charondas's* Form of Government had been a good while in *Rhegi- um*, before *Anaxilas* subverted it: for the City had been built then cc years; and the very ac- count in *Heraclides* clearly implies, that the A- ristocracy was of some Continuance.

III. And if this be allow'd, we may safely in- fer, that *Charondas* was no THURIAN; as some of the later Authors call him, (e) *Valerius Max- imus*, and (f) *Themistius*, and particularly *Dio- dorus*, where speaking of the founding of the Ci- ty *Thurii*, he says, (g) the *Thurians* chose *Cha- rondas*, ὃ ἀείρον ἦν πολιτῶν, the best and wisest of the Citizens, to draw up a Body of Laws for them. For since he made Laws a considerable time before *Anaxilas's* Tyranny, Olymp. LXXI, he could hardly be alive still at *Thurii* Olymp. LXXXIV, which was L years after. And indeed, there's not one of the old Writers, that I know of, who

(b) *Arist.*  
Pol. v, 12.  
(c) See here Sect. iv.

(d) *Marm.*  
*Arund.*

(e) *Val.*  
*Max.* vi, 5.  
(f) *The-*  
*mist.* Orat.  
xiv. Καὶ  
τῶ Θουεῖα  
Χαράνδα.  
(g) *Diod.*  
p. 79.

(h) Plato  
Polit. x.  
Ἰταλία ἔ  
Σικαλία.

(i) See  
Scymnus  
Chius, and  
others.

(k) Strabo  
p. 529.

who either says he was a *Thurian*, or that he made Laws for the *Thurians*. Plato tells us, (h) That Italy and Sicily profited by the Laws of Charondas, but the Cities he does not name. We must learn those of his Scholar *Aristotle*, who expresses himself more particularly, That Charondas the Catanian, gave Laws to his own City and the other Chalcidic Cities in Italy and Sicily. Now the Chalcidic Towns in Sicily were (i) Zancle, Naxos, Leontini, Catana, Eubœa, Mylæ, Himera, Callipolis: in Italy there was Rhegium; and if any other I know not. But that neither *Thurii* nor *Sybaris* before it, was a Chalcidic Colony, is most certain. *Heraclides* therefore agrees with his Master *Aristotle*; where he tells us, as we have cited before, That Charondas was a Catanian, and Lawgiver to the Rhegians. Now what could be the reason of this difference between all the Old and some of the Later Writers; but that in the interval of time between them, which was about cec years, these pretended Laws of Charondas came abroad, as directed to the *Thurians*, and calling him a *Thurian*? But we see the true Laws of Charondas, which *Aristotle* and *Heraclides* had, were made for the Chalcidic Towns, not for *Thurii*. How could these be the Same then? Unless perhaps some may suppose, that the *Thurians* agreed to take the Laws of Charondas, which were ready made to their hands; (k) as those of *Mazaca* in *Cilicia* did: so that Charondas's Laws might be given at *Catana* and *Rhegium* a good while before Olymp. LXXI, and yet given too at *Thurii* at Olymp. LXXXIV, 1. This Supposition indeed may serve to shew, how Charondas's Laws might possibly be *Thurian*; but it cannot excuse *Diodorus* and the

the rest, who call *Charondas* himself a *Thurian*; since by this account he was dead before *Thurii* was ever heard of. But in the next place, what if I prove, that neither Himself, nor his *Laws* were received by the *Thurians*: then I humbly conceive, that Copy of them which *Diodorus* used, will be allowed to have been a Cheat

III. If we will take *Athenæus's* word, (l) ZA- (l) *Athen.*  
 LEUCUS was Law-giver to the *Thurians*: though p. 508.  
 a little before, (m) he had quoted a Law of his to (m) *Id. p.*  
 the *Locrians*. Which is a sign, that he did not 429.  
 out of ignorance mistake the one City for the  
 other. By the *Thurians* here, he seems to un-  
 derstand the *Sybarites*, who were afterwards cal-  
 led *Thurians*: and we may suppose, that at their  
 Settlement Olymp. LXXXIV, they continued their  
 old Constitution of Government, made at first  
 by *Zaleucus*, for that the ancient *Sybarites*  
 once used his *Laws*, appears from *Scymnus Chi-*  
*us*; who assigns this for one of the Causes of their  
 Ruin, that they did not adhere to them:

(n) λέγεται γὰρ αὐτὸς μῆτε τοῖς νόμοις ἔτι  
 τοῖς ὄν Ζαλευκῆ τάκόμεθα συντελεῖν.

(n) *Scym-*  
*nus Chi-*

v. 345.

And that the *Thurians* at their first Plantation  
 received them again, though they refined and  
 multiplied them even to excess, we may gather  
 from *Ephorus*; (o) who speaking of *Zaleucus's* (o) *Strabo,*  
*Laws*, which he made for the *Locrians*, and p. 260.  
 commending them for their Simplicity, *But the*  
*Thurians*, says he, *afterwards aiming at exact-*  
*ness in every thing, grew more famous by it, but*  
*were worse govern'd.* For the fairest Exposition  
 of this Passage seems to be this, That the *Thu-*  
*rians* had once the *Laws* of *Zaleucus*, which af-  
 terwards they refined upon. And if we consider  
 those Passages of *Athenæus* and *Scymnus*, it may  
 pass too for the Truest.

IV. But

IV. But however, whether *Zaleucus's* Laws were receiv'd or not by the *Thurians*; those of *Charondas* we may justly believe were not, by the accounts we have of both His and Theirs.

(p) *Scob.* There's a large (p) Fragment of *Theophrastus's* (I suppose, out of his Tracts about Laws) which gives us some Notices about the *Thurian* Laws

(q) *Oi* concerning Buying and Selling (q) *The Buyer* *Θερακοί*, was to give Earnest to the Seller presently, and a piece of Money to Three of the next Neighbours,

(r) *Ἐν τοῖς Θερίων ἤ μὲν ἀρραβῶνα ᾧδραχμήμα, τὴν δὲ τιμὴν αὐθήμερον.*

(s) *Σπέρησις τῆ ἀρραβῶν* ἔπειθ' οἱ Θερακοί.

(t) *Ἐκλίσις ὅσῃ ἀν ἀποδῶται ἢ γὰρ τῆστο ἐν τοῖς Θερίων ἢ ἀνιστὴ ζήμια.*

(u) *Χαρῶνδῆς καὶ Πλάτωνος ᾧδραχμήμα κελεύσει δίδεναι καὶ λαμβάνειν· ἐάν δέ τις πσεύσῃ, μὴ ἔῶ δίκῃ· αὐτὸν γὰρ αἰτίον ἔῶ τῆς ἀδικίας.*

that they might remember and bear witness of the Bargain: (r) and then the same Day he was to pay the whole Price, and if he fail'd to pay it, (s) he lost his Earnest. And if the Seller did not stand to his Bargain, (t) he lost as much Money as the Thing was sold for: which, says *Theophrastus*, was a very unequal penalty; that the Buyer should forfeit the Earnest only, and the Seller the whole Price: the one being so much more than the other. But

(u) *Charondas* and *Plato*, says he, went another way to work; for they enact, That all Buying and Selling shall be with ready Payment: and if any man trust, it shall be at his own peril. The Law shall give him

no remedy if he's cheated; for by Trusting he brought the Cheat upon himself. Now that *Theophrastus* reports this truly of *Plato*, it appears from *Plato* himself in the xi Book of his Laws; where this very Order about Buying and Selling is still extant. We may fairly suppose therefore, that *Theophrastus* is as exact in what he says of *Charondas*.

*Charondas*. And I conceive it's as plain here, that *Charondas's* Laws were different from the *Thurians*; as that Ready Payment is different from Giving Earnest and being Trusted. The Passage of *Theophrastus* is both faulty in the Original, and mistaken by the Interpreter; but the Reader may easily see, how it ought to be corrected and translated, by the places I have cited in the Margin.

V. We have very good Evidence, that the Form of Government which *Charondas's* Laws were adapted to, was an Aristocracy or Oligarchy. (x) *Many of those Law-givers, says Aristotle, that design to establish Aristocracies, mistake themselves.* Then he reckons up Five Artifices, by which they impose upon the People: and to One of them he adds, "Ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς Χαρώνδα νόμοις, As it is in the Laws of *Charondas*: and he concludes the whole with this, Ταῦτα μὲν ὀλιγαρχικὰ σοφίσματα τῆς νομοθεσίας, *These are Oligarchical Artifices in making of Laws.* This passage is a most plain intimation of what I asserted above: but *Heraclides* says it down right in his Account of the *Rhegians*, (y) *who formed themselves, says he, into an Aristocracy, being govern'd by χίλιοι, a Thousand of the wealthiest Citizens, and using the Laws of Charondas.* Add the other places of *Aristotle*, where he says, (z) *The Rhegian Government was changed from an Oligarchy to a Tyranny by Anaxilas; nay, and (a) that the Thurian Government was ὀλιγαρχικώτερον a sort of Oligarchy: and then I suppose this Point will be sufficiently prov'd.* But *Diodorus* from the Copy of *Charondas* which he used, represents the Constitution to be a *Democracy*: as when he says, (b) *A man that proposed a New Law, must have a Rope* p. 82.

(x) *Aristot.*  
Pol. iv, 12,  
13.

(y) *Heraclid. de Polit.*

(z) *Aristot.*  
Pol. v, 12.

(a) *Ibid.*  
v. 7.

(b) *Diod.*  
a Rope p. 82.

- Rope about his Neck, till ὁ ΔΗΜΟΣ the PEOPLE determined for or against it: and again, (c) That a Woman without any Fortune, κατέφυγεν εἰς τὸ ΔΗ-
- (c) P. 83.
- (d) P. 84. MON, appealed to the PEOPLE, (d) and the PEOPLE τῶν δὲ ΔΗΜΟΥ voted to make a new Law for her:
- (e) P. 83. and lastly, (e) That a Blind Man advised τοῖς ΠΛΗΘΕΣΙ the MULTITUDE to alter a Law: add to
- (f) P. 78. these his exprefs Declaration, that (f) the Thuri-ans form'd Πολίτευμα ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΚΟΝ a Democratical Government; and then I suppose it will appear very probable, That Diodorus's Copy of Charondas's Laws was not the same with that of Aristotle and Heraclides.
- (g) Aristot. VI. Charondas, (g) says Aristotle, had ἕδεν ἰ-  
Pol. ii, 12. διον nothing peculiar in his Laws, except One. On the contrary, Diodorus tells us from His Copy,
- (h) Diod. (h) That he had πολλά ἴδια, many things peculiar; and reckons half a score of them: and yet that Single thing observ'd by Aristotle does not appear among them. Does not this look as if the Laws they speak of were quite different? This is One shrewd suspicion, that Diodorus's Copy was not genuine. But let us consider the Philosopher's words, Χαρόνδος ἴδιον μὲν ἕδεν ὄζειν, πλὴν αἱ δίκαι αἱ ΨΕΥΔΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ· πρῶτον δὲ ἐποίησε τὴν ΕΠΙΣΚΕΨΙΝ. So the passage is read in the common Editions, and the Interpreter translates it, Primus his de rebus accurate consideravit: which is quite beside the Sense of the Author. There are two Faults in the Greek, that must first be corrected, before we can come at the right meaning. First for ψευδομαρτύρων we must read ψευδομαρτυριῶν: because δίκη is joined with the Name of the Things, and not of the Persons; as δίκη ἀσβεβίας, ἀγάμης, ἐψιγάμης, &c. not δίκη ἀ-
- (i) P. 638. σβῶν, ἀγάμων, ἐψιγάμων. (i) Demosthenes contra



*ἴρα. Euergum: Ταῖς δίκαις τῆς ψευδομαρτυριῶν. (k) I. (k) P. 38.*  
*ἴρα, Τῶ τῆς ψευδομαρτυριῶν δίκην ἠγωνίζετο. And*  
 again, (l) Ἡ τῆς ψευδομαρτυριῶν δίκη εἰσέει. 'Tis a (l) P. 52.  
 fault therefore in the same Orator, where we  
 read (m) Τῶ τῆς ψευδομαρτυριῶν δίκην εἰλόμυ; and in (m) P. 38.  
*Pollux (n) Κατὰ τῆς ψευδομαρτυριῶν δίκην, ὃ κ' (n) Pollux*  
*ὀπισκῆψαται καταμαρτυριεὸν ἐλέγξο; we must correct viii, 6*  
 it, *ὀπισκῆψαται ψευδομαρτυριῶν*: as the excellent  
 MS. of the late Learned *Isaac Vossius* has it. The  
 other fault in *Aristotle* is *Ἐπίσκεψις*; the true E-  
 mendation of which is *Ἐπίσκηψις*, which signifies  
 an Action at Law against false Witnesses. For  
 if a man was cast in a Trial by false Testimony,  
 he might enter his Plea to have another Trial to  
 prove the Witnesses perjur'd *Charondas* there-  
 fore, according to *Aristotle*, first ordain'd this  
*Ἐπίσκηψις*: and if we could know the first Date  
 of it, we might then arrive at the true Age of  
*Charondas*. The *Athenian* Orators often men-  
 tion this *Ἐπίσκηψις* as a Law in force at *Athens*;  
 so *Demosthenes*, *Isæus*, (o) *Lysias*, and out of (o) *Lysias*  
 them the Lexicographers, *Pollux*, *Harpocration*, c. *Pan. lexo-*  
*Suidas*, *Etymolog*. But whether it was one of *verm.*  
*Solon's* Laws, or at what time made after his  
 Death, I am not able to tell. But there's a  
 probability, that it was made before the Found-  
 ing of *Thurii*, rather than after. For *Lysias*, and  
 who in his youth was one of that Colony that  
 founded *Thurii*, speaks we see of this *Ἐπίσκηψις*,  
 and without any hint, that it was a New Law.  
 And He return'd from *Thurii* to *Athens* at Ol.  
 xcii, 1. Take the Middle therefore between  
 the Institution of *Solon's* Laws Olymp xlvi, 3.  
 and the Pleadings of *Lysias*; and it will fall up-  
 on Olymp. lxxix, 2. which is lxxix years before  
 the founding of *Thurii*. So much odds are there,

that the Ἐπιτοκνύσις was enacted at *Athens* before *Thurii* was founded; and consequently that *Charondas* the first Author of the Ἐπιτοκνύσις was more ancient than that Colony; and by consequence that the Copy of his Laws, which *Diodorus* used, was supposititious.

VII. The Case of *Charondas* in *Stobæus* is the very Reverse of *Zaleucus*'s: for he has made *Zaleucus* write his Laws in the Common Dialect, who as a *Locrian* ought to have used the *Doric*; and he has introduced *Charondas* in the *Doric* Dialect, who either as a *Catanian* or a *Thurian* would more probably have used another. For *Catana* and the other Cities, that *Aristotle* says he gave Laws to, were *Chalcidic*, that is, *Ionic* Colonies: and the *Thurians*, whose Lawgiver he was according to *Diodorus*, were a mixture indeed of several Nations, but principally *Attic*. (p) *Diodorus* says, That *Lampon* and *Xenocritus*, both of *Athens*, were *Κησαί* the Founders of *Thurii*: and that when the *Sybarites* sent to *Sparta* and *Athens* to desire a Colony, the *Spartans* refused them; but the *Athenians* undertook it, giving leave to any of the *Peloponnesians* to share with them if they pleased.

(p) *Diod.*  
p. 77, 78.

(q) *Plut.* v.  
*Lyfæ &*  
*Periclit.*  
(r) *Idem.*  
*v. Nicæ.*  
(s) *Dio.*  
*syf. v. 13*  
*ſe.*

(t) *Sym-*  
*on. v. 325.*

(u) *Diod.*  
p. 93.

(q) *Plutarch* also ascribes the Colony to the *Athenians*; (r) and names one *Hiero* an *Athenian* for the Founder (s) *Dionysius Halicarn.* attributes it to the *Athenians* and the rest of *Greece*; making the *Athenians* to be the Principal. 'Tis true indeed, (t) *Scymnus Chius* makes *Thurii* a Colony of the *Achæans*; but this can hardly be true, unless we understand it of *Sybaris*, which was afterwards called *Thurii*: for That indeed was an *Achæan* Colony. (u) *Diodorus* adds, That at *Olymp.* LXXXVI, 3. Ten years after the first

first Settlement, the *Thurians* debated whose Colony they were, and who should be call'd their Founder. The *Athenians* claim'd it, because (x) the greatest Number of Inhabitants (x) Πλείεστος οἰκίητες. came from *Athens*: but those of *Peloponnesus* oppos'd it, because many came from thence too. At last they agreed to send to *Delphi*, that the Oracle might determine the Point; and they were answer'd, That *Apollo* himself was to be counted their Founder: and so the matter ended, no Nation pretending to that Honour. But however, that the *Athenians* had the greatest Party and strongest Interest there, appears doubly; both (y) because in the *Athenian* Invasion of *Sicily*, the *Thurians* adhered to the *Athenians* against the *Sicilians* and *Spartans*; and because the (z) *Thurian* Money had a *Pallas's* Head with a *Helmet*, exactly like the *Attic*. I am not ignorant, that after the Defeat of the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, Ol. xci, 4. the *Thurians* too among the rest of their Confederates, deserted them; (a) and ccc *Athenians* were banished from the Colony. But the Laws of *Charondas*, as *Diodorus* relates, were made upon the first Establishment there, above xxx Years before that Overthrow: and I leave it to the Reader's Judgment, if at that time the great Number and Power of the *Athenians* at *Thurii* do not make it more probable, That their Laws, if then made, would have been in the *Attic* Dialect rather than the *Doric*.

VIII. There's a very odd Passage in *Stephanus Byzantius*; (b) Ἀπὸ τῆς Καλαίνης Χαρόνδρος, ὁ δίδασκε τὴν ἐν Ἀθῆναισι νομοθεσίαν, Of *Catana* was *Charondas*, that celebrated Lawgiver at *Athens*: and another in *Suidas* more odd. than that; Νομοθεταί παρ' Ἀθηναίους πρῶτον ἐγένετο Δεσφικαν, κ;

μὲν πρῶτον Σόλων, καὶ μὲν δεύτερον Θαλῆς, καὶ μὲν τρίτον Ἀρ-  
 χύλοϑ, *The Lawgivers to the Athenians were*  
*first Draco, then Solon, then Thales, and then*  
*Æschylus.* What shall we say to these Passages?  
 we must own there were many Νομοθέται *Makers*  
*of Laws at Athens after Solon's time*; but yet I  
 can hardly believe, that *Charondas*, and *Thales*,  
 and *Æschylus* are to be reckon'd of that number.  
 As for *Suidas*, I am persuaded, that for Αἰσχύλος,  
 the true Reading is Ζάλευκϑ: so that putting  
 a full stop after Νομοθέται, as it is in the Para-  
 graph just before, the meaning of *Suidas* will be  
 thus: **LAWGIVERS.** *The first was Draco at A-*  
*thens; after him Solon, after him Thales, after*  
*him Zaleucus.* Where he does not assert, that  
*Thales* and *Zaleucus* were *Athenian* Lawgivers;  
 but only that their **Laws** were more recent  
 than *Draco's* and *Solon's*. We have seen already  
 from *Aristotle*, (c) how some maintain'd that  
*Zaleucus* was *Thales's* Scholar; meaning *Thales*  
 the *Cretan*, who was almost ccc Years before *So-*  
*lon's* time: but *Suidas*, or his Author, confound-  
 ing *Thales* the *Cretan* with the Philosopher  
*Thales* the *Milesian*, has by consequence put him  
 after *Solon*. This perhaps may be no unlikely  
 account of the Passage of *Suidas*: but the other  
 of *Stephanus* is very hard to make out. For e-  
 ven *Plato* and *Aristotle* forbid us to allow of the  
 Vulgar Reading, Ἐν Ἀθήνησι; for speaking of  
 this *Charondas*, (d) they make him Lawgiver in  
 some Towns of *Sicily* and *Italy*; but say not one  
 word of his **Laws** at *Athens*. Add to this, that  
 ἐν Ἀθήνησι, which all the Editions and MSS. seem  
 to agree in, is not Greek: for they ever say,  
 Ἀθήνησι without the Præposition; as they will  
 find, who please to examin it. These things  
 seem

(c) See here  
P.

(d) P...

seem to warrant a Conjecture; that *Hermelaus* the Epitomizer of *Stephanus*, or some of his Copiers, mistook, and put ἐν Αθήνῃσι for ἐν Σικελίᾳ. And yet on the other side, that *Charondas's* Laws were famous at least, if not in force, at *Athens*, we have a good Authority, (e) *Hermippus* in his Treatise Of *Lawgivers*; who informs us, <sup>p. 619.</sup> That *Charondas's* Laws used to be sung at *Athens* over a glass of Wine, <sup>Ἡδόντο Αθήνησιν οἱ Χαράνδου ἐκτῶ πνεῖ νόμοι παρ' ὄνιον.</sup> For the very Title of the Book <sup>Νομοθε-</sup> shews, that *NOMOI* here do not signify *Songs and Tunes*, as *Ὀλύμπου νόμοι*, *Μαρσύου νόμοι*, but really *Laws*. Now *Aristotle* puts a Problem, (f) *Why* <sup>(f) Arist. Prob. XIX, 28.</sup> *are Tunes called Νόμοι?* and he answers, *Is it, because before the use of Letters, men SANG their Laws, that they might not forget them? as the custom continues yet among the Agathyrsi.* Which Passage I think will go a great way towards putting an end to our debate about *Charondas*. For if *Laws* were sung before the knowledge of *Letters*, as *Aristotle* says; and if *Charondas's* *Laws* were sung at *Athens*, as *Hermippus* says: then the consequence seems fair and natural; that they were first sung at *Athens*, before the Date of *Solon's* or *Draco's* *Laws*, which were written upon wooden Tables, and fixed up for the public view. And by this account *Charondas's* *Laws* must be sung cc years before the very naming of *Thurii*. Besides this, we may justly infer, that his *Laws* were written in some sort of Verse, or tunable Measure: for otherwise how they should be sung over Wine, I do not understand. And to confirm us in this suspicion, there's a passage in *Strabo*, of which his Learned Commentator has said nothing; but from this View it will be plain and <sup>(g) Strabo, p. 532.</sup> easy. (g) *The Mazacenes of Cappadocia*, says

he, use the Laws of Charondas, αἰρέμενοι κὶ Νομοδόν, and appoint some person to be their LAW-SINGER, who is among Them the Declarer of the Laws, as the Lawyers are among the Romans. Now how comes it to pass, that Charondas's Laws required a Law-Singer ΝΟΜΩΔΟΣ, a Word and Office never heard of but in this passage of Strabo? Unless there were something peculiar in them, that whereas other Laws were in Prose, They were in Verse, and to be sung by the People. To give an instance, how they might be sung at Athens;

(h) Diod.  
p. 79.

One of the Laws of Charondas, (h) as Diodorus says, was Πεὶ τὴ Κακομιλίας About avoiding Ill Company: Now the Athenians had a Scolion or Catch which they used to sing παρ' οἶνον over a glass of Wine: (i)

(i) Arist.  
Schol. p.  
356.  
Athen. p.  
695.

Ἀδμῦτε λόγον, ᾧ τᾶρε, μαθὼν τὸς ἀγαθὸς φίλει.  
Τῶν δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχε, γνὸς ὅπ δειλῶν ὀλίγη χάρις.

Aristotel. vers.  
1231.

The Measure of it is neglected in the vulgar Athenæus, but it's like that in Alcous and Horace,

Nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem.

Μηδὲν ἄλλο φυτεύσεις πρὸς τέρην δένδρον ἀμώελο.

Now if instead of Ἀδμῦτε λόγον, one should say thus;

Χαρῶνδος νόμον, ᾧ τᾶρε, μαθὼν τὸς ἀγαθὸς φίλει.

he would have the very Law, that Diodorus speaks of, About evil Conversation. But we have One of his Laws really extant in Verse, though not of Charondas's own making, but of one of the Comic Poets:

(k) Diod. p.  
80.

(k) Τὸν νομοθέτην φασὶ Χαρῶνδαν ἔν πνι  
Νομοθεσία τὰτ' ἄλλα κὶ ταυτὴ λέγειν.  
Ὁ παιστὴν αὐτῷ μητρυιᾶν ἐπιστάζων,  
Μήτ' εὐδοκίμειδω, μήτε μετεχέτω λόγῳ  
Παρεὶ τοῖς πολίταις ὡς ἐπίστακτον βακίον

Κατὰ

Κατὰ ἧς ἐαυτῆ παραγμάτων ποιησμένων.

\*Εἴτ' ἐπέτυχες γὰρ, φησι, γήμας τὸ πρότερον,

Εὐήμερῶν κατὰ παυσον· εἴτ' ἔκ ἐπέτυχες,

Μανικὸν τὸ πῆραν δευτέρας λαβεῖν πάλιν.

So these *Iambics* are to be read in *Diodorus*. In the common Editions the two first Verses are taken for Prose, and supposed to be *Diodorus's* words, not the Poets. But it's now evident, that they belong to the rest, and I have only chang'd ταῦτα into ταυτῆ for the sake of the Measure. Even the great (l) *Grotius* was in the common mistake, and believ'd them to be Prose; and upon that account, he alter'd the viith Verse thus,

(l) *Grotii*  
Excerpta  
ex *Trag. Gr.*  
Com p.  
919

\*Εἴτ' ἐπέτυχες γὰρ τὸ πρότερον γήμας, φίλε;

because, I suppose, he could not apprehend what φησι belong'd to: but now it's plain, that it refers to *Charondas*. In the last Verse both the Editors of *Diodorus*, and *Grotius* too, admit of the vulgar reading, πῆρας δευτέρας, the second Experiment: but at that rate, it is not true Greek; for λαβεῖν here will not bear a Genitive Case. I have corrected it therefore, πῆραν δευτέρας, the Experiment of a second Wife. Well; if it appear probable from these several Particulars, that *Charondas's* Laws were drawn up in some kind of Verse or Measure fit to be sung: we need no other proof to detect the Imposture of *Stobæus's* Writer. For all the Fragments that are produced there, are flat and down-right Prose, without the least footsteps of poetical Measure. For example, this very Law, which we have now cited from the Comic Poet, is thus express'd in *Stobæus*. (m) Ὁ μητριαν ἐπι-

γαμῶν μὴ ἐυδοξείτω· ἀλλ' ὀνηθίζέτω, ὡς περ αἰπῶν οἰκίας διαστάσις. He that marries a second Wife

(m) *Stob.*  
Serm.  
xlii.

to be Stepmother to his Children, let him be disgrac'd, as being the Author of his own Disquiet. This Law the Writer might meet with in the Poet cited above, or some other Author now lost; and therefore he inserted it into his Collection, to make the Cheat pass the more easily. But I appeal to those that are skill'd in the ancient Poetry; if there be any Musical Measure of any sort whatsoever in the words that he has given us. He seems to have heard too, that *Charondas's* Laws were used to be sung, as we have shewn from *Hermippus* and *Strabo*; he concludes therefore with this. Περσάσει ὃ ὁ νόμος, ἐπίσαυαι τὰ προίμια τὸς πολίτας ἅπαντας, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς καὶ τὸς παιᾶνας λέγειν ᾧ ἂν περσάσει ὁ ἐσιτάως, ἵνα ἐμφουσιῆται, ἐχάσω τὰ ᾠδὴ γέγραμματα: *The Law enjoins, that all the Citizens shall learn these Proemia; and at their Feasts, some Person appointed by the Master of the Feast shall say them, after the Hymns are sung; that the Laws may become familiar to every body.* He is so far in the right indeed, that these Laws, that he has put upon us, are to be said, and not sung: for there's nothing of Harmony in them: nor do they need a *Law-singer*, Νομῶδης, as the true Laws of *Charondas* did: nor would the *Athenians* have sung These παρ' οἴνου at their Merriments; for the very Laws of *Solon* have as much of Tune and Verse in them. But the sagacious Reader may observe too a very odd and peculiar usage of the word Ἐμφουσιῆται; which this Writer puts here to signify *being natural, as it were, and familiar.* And that we may not think it a fault of the Copier, there's the same word in the Page before, Ἐμφουσιῆται ἐχάσω τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ σπειρωτώδεστατον ἢ ἀρετῆς; *That the best and the most seminal Virtue may become natu-*



equal to them: though in both places even common Syntax requires, that we should read it, ἐμφοσιῶται. Now in all the Authors that I can think of, it has quite another meaning, To be puffed up, and be proud, from φυσάω, to blow: but this mock Charondas believ'd it came from φύσις, Nature: which is mere Barbarism; for the first Syllable of φύσις is short, and the first of φυσίω long. This, with some other words, both in Charondas and Zaleucus, and the Matter too of each of them, makes me suspect the Author was no Native of Greece: but I do not pretend to determine that; neither do I assert any thing positively on either side of this whole Debate about the two Law-givers. I rather desire to stand a Neuter, till the matter shall be decided by some abler Hand: and if I might have the Nomination, it should be He, whom the whole Learned World will allow to be the best able, his Excellency Mr. Ezekiel SPANHEMIUS.

I Return now to our Learned Examiner, and I find him still at his old work of Cavilling and Mistaking. He has spent two miserable Pages in ridiculing me, as he thinks, for saying *Empedocles* wrote an *Epic Poem*; a Name which he thinks belongs to no Poems, but such as the *Ilias* and *Aeneis*. What will he say then to *Athenæus*, who calls *Archestratus's* *Gastronomia*, a small Poem about Fish and Cookery, an *EPIC POEM*. (n) Ἐπικὸν δ', says he, τὸ ποίημα? What (n) *Athen.* to (o) *Quintilian*, who among (EPICOS) the *Epics* p. 4. reckons *Aratus*, *Theocritus*, *Nicander*? Is not (o) *Quint.* *Empedocles*, as much an *Epic*, as these are? X, 1.  
 What will he say to *Laertius*, *Plutarch*, and others, who usually say *Parmenides's* Ἔπη, and  
 Xeno-

Xenophanes's Εποποιίαν, and the Pythagorean's Χρυσᾶ Ἔπη? What to Suidas, who says Orpheus wrote Ὠδοῦπιχθᾶ Ἐπικῶς; and Timotheus about *Quadrupeds, Birds, Fishes, &c.* Ἐπικῶς; and Tribonianus upon Ptolemee's Canon Ἐπικῶς? Are not these Poems *Philosophical*, as well as *Empedocles's*?

(p) *Arist.* But what will he say to (p) *Aristotle*, (q) *Plutarch*  
*Nicom.* and (r) *Simplicius*, who expressly call *Empedocles's*  
 VII, 3. Poems ΕΠΗ? For pray what difference between  
 (q) *Plut. de* Ἔπη or Εποποιίαν, and Πόινμα Ἐπικόν? *Athenaus*  
*Aud. Poet.* plainly shews us, that they have all the same Im-  
 (r) *Simplic.* portance; for the same Poem of *Archestratus*,  
*ad Phys.* which in one place he calls Ἐπικόν ποίνμα, in (s) a-  
*Arist. p. 7.* nother, he calls Εποποιίαν; and in a (t) third he  
 & 258. calls the Author Εποποιός. But let us see Mr.  
 (l) *P. 104.*  
 (t) *P. 335.*

P. 45. *B's* happy address in managing this Cavil. If  
 the *Dr.* says he, *has met with an account of Em-  
 pedocles's writing an Epic Poem, he knows more of  
 his Works than Laertius did, who was so absurd as  
 to pass it over in silence.* A noble Paragraph in-  
 deed, to come from such a Master of Sense and  
 Style. If *Laertius* did not know of that Epic  
 Poem, how was he *absurd* in not speaking of it?  
 Mr. *B.* may please to explain this, who at least is  
 answerable for the Language of his Book. But his  
 Assistant perhaps *that consulted Books for him*, is  
 to blame here for the Matter; and the next time  
 that Mr. *B.* sees him, he may justly call him to  
 account for deceiving him about *Laertius*. For  
 that Author reckons up among other Poems of  
*Empedocles's* (u) ΕΡΕΞΟΥ ΔΙΑΒΑΣΙΣ, *The Ex-  
 pedition of Xerxes*; which he afterwards calls  
 ΠΕΡΣΙΚΑ. And I dare appeal to Mr. *B.* him-  
 self, if That was not an *Epic Poem* in his own  
 sense of the Word. 'Tis true, *Laertius* adds,  
 that *Empedocles's* Sister is reported to have burnt

that

that Poem. But that's nothing to the present point; for Mr. B. challenges me to produce any Voucher for *Empedocles's* writing an Epic Poem: and that I have now done. Nay if *Aristotle's* Copies do not deceive us, that *Epic Poem* was extant in His time, (x) for he quotes a fragment of it,

\* ΑΛΦΙΤΟΝ ὕδατι κολλήσας —————

But I own, that for *Περσικοῖς*, I would there read *Φυσικοῖς*, as others have done before me; because the very same Fragment is quoted by him (y) in another place out of *Εμπεδοκλῆς ἐν τοῖς Φυσικοῖς*: and the very Sense of it, *A Paste made of Meal and Water*, shews it rather belongs to *Physics*, than to the Expedition of *Xerxes*.

But can the Dr. be so wretchedly ignorant, says Mr. B. as to think every large Copy of Hexameters is an Epic Poem? On whose side the wretched Ignorance lies, the present Age and Posterity will judge. But it's plain, Mr. B. supposes, that *Empedocles's* *Physics* were but a large Copy of Verses. And yet *Laertius* would have taught him, that those *Physics* consisted of 5000 Verses; which are above twice as many as are in all *Virgil's* *Georgics*. Nay they were divided into several Books; and *Simplicius* cites the FIRST and SECOND of them; (z) *Εμπεδοκλῆς ἐν πρώτῳ καὶ Φυσικῶν*, (a) *Εμπεδοκλῆς ἐν δευτέρῳ καὶ Φυσικῶν*. Mr. B. seems to have as false a Notion of *Empedocles's* ΚΑΘΑΡΜΟΙ, Treatise of Expiations: for he compares it with *Theocritus's* *Pharmacutria*; as if they resembl'd one another both in Bigness and in Subject. Now the one has but 166 Verses in it; and the other, as *Laertius* says, had 5000: is not Mr. B. then very exact in this first way of Comparison? As for the Subject of them,

(x) *Arist. Probl. XXI,*

22. *Εμπεδοκλῆς ἐν*

*τοῖς Περσικοῖς.*

(y) *Meteor. IV, 4.*

P. 45.

(z) *Simplic. Pkysf.*

*Arist. P 34.*

(a) P. 86.

P. 46,  
47.

P. 47.

them, the *Pharmaceutria* of *Theocritus* is nothing but the Charms and Philtres of a Woman to make a man in love with her: and what is that to *Καθαρσμοὶ* the Expiations of *Empedocles*? which were either the Lustrations of Cities and Countries from Plagues, Earthquakes, Prodigies; or of private Persons from Diseases, Dreams, Murders: or rather (if Mr. B. say true, *That the Subject of that Treatise was in great measure drawn from the Pythagoreans*) the *Καθαρσμοὶ* must signify the Purification of the Mind in the *Pythagorean* way; which *Hierocles*, *Jamblichus*, and others speak so much of. Mr. B. goes on, *That we have a large Fragment of His directed to the people of Agrigent his Townsmen; so that the Subject was no higher, than an Account of Himself to his own Countrymen: and may not Doric then be proper for little Poems, where men of ordinary rank are addressed to?* Here he supposes this Fragment to be a different piece from the *Καθαρσμοὶ*, being a *little Poem*, says he, to the *Agrigentines*: whereas *Laertius* twice tells us, that the Fragment is out of the *Καθαρσμοὶ*, the beginning of which work was thus,

Ω φίλοι, οἱ μέγα ἄστυ καὶ ξανθὸν Ἀκρόγαντον  
Ναίετε —.

So that a Book of 5000 Verses is again dwindled into a *little Poem*. And then to infer from the first Verses of it, *that the Subject of the whole was nothing but an Account of himself to his Countrymen*, is just as if he should argue from the first Verses of the *Georgics*, that the Subject of them is nothing but *Virgil's* account of Himself to *Mæce-nas*.

To shew that *Phalaris's* Epistles might be writ in *Doric* at first, but afterwards be translated; he

he instances in the Pieces of *Periclyone*, and *Aristoxenus*, and *Zaleucus*, three *Pythagoreans*, who in all probability wrote in Doric; and yet in *Stobæus's* time some part of the Writings of the One were in Ionic, and those of the Others in the Common Dialect. Now as for his King *Zaleucus*, I have endeavour'd to shew above, that he was no *Pythagorean*, and that the Writings ascribed to him are a Cheat: and the second Writer *Aristoxenus* was at first indeed a Scholar to *Xenophilus* a *Pythagorean*, and wrote the Lives of *Pythagoras* and his Followers; but he was afterwards *Aristotle's* Scholar: neither did he reckon himself among the *Pythagoreans*, as appears from *Laertius* and *Diodorus*: The last of the *Pythagoreans*, (b) says *Laertius*, were *Xenophilus* and (b) *Laert.* five others, whom *Aristoxenus* saw. And *Diodorus* places (c) τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν φιλοσόφων τὰς τελευ- (c) *Diod.* ταις, the last of the *Pythagorean* Sect, at Olymp. p. 386. ciii, 3. which was XLIV Years before *Aristotle's* Death, whom *Aristoxenus* expected to have succeeded; but *Theophrastus* was preferr'd before him. Why should *Aristoxenus* then write in Doric, who both liv'd at *Athens*, and was no *Pythagorean*? Mr. B's third Writer is *Periclyone*, who, though a *Pythagorean* writ in Ionic. Mr. B. declares more than once, that He despises the mean Employment of *Index-hunting*; but his Assistant and He, as we have seen in several Instances, are not always of the same Opinion. For the hint of this *Ionic* Fragment of *Periclyone* was taken out of *Stobæus's* Index: but if he had read the Author, and not dip'd into the Index only, he would have found in the very first Chapter two Fragments of *Periclyone's* Book, Περὶ Σοφίας, and both of them in the *Doric*.

The

The *Ionic* Fragment is spurious therefore: for why should she write Philosophy in two Dialects? Nay, to deal freely and openly, I believe all her Fragments are spurious; as most of those of *Pythagoric* Treatises are justly suspected to be: for they appear'd but late in the World, and long after the times of their pretended Authors. *Porphyrus* in his MS Commentary upon *Ptolemee's Harmonics* (which I am glad to hear the very excellent Dr. WALLIS is now publishing at Oxford) cites a Passage of *Archytas* the *Pythagorean*, Οὐ μάλιστα, says he, καὶ γνήσια ἔδειξαι τὰ συγγεγραμμένα, whose Writings in particular are suppos'd to be genuine. Few of the rest will be thought so in the Judgment of knowing Persons: and particularly this *Perictyone* will be exploded for a mere Forgery. For who ever heard before of this *Pythagorean* Lady? *Jamblichus* has given us a List of all the Women of the Sect, that He ever heard of; and there's no such among them. *Stobæus* is the only man, that mentions Her, or her Writings: and I am perswaded, that the Forger of them design'd to have them pass in the name of that *Perictyone*, who was *Plato's* Mother. For they thought it a point of Decorum, to make even the Female Kindred of Philosophers copy after the Men. So in the counterfeit *Socratic Epistles* we have *Socrates's* Wife *Myrto* setting up an Academy for the Ladies. And among the *Pythagoric* Writings we have a Book (d) About *Humane Nature*, Αἰσάρας Πυθαγόρου Λευκίνας, which the Learned *Cantonus* translates *Aresæ Pythag.* He seems to take it for *Aresas*, one of the Successors of *Pythagoras*: but the true Version is thus, *Æsara Pythagora F. Lucanæ*, By *Æsara Pythagoras's* Daughter, the

(d) *Stob.*  
*Eclog Phys.*  
 p. 105.

the Lucanian. And yet neither *Jamblichus*, nor *Porphyry*, nor *Laertius*, when they give us an account of that Philosopher's Daughters, take any notice of *Æsara*. But there's a late Author in *Photius* that mentions her; though the Passage is so corrupted, that the Lady is lost in't. *The Sons of Pythagoras*, says he, were *Mnesarchus and Telauges*;  $\kappa\ \Sigma\delta\epsilon\alpha\ \kappa\ \text{Μυία}\ \alpha\iota\ \delta\upsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\varsigma$ , and *Sara and Myia his Daughters*. Correct it,  $\kappa\ \text{Αιοια}\epsilon\alpha$ : the Syllable *Αι* was lost here, because the same in *ΚΑΙ* preceded it: so that henceforward they may register this *Æsara* in the List of the *Pythagorean Women*, and blot out *Sara* whom no body ever heard of.

I must now consider half a Dozen of Mr. B's Pages by the Lump. A very Learned Person, in excuse for the *Attic Dialect of Phalaris*, had objected to me, (e) *That Ocellus the Lucanian, though a Dorian by his Country, had not written in Doric, as appear'd by his Book yet extant, De Natura Universi*. Now when I was drawing up the former Edition of this Dissertation, I observ'd (f) *Stobæus* quoted some passages of *Ocellus* in *Doric*, which are extant word for word in the present Book, the Dialect only alter'd: whereby I knew the whole Treatise was writ originally in the *Doric Dialect*. I can truly say, I observ'd this my self without knowing that any other had done it before me. And I was induced to think, that no body had done't, from this very Objection about *Ocellus Lucanus*; which was made by a man of very great Reading, and yet plainly implies, that He had no where met with the Observation. And I was confirmed further in the belief of it from the *Cambridg* Edition of *Ocellus*, which was the only one I had then by me; for the First

Annotation

P. 54, 55,  
56, 57, 58,  
59, 60.

(e) *Euripid. Ed. Cantab. Tom. II. p. 523.*  
(f) *Stob. Phys. c. 24.*

Annotation printed there is a Question, *Why, since Archytas, and Timeus Locrus, and Theocritus wrote in the Doric Idiom, Ocellus should write it Attic?* to which no Answer at all is given. Were not these things enough to perswade one, that the Observation had not been made before? I must confess, I was not ignorant that one *Vizzanius* had set out an Edition of *Ocellus*; but being an Editor of no great esteem (the Editor of *Phalaris* must pardon this freedom) I had not purchased the Book, nor knew at all that he had said this thing before me: neither did I think it worth the while to let the Press stand still, while I sought for it; because I knew the *Cambridg* Edition was latter than *Vizzanius's*, and would probably have had the Observation in it; if *Vizzanius* had lit upon't. Besides that I was prone enough to believe, that the Learned Greek Professor, the Author of the Objection, could not be a stranger to *Vizzanius's* Edition; so that I concluded from His not knowing it, that *Vizzanius* had not said it. This is a true Account of this matter about *Ocellus Lucanus*: and I hope it is so fair a one, that all ingenuious Persons, not ting'd with Envy and Malice, will be satisfied with it. I shall now make some Remarks on the Examiner's Harangue, wherein he has labour'd to make the World believe, that I stole the Observation, which I gave out for my own, out of *Vizzanius's* Preface. Which being about Matter of Fact, and within the reach of my own knowledge, I do averr to be a Calumny; and that the Account I have here given is true in every part of it. But let us see how he makes out his Indictment. *He finds the same places in Stobæus named by Vizzanius and Me:*

*thetē-*



therefore I stole the Observation from him. Wonderfully argued! But are not those Passages in *Stobæus* the only Ground, that the Observation is bottom'd on? If two Persons therefore, without concerting together might hit upon the Observation, which I presume Mr. B. will not deny, is it not necessary that they must both hit upon those Proofs, which the Observation solely depends on? If I had concurr'd with *Vizzanius* in some incidental matters not at all necessary to the main Point; it might then look a little more probable, that I had pillaged them from him: but since the Observation in general might be found out without *Vizzanius*'s help; the citing of such places as it's entirely founded on, is no further proof that I made use of his help. But Mr. B. argues further: *That the Dr. says it was agreed and covenanted among the Scholars of that Italian Sect, (g) φωνὴ χεῖναι τῇ πατρίᾳ, to use* P. 55.  
*their own MOTHER TONGUE: which, says he, he* (g) Jam-  
blich. Vie.  
Pyth. p.  
202.  
*FOUND in Vizzanius, who says the SAME thing,* (h) Viz-  
zan. Prof.  
*and quotes the same Authority for it; (h) Tum*  
*quia Pythagoræos quoslibet Doricæ Dialecto studu-*  
*isse comperio; tum quia id Pythagoræ suadeant in-*  
*stituta, qui semper Idiomatum Græcorum Dori-*  
*cum maxime voluit sectari: i. e. All the Pytha-*  
*goreans used the DORIC, according to Pythago-*  
*ras's institution, who prefer'd that Dialect before*  
*all the rest; as Jamblichus says. Now to see the*  
*acuteness of our Examiner; he has brought*  
*here such an Argument to shew me a Plagiarist,*  
*as is a manifest proof that I am none. For how*  
*could I find that in Vizzanius, which is not in*  
*him? and how does He say the same thing, who*  
*says the very contrary? The thing, as I said it,*  
*is thus; The Pythagoreans injoin'd all the Greeks,*

(i) *Jamb.* Φωνῆ χρη-  
 δαι τῆ πατρίδα ἐχέουσιν  
 περιήγαλλον, ὅσοι ἦν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἀποστάντων πρὸς  
 τὴν κοινωσίαν ταύτην.  
 τὸ δὲ ξενίζεν ἐκ ἐδοκίμα-  
 ζον.

(i) that enter'd themselves into the Society, to use every man his *Mother-Tongue*: *Ocellus* therefore, being a *Dorian of Lucania*, must have writ in the *Doric*. This I took to be *Jamblichus's* meaning.

But *Vizzanius* has represented it

thus: That they injoin'd all that came to them, to use the *Mother Tongue* of *Crotona*, which was the *Doric*. Now this is quite contrary to what I make it. For if an *Athenian* or an *Ionian* had list'd himself among them, they must both have spoken *Doric*, according to *Vizzanius*: but in my Interpretation, they must each have retain'd his own Country Dialect. Whether *Vizzanius* or I have hit upon the true meaning of *Jamblichus*, perhaps all competent Readers will not be of a mind; but I dare say, they will unanimously agree in this, that Mr. B. though he would prove Me a *Plagiary*, has taken such effectual care, that no body will ever be a *Plagiary* from Him.

But I had said, *If a man had publish'd a Book, not in his Mother-tongue, he had been banish'd the Society.* Which is an Inference, says Mr. B. that *Vizzanius* did not make. How then have I taken all word for word out of his Preface? But Mr. B. gives four Reasons, why *Vizzanius* did not make the Inference. First, *Because this Injunction was not observed by Empedocles.* Have I not justly observ'd once before, That there's a sort of Fatality in Mr. B's Errors? Could he possibly have brought an Instance more directly against himself? For *Empedocles* was really turn'd out of the Society for writing that Book, that

(k) *Laert.* Mr. B. refers to: (k) and a Law was made up-  
 on't,

on't, that no *Epic* Poet from that time should be admitted into the Company. Secondly, he says, *The Author of the Golden Verses wrote not in Doric*; and yet was not expell'd the Society. But can Mr. B. prove, that the Society was in Being, when those Verses were first made? We are sure *Pythagoras* was not the Author of them; but we know not who was. And I believe, no mention is made of them, till above c years after the extinction of that Society. Much weaker therefore is Mr. B's Third Reason, *That Jamblichus, even while he is writing this account of the Pythagoreans, did not observe the Injunction.* For *Jamblichus* was a *Platonic*, and not a *Pythagorean*: and the Society had been dissolv'd above 100 years before His time. The Fourth is, *That Pythagoras himself did not observe this Injunction*; for an Epistle of his is in *Ionic*. True indeed, *Pythagoras* did not observe it, as *Vizzanius* explains the Injunction; but as I have done it, he did observe it; for his *ἑὴν μητρὶα* Mother-Tongue was *Ionic*, he being a Native of *Samos*. Besides this, I might tell Mr. B. that the Epistle is spurious; so that every way this last Instance is worthy of his Wit and Learning.

There are yet one or two Cavils about this business of *Vizzanius*, which I cannot let pass without an Answer. He says, *The scarcity of Vizzanius's Book, and the probability of not being trac'd, encourag'd the Dr. to pillage from him*: which is spoken with so much Sense and Truth; that the very contrary may be fairly concluded from't. For how is his Edition so scarce, that has been twice printed within Fifty years, and may be purchas'd at a small value? And where could I expect to be more easily trac'd than here, if I had

P. 138.

really stolen from him? The Discovery that I thought I was the first Author of, was about *Ocellus Lucanus*: and would not any Person, that was minded to sift it, first of all look into the Editions of *Ocellus*? Certainly if I was disposed to be a Plagiary, I would steal with a little more discretion: and not pretend to tell News of *Ocellus*, out of the common Editions of him. And without question there was no improbability of my *being trac'd*: since it appears that the Examiner was able to trace me. But I had said, *If I may expect thanks for the Discovery, I dare engage to make out, that Ocellus wrote in Doric.* This by a Just and Candid Reader would be thought to imply, that I believ'd the Discovery scarce worthy of Thanks: but Mr. B. would not slip the opportunity of shewing his Good Nature and his Ability at Farce and Banter; so that he discovers in the Expression *an extraordinary Air of Satisfaction.* And yet this Air is not quite so discernible, as that of Mr. B's a little before; when having offer'd at a slight Correction of *Strabo*, Ἀκρόγας Γελάων ἀποικίας, for the vulgar Reading Ἀκρόγας Ἰώνων; which *Casaubon* and *Cluverius*, who knew well enough that *Agrigentum* was a Colony of the *Geloans*, had let pass as an Error of the Author's, not of the Copyers; because in some other accounts of the *Sicilian Colonies*, as well as in this, that Author differs from all the rest: the Examiner, I say, admiring and pluming himself for that glorious Emendation, *I wonder*, says he, *how this escap'd the most learned and acute Casaubon's Observation.* Now here's an *Air* of suspicion, that these fine Epithets were sprinkled here upon *Casaubon*, to elevate some body the higher; and to hint to us, that

P. 54.

P. 51.

that he was *as learned and more acute than He?*  
 But for my own part, I am so far from valuing my self upon a Discovery of *Ocellus's Doric*; that I have expung'd it out of this second Edition; though it was as really my own Discovery, as if no body had hit on't before me. Such a Discovery is but a business of Chance, or at the best of bare Industry; neither is there any Sagacity or Judgment required to it: and it has so little of Difficulty, that not only *Vizzanius*, but even the Editor of *Phalaris* might easily have stumbled on't.

I have run through the Examiner's Authorities, which he has produced on this head: let us now take a short view of his Reasonings. The result of what he has said about Poets that chang'd their Country Dialect, is this: *That they chose such a Dialect as was then in fashion, when they wrote. For there was a fashion in Dialects, and the chief of them had severally their course and period, in which they flourished.* Now I must frankly acknowledge, that let *Phalaris* or *Aesop*, or whoever you will, be spurious; this Reasoning is a genuine piece, and the Examiner's own: for it carries his peculiar Mark and Signature upon it, in that it proves directly against himself. For it's so far from being an account why *Phalaris* should use the *Attic Dialect*, that it's almost a Demonstration, that he would not have used it. Because in the time of the true *Phalaris* the *Attic Dialect* was not yet in fashion: there was no *Attic Prose* then, besides *Draco's* and *Solon's* Laws; and but one Piece or two in Verse. I had expressly urg'd this against the Epistles, *That Phalaris would not write Attic; especially since in those early Times, before Stage-*

P. 42.

See here

Poetry, P. 311.

Poetry, and Philosophy, and History had made it famous over Greece, that Dialect was no more valued than any of the rest. Where it is not only intimated, that there was a Fashion of Dialects: but the very Causes are assign'd, that brought the Attic into Fashion. Phalaris therefore would never forsake his own native Tongue for the Attic, at a time when neither Stage-Poet, nor Philosopher, nor Historian had writ in't.

But the Examiner has come off worse, if possible, in his Account of Prose Writers; that exchang'd their Native Dialect for some other. For *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, though he was born in a Doric Country, yet lived in another; and in the Age of *Augustus*, when the Attic Idiom had been famous for cccc years. What's this then to *Phalaris's* case, who never stirr'd, that we know of, out of Sicily, and liv'd at a time, when the Attics were as unlearned as their Neighbours. We may apply the same, with a little allowance, to his other Prose Authors. But he should have instanc'd in familiar Epistles, never intended for publick View, such as *Phalaris's* are; and show'd that even in those cases men have deserted their own Dialect; and this had been something to the purpose. But he'll tell us, he has not been wanting here; for to come closer to the point, says he, we have a Letter of Dion of Syracuse to *Dionysius the Tyrant*, and a piece of one of *Dionysius's*, both preserv'd among *Plato's Epistles*; and written in such a Dialect, as if both Prince and Philosopher (to use the Dr's Phrase) had gone to School at Athens. Here he fancied, he was very smart upon me; but as it generally happens with him, he lashes himself. For, to use the Examiner's Phrase, the Philosopher did really

really go to School at *Athens*, and liv'd with *Plato* and *Speusippus*: and though the *Prince* did not go to *Athens*, yet *Athens*, as I may say, went to him; for not *Plato* only, but several other Philosophers, were entertain'd by him at his Court in *Syracuse*.

But to shew Mr. *B.* what a difference there is between Poems, or Philosophical, or Historical Tracts, designed for the Public; and private Letters about Family Affairs, never intended to be sent abroad; and that an Argument about the Dialect must not be drawn from the one to the other; I'll give him an instance in one of his own List, *Epimenides the Cretan*. Mr. *B.* would prove out of *St. Paul*, that this *Cretan's* Poems were not in *Doric*: but though his Argument fail'd him, I supplied him with a better, which plainly shews they were in *Ionic*. Neither will I upon account of this *Ionicism* impeach those Poems as supposititious: because in those days it was the fashionable Dialect for all *Epic* Poetry. For as (1) *Hermogenes* observes, *the* (1) *Hermog.*  
*Ionic is sweet and naturally Poetical, ποιητικὴ φύσις* p. 315.  
*σι καὶ ἡδονα.* But if Mr. *B.* should produce a private Letter of this *Epimenides*, not written in the *Cretan* Language, then the case would be quite alter'd; for the Letter I should tax as a Cheat, though I did not the Poem: and I have a great example to warrant me in't. *There's an* *Laert in E-*  
*Epistle goes abroad, says Laertius, of Epimenides* *pimen.*  
*to Solon, about the Form of Government that Minos gave to the Cretans: but Demetrius the Magnesian endeavours to prove it spurious, because it is not written in the Cretan Dialect, but in the Attic.* Mr. *B.* may see by this instance, that the Inference will not hold from Poems to Epistles.

Laert.

For I hope he'll allow this *Demetrius* to be a competent Judge here. He was *Cicero's* Præceptor in Rhetoric, an Acquaintance of *Pomponius Atticus*, and an excellent Critic and Historian. And if He thought it an absurdity for a *Cretan* to write *Attic* Letters, though directed to an *Athenian*; how much more absurd may We think it in *Phalaris* a *Sicilian*, to write *Attic* Epistles to other *Sicilians*? There's another Letter of *Epimenides* to *Solon*, which is truly in the *Cretan* or *Doric* Idiom: but for all that, I shall not believe it genuine. For one Forger may be more skillfull than another: and one of the most ignorant of them all is the mock *Sicilian Prince*.

## XIII.

**B**UT since Tyrants will not be confined by Laws; let us suppose, if you will, that our *Phalaris* might make use of the *Attic*, for no reason at all, but his own arbitrary humour and pleasure: yet we have still another Indictment against the credit of the Epistles. For even the *Attic* of the true *Phalaris's* age is not there represented; but a more recent Idiom and Stile, that by the whole thread and colour of it betrays it self to be many Centuries younger than He. Every living Language, like the perspiring Bodies of living Creatures, is in perpetual motion and alteration; some words go off, and become obsolete; others are taken



taken in, and by degrees grow into common use ; or the same word is inverted to a new sense and notion , which in tract of time makes as observable a change in the air and features of a Language, as Age makes in the lines and meen of a Face. All are sensible of this in their own native Tongues, where continual Use makes every man a Critic. For what *Englishman* does not think himself able, from the very turn and fashion of the Stile, to distinguish a fresh *English* composition from another a hundred years old ? Now there are as real and sensible differences in the several ages of *Greek* ; were there as many that could discern them. But very few are so versed and practised in that Language, as ever to arrive at that subtilty of Taste. And yet as few will be content to relish or dislike a thing, not by their own Sense, but by another man's Palate. So that should I affirm, That I know the novity of these Epistles from the whole body and form of the work ; none, perhaps, would be convinced by it, but those that without my indication could discover it by themselves. I shall let that alone then, and point only at a few particular marks and moles in the Letters, which every one that pleases may know them by. In the very first Epistle ; ὧν ἐμοὶ  
 πῆγ-

πεγλέπεις, which you accuse me of, is an innovation in language; for which the Ancients used *πεσφείεις*. In the CXLII, among other Presents to a Bride, he sends *θυγατέρας τέτταρας ὁμήλικας*; which would anciently have signified *Daughters*; but he here means it of *Virgins* or *Maidens*; as *Fille* and *Figlia* signifie in *French* and *Italian*: which is a most manifest token of a later Greek. Even \* *Tzetzes*, when he tells the story out of this Epistle, interprets it *Maids*, *πρεσπαίνας*. In the LXXVII, *πολλοὶ παίδων ἔντες ἐρασά*, many that are fond of their children; for that is his sense of the words; which, of old, would have been taken for a flagitious love of Boys; as if he had said, *πολλοὶ ὄντες παιδερασά*. They that will make the search, may find more of this sort; but I suppose these are sufficient to unmask the recent Sophist under the person of the old Tyrant.

\* *Chiliad.*  
p. 196.

What the Examiner has been pleas'd to animadvert upon this Article, is comprehended under two Heads; his general Reflexion upon the Purity and Stability of the Greek Tongue, and his particular Exceptions to the Words, that I had mark'd out as Tokens of a Recent Writer.

p. 69.

In his general Harangue, he first spends a whole Page to inform us of a great piece of News, that our *English* Tongue has undergon very considerable Changes: then he asks me these

these pertinent Questions, *Do you take the Greek of Lucian to be as different from that of Plato, as our English now is from that which was spoken soon after the Conquest? are not Homer and Oppian much nearer one another in their Language, than Chaucer and Cowley, though in time they are far more distant? As if I had supposed, that the gradual Alteration of the Greek Language was as great in every Century while it lasted, as that of our English Tongue this last hundred years: whereas it's as plain, as words can make it, that I compared the Changes of the Greek during the whole Interval between the true Phalaris and the Sophist, which I call'd in a round number a Thousand Years, with the changes of our English in the last Hundred.* Then he commences a formal and Sophistical Declamation about the Reasons, that made the Greek Language so fix'd and unalterable: where he gives us some shining Metaphors, and a polish'd Period or two; but for the Matter of it, it is either some common and obvious Thought, dress'd and curl'd in the Beauish way; or some new Mistake, which now at last has its happy Birth from the fertile Genius of our Examiner. The Reader shall judge between us, whether I pay him in his own Coin, that is, misrepresent him; when he has consider'd what I shall now say.

The Accusation, that I brought against the Epistles, was this; *That the Author has writ them in the New and Recent Attic; not that which was in use in the Age of the true Phalaris; whom the Examiner himself owns to have been Contemporary with Solon.* So that if we can make any Discovery what the Attic Language was in Solon's time: we may be sure that the true

P. 70.

P. 79.

- true *Phalaris* would have spoken in the same way, had he a mind to have used that Dialect. There's an Oration ascribed to *Lysias*,  
 (a) *Lysias* (a) *against Theomnestus*; which *Harpocration* once  
 Κατὰ Θε- or twice questions if it be genuine: but whe-  
 ομνήσε. ther it be *Lysias's* or not, it's all one to our pre-  
 sent purpose; for we know the Time that it was  
 made, and by that account it may well enough be  
 (b) *Dionys.* *Lysias's*. That Orator died (b) at Olymp. c, 2. or  
 Hall's. c, 3. and this Oration appears to be made three  
 in *Lysias*. or four years before at Olymp. xcix, 4. For  
 the Person, who speaks it, tells us; 'Εμοὶ ὡρ' ἔτι  
 εἰσὶ τετράκοντα. Ἔξ ὅτε ὑμεῖς κατεληλύθατε, εἰκοσὶν τε-  
 τὶ φαίνομαι ἔν τεισχιμδεκίτης ὄν, ὅτε ὁ πατὴρ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 (c) *Lys. p. 116.* Τετράκοντα ἀπέθνησκε. (c) I am now, says he, xxx  
 years old: and this is the xxth year, since you A-  
 thenians return'd hither: so that I was XIII years  
 of Age, when my Father was kill'd by the Thirty  
 Tyrants. This is the common Reading of that  
 Passage; but if we examin it, it will be found to be  
 a manifest Depravation. For the Thirty Tyrants  
 (d) *Diod.* (d) began Olymp. xciv, 1. and in fear of them  
 and others. half of the *Athenians* forsook their Country:  
 then at Olymp. xciv, 4. the Thirty were de-  
 posed, and those that had left *Athens* (κατελη-  
 λύθησαν) return'd again. If the Person then, that  
 spoke this Oration, was xxx years old in the  
 xxth year after the return of the *Athenians*: he  
 could not possibly be XIII years old, nor above x,  
 when the Thirty Tyrants murder'd his Father.  
 But the true Correction of this place may be  
 had from the next Oration, which is called *The*  
*Lys. p. 119.* *Second against Theomnestus*, but is really no-  
 thing else but the rough Draught of the other:  
 where the Person's Age is thus set forth: Ἐπι ἔ-  
 σα μωὶ δύο καὶ τετράκοντα. Ἔξ ἢ δ' ὑμεῖς κατέληθτε, εἰκο-  
 σὶν

εὐν τῷ τῷ φαίνομαι ἐν δωδεκάετης ὄν, ὅτε ὁ πατὴρ ὑπὸ  
 τῶν τριάκοντα ἀπέθνησκεν. *I am now, says he,*  
 XXXII years of Age; and this is the xxth year  
 since your Return: so that I was XII years old, when  
 my Father was kill'd by the Thirty. Now this ac-  
 count is agreeable to History and Truth: for if  
 the xxxii year of this person's Age was coinci-  
 dent with the xxth after the return of the *Athe-*  
*nians*: then his xiiith falls upon the last year of  
 the Thirty Tyrants; and in that we must sup-  
 pose his Father was kill'd. So that in the other O-  
 ration, for ἐτη λ. we must read, ἐτη λβ. and ιβέτης  
 for ιγέτης; for the numbers being thus written  
 in numeral Letters were very liable to be mista-  
 ken. Upon the whole therefore, as I said be-  
 fore, this Oration must have been written at O-  
 lymp. xcix, 4. which is ccxiii years after the  
 Archonship of *Solon*, when he made his Body of  
 Laws. Now by the Laws of *Athens*, if a man  
 call'd another *Ανδρῶφόνον*, a Murderer, it was pe-  
 nal: so that the Person, who speaks this Orati-  
 on, brings an Action against *Theomnestus*, for  
 saying, *He had kill'd his Father*, Τὸν πατέρα ἀπικ-  
 τονέναι. The Defendant makes his Exception  
 to the Indictment, because he did not call him  
*Ανδρῶφόνον*, which was the Word that was penal  
 by Law. But the other replies, that the Sense  
 and Meaning of the Laws was to be regarded,  
 as well as the Words: (d) *For though Things, says* (d) *Lyfias*  
*he, continue the same; yet we do not use some of* P. 118.  
*the same Words, that our Ancestors did.* (e) *Let* (e) P. 117.  
*the Crier read some of the old Laws of Solon.*  
 ΔΕΔΕΣΘΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΟΔΟΚΑΚΗ. *Here what*  
*was Ποδοκάκη, the Stocks in Solon's time, is now*  
*called Τὸ ξύλον.* ΕΠΕΓΓΥΑΙΝ ΕΠΙΟΡΚΗΣΑΝΤΑ  
 ΤΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ· ΔΕΔΙΟΤΑ ΔΕ ΔΙΚΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΑ  
 ΔΡΑ-

ΔΡΑΣΚΑΖΕΙΝ. Here is Ἐπορκεῖν to swear, which we now call Ὀμῶσαι; and Δεστιάζειν to run away, which is now Ἀποδιδράσκειν. ΟΣΤΙΣ ΑΠΙΛΛΗΤΗ ΤΗ ΘΥΡΑΙ. Here's Ἀπῆλλεν to exclude, for which we now say Ἀποκλείειν. ΤΟ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΝ ΣΤΑΣΙΜΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ. Here Στάσιμον does not signify, To weigh Money in Scales, as we now use the word; but to let it out at Use. ΟΣΑΙ ΠΕΦΑΣΜΕΝΩΣ ΠΩΛΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΗΟΣ. Here Πεφασμένως signifies openly, which we now call Φανερώς; and Πωλεῖσθαι is to walk, now Βασιλεῖν; and Οικῶσ is a Servant, now Θεράποντ; and there are many more such as these. The ingenious Reader may please to observe the last words of *Lysias*;

(f) Πολ-  
λά ἢ πι-  
αῦτα κ;  
ἄλλα ὄσιν.

(f) That there are Many more such as these: and then he will have a just apprehension of the great change of the *Attic* Tongue between *Solon* and *Lysias*'s time. Some of those words of *Solon* that our Orator has produc'd here, are mention'd too by others: as Ποδράκη is quoted from *Solon* by (g) *Demosthenes*; and Πεφασμένως πωλεῖνται by (h) *Plutarch*, which he interprets as *Lysias* does; Εμφανῶς φοιτῶσιν. And if a proportionable number of such antiquated words do not occur in the other Fragments of *Solon*'s Laws: the reason is, because the Writers do not cite the very Words, but only express the Sense of them. As when

(g) Demost.  
c. Timoc.

(h) Plut.  
Solon.

*Plutarch* relates the Law, (i) That whoever Βιάσεται ravish'd a Free-Woman, should pay a Hundred Drachms: We know from *Hesychius*, that the original word of *Solon* was not Βιάσασθαι, but

(i) Plut.  
Sol.

(k) Hesych.  
in Βεινῶν.

(l) Plut.  
Sol.

(k) Βεινῶν. But in another place, where he declares, that he cites the Law αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι; (l) word for word, ΕΠΙ ΦΟΝΩΙ Η ΣΦΑΓΑΙΣΙΝ, we do not fail to meet with the old obsolete Idiom, as Σφαγαῖσιν here for σφαγαίς.

Now

Now I suppose it's sufficiently plain from these Specimens, that the *Attic* Dialect was not so very stable and immutable, as the Examiner imagines. There were only two Centuries betwixt *Solon* and *Lysias*: and the Alteration seems to be almost as great, as what has happen'd in our own Language within the same space. For as to the changes of entire Words, the Instances here alledg'd are a plain proof of it: and for the Orthography or way of Spelling, which is the principal variation of the Modern *English* from the Old; we should find as considerable a Difference between *Solon's* and *Lysias's* Spelling, if we had a sight of the Original *Κύβερς* Tables of his Laws. For in *Solon's* time there were (m) but xviii Greek Letters in all, the rest being invented afterwards by *Epicharmus* and *Simonides*: and we are sure, that the whole xxiv were not in (n) Public Use at *Athens* till the Archonship of *Euclides*, Olymp. xciv, 2. So that some of the words cited above by *Lysias* and *Plutarch* were by *Solon* spell'd thus: ΔΕΔΕΣΤΗΑΙ· ΤΕΙ ΤΗΥΡΑΙ· ΠΗΟΝΟΙ Ε ΣΠΗΑΓΑΙΣΙΝ. Upon all accounts therefore the *Attic* was no more privileged from change than the other Languages of the World are. Nay, we may suppose, there was a greater change in it betwixt *Theseus* and *Solon*, than between *Solon* and *Lysias*: the former Interval being three times as long as the latter. For we know, (o) that the *Attic* and *Ionic* were originally the very same Language; and yet afterwards we find them to differ exceedingly. I make no question, but the *Ionians*, who were *Attic* Colonies, had a gradual Change in their Dialect, as well as *Athens* their common Mother had. For *Herodotus* informs us, (p) That the

(m) See here p. 241, 242.

(n) See *Meursius Fort. Attic.* p. 63. *Vales Harpocrat.* p. 101.

(o) See here p. 514.

(p) *Herod.* I. 142. *Χαράκτῆρες γλώσσωνς Ἰωνίων*

Ionians had four quite different Idioms of Language : so that it's evident that They too had varied from the Ancient Attic. But yet it's pretty observable, that several of those antiquated words of Solon's are what we now call Ionic : as Πωλύμαι for βαδίζω is very frequent in Homer,

Οὐτέ ποτ' εἰς ὄρηθν πωλέσκετο κωιδάνμερον.

And so Οἰκῆ for Σεξίπολι is doubly Ionic ; both as to the whole Word, and as to the Termination of it, ῆ for ἔως : and this too is several times in Homer,

Ἐξ ὕπνου γόωσα φίλες οἰκῆας ἐγέεθι.

And this illustrates, and is it self illustrated by Dionysius Halicarn. who asserts clearly and fully to our purpose, (q) That the Ancient Attic Dialect had but some small variations from the Ionic. Now to apply this to the Epistles of Phalaris ; I would crave leave to ask the Admirers of them, if the Attic Dialect there be after Solon's Example ; as it would certainly be, if the Tyrant had writ them ? Is the Formation of Nouns after Solon's Model, Αισι for αις, and η for εως ? Are there any antiquated words there, as πωλεῖσαι, δεσχεῖν, περασμένως, &c ? And yet the Sense of some of them occurs there, but express'd in a more recent way. Though if we consider what Lysias says, That there were πολλά τιαῦτα MANY such in Solon's Laws ; it must be own'd, that the True Epistles of Phalaris had been full of such Words, as perhaps would have puzzled a better Scholar (if there can be one) than the late Editor of the False ones.

The Examiner seems to take pains to persuade us, that the Attic Dialect was of such a fix'd and durable nature ; that it's in vain to pretend to distinguish any different Ages of it. But the

(q) Dionys.  
de Thucyd.  
p. 147.  
Μικρῆς  
τινας δια-  
φορῆς.



the Greeks themselves were of another Opinion ; if They may be allow'd in their own Language to be as knowing, as Mr. B. Some of them were so nice, as to distinguish a middle Age of that Dialect between the times of *Solon* and *Lysias*. *Dionysius Halicarn.* tells us, (r) That *Lysias* (r) *Dionys.* was the best Pattern of the Attic Tongue, not of that v. *Lys.*

Ancient one, that *Plato* and *Thucydides* used, but of the Fashionable one in his own time. So that here are three sorts of Attic specify'd within the compass of two Centuries : for I suppose it's plain, that *Thucydides's* Language is as different from that of *Solon's* Laws, as from that of *Lysias's* Oration. *Demetrius Magnes*, in the passage above cited, calls a pretended Letter of *Epimenides* to *Solon* an Imposture, (s) because it was (s) *Laer.* written in the Attic Tongue, and even in the New in *Epim.*

Attic. Do but substitute the name of *Phalaris* <sup>Γεργαμ-  
μύων Ατ-  
τίδι φωνή,  
χι πάντα  
νέα.</sup> instead of *Epimenides* ; and 'tis exactly the same Indictment that I have made to the Epistles.

All the three, *Epimenides*, *Solon* and *Phalaris* were Contemporaries; and if *Epimenides's* Letter was detected to be a Cheat, because it was the New Attic; by the same rule we must discard *Phalaris's* : for *Demetrius* could know of no Newer Attic, than that of *Phalaris's* Epistles. Nay there's nothing more common in the Greek Writers than this distinction of the (t) Old and (t) *Αρχαία* New Attic; as may be seen in *Etymologicon M.* <sup>η Νέα  
Αττίς.</sup> *Eustathius*, *Prolegom. ad Aristoph.* *Synesius de Insomniis*, &c. The Attic Language, says *Lucian*, (u) has in tract of Time undergone many (u) *Luci-  
an de A-  
πορρ. Πολ-  
λά ἐκίρε-  
ψάσθη.* changes, but the word *Απορρ.* has had the luck to continue all along. So far was he from believing it so fix'd and enduring, as the Examiner dreams it was.

The Causes of the Changes in the *Attic* Language are not so secret and abstruse, but that a Man of less Sagacity than Mr. B. might easily have found them out. For if we consider the great conflux of Strangers to that City; the vast numbers of Slaves from all Nations; and of Foreigners that settled there; the frequent Wars that they had abroad, and the Hired Troops that they often maintain'd at home; and their mighty Trade both in their own Port and all over *Greece*: we shall rather admire, that the Alterations in their Dialect were so few, than affirm with Mr. B. that there were none at all.

(x) *Athen.* (x) In *Demetrius Phalereus's* time, at Olymp. cx. p. 272. the Inhabitants of *Attica* were 21,000 Citizens, 10,000 Foreigners Naturaliz'd, and 400,000 Slaves. Now if there were above XIX Slaves and Strangers to one Citizen, as by this account it plainly appears; this Cause alone is more than sufficient to introduce a great Change in their Dialect.

P. 71. But the ingenious Mr. B. tells us, *That the Empire of the Greeks did not a little contribute to the stability of their Language*; that is, as he afterwards expresses it; *to the keeping it entire and unmix'd*. Now I am of opinion, that if another man had been to name some of the Causes of the *Change and Mixture* of the Greek, or indeed of any other Tongue, he would have pitch'd upon *Empire* in the first place. For even Common Sense will tell one, that if a Nation extends its Conquests over other Countries of a different Speech, and retain them in subjection by standing Armies and Garrisons, and by keeping all the Civil Power and Publick Offices in its own Hands; it may extinguish indeed by this means, the Ancient Language of the Conquer'd; but

but its Own too must needs have a little mixture, and imbibe something from the Tongue that it destroys : as by pouring a great quantity of Water to a little Wine,

Ἀπώλεσας τὸ οἶνον, ἐπιχέας ὕδατος,

you may quite destroy the Wine, but yet the Water will tast of the mixture. It is evident from the Laws of *Numa*, and the XII Tables, and the Inscription on the *Columna Duiliana*, compared with the Plays of *Terence*; that the *Roman* Language had a greater Change in the last c years between *Duilius* and *Terence*; than in the cccc between *Numa* and *Duilius*. And the true Reason of this was *Empire*; for before *Duilius's* time in the first *Punic* War the *Romans* had got nothing beyond *Italy*: but in the following Century they carried their Eagles almost all over *Europe*. So that the vast Confluence of People from all the Provinces, the introducing of Foreign Artificers and Captive Slaves from every Quarter, and the Natives that return'd home from the Expeditions, made an Innovation of Language at *Rome* it self. And if *Alexander's* Conquests in *Asia* had not altogether as great an effect upon the Greek Tongue; the Reason was, because the Empire was soon divided into so many Branches. But if *Alexander* had return'd out of *Asia*, and plac'd the Seat of his Empire in some City of *Greece*, and transmitted it entire to Posterity, the vast Crouds of those that would have come to Court from the furthest parts of the Monarchy, would have made the same Alteration of the Language there, as afterwards happen'd at *Rome*.

But Mr. B. is in great admiration at the Stability of the Greek Tongue; *It was incomparably,*

- P. 70. he says, *the most fix'd and enduring of any that we are generally acquainted with.* What Languages *We*, that is the Examiner and his Assistant, *are acquainted with*, I know not: and therefore I have nothing to say against this Proposition. But when he goes on, and tells us, *That no other Language, that has been of known and familiar use in the World, has been as durable as the Greek; and that it was absolutely the most Holding Tongue in the World;* the Examiner had better have *bolden his Tongue*, than have talked so crudely and erroneously. For we are sure from the Names of Persons and Places, mention'd in Scripture before the Deluge, not to insist upon other Arguments, that the *Hebrew* was the Primitive Language of Mankind; and it continu'd pure for above 3000 years, till the Captivity into *Babylon*. Even from the Date of the *Mosaic Law* to the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, there's a distance of 900 Years: yet the Language of the two Writers is the very same. What can the Examiner shew like this, either for Continuance or Purity, in the Greek Tongue? I will mention one Language more, and that is the *Syriac*. The Holy Scripture informs us, that *Laban the Syrian*, when he made a League with his Son-in-law *Jacob*, call'd the heap of Stones, that after the Custom of those times was erected for a Memorial of it,
- Genes. 31. יגר שדדוּתָא *Igar Saldutha, The heap of Witness*: which we are sure, from the *Syriac* Versions of the *Old and New Testament*, continued to be pure and *Vulgar Syriac* for 2000 Years: nay the very same Language is said to be preserv'd and spoken to this day by the *Maronites of Mount Libanus in Syria*; so that the *Syriac* has lasted for above 3400 Years with little or no variation.

The

The Examiner makes a mighty flourish about the *Sweetness, and Smoothness, and the Music of the Greek Tongue*; and assigns that as the reason of its lasting so long. Put at that rate he must make another Speech about the *Sweetness and Smoothness* of the Eastern Tongues, since They lasted much longer. But the true reason of that long continuance both of *Hebrew* and *Syriac*, was because the Nations continued unmixt and separate from Strangers: and the Preservation of the Greek Language, though not in the same degree of Purity and Duration with the two other, is wholly owing to the same cause. For till the time of *Alexander*, the Wars and the Business of the Greeks were for the most part among one another, and not with foreign Nations. So that though the particular Dialects were perpetually chang'd and diversifi'd by their mutual Conquests and Commerce, yet the same Language for the main continued still. But when the *Roman* Government was establish'd among them, immediately the Latin names of Offices, and Terms of Law, &c. over-run the old Greek Language; so that we have Dictionaries of Barbarous Words of *Greece*, almost as voluminous as those of the True ones.

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Mr. B. avers, *That we have Greek Books writ by Authors at almost 2000 years distance, which disagree less in Phrase and manner of Speech, than any two English ones at 200 years distance*: But Mr. B. is not aware, that the Reason of this was not, because the same Phrases and Manner of Speech continued all that while in Civil and Popular use: but purely because the Later Writers would imitate the Old ones: as the Moderns now imitate *Cicero* and *Virgil*. This is

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evident from the innumerable Greek Lexicons and Scholiasts, some yet preserv'd, but most of them lost; the Design of which was to explain the obsolete words in the Old Writers of Verse and Prose by such other Greek words as were then in use. For *Homer* and *Archilochus*, *Thucydides* and *Herodotus*, were not throughly understood by the vulgar Greeks in *Oppian's* time, but only by the Learned. Nay even *Oppian* himself, who took the allow'd privilege of using antiquated Words (as among Us *Spencer* and *Milton* did, though a little more sparingly) could not be understood in his own Town, except by the Learned. And to shew farther, that it was Imitation only, that makes the Greek Books of different Ages so alike; that general manner of Speech call'd Κοινή Διάλεκτος, *The common Dialect*, which the Writers after *Alexander's* time commonly used, was never at any time or in any place the Popular Idiom: but perfectly a Language of the Learned, almost as the Latin is now. I say almost, because they did not tie themselves up so strictly to imitation; but that still their Style had some Leaven from the Age that each of them liv'd in. 'Tis the Felicity therefore of the Latin Tongue, that it's no longer in popular use; and it's more fitted upon that very account to be the Universal Language of Learning: because it's no longer liable to those Changes, to which living Languages are naturally obnoxious; but by being Dead, it's become Immortal. The Greek indeed would have done as well for that purpose: but there ought to be but One such Language, and the Latin has already got the Possession. As for our *English* Tongue, the great Alterations it has undergone in the two last Centuries

Centuries are principally owing to that vast Stock of Latin words which we have transplanted into our own Soil. Which being now in a manner exhausted, one may easily presage that it will not have such Changes in the two next Centuries. Nay it were no difficult contrivance, if the Publick had any regard to it, to make the *English* Tongue immutable; unless hereafter some Foreign Nation shall invade and over-run us.

I have now examin'd Mr. B's general Reflections upon the Stability of the Greek Tongue; which he has made so sinistrously, and with so very little Judgment, as if he aspired after the Character of *Homer's Margites*,

“Ὁς μὲν ἐπίστατο πολλὰ, κακῶς δ' ἠπίστατο πάντα.

who knew a great many things, but all of them P. 208,  
wrong. But let us see what Exceptions he has 209, 210,  
made to my particular Instances of *Phalaris's* 211.  
recent Language.

I. The first that I had produc'd is out of the first Epistle, *αἰτιέω*, to accuse; which Mr. B. perhaps believes he has answer'd in an Harangue of four Pages. But if I may be allow'd to speak freely, 'tis such miserable Chicanry, 'tis so much below even himself (*I complement him when I say so; to return him his own Civility*) that I cannot abuse my Reader's Patience in winnowing and sifting it, since the whole is nothing but Chaff. He had translated *αἰτιέω*, to exhort: but I observ'd, that in this place neither Sense nor Syntax would allow of that signification. As for the *Syntax*, he has not so much as offer'd any Example either Greek or Latin, where *αἰτιέω* in the sense of *Exhortation* admits a Dative Case after it, as it has here: Yet however he still contends, that the *Sense* of the Pas-

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sage will admit that meaning of the word. And to give him his just Commendation, he has taken the right way to put an end to any Dispute: for a man that talks at that rate resolves not to be confuted. If I say that Grass is green or Snow's white, I am still at the Courtesie of my Antagonist: for if he should rub his Forehead, and deny it, I do not see, by what Syllogism I could refute him. So if the Learned Examiner shall still insist upon't, that the *Sense* of the place is *to exhort*: I have nothing further to urge, but must leave him either to be laugh'd at, or pitied, or admired, as his Readers are dispos'd towards him.

I had observ'd; that the *Latin Version* of Phalaris, which is *falsly ascribed* to Cujacius (for both Original and Translation of this Book have the luck to be father'd upon wrong Authors) interprets *αἰτεῖν* to *accuse*; so that Mr. B. might have learn'd from thence the true meaning of this Passage: but it so happen'd, that that Edition, though in the publick Library at Oxon, lay all the while conceal'd from our late Editor, that then lived there. Upon this Mr. B. commences a very heavy Charge against me; 'tis a greater blemish to me, he says, than want of Judgment; I'm a man of extraordinary Confidence, that can so boldly assert what it's impossible I should know; that would face him down, that he never saw, what he knows himself to have often seen and used: (that is, before he finish'd his Edition of Phalaris) and at last he averrs, That indeed the Edition of Cujacius was one of those Printed Copies he meant in his Preface. Now this is a very tender Controversie, and I'm afraid the very softest handling of it will touch somebody to the Quick. Honour and



and Reputation are nice things ; and if once they happen to receive a Flaw, they are not easily repair'd. I will not make my self an Arbitrator here, but the Reader shall judge between Mr. B. and Me. The words of his Preface are these ;

(y) *There are two Versions of Phalaris, that I had before me ; the one by Naogeorgus, publish'd in the year 1557 ; the other, as it seems, by a certain Jesuit, for the use of their Schools, in the year 1614. The Jesuit is pretty ele-*

*gant in his Language, but he is too loose and diffuse : so that he always differs from the Style of the Author, and often from the Sense. There's a third Version too by Francis Aretine. Now I must own, that at that time, when I first publish'd my Dissertation I had not seen this Edition of the Jesuit, that Mr. B. here speaks of ; and I believ'd it had a Translation peculiar to it. For I trusted to Mr. B's account, that the Jesuit had made it ; and consequently, that it could not be the same with Cujacius's I concluded therefore he had never seen Cujacius's Version : because he expressly says, he made use of Three only, that of Naogeorgus, and the Jesuit's, and Aretine's. And where now was my extraordinary Confidence, in saying he had not seen the Edition of Cujacius ? and how was it impossible, that I should know it ? I believ'd my Inference to be true and Logical, and I'll put it into the form of a Syllogism, that Mr. B. may examin whether it agree with His System of Logic.*

Mr. B. made use of Three Versions only, one made by Naogeorgus, another by a Jesuit, and a third by Aretine:

(y) *Versiones dua, altera à Naogeorgo edita An. 1557. Altera à quodam, ut videtur, Jesuita in usum Schol. Sac. Jes. 1614. Jesuita in dictione non inornatus est, sed laxus, &c.*

But

But *Cujacius's* Version was neither made by *Naogeorgus*, nor by a *Jesuit*, nor by *Aretine*:

Therefore *Mr. B.* made no use of *Cujacius's* Version.

If it be such a *Blemish* to me, and such *extraordinary Confidence*, to pretend by virtue of this Syllogism, that *Cujacius's* Edition was then unknown to *Mr. B.*; I shall have the worse opinion of all Books of Logic for't, not excepting *Mr. B's* own System. I had a small suspicion too besides, that the Editor had not seen that Edition in the Publick Library; because it is not enter'd in the Catalogue under the Title of *Phalaris*; but of *Epistolæ*, and *Cujacius*. So that a Person that does not otherways know of that Edition, cannot find it in that Catalogue, unless by a great chance, or by reading it all over. I believed likewise, that *Mr. B.* had not seen the Edition of *Aldus*: because *Aldus's* Text is sometimes better than that which *Mr. B.* has follow'd. I had that opinion then of his Judgment; that I supposed he had not seen those things, because he did not give them the Preference: as indeed it was a third Argument to me, that he had not seen *Cujacius's*, because he did not follow him in the true Translation of the word *μεγροπρω*. Thus I reason'd at that time; but I am now sensible, that I argued weakly enough: for I have found by tedious Experience, that he can stumble upon things without seeing them, and see and handle things without understanding them.

The Reader has now a fair and ingenuous account on my part: let us see if *Mr. B's* have the same Characters of Candor and Veracity. He affirms with great Warmth and Vehemence, that he had (*præ manibus*) before him and in his hands  
both

both the Edition of the Jesuit, and that of *Cujacius*: and he adds too, that the *Version* ascribed to *Cujacius* is exactly the same with that put out by the Jesuit. Which is very true, for the Jesuit only reprinted it. Give me leave now, without calling Mr. B's Honour in question, to argue a little for Dispute's sake, that notwithstanding this repeated Asseveration, yet he had not *Cujacius* by him. *Cujacius* was printed at Geneva in the year 1606. And the Jesuit's Edition, that Mr. B. used, was printed at Ingolstadt, 1614. Now Mr. B. tells the world in his Preface, That the JESUIT made that Version; and the JESUIT, he says, is elegant in his Latin, but differs from the Style of the Original. But how could Mr. B. suppose, that the Jesuit made it at Ingolstadt 1614; if he then knew that exactly the same Version was printed VIII years before at Geneva? If he had both the Books before his Hands, he could not possibly make such a horrible Blunder. Those that have a just esteem of his Wit and Sagacity, will never believe, no not upon his own word, that he could be guilty of such wretched Stupidity. There must needs be some other way then for solving this difficulty, tho' I confess it's too hard for me. I refer it therefore to the Reader's Consideration; and if he find it gravels Him too, it may call a certain Verse to his Memory,

*Accipe nunc Danaum insidias, & crimine ab uno*

*Disce omnes——*

II. Another word of a recent Stamp was *Συζαίτης*, which in *Pbalaris* signifies a Maiden: and I took that to be a manifest token of a later Greek: and that it might not be suspected, that

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I put a wrong meaning upon the word, I observ'd, that even *Tzetzes* took it in the same sense that I do. But Mr. B. with the assistance of two Concordances, which shewed him the word *θυγάτης* in the Old and New Testament, has found out an Answer. For he says, that in *Prov.* xxxi, 29. Πολλὰι θυγάτηρες ἐκήσαντο πλῆτον, *Many Daughters have got Riches*; *θυγάτηρες* must mean *Women* or *Maidens*. Now the Original here is *בנות* *Daughters*, and it's well known to any one, that ever perused the Septuagint, that they often translate word for word; though the Phrase that results from it, be against the Genius of the Greek Tongue. This has so fill'd that Version with Hebraisms, that one may affirm, *Demosthenes* himself could not have thoroughly understood it: and the Greek Fathers oftentimes mistook the sense of it for want of skill in the Hebrew. What does Mr. B. mean then by this Instance out of *Proverbs*? For if his *Sicilian Prince* have Hebraisms in his Style, here's a new Argument to shew him a cheat: and we must impeach him not only for Atticizing, but for Hebraizing too. But I'll leave Mr. B. to manage this new Topic: and go on to his instances from the New Testament; where our Saviour says to the Woman, Θάρσει θυγάτηρ, ἡ πίστις σε ἔπαυέ σε, *Daughter, be of good comfort, thy Faith hath made thee whole*. Where Mr. B. supposes *θυγάτηρ* means not properly *Daughter*, but *Woman*. Now if we view this Argument on every side, we shall find it in all respects worthy of its Author. For were it true here, that *θυγάτηρ* means *Woman*, it would be another Hebraism or Syriaism: which instead of supporting *Phalaris's* credit, is enough to overthrow it. Nay  
were

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*Mat.* ix, 22.*Mark* v, 34.*Luke* viii,

48.

were it a genuine Greek Phrase, this would still come very short of being a good Answer. For I accuse this Sophist of a Recent Style, much later than the Language of the true *Phalaris's* time: and Mr. B. in justification of him, brings a passage of the Evangelists, that come DC Years after *Phalaris*. But if it will give him any satisfaction, I'll allow that the Sophist himself was as ancient as the Evangelists: no wonder then if the same use of the word *θυγάτης* should be found both in Him and Them. But yet I humbly conceive, it would not follow, that the Old *Phalaris* would use it so. But the worst of all is still behind, That *θυγάτες* in the *Gospels* does not signify *Woman*, but properly and strictly *Daughter*. For it was the common way in Conversation, not only in the *Eastern* Countries, but every where else, when Persons of Age and Authority spoke kindly to their Juniors, to say, *Son*, or, *Daughter*; and the others again used to say, *Father*, or, *Mother*: though there was no Kindred at all between them. So *Helena* in *Homer* calls *Telemachus*, *Son*:

Δωρὸν τοι κ' ἐγὼ, τέκνον φίλε, ἴατο δίδωμι.

And her Husband *Menelaus* too accosts him in the same Language:

Αἴμα! εἰς ἀγαθῶ, φίλον τέκν', οἷ' ἀργεῦεις.

On the contrary, *Euryalus* greets *Ulysses* with the title of *Father*:

Δεῦρ' ἄγε κ' σὺ, ξῆνε πάτερ, πείρησαι ἀέθλων.

And so *Bacchis* says to *Chremes* in *Terence*;

————— *Asperum,*

*Pater, hoc est; aliud lenius fodes vide.*

There are other Instances innumerable of this custom in Conversation. Our Saviour therefore call'd the Woman *Daughter*, as *Eli* said to *Samuel*,

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Samuel, My Son. But must we infer from thence, that the words *Son* and *Daughter* may signify absolutely *Man* and *Woman*, as *δοξαίμε* does in *Phalaris*? 'Tis an Inference that may become Mr. B. but if other Authors should follow his Fashion, it would sit but scurvily upon them. But he has another Invention yet in reserve; and it's best to make way for him; for he seems to be in a Rapture with it. 'Tis probable, he says, that in the more ancient MSS of Phalaris it was written contractedly  $\overline{\text{δοξας}}$ , which may be read either  $\overline{\text{δοξαίμεξ}}$  or  $\overline{\text{δοξαίμαξ}}$ . And being full blown with the opinion of his wonderful Acuteness in discovering this rare Expedient, He will ask, he says, an INSULTING Question; If our great Dealer in MSS did not observe this, where is his Sagacity? If he observ'd it, without owning it, where is his Sincerity? Why they are just where they were before this Question was put: and I dare warrant that neither of them are in danger of being hurt by't. For I deny that there's any such Abbreviation used in any Greek MSS, as  $\overline{\text{δοξας}}$  for  $\overline{\text{δοξαίμαξ}}$ . This the Examiner should have first prov'd, before he pretended to argue from it. But he'll never be able to do that, nor to produce one single Instance, no not out of all the MSS of the *Bodley*. For Abbreviations were never made use of, but in words that come frequently; so that both Labour and Room was saved by their repeated Contractions: as  $\overline{\text{πρ}}$  was written for  $\overline{\text{πρῆξ}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{αυ}}$  for  $\overline{\text{αυξ}}$ ; and in the old Copies of the Bible  $\overline{\text{δς}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{κς}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{χς}}$  for  $\overline{\text{δός}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{κείξ}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{χεύς}}$ ; because those words come in almost in every Verse. But if a Writer should abbreviate such words as  $\overline{\text{δοξαίμαξ}}$ , which scarce comes once in a whole Book, he would save himself but

but one moments Labour, and make his Copy unintelligible. 'Tis a mere Dream then of our Examiner, to think  $\overline{\text{δραγς}}$  may stand for  $\overline{\text{δραγαί-}}$   
 $\overline{\text{ρας}}$ : and 'tis just as if he should say, that  $\overline{\text{πρ}}$   
 may stand for  $\overline{\text{πρηνίε}}$ , or  $\overline{\text{αν}}$  for  $\overline{\text{ανδίων}}$ . So  
 feasonably has he put his *Insulting* Question; at  
 a time, when he may think he comes very well  
 off, if Himself be not insulted on.

III. Another Instance of Language, which  
 the true *Phalaris* would not have used, was  
 $\overline{\text{παίδων ἐρασί}}$ : for the Sophist speaks of *Parents*  
*who love their own Children*; but in the old time  
 those words had a lewd signification. But to  
 this the Gentleman replies, *that to Him the Ar-*  
*gument seems to lie quite the other way. For in*  
*later times the words were Scandalous; so that a*  
*Sophist would not have put 'em in Phalaris's mouth,*  
*but in Phalaris's time the Expression might be in-*  
*nocent.* True, a Sophist of Learning and Good  
 Sense would have put proper words in the Ty-  
 rant's mouth: but this sorry Declamer, as he  
 has committed many worse blunders, so he might  
 be guilty of this. We may know his character  
 from that wretched ignorance of History and  
 Antiquity which he so often discovers: and 'tis  
 a just punishment upon him to have such Tran-  
 slators and such Defenders. But let us see, how  
 Mr. B. proves, that in the true *Phalaris's* time  
 the words had an innocent meaning. *When Pha-*  
*laris, he says, would express the scandalous Love*  
*of Boys, he does not use this word, as later Authors*  
*do: for he calls Lycinus  $\overline{\text{πίερον ἐν παῖσι}}$ , but not*  
 $\overline{\text{παίδερασίη}}$ . Here our Learned Examiner takes  
 $\overline{\text{πίερον ἐν παῖσι}}$  to be equivalent to  $\overline{\text{παίδερασίη}}$ ; and  
 so indeed his Translation expresses it, *Cum pueris*  
*scortatorem esse.* But his Assistant methinks might  
 have

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Ep. iv.

have taught him better, that Πῆρον is not *Scortator*, but *Scortum*, *Cinædus*. Had he ever read *Æschines's* Oration against *Timarchus*, he would have met with a Dozen instances: and indeed it's never taken in any other Sense. The true Version therefore of πῆρον ἐν παισὶ is *Inter pueros Cinædum, A Catamite, when you was a Boy*. So that this Argument, instead of shewing that the Sophist would put proper words in Phalaris's mouth, has only shewn, that a late Editor puts improper words in the Sophist's mouth.

To convince Mr. B. that παιδεγεία had no innocent meaning, even so early as Phalaris's time; Solon a Contemporary of the Tyrant's, forbid it by Law to all Servants. He made a Law, (z) says Plutarch, Δούλον μὴ ξεραλοιφεῖν, μὴδὲ παιδεγεῖν, *That Servants should not love Boys*. And that the vile Practice of it was in Sicily then, as well as in Athens; Mr. B. who believes the Epistles genuine, may be satisfied from the iv, which we have newly cited: for if *Lycinus* was πῆρον, there was somebody else παιδεγεία. And they that have a lower opinion of those Epistles, may be convinc'd of it by another token; because *Chariton* and *Melanippus*, two *Agrigentines* and *Conspirators* against *Phalaris*, are infamous for παιδεγεία: though the Devils Oracle celebrated them for it,

(z) Plut. Solone.

(a) See *Athenæus*, *Ælian*, *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* P. 65.

(a) Εὐδαίμων Χαρίτων ἢ Μελάνιππος ἔφην, Θείας ἡγητῆρας ἐφημεροῖς φιλότιτος.

But Mr. B. further objects, *That Παιδῶν ἔρασαι and Παιδεγείαι sound very differently*. Musically argued indeed! there's a very sounding Syllable ων, that makes them differ extremely. But we'll allow Mr. B. to be a good Judge of Sounds; if he'll allow others to be tolerable Judges



of *Sense*: and in That the words are so exactly alike, that the nicest Writers never thought of distinguishing them. (b) *Æschines* therefore, when he speaks of the same Law of *Solon*, does not use παιδερασειν, as *Plutarch* does, but παιδὸς ἐραῖν: and even *Plutarch* himself in another place expresses it so, (c) Δούλοις ἐραῖν ἀρρένων παίδων ἀπείπει. Let them sound then never so differently, they are equivalent we see in signification.

Mr. B. concludes this point with what he thinks to be his strongest defense; That παιδερασις is used in *Plato* in a virtuous Sense. True perhaps; but let us see how he proves it. Why, he brings a Passage out of *Plato's Symposium*, Πάντως ὁ τοιαύτῃ παιδερασις τε καὶ φιλερασις γίνεται. But Mr. B. has once shown us already, how very skilfull he is in *Plato's* Writings; and his second Essay upon them does not degenerate from his first. The matter lies thus: The subject of that Dialogue of *Plato's* is an Encomium of *Love*; and each of the Guests makes a set Speech in its Commendation. But we must not suppose that all the Speeches are Philosophical, and becoming the mouth of *Socrates* or *Plato* himself; but they are suited to the Characters of the several Persons that speak them. Some of them therefore are lewd enough, according to the company. For even *Agatho* himself, the Master of the Feast, was a Catamite; as appears by the Dialogue it self, and by the old Comedians and others. Among the rest then, *Aristophanes* the Comic Poet is introduc'd making an Oration about *Love*. And he tells a long Fable, that at first Mankind were all made double, with two Heads, four Arms, four Legs, &c. and there were three sorts of them, some were double

E e

Men,

(b) *Æschin.*  
c. *Timarchum.*  
Δέλον ἐ-  
λευθέρῃ  
παιδὸς μὴ  
ἐραῖν.  
(c) *Plut. in*  
*Ερωτικῷ.*

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See here  
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Men, some double Women, and some Hermaphrodites. Afterwards upon some offense they had committed, *Jupiter* split them all into Two's: from whence arises now in Mankind that natural Desire of some Companion, as his other Half to perfect his Being; and even all the Varieties of that Desire proceed from the same cause. For of those that in the former State were Hermaphrodites, the Male Half still desires the Woman, and all such are now Lovers of Women and Adulterers: and the Female Half desires the Man; and such are Lovers of Men and Adulteresses. But of those that in the original State were double Men, both the Halves now are Lovers of Males; so that when young, they are Catamites; and when grown up, they are *παιδεγῶναι*, Lovers of Boys: and of those that were double Women, both are now *ἑταίριαι*, Women Lovers of Women. This is the Substance of *Aristophanes's* Speech; and as it's observ'd by some of the Ancients, that *Plato* in his *Symposium* makes *Aristophanes* have a drunken Hiccough; taking that revenge upon the Poet for abusing his Master *Socrates*: So I am persuaded, that from the same Motive he has put such a Speech in that Poet's Mouth, as shews him to be, what he really was, a very debauch'd Fellow. And is not Mr. B. now a man of wonderful Judgment, to produce a passage out of this Speech of *Aristophanes*, as an instance that *παιδεγῶναι* has a virtuous Sense? What sort of Sense was in himself then, I leave others to judge. For if the *παιδεγῶναι* there has an innocent meaning; by the same rule the *μοιχοί*, and *μοιχεύτεαι*, and *ἑταίριαι*, must be harmless names too: which perhaps Mr. B. will not be willing to affirm.

firm. But he says, *That the Speaker himself professes afterwards, that he meant not those words of a lascivious Love:* which is just after his usual way, to defend one Error by another. For the very words that he cites there prove the contrary to what he draws from them. *Aristophanes*, to make the Fable he had told look probable, describes some instances of such vehement Lovers, that the one cannot live at ease one moment out of the other's Company. In which cases, says he, the Pleasure of Venery does not seem a competent cause of it; but the true reason is, that every such Couple were the Numerical Halves, that made up one compleat Person in the former State: whereby they have such a natural Propension to one another, that, if it were possible, they would be one Body again. Is it not evident here now, that *a lascivious Love* is supposed; only it is not allow'd as an adequate cause? Read but *Aristophanes's* own Plays, and the \* Character that's given of him in this very *Symposion*, and then say, if his Meaning can be so chaste here.

We have seen now what a rare Commentator upon *Plato* our Learned Examiner is, and I shall leave him to be scourg'd, not only by the *Platonists*, as he did Me, but by every one that understands good Sense and Decorum. But yet after all, I am far from asserting that *μισδεξις* and *μισδιξις* are never innocently meant in *Plato* and other Socratical Writers. For the word was used by them metaphorically; and though it had better been let alone, and no Scandal been given by it, yet in itself the Metaphor was proper and just. For a Philosopher may be said to be the true *Παίδευ ἐξουσις* in opposition to the others: since what They admire in Beauty out

\* *Λειστοδ-  
μης, ὁ περὶ  
Διότιον  
ἢ Ἀρεστί-  
την πᾶσι  
διατελεῖ.*  
P. 66.

of impure Lust, He loves and reverences as an Image of the Divine Beauty. But even This is a certain Argument, that Παιδων ἑγῶν could not in those Ages signifie *Lovers of their OWN Children* (as it does in *Phalaris's* Epistles) no not metaphorically. Because there was nothing to take such a Metaphor from: for, though Sodomy was an Epidemical Vice in those unhappy Ages of the World; yet the Abomination of a Father with his own Son, such a horrid mixture of Sodomy and Incest, was never spoken of even then, nor had any Name. Nay, though we should suppose, that such a complicate Wickedness had been practised among them; yet the Name would have been even then accounted too foul and abominable, to be employed for a modest Metaphor.

IV. Mr. B. has had the Privilege of committing a great number of Mistakes; and upon a review, I do not find he has yet made out, that I have writ one single word amiss; except where by a small slip of the Memory *Buda* was put for *Belgrade*. Four hundred Pages then have been all spent in refuting his Abuses and Errors; a very great exercise both of Patience and good Nature. For a Recompense of all which tedious Labour, I desire but one small favour of him, *That he'll give Me leave to make the next Mistake*: I'll promise him it shall be no shamefull one, and it shall be the only time I'll trouble him in this way, in all the Controverſie that I have with him. Among the Words that I believ'd had an innovated Sense in the Epistles of *Phalaris*, there were Πεδιδωμι *to give before-hand*, and Διῶνω *to follow as a Friend, not as a Pursuer*. I could not call to mind at that

that time any old Writer, that had used them so: and the Press staying for more Copy (for the whole Dissertation was carried thither Leaf by Leaf, while the Ink was scarce dry on them) I had no leisure to make any search. I will freely own therefore to Mr. B. that my Memory, which is none of the best, deceiv'd me here. For I had formerly read those very Passages, that he produces; and when I read them, I understood them in the same Meaning, that he does; though at that time they were quite out of my mind.

But though I was mistaken by a deceitful Memory; yet the Glory, that Mr. B. acquires by correcting the Error, is too light, to be put in the balance against his Faults. Though I shall not go about to make it less; but give Him and his Admirers leave to magnify it as much as they can. He has told me, *That I expose my self to be corrected by every one, that can turn an Index or a Lexicon.* And to explain himself he adds in his

P. 68.

Margin this passage of (d) *Quintilian*; which serves for no other purpose there, but to shew he understood it not. For *Quintilian* does not speak of such *Index's* as Books have now-a-days: but after

(d) *Quint. x, 1. Nec sane quisquam est tam procul à cognitione eorum remotus, ut non Indicem cerre ex Bibliotheca sumptum transferre in Libros suos possit.*

he had nam'd several of the Greek Poets, *Homer, Antimachus, Euphorion, &c.* *It pass over the Names of the rest, says he, for there's no body so destitute of the means of knowing them, but he may copy the Catalogue of them out of a Library.* This shews us, that in those days too, the Libraries had Catalogues of the Books belonging to them; but what Relation has that to *Lexicon's* and our Modern *Index's*? Mr. B. presently excuses himself for *the Multitude of Quotations*, that fill the Margin of

that *Odd Work of his*. And indeed after such a Citation from *Quintilian*, it was very seasonable to beg that pardon, though upon another account than He was aware of. But to forgive our Examiner this Blunder, 'tis very true what he says, *that a Man that can turn an Index or a Lexicon* might easily correct those mistakes of mine. For those significations of *δῶνω* and *ἀπεδίδωμι*, which I had then forgot, are taken notice of in the *Greek Concordances* and *Constantine's Lexicon*. Mr. B. then has taught the World nothing, nor improv'd Learning in any sort; for the Things were known, we see, a hundred years ago. And it's pretty remarkable, that after all the Clamour of the Examiner, and some inferior Tools that have seconded him,

(e) *Virum  
in voluminibus  
lexicis  
satis dili-  
gentem.*

(e) *That I know nothing but out of Index's and Lexicons*; yet the Only Mistake, that their united Learning could convict me of, had been avoided, if I really were such a Turner of *Index's* and *Lexicons*.

A Mistake through mere Forgetfulness, and but once or very seldom committed, has been always esteem'd one of the Best sort, and to leave the least Blemish upon the Author. For if That were enough to disgrace a Writer, no body could escape the Infamy, except those that were inspir'd. If I do not make false Judgments of Things, and if I reason truly from Premises: for a bare Error of the Memory I shall not be solicitous, but fairly trust my Reputation to the present Age and Posterity. Whatever the World shall think of my Performances, I shall acquiesce in the Censure. As I do not write Books for Fame; so I am not concern'd about the Reception they shall meet with:

— *Valeat*

—Valeat res Ludicra, si me

*Palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.*

However, when I consider what the Things are, that among the best Judges raise or depress the Character of a Man of Letters; I had much rather be found guilty of forgetting those unusual Significations of *αεθίσωμι* and *διώκω*, than of managing the Matter as Mr. B. has done. For of Eight Examples, that he has brought of the latter of those words, Six are nothing to the purpose. The thing that I had said was this; That *διώκω* then only signify'd to pursue; when that which fled, fear'd and shun'd the Pursuer: as where Achilles pursues Hector in Homer;

Τῆ ῥα αἰεθίσωμι, φεύγων, ὃ δ' ὀπίθε διώκων.

Περίθε μὲν ἐβλῶς ἔφευγε, διώκε δὲ μὲν μέγ' ἀμείνων.

And Mr. B. in refutation of this has produc'd Six Instances, where *διώκω* does not at all mean to pursue, but in a metaphorical sense to desire, to court, to seek. And what are all these to the Point? I spoke of that Sense of *διώκω*, when it signifies to pursue. 'Twas the very Supposition, that it had the meaning of Pursuing; which Notion, when it belong'd to it, was accompany'd, as I then thought, with another of being shun'd. As for the figurative Sense of desiring and seeking, That I had not forgot; for 'tis the most common acceptance of it. The only true way then to answer me, was to bring an Instance, where it means a Pursuit, but yet without being shun'd; as when one Friend pursues or follows after another. And I own that Two of his Instances plainly prove this; but the other Six, that are all Metaphor, among which are those out of Scripture, are not at all pertinent to the business: and they are a greater Evidence of His

bad Judgment, than Mine are of My bad Memory.

- P. 62, 63. Mr. B. makes a mighty out-cry, as if my forgetting a Greek word in the *Septuagint* or the *New Testament*; was to subvert the Authority of them; and he has an Enquiry to make of me, *Whether I think my Philosophical Lectures serve more to the establishment of Religion, than my Criticisms do to overthrow it?* The Gentleman has told us, what disposition he's of; for he thinks *Ridicule the most diverting thing in the World*. But I humbly conceive, that he had better employ his Talent at *Grimace* and *Banter* upon other occasions, than where the Scripture is concern'd. For it shews no great reverence to those Sacred Writings, to bring them, though it be but as Accessaries, into Farce and Ridicule. And perhaps it's no great Discretion in him to cast such an oblique slur upon my *Lectures against Atheism*. They were preach'd upon an Establishment of the Great and Good Mr *Boyle*, to whom this Gentleman has the honour to be related; and though they are much below what I could wish them, and what the Subject of them deserves; yet the World has receiv'd them favourably, and they are translated into more Languages than one. He had better therefore have omitted this little Affront upon those Sermons; lest the Readers calling to mind the Founder of that Lecture, should be invited to make a Comparison between Him and another of his Name.

The most excellent Bishop *Pearson* had design'd a new Edition of *Ignatius's* Epistles with an ample Commentary: a specimen of which Posthumous Work has been publish'd by the Learned Dr. *Smith*; and the whole is earnestly expected



expected from him. For though it has not pass'd the last Hand of the Author; yet it's every way worthy of him, and the very Dust of His Writings is Gold. In that publish'd Specimen there is this Annotation upon the words of Ignatius, ΤΟΝ ΥΜΑΣ ΣΟΦΙΣΑΝΤΑ. *Vox Paulina, ex 2 Tim. 3. 15. Τα δυνάμενα σε σοφίσαι εἰς σωτηρίαν. Quæ te possunt sapientem reddere. Neque ante eum vox activa eo sensu reperitur cum accusativo Personæ.* Where the Bishop positively affirms, That σοφίζειν in the acceptation of making wise is a word of St. Paul's framing: for before Him no body used it in that Sense. But in this his Memory deceiv'd him; for, as Dr. Smith observ'd to me, there is the very same Use of the word in Psalm XVIII, 8. Ἡ μαρτυρία κωὶς πηδ, σοφίσαυ ἡμῶν; and Psalm CIV, 22. Καὶ τὸς πρῆσβυτιρες αὐτῷ σοφίσαι. What shall we say now to this? for the Bishop's case is exactly Mine. His Lordship had forgot one word in the Bible, and I had forgot another. Will the Examiner insult upon that Great Man, as he has done upon Me? I will only change the Persons, and we'll see how his *Insulting* and *Grimace* becomes him. The Bishop avers that St. Paul is the First, that uses σοφίζειν for making wise. What shall we do then for the Septuagint? At this rate that Translation must come after St. Paul: So that the Writings that carry their Names must be CCC years younger than we Christians suppose 'em. And that Version ascribed to the LXX cannot be an ancient Work, but was penn'd by some recent Sophist. What shall we say to this? Shall we allow Bishop Pearson to be a scurvy Critic, or shall we in Tenderness to his Honour give up our Greek Bibles? Perhaps the Bishop may for this once be mistaken; but I have one

Enquiry

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*Enquiry more to make of him on this occasion, and that is this, Whether he thinks his Exposition of the Creed serves more to the Establishment of Religion, than his Criticisms do to overthrow it? For is he not positive, that σοφίζεν in that sense was first used by St. Paul? And is not the very same Word in the same Sense to be met with twice in the Septuagint? Should not so profound a Grecian and Divine, as He is, have look'd a little into the Old Testament, before he had pronounc'd such rash and groundless Assertions? Could men imagin One who writes at this rate, to have any Meaning, they would think he had a very ill one: but the whole management of his Controversies clears him from all suspicions of Meaning and Design. These are the very words of Mr. B. only the Bishop and his Writings are substituted for Me and Mine: not that I make any Comparison of my poor Papers with that Great Man's incomparable Works: but I would shew, that Mr. B's Argument holds alike against us Both. And Mr. B. must needs acknowledge now, that I have One good Page in This Edition of my Dissertation, as well as I had in the Former: for being his Own, I think I know his humor, so well, that he cannot but be pleas'd with it.*

*Pref. 1*

But to put an end to this Article. The only thing that Mr. B. has said well upon this Head, is about the meaning of Two words: which may prove indeed, that I was mistaken; but it does not at all defend his *Phalaris*. For of the Five words, that I instanc'd in, the greater Part do still keep their Ground: and if Two Strings be broken, here are Three yet left, that will hold as strongly as all the Five. If the *Sicilian Prince* therefore has no better a Champion, than Mr. B.

is; his Case will still appear to be desperate. For the wild Question that the Examiner puts to me; *How do you know, but those Words might be in use in Phalaris's time, and be drop'd afterwards when the Learned Age came on, and be reviv'd again, as that declin'd?* though it deserve no answer, yet it has one. For we know from the Laws of *Solon*, who was *Phalaris's* contemporary, that the Language of the Epistles was not the Language of that Time. Nay though we had not those Remains of *Solon's* to shew, Mr. B's Suppositions would still be very infirm ones. For here are Three Revolutions of the same words, *Used, Drop'd, Reviv'd*, that are all precariously suppos'd without any manner of Proof. A way of Argumentation that some *Young Writers* may make a Dust with; but then their Works will hardly live to be Old ones. P. 61.

## XIV.

**B**UT should we connive at his using the *Attic* Dialect, and say not a word of those flaws and innovations in his Stile; yet there is one thing still, that, I fear, will more difficultly be forgiven him; that is, a very slippery way in telling of Money. This is a tender point, and will make every body shy and cautious of entertaining him. In the LXXXV Epistle he talks of a *Hundred Talents*, *πάλαντα ἑκατόν*; of Fifteen more, in the CXVIII; Eight, in the CXXXVII; Seven, in the CIV; Five, in the CXLIII; and Three in the XCV. These

These affairs being transacted in the middle of *Sicily*, and all the persons concerned being natives and inhabitants there; who would not be ready to conclude, that he meant the *Talent* of the Country? since he gives not the least hint of his meaning a foreign Summ. If a bargain were made in *England*, to pay so many Pounds or Marks, and the party should pretend at last that he meant *Scots* Marks, or *French Livres*: few, I suppose, would care to have Dealings with him. Now this is the very case in so many of these Letters. In the LXXth indeed he is more punctual with *Polyclitus* his Physician; for he speaks expressly of *Attic Money*, Μυριάδας Ἀττικῆς πέντε, 50,000 *Attic Drachms*. But this is so far from excusing him, that it is a plain condemnation out of his own mouth. For if it was necessary to tell *Polyclitus*, that he meant the *Attic Money*, and not the *Sicilian*; why had he not the same caution and ingenuity towards all the rest? We are to know, That in *Sicily*, as in most other Countries, the Name and Value of their Coins, and the way of reckoning by Summs, were peculiar. The Summ *Talent*, in the *Sicilian* Account, contained no more in Specie than Three *Attic Drachms*, or *Roman Denares*; as plainly appears

from

from \* *Aristotle*, in his now lost Treatise of the *Sicilian Governments*. And the words of *Festus* are most express, † *There are several sorts of Talents: the Attic contains 6000 Denares, the Syracusan 3 Denares*. What an immense difference! One *Attic Talent* had the real value of Two Thousand *Sicilian Talents*. Now, in all these Epistles the very Circumstances assure us, that by the word *Talent* simply named, the *Attic Talent* is understood. But should not our wise Sophist have known, that a *Talent*, in that Country where he had laid the Scene of his Letters, was quite another thing? Without question, if the true *Phalaris* had penn'd them, he would have reckon'd these Sums by the *Sicilian Talents*, encreasing only the Number: Or should he have made use of the *Attic Account*, he would always have given express notice of it; never saying *τάλαντον* alone, without the addition of *Ἀττικόν*.

\* *Pollux*,  
lib. ix. c. 6.

† *Talentorum non unum genus: Atticum est sex millium denarium, Syracusanum trium denarium.*

THE Examiner enters upon this Article with such an Air of Satisfaction, as carries in it an Assurance of Victory. *If the Dr. says he, can make this out, I promise to renounce the whole Sett of Epistles*. Now here's fair encouragement for me to take pains; since if I can carry this Single Point, I shall have the honour of making by it so Illustrious a Profelyte. But if we consider that

that extraordinary Zeal, that he shews all along for his *Sicilian Prince*; we may look upon This as a *Defiance* rather than a *Promise*. Nay I am inform'd, that this Part in particular is by some others, as well as by himself, believ'd to be unanswerable; nay that some have proceeded so far in its Commendation, as to suspect that it was not written by the same Hand, that made the rest of the Book. But I shall do the Examiner that piece of service, to clear him of that hard Censure upon account of this admired Chapter; for I will prove it's no better than the rest of the Performance; but every Paragraph in't either Mistake or false Reasoning, from beginning to end.

P. 74.

Before he comes to the business it self, he will shew us how captious he can be, and how expert at Chicanry. He would ridicule my Comparison of the *Sicilian Talent* in *Phalaris* to the *Scots Marks* and *French Livres*. For the Case, he says, is just contrary. Now the ground of my Comparison was this: By the spurious *Phalaris* the Reader is made at first to believe, that great Sums of Money are expended, Ten Talents and a Hundred Talents: but when he comes to look narrowly into the matter, he finds he's deceived; for the *Sicilian Talent* must be intended, if he be the truly *Phalaris*; and by that means the account will fall and dwindle from a Hundred Pounds Sterling to a single Shilling. Let the Reader be judge now, if the comparison was not just. But he asks me, *What cloudy Author had I been conversing with, that could give this perverse turn to my Imagination?* If conversation with a cloudy Author would necessarily confound a man's head; Mr. B. might be secure, for

for his Book could never be answer'd. But I hope, that notwithstanding that dangerous *Conversation*, that I have had with it for some time, I can yet be able to *clear up* all the puzzling and perplex'd Stuff, that he has brought or can bring against me.

But first it may not be improper, for the satisfaction of such as read not *Phalaris's* Epistles, to shew the *Attic* Talent must be meant there, value 180 *l. English*; not the *Sicilian* Talent, which is no more than Five Groats. I suppose here, See here as I did above, that the *Attic* Pound weight of P. 360. XII Ounces is equal to an *English* one: so that a *Mina* weighing XII Ounces of Silver may be reckon'd equal to three Pounds Sterling. There's no need of greater exactness in our present Calculations. Now the Tyrant is introduc'd complaining, that the *Catanians* by an Incurſion into Ep. 104. his Territories had plunder'd him of VII Talents: which if they be supposed *Attic* Talents, make 1260 *l. Sterling*; but if *Sicilian*, but 12 *s. 7 d.* too small a Summ for a *Prince* to be concern'd at. In another place, out of great Liberality Ep. 143. he gives v Talents for a Lady's Portion; which in *Attic* is 900 *l. Sterling*; but in *Sicilian*, 9 *s.* too small a Fortune for a Lady of her Quality. There are more instances of this sort; and in several places too he names *δραχμαί*, *Drachms*, which were no *Sicilian* Money.

Mr. B. begins with an attack against the Credit P. 75, 76. of my Witnesses, *Pollux*, *Festus*, and *Aristotle*. And first he cavils at my calling *Aristotle's* Book a Treatise of the *Sicilian Governments*. He owns *Aristotle* wrote an account of the Governments of the *Sicilian Cities* (as the *Πολίτεια Συρακουσίων*, *Ιμερίων*, *Ακράγαντινων*, *Γελφών*, &c.) but it does not appear

appear that the Book bore such a Title. But if that do not appear, something else plainly does, That Mr. B. was in great want of Arguments, when he descended to such trifling Exceptions. Among which I must reckon what he says against the Authority of Pollux; That one of Seberus's MSS wanted those Pages whence this Passage is cited: so that there's room to doubt, whether it be genuine. But it was extant in the MS from which Aldus first printed the Book; and in a MS of the late *Is. Vossius's*, a Transcript of which I have by me; and in the *Palatine* MS used by

(a) *Salmas.* (a) *Salmasius*. The same *Seberus* informs us, that one of his MSS wanted all the iv last Books, and two of them wanted viii: will Mr. B. therefore discard all those, and leave us Two only of the Ten? And is it not something like a Riddle, that so small a hole will make room for him to doubt, if *Pollux's* passage be genuine: and yet no room is wide enough to let him doubt, if his *Phalaris* be genuine?

But allowing the Passage to be *Pollux's* own; yet we are told there, he says, that a Sicilian Talent is equal to XII Νῆμμοι, and a Νῆμμο equal to three Ὀμόλια; which Ὀμόλια is a corrupted word, and must be help'd out by a Correction: so that all that we can talk from *Pollux* about the Nummus and the Talent, is bottom'd upon a mere Conjecture. But this Objection of the Examiner is bottom'd upon a mistake of his own: for the MS of *Vossius* has it plainly Ἡμισβόλια. Nay though all the Copies were corrupted here, they would do the Examiner no service; because our Accounts with *Phalaris* about his Talents are not so nice as to depend upon δμόλια or ἡμισβόλια, a Penny or three half Pence. For we know from another Passage, which



which is not corrupted, that the (b) Νῆμμοϑ was a (b) Ρολμικ single piece of Silver. Let the Piece then be as P. 436. big as the Examiner dares suppose it: yet if the Sicilian Talent contained but XII of them; it is still vastly too low to be meant in the Epistles.

The next Page is spent in telling us, “ That P. 78.  
 “ those who would settle the value of the *Sicilian*  
 “ *Talent* from its adjustment to XII Νῆμμοι,  
 “ SEEM to take it for granted, that Νῆμμοϑ there  
 “ means the *Roman Nummus* or *Sestertius*: but  
 “ it cannot be so, because the words are not *Pol-*  
 “ *lux*’s, but *Aristotle*’s, who lived before the *Ro-*  
 “ *man Sestertius* was coin’d. So that the ground,  
 “ upon which the Computation of the Talent  
 “ SEEMS to be made, plainly fails. What may  
 seem to Mr. B’s Imagination is too wide to be  
 measured and comprehended by mine. But I  
 am persuaded, there’s not one Writer extant,  
 that has given the least Hint, that he believ’d the  
*Nummus* here was compared by *Aristotle* to the  
*Roman Sestertius*. This is a dream therefore of  
 the Examiner’s: for he tells us, ’Tis no wonder P. 103.  
 if he should not be awake sometimes; and he  
 seems now to have been in one of his sleepy Fits.  
 The value of the *Sicilian Talent* may be gather’d  
 from this Passage thus: A Talent was XII Νῆμμοι,  
 and every Νῆμμοϑ was an *Obolus* and a Half.  
 Now six *Oboli* make a *Drachm*: So that four Νῆμ-  
 μοι and a *Drachm* are equivalent. If a Talent  
 therefore contain XII Νῆμμοι, it must contain  
 three *Drachms*. Thus we see the *Sicilian*  
*Talent* is adjusted in its value; as I had reckon’d  
 it before, without any consideration of the *Ro-*  
*man Sestertius*.

But after all, he says, I have imposed upon Peo- P. 79.  
 ple in my Valuation. “ For *Aristotle* mentions

“ two sorts of *Sicilian* Talents: the Old one con-  
 “ sisting of xxiv Νῆμμοι, the New one of xii:  
 “ which small one I have follow'd in my Compu-  
 “ tations, though *Phalaris* must be supposed to  
 “ reckon by the most Ancient. This indeed is  
 very material, and I know not how to come off;  
 for I have sunk the *Prince's* Expenses half in half.  
 Let them be stated then, as Mr. B. will have  
 them: and so the *Catanians* plunder'd *Phalaris*  
 of 1 l. 15 s. 2 d. and the *Lady's* Fortune, that  
 he paid out of his Coffers came to 18 s. both  
 which Bills I had cut off in the middle. And is  
 the matter now mended by this, or is my Argu-  
 ment at all the weaker for't? Mr. B. shews him-  
 self to be a better Steward of his Master *Phala-*  
*ris's* Revenue, than of his own Reputation: for  
 he owns *the point is not worth contending for*. But  
 however it serves to fill a whole Page, which is  
 no inconsiderable service. The reason, why of  
 the two Accounts, that were both equal to my  
 main purpose, I chose to follow the latter, was,  
 because *Festus* reckons the *Syracusan* Talent by  
*Aristotle's* lower Rate: So that two Authors  
 concurring in't, I gave it the Preference.

P. 80.

Mr. B. grows at last angry with *Pollux* him-  
 self; and will give him no credit in this matter.  
 For he cites such things here out of *Aristotle*, as  
 cannot be admitted, no not upon *Aristotle's* own  
*Testimony*. “ As where he tells us, That the  
 “ *Sicilians* reckon'd δύο χαλκῆς, two brass Pieces  
 “ to be equal to ἑξάλιτρα, six Litræ; and six  
 “ brass Pieces to be equal to half a Litra. But  
 “ how can two be xii times as many as six? A-  
 gain, says he, to confound us the more, he tells us  
 from the same *Aristotle*, “ That ἑξ πάλαντα, six  
 “ Talents are equal to two brass Pieces, and  
 “ that

“ that *τρία πάλαντα*, three Talents are equal to  
 “ three brass Pieces. But how can three be  
 “ more than six? Now if this Argument have  
 any force in’t, it must prove that *Aristotle*, or  
*Pollux* at least, could not count Three, nor  
 knew the difference between Two and Six. Mr.  
*B.* I dare say, is the first man that disputed at  
 this rate: and till such another *Aristotle*, as he  
 describes here, comes into the world, perhaps  
 he will be the last. The whole Banter is only  
 founded upon three false Readings of *Pollux*,  
 (c) *Ἐξάλιτεα*, and (d) *Ἐξ Τάλαντα*, and *Τρία Τά-* (c) *Pollux*  
*λαντα*. The two first belong to one and the same *P.* 216.  
 thing, and must both be corrected *Ἐξάντα*; and (d) *P.* 436.  
 the third *Τεῖαντα*. So slight an Emendation  
 makes the whole Passage consistent: and I shall  
 shew by and by, that it’s both necessary and cer-  
 tain. *The Examiner must give me leave now and*  
*then to ask him one of his own Questions*, though  
 I will not give it as he does, the Epithet *INSUL-*  
*TING*; *If our great Dealer in spurious Authors*  
*did not observe this, where is his Sagacity? If he*  
*observ’d it without owning it, where is his Sincerity?*  
 One of the two will be very hard press’d:  
 but for his Sincerity I’ll be Voucher in this parti-  
 cular; because its plain by his miserable offer at  
 a Correction, to be consider’d anon, that his Sa-  
 gacity *was not awake* here.

Ἐ. 67.

But he says, *Pollux in the same place informs*  
*us*, “ That the Talent of every Country was  
 “ divided into LX Minæ, and each of those Mi-  
 “ næ into c Drachms. If the *Sicilian* Talent  
 “ then was but three *Attic* Drachms, the *Sicili-*  
 “ *an Miná* was no more than one *English* Far-  
 “ thing and a half, and the *Drachm* not the  
 “ *LXXVith* part of a Farthing, and yet in Silver

P 81.

too; a Species of Money not to be counted without the help of Microscopes: so that when we have occasion hereafter to express the Value, or rather Worthlessness, of any contemptible Performance, we shall say, it is not worth a Sicilian Drachm. I like the Gentleman's Motion well; and since we can never have a better occasion of using this new saying, I must crave leave to tell him, that his own Performance in this very Paragraph is contemptible, and not worth one of his imaginary Sicilian Drachms. For there's no such thing in Pollux, as what the Examiner tells us from him, That the Talent of each Country was divided into LX Minæ. I will set down that Au-

(e) Pollux p 437. Ἡ μινᾶ δ' ὡς παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἕκα-  
πὺν εἶχε δραχμῶν Ἀττικῶν,  
ἔτω καὶ παρὰ πῶς ἄλλοις  
πῶς ὀπιχρῶεις, δυναμῖνας  
πρὸς λόγον τὸ κατ' ἕκα-  
στὸς ταλάντου, κατὰ τὸ  
πρὸς δίκην καὶ ὑφαίρεσιν.

thor's words: (e) As the Mina, says he, at Athens contained c Attic Drachms, so the Minæ of other Countries contained c Drachms of each Country: which Drachms were in value to the Attic Drachm in the same proportion, as the Talent

of each (above-mention'd) was to the Attic Talent. Here it's evident from Pollux, that the Mina of every Country contain'd c Drachms, and the Drachm of every Country was the 6000th part of the Talent of that Country: but here is not the least hint, that the Talent of every Country contain'd LX Minæ. These two, I humbly conceive, are very different Propositions: though the Examiner, with his Logic System in his head, confounded them. Where-ever there were such names of Money as *Minae* and *Drachms*, there was a Talent: Pollux therefore observ'd truly, that in every Country these two bore the same Proportion to *Attic Minae* and *Drachms*, as Talent did to Talent. But then it is not true in the Reverse, That where-ever there was a Ta-  
lent,

lent, there were *Minae* and *Drachms*: for in *Sicily* and the *Doric Colonies of Italy*, *Tarentum*, *Rhegium*, *Neapolis*, there was a *Talent*, but no such Name, nor Species, nor Summ, as either *Mina* or *Drachm*. The *Talent* there was not divided into *Minæ* and *Drachms*, but into *Νέμους*, *Λίτρας*, *Οὐγκίας*. *Pollux* therefore has quite separated his account (f) of the *Sicilian Money* (f) *Pollux*, from that of other Nations: but if the *Sicilian Talent* had been divisible into *Minae* and *Drachms*, as the other *Talents* he there speaks of; he would certainly have included That too in his general Estimation of *Talents*. Let the Reader now be Judge, if the Examiner's Performances here do not deserve his own new invented Expression, *Not worth a Sicilian Drachm*. Let him take it then to himself; for he tells us, that his *Sicilian Prince* was (g) celebrated for (g) *Præf Phalar*. his Justice, when he made *Perillus* handfel his own Invention. Mr. B. therefore cannot complain, if He gives the first Handfel to His: though the Phrase carries a lower *Worthlesness* in't, than he was aware of For he computed the *Sicilian Drachm* to be the *LXVth* part of an *English Farthing*: whereas now it plainly appears to be *Nothing* at all; and exactly of the same value with an *Utopian Drachm*.

Mr. B. in his Margin quotes two very Learned Men, *Brerewood* and *Gronovius*; who affirm, he says, *that every Talent contains 6000 Drachms*. P. 81, 82. Now if this had really been their Opinion; yet it had signified nothing here: for we do not go by Authorities, but by Truth. If they believ'd so, they were certainly mistaken: neither do *Pollux* and *Suidas*, the Authors cited by *Brerewood*, say any such matter. But if Mr. B had

either been diligent or ingenuous here, he would have seen; that it was only a loose Expression of those two Learned men, that drop'd from them unawares: for *Brerewood* in the same Page, and *Gronovius* in the same Chapter, that Mr. B. has quoted, expressly affirm on my side, that the *Sicilian* Talent was anciently Six, and afterwards Three Denares. Mr. B. we see has another obligation here to excuse himself to the Reader for his multitude of Quotations.

P. 68.

P. 83, 84.

His next Attempt is upon the Passage of *Festus*, *Talentum Syracusanum trium Denarium*: which he ushers in with an Harangue about *Festus's* Abridgment of *Verrius Flaccus*, and *Paulus Diaconus's* Abridgment of *Festus*: a Story known to every Body, that have once look'd into *Festus*. But what was this to his Purpose? Let *Paulus* be as mean a Writer, as Mr. B. pleases: yet this Passage is not cited from His Epitome, but from *Festus* himself. But Mr. B. will now tell us something, which is more to his purpose; That all the Editions of *Festus* take care to warn us, that for *Syracusanum trium Denarium*, we ought to read, *Syracusanum trium Millium Denarium*: and thereupon, to make a Show and a Noise with, he crams his poor Margin with half a dozen Citations. Now the thing is no more than this: The first Editor of this Passage of *Festus*, not understanding how a Talent could be so little a Summ as Three Denares, put that Conjecture in the Margin for an Emendation, as he thought it: and so it has been continued since, and some of the Editors have espoused it: for all Editors, Mr. B. knows, are not infallible. But the MS Copy of *Festus*, and the Text of all the Editions, represent it as it's quoted by Me:  
and

and all the best Writers about Money have for this Hundred years embraced it, *Scaliger*, *Brerewood*, *Salmasius*, *Gronovius*, &c. and before this Section is ended, it will be made out to be the True Reading.

But he'll prove now out of *Sicilian* Writers, P. 85, 86, 87, 88. and those that speak of *Sicilian* Affairs; that the Talent of that Country had not such a low value as I would assign to it out of *Festus* and *Pollux*: but of all his Authors there's but One, that writes in the *Sicilian* Dialect, and that is *Theocritus*; and he indeed mentions a *Mina* as the price of a Woman's Gown, and VII *Drachms* paid for v Fleeces of Wool; which cannot be of that low and small sort of *Drachms*, that Mr. B. has now discover'd by the help of his *Microscope*. Now allowing, what Mr. B. supposes, that *Theocritus* speaks here of *Sicilian* Money: yet it ought to be consider'd, that he lived near ccc Years after *Phalaris*'s time; in which interval the Species of Money might be alter'd in *Sicily*. That the Money of *Syracuse*, where *Theocritus* was born, was recoin'd in that time, is very certain. *Aristotle* informs us, (b) That *Dionysius* the First got all the Money and Riches of *Syracuse* into his hands in Five years time. And (i) that having borrow'd money of the Citizens at Interest; upon their demanding it, he order'd every man upon the pain of death to bring in all the money he had; and when the money was brought in, he recoin'd it, and made every piece of New money pass for double the former value, and so paid them out of their own Silver. So the Romans in (k) the first *Punic* War recoin'd all their Brass money; and made every Ounce go for vi times as much as it did before But

(b) *Arist.*  
*Polit.* v.  
11.  
(i) *Arist.*  
*Oecon.* ii.  
20,

(k) *Pliny*  
xxxiii, 3.

(1) Δραχ-  
μῶν δύο  
Συρακίων  
δραχμῶν.

*Dionysius* perhaps did not only recoin the money of *Syracuse*; but alter the Species too and the Names of it: for *Aristotle* there says, he coin'd (1) a *Drachm* which he put off for a double *Drachm*. Now we may gather from *Aristotle* himself, as *Pollux* has cited him, that among the old *Sicilian* money there was no such Name as a *Drachm*. *Dionysius* therefore, or some body before him, had alter'd the money at *Syracuse*, and had introduc'd the *Greek* Species there. But perhaps we ought not to take *Aristotle's* words so strictly and literally in this place. In his Accounts of the *Sicilian* Governments, whence *Pollux* has his Citations, he was obliged to use the words of the Country: but in his *Oeconomics* he might take the common Liberty of Writers, to reduce the *Sicilian* money to some Equivalent of the *Attic*. By the *Drachm* therefore of *Dionysius* he may mean perhaps the *Sicilian* Δραχμίτην or *Denare*, and express it by the Name of *Drachm* as known among the *Græcians*, and about the same value. But let this be as every one pleases: I suppose it will be allow'd, that in ccc years time the Species of money might be alter'd in *Sicily* as in *England* by the late great Restitution of our Coin, the Species call'd *Nine-pences* and *Four pence half-penies* are gone, and perhaps may never be reduc'd into use again. What *Aristotle* therefore tells us about the Old *Sicilian* Money cannot be refused from the Species of *Theocritus's* time, or any that come after him.

Besides this I have another Answer to this Instance from *Theocritus*; for the Poet does not speak of *Sicilian* Money. The Passages that Mr. B. cites are out of the xvth *Idyllium*;



Γο. Πραξινόα, μάλα τοι τὸ κρησπυχὲς ἐμπροθέναρια  
 Τὸ πρέπει· λέγε μοι, πῶσω κατέβα τι ἀφ' ἰσῶ;

Πρ. Μὴ μνάσης, Γοργῶι· πλέον ἀργυρίῳ καθαρῶ μινᾶν  
 Ἡ δὺο ——— and again,

Χάμους ταυλά γ' ἔχει, φθόρεθ' ἀργυρίῳ, Διοκλείδης·

Ἐπὶ δ' ὀρεχμῶν κυνάδας, γεραῖαν ἀποσίληματα πρῶν,

Πέντε πῶκος ἔλασ' ἔχθρες, ἅπαν ῥύπεθ' ἔργον ἐπ' ἔργω.

where it's own'd, that *Mineæ* and *Drachms* are spoken of: but who are the Persons, that speak? Mr. B. tells us, *They are Syracusian Ladies*. No wonder, that he has made *Ladies* of two *Women* of low Rank, for he made a *King Zaleucus* from a Shepherd: and to go to the Palace to see a Sight there, like the King's Fine Coach, is in Mr. B's Language, *To appear at Court*. But to let that pass; pray, where are these *Ladies*, when they say this? I must declare here my Astonishment at the Conduct of our Examiner: and it seems to Me to be wholly unaccountable, unless I have recourse again to that Fatality of mistaking, that he seems to lie under. What, was he *not awake* here neither; that he could not see, the Scene of this *Idyllium* was not at *Syracuse* in *Sicily*, but at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*? The *Idyllium* it self, had he ever read it, would have told him this over and over;

Βᾶμες τῷ βασιλῆϊ ἐπ' ἀφνειῷ Πτολεμαίῳ.

*Let's go to King Ptolemee's Court*, says one *Woman* to the other; and so away they foot it, and return home before *Dinner*. Now if they lived in the same *City*, this Journey of theirs is feasible: but to go from *Syracuse* to *Alexandria* and back again in a Morning, and on foot too over the Sea, is a stretch something extraordinary. To be short with the Examiner, they were *Natives* indeed of *Syracuse*, but they had remov'd

to *Alexandria*, and there they had Husbands, and Children, and Servants, and Dwelling-houses. All this appears from the very Poem; and that Mr. B. may not say, that the Minæ and Drachms here were laid out upon Cloaths at *Syracuse*, before their Departure from thence; the very Verse that he cites will teach him the contrary, Πέντε πίκως ἔλαβ' ΕΧΘΕΣ — YESTERDAY my Husband laid out VII Drachms upon Wool. But if Mr. B. shall pretend to have known that the Scene of all this was at *Alexandria*; where was his Sagacity, that he could not see the *Alexandrian* money must be meant, and not that of their old Country *Sicily*? If a French Refugee drives a bargain here at *London* with Sixpences and Shillings; will Mr. B. infer from it, that those Species are the money of *France* too? Here's another of his Performances, not worth a Sicilian Drachm: and his facetious Computation, that the VII Drachms in Theocritus must be short of the Eighth part of a Farthing, if they were paid in the Dr's money, must, like the rest of his Assertions, be interpreted backwards, and then it will be true. For in the Dr's account they were *Alexandrian Drachms*; and consequently not lower than the Common *Attic Drachms*, but double their value.

P. 87.

But Mr. B. will scatter his Learning occasionally, besides what he bestows upon his main Subject. He acquaints us, that in the first Passage — Πλέον ἀργυρίῳ καθαρῷ μνᾶν Ἡ δύο — H. Stephanus in the Margin reads it *Mnās*: and accordingly Mr. B. translates it, *It costs somewhat more than a Mina or Two*; as if the Original was Πλέον μνᾶς ἢ δύο. And to allow Mr. B. all the Favour we can, the Latin Versions have interpreted

P. 86.

P. 87.

interpreted it so before him, *Plus mina una & altera; Plus mina una vel duabus.* Now a Mina was a Pound weight of Silver, and consequently equivalent to Three Pounds Sterling. And I'll crave leave to ask Mr. B. what Sense there is in His or Their Version? *Pray what does your Gown stand you in?* Answer, *It's a very dear Gown; it costs me above THREE or SIX pounds.* Pray who ever talk'd at this rate? What? is there no medium between *Three* and *Six* Pounds? If I should ask a Friend, what he rents his House at; and he should tell me, At above Forty or Fourscore Pounds a Year: it might pass perhaps for a Banter; but an Answer I should not take it for. And yet the Woman in *Theocritus* is very serious, and does not seem to have been of those, *that take Ridicule and Grimace for the most diverting thing in the world.* If *Theocritus* had really writ at this rate, I perceive it would pass upon Mr. B. but I'm afraid that King *Ptolemee*, a good Judge of Wit, whom *Theocritus* presented this Poem to, would have paid him for't in *Sicilian Drachms.* But the fault is not the Poets, but theirs that translate him; and the true Reading is MNAN, the Genitive *Doric* for Μνω̄ν; and the Construction is, Πλέον ἢ δύο μινᾶν ἀργυρίω καθερῶ, *It cost me above Six fair Pounds.*

There's another fault too in the Second Passage, that the Examiner cites,

Ἐπὶ ἀδελφίχμων κυνάδας, γραιὴν ἀποσίμασα πηρῶν  
for in the old Editions of *Aldus*, and others, 'tis

Ἐπὶ ἀδελφίχμωσ κυνάδας. —

which, because it was not understood, was chang'd by the Later Editors. But the ancient Reading is the True; if we take it, as it ought to be taken, Ἐπὶ ἀδελφίχμωσ, the Accusative

tive *Doric* for ἐνάδ' ἐρχουσ, from the Adjective ἐνάδ' ἐρχμθ. The Sense indeed will be the same still, but the Composition will be more elegant : Mr. B. may say, and he has good reason, That the not correcting these Passages cannot be imputed as a Fault to Him ; when such Great men, as *Stephanus*, *Casaubon*, *Heinsius*, &c. fail'd as well as He. We'll allow this therefore, and not lay these Omissions to his charge ; but then he ought not to abuse and calumniate others, who have honest Endeavours to improve this part of Learning, if Envy will let them be quiet.

The other Authors, that Mr. B. has produc'd, to shew that Talents, Minæ, and Drachms, of an equal value with those of Greece, were current in Sicily, are *Thucydides*, *Plato*, *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, and *Plutarch* ; but not one of them was a *Sicilian* except *Diodorus* ; and he too wrote his History in a Foreign Country, and uses the Common Dialect, and comes cccc years after *Phalaris*. Now to answer all these Instances at once, for the Thing is too Vulgar to be insisted on particularly ; I must acquaint him with what every body else knows, but to Him is a secret, That all the Authors, that write in the *Attic* or Common Dialect do of course turn the Sums of money of any Country that they speak of, into the *Attic* Account ; not meaning that the *Attic* Coins were used in Specie upon these occasions, but that the money of whatever sort it was, was equivalent in weight or value to so much *Attic* money. And the end that they had in so doing, is conspicuous enough : for designing their Histories for general use, they thought the best way to be understood by All, was to reduce the money to some Species

cies universally known. And if Mr. B. had ever compared the Greek and Latin Writers of the Roman History together, he must necessarily have observ'd it. I'll give him one or two Examples of it, which may serve instead of all.

(m) *Livy*, who as a Roman writes in the Style <sup>(m) Livy.</sup> of his own Country, tells us, *Servius Tullius* <sup>lib. I.</sup>

divided the Roman Citizens into five Classes; the first was of such as were rated at *Centum millia æris*, that is 100,000 *As's* or *brass Money*: the second at 75,000; and so on to the lowest.

But (n) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who wrote <sup>(n) Dionysf.</sup> for the Greeks, turns these accounts into *Attic* <sup>Halic. P.</sup>

Silver, and makes the first Class to be rated, <sup>22.</sup>

Ἐκατὴν Μνῶν, ἢ Μυριάων Δραχμῶν, at a 100 *Minæ*,

or 100,000 *Drachms*. And the second Πέντε καὶ ἑξ-

ἑξήκοντα Μνῶν ἢ ἑπτακισχλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων Δραχμῶν,

at 75 *Minæ*, or 7500 *Drachms*, and so to the Fifth.

Now this account of the Greek Historian cannot be true, if we understand those *Drachms* to have

been used in Specie: for it's known that the *Romans* had no Silver Money till ccc years after the

time of this *Servius*. But *Livy* and he agree in the

Value, though not in the Species: for x *As's* of

*Brass* being equivalent to one *Attic Drachm* of

Silver; 100,000 of such *As's* are worth 10,000

*Drachms*: and 75,000 *As's* worth 7500 *Drachms*.

The same *Livy* informs us, That *Camillus* was

threatned to be fined *Quingentum millium æris*

*multæta*, 500,000 *As's* of *Brass*: which (o) *Plu-* <sup>(o) Plut. in</sup>

*tarch* represents in Silver Money, and calls it, <sup>Camillo.</sup>

πέντε μυριάδων ἀργυρίε ζηνύωσιν, a Fine of 50,000

*Drachms*. And yet the *Romans* had no use of

Silver Coin till a hundred years after *Camillus*. If

*Plutarch* therefore in his account of *Camillus* has

turn'd the *Roman Money* to *Attic*, why may he

not

not have turn'd the *Sicilian* so in his History of *Timoleon*? And if He did it, why not *Polybius* too? and why not *Plato* and *Thucydides* much rather, being Natives of *Athens*? *Diodorus*, it's true, was a *Sicilian*; but as he forsook the Dialect of *Sicily*, so in consequence he ought to depart from it in the Names and *Species* of its Money: and not fill his History with *νῦμοις*, and *ἑγχιαι*, and *ἑξάντες*, and *πεντέγχιαι*, words that no body would understand abroad, but Grammarians and Antiquaries. Besides that, as I observ'd before, he is so many Centuries junior to *Phalaris*, that the Money of that Island might possibly be alter'd to the Greek Species in all that tract of time. But that the old names of Money continued there till the time of *Gelon* Tyrant of *Syracuse*, LXX years after *Phalaris*'s Death, *Diodorus* himself will teach us. For he says, that upon the De-

feat of the *Carthaginians*, *Demareta* the Wife of *Gelon*, coin'd a new Piece of Money, (p) of the value of ten Attic Drachms; but the Sicilians call'd it from its weight *Πεντηκοντάλιτρον*. This passage even alone will shew that there was no such Money,

(p) *Diodor. Sic. p. 21.*  
 ἔειχεν Ἀπικὰς Δραχμὰς  
 δέκα ἑκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν  
 Σικελιώταις ἀπὸ τῆς σαθ-  
 μῆς Πεντηκοντάλιτρον.

nor Name as *Drachm* in those days in *Sicily*. For if there had, they would have call'd this Money *Δεκάδραχμον* from the value of ten Drachms: and not *Πεντηκοντάλιτρον*, from the weight of Fifty *Litra*. From which compound word it plainly appears, that the *Litra*, one of those *Sicilian* Coins that I and my Authors contend for, was yet in use in the time of *Gelon*. Without question therefore it was used there in *Phalaris*'s time, and if you admit of the *Litra* for a *Sicilian* Coin, you must take all the rest after it; that  
 are

are mention'd by *Aristotle* and *Pollux*; as the  $\Delta\epsilon\chi\alpha\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\omicron\nu$ , the  $\text{Ημιλίτειον}$ , &c. for these plainly refer to and suppose one another, as a half Crown English supposes a Crown. And what has the Examiner got now by his approv'd Sicilian *Writers*? To what purpose are his ridiculous Computations, *A Talent 1 s. 10 d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . for a Month's pay of a Ship. 200 Minae, 6 s. 3 d. for the magnificent Funeral of a General?* I know not what they can stand for there, but to be Emblems of his own Performance; which at first view, and to unskilfull Readers, seems a business of great Value and Price, as the Greek Talents and Minae were; but when examin'd more narrowly, it dwindles into *Talents of eighteen Pence, and Minae of three Farthings.*

P. 87,  
88.

But see what it is to be engag'd with such a Master of Defense: *He may freely admit, he says, of the low value of the Sicilian Talent, and yet think the Letters genuine. For there are several suppositions, that must all be shewn impossible, before any convincing Argument can be drawn from hence, to prove them spurious. To prove Suppositions to be impossible, is a very hard task indeed: and if nothing less than that will serve, 'tis more difficult to convince Mr. B. than to convert a Jew.* But let us see what his *Suppositions* are: 1. *There might*

P. 88,  
89.

*be a low value of the Sicilian Talent in some other Age, and yet the Talent of Phalaris's time might be higher. But I'll presently shew him that in Epicarmus's and Sophron's time, the very next Generation to Phalaris, the Sicilian Money was as I have stated it: and (q) Aristotle says, that  $\tau\epsilon\alpha\epsilon\chi\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ , in OLD time the Talent there was but xxiv  $\nu\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\iota$ , about VII s. Engl. II. Or a low Talent might be in other parts of Sicily, but a higher at Agrigentum.*

I. P. 89.

(q) Poll. p.

437.

II.

(r) *Ibid.*

gentum. But (r) *Aristotle* tells us in general, *Σικελικὸν τάλαντον*, The SICILIAN Talent was XXIV *νέμμοι*; which must include *Agrigentum*, unless Mr. B. will carry that too into *Crete*, as he did *Astypalea*. Nay the Philosopher expressly says,

(f) *Pollux*,

p. 2, 6, 436.

Ἐν Ἀκρε-

γαντίνων

Πολι-

τεία φησὶν

Ἀριστοτέλης

ζημιῶσαι

πνα λ. Δί-

τεας.

(f) That the *Δίτεα* was AGRIGENTINE Money: and if the *Litra* come in there, the Talent and all the rest will follow it. III. Or there might be a low Talent of baser Metal, suppose Brass equal to a *Litra*: and yet Phalaris's Silver Talents might be higher. Here are so many Blunders in this supposition, that I scarce know which to begin with. He believes a Talent in *Sicily* was a single piece of Money, or a Coin; but it was a Summ, as a Pound is in *England*. And upon this he fancies a brass Talent was less than a Silver one: which is just as if he should say, that a Pound paid in Copper Farthings is less than a Pound paid in sixpences. But from whence could he have that extravagant Stuff, a brass Talent equal to a *Litra*? I am afraid again, that he was not awake here: but methinks he might have got out of his Nap in his second or third Edition. A brass *Litra* of *Sicily* weigh'd a Pound, and LX of them made a Talent. And a small Coin of Silver, of equal value to a *Litra* of Brass, had from thence the name too of *Litra* (as among the *Romans* the Silver Coin was call'd *Denarius*, because it was valued at x *As's* of Brass) and LX of those Silver *Litræ* made the ancient Talent of Silver. So that a Talent of Silver, and a Talent of Brass were both equal in value, and both contain'd LX *Litræ*. But Mr. B. has a Marginal Note here, *That the Talents in Pollux are compared to χαλκοῖ, and are lower in value than they*. Admirably observ'd indeed! this same Margin of his has in several places



es quite out-done the Text. The Text here says, *a Talent of Brass was equal to a Litra*; but the Margin tells us, *it was less than a Καλλῆς*; which was but the xiith part of a Litra. So that both Text and Margin together form a Proposition exactly like this: *A certain Book of a late Writer's, is worth four Shillings, and too dear of three Pence.* But the shamefull mistake of this marginal Note is founded upon a corrupt Reading in *Pollux*, \*Εξ τάλαντα, ὅπερ ἔστι δύο Καλλῆς, that is, *Six Talents, which is two brass Pieces*: which I have already observ'd, and shall presently prove, is to be corrected \*Εξ ἄντα. And I dare appeal to any English Reader, though he understands not one word of Greek; if the Passage, as I have faithfully translated it, does not betray it self to be corrupted. For the Author being to make a general comparison of Money, would have express'd it, as all the world uses to do, in the lowest numbers of Proportion; and would certainly have said *Three Talents make One brass Piece; not Six make Two.* And yet Mr. B. with all his Acuteness, could argue from this Reading, as if it were genuine. IV. Or there might be a low Value (*Talent* I suppose he would say) used by the Natives and ancient Inhabitants of Sicily; and yet the Talent used by the Greek Colonies, that placed themselves there, might be higher. But the very Names of the Money we speak of, shew they belong'd not to the *Sicanians* or *Phœnicians* in Sicily, but to the Colonies of Greeks; as \*Οὐγκία from ὄγκο; Νῆμιμο from νόμο; Τετραῖς, Τετῆς, \*Εξῆς, Ημιλίτειον, Δεκάλιτρον: these are certainly Greek words, and neither *Phœnician* nor barbarous *Sicanian*. And *Diodorus* says, the Σικελῶται, *Sicilian Greeks* (not the ancient Inhabitants

IV.

of the Island) call'd the Money ;of *Gelon's* time Πεντηκοντάλιτον. *Pollux* also and *Aristotle* say expressly, they were the Moneys  $\text{ἢ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Δω- εῖων}$ , of the *Dorian Colonies in Sicily*; and that Νῦμμῶ was a Coin of the *Tarentines in Italy*, who were a *Dorian Colony* too, and had no concern with the old *Sicanians*. V. Or if these Letters might by a later hand be chang'd out of the *Doric Dialect into the Attic*; the same hand might make them speak *Attic in the valuation of the Monies*. This is his last supposition, and the pleasantest of them all: and though I doubt not but the very Proposal of it will be received with Laughter by all competent Readers; yet I'll give him an Answer to it, when I consider the general way of his Defense. We have now got, and I hope safely, over all his Suppositions: and tho' I will not pretend to have shewn them impossible, yet I have shewn them so groundless and absurd, that a Wise man will be asham'd of them. But to prove any thing of this Nature impossible is truly an impossible thing. For how can we bring Demonstrations about matters of mere History? If nothing therefore but downright *Impossibility* will convince the Examiner, that his *Phalaris* is spurious; he may still to his Comfort believe them genuine. But at that rate he's well prepared to believe all the Stories of *Ovid's Metamorphoses* or *Apuleius's Ass*.

P. 89. But our misfortune is, that though we have stood the shock of so many *Suppositions*, yet we are just where we were before. For lastly, he says, though none of his Reasonings should hold, 'tis agreed by those who treat of these matters, and give us this low value of the *Sicilian Talent*, that wherever the word *Talent* is used by *Greek Writers* (as it

It is in *Phalaris's* Epistles) without any addition, the Attic Talent must be understood. And for this he quotes *Gronovius*, *Bernard*, and *Brerewood*. Now allowing this to be true, what would our sagacious Critic infer from't? Do not I my self affirm too, that in *Phalaris's* Epistles the Attic Talent is understood? The very circumstances of every Passage there, where Talent is mention'd, shew he meant the Attic: and 'tis the sole ground and foundation of all this Article against him. Mr. B. therefore may assure himself, that I shall never make *Phalaris's* Epistles an Exception to that rule of *Gronovius*. That the Attic is meant in the Epistles will be allow'd on all sides: but whether the true *Phalaris* would have used the word so, there is the Question. And do Mr. B's marginal Citations prove any thing of that? *Diodorus*, though a Sicilian, had good reasons for his reckoning by Attic Money: because he wrote in the common Dialect, because the Attic valuation was then universally known, because other Historians had done so before him. But must *Phalaris* therefore be supposed to have used the Attic Accounts, at a time when the Attic Talent was no better known than the Sicilian? Must he do it in private Letters, that were never intended for the Public? in stating the Expenses of his Household; which being laid out in Sicilian Money could not be express'd in Attic without puuzling Fractions? If Mr. B. will obstinately maintain such Absurdities as these: he'll fully satisfy his Readers, that what-ever there was in *Phalaris's* Accounts, in Mr. B's Genius there's nothing of Attic.

Mr. B. declares, That he finds the Moderns go into the opinion of a Sicilian Talent of low value,

P. 84.

without any other Authority, as he can find, but the obscure and interpolated Passages of Pollux and Festus; but the Notion ought to be supported by good Authorities taken from approv'd Sicilian Writers, or others that purposely treat of Sicilian Affairs. I will give him an account therefore of the Authorities we go upon; and I believe it will presently appear, that the approv'd Sicilian Writers, such as *Epicharmus* and *Sophron*, who were nearest the Age of *Phalaris*; and those that purposely treat of Sicilian Affairs, such as *Aristotle* in his account of the Sicilian Governments, do all countenance and support the Notion, That the Sicilian Money was different from the *Attic* both in Species and Name. But for the clearer illustration of what I shall say here, I will give a Table of the Sicilian Coins according to those Authors; and compare them with the Roman Coins, which were all borrow'd from them.

A Table of the Sicilian Money.

METAL. SICILIAN. ROMAN. VALUE.

Brass or Silver. } Silver.	Τάλαντον. Πενήκον- τάλιεον. }		} 60 Brass or Silver Litra.
Silver.	Δεκάλιτεον.	Denarius.	10 Litra.
Silver.	Νέμισμα.	Nunnius, Sestertius. }	} 2 ½ Litra.
Brass or Silver. }	λίτρα.	Libra, As, Libella. }	} AP <sup>d</sup> weight of Brass, or a Piece of Silver equi- valent.
Brass, Silver. }	Ημιλίτειον.	Semissis, Sembella. }	} Half a Litra.
Brass.	Πενήγχιον.	Quincunx.	} 5 Ounces of Brass.
Brass.	Τριάς.	Triens.	} A Third part of a Litra.
Brass.	Τετρας.	Quadrans, Teruncius. }	} A Fourth of a Litra.
Brass.	Ἑξάς.	Sextans.	} A Sixth of a Litra.
Brass.	Οὐγκία.	Uncia.	} 1 Ounce of Brass.

This Table comprehends all the Names of the Sicilian Sums or Coins, from the Highest down to the Lowest: and I shall now subjoin the Passages of Authors, which establish and warrant every one of them.

## T A Λ A N T O N .

(t) *Pollux*, *The Sicilian TALENT*, (t) says *Pollux*, had the lowest Value of all. Of old, as *Aristotle* teaches, it contain'd XXIV Νέμμοι; but afterwards only XII. Now a Νέμμο⊕ *Nummus*, as I shall shew presently, was the IVth part of a *Denare*: so that the Ancient Talent contain'd VI *Denares*, and the latter III. And *Suidas* falls in exactly with *Aristotle's* account: for he informs us, (u) That among the Sicilian Greeks a Talent was anciently XXIV Nummi, but now XII. In the Vulgar Editions 'tis μνῶν, but the true Reading is Νέμμων, as the Passage of *Aristotle* clearly shews; and so it's corrected by *Rudæus* and every body since, that have treated of these matters. The word Νέμμων, being not understood by the Copier, was corrupted into μνῶν. To these Authorities we may add *Festus*, who giving the value of several sorts of Talents, says, (x) *The Neapolitan contains VI Denares; the Syracusan III; and that of Rhegium Half a Denare.* What *Festus* here calls the *Neapolitan Talent*, has the same value with the *Old Talent of Sicily*: which is not to be wonder'd at; since *Aristotle* and *Pollux* affirm that the Νέμμο⊕, one of the Coins of *Sicily*, was common to the *Tarentine* and other *Dorian Colonies of Italy*. And the *Syracusan Talent of Festus* is the very same with what *Aristotle* and *Suidas* call the *Later Sicilian*. Here are four Authorities then, *Aristotle*, *Pollux*, *Suidas*, and *Festus*, for the low valuation of the *Sicilian Talent*. And the Alteration, that Mr. B. and some others would introduce into the Text of *Festus*, now appears to be groundless. They would interpolate it thus, *Syracusanum trium*  
(Millium)

(u) *Suid.*  
in Τάλαν-  
των.

(x) *Festus*,  
*Tal. Nea-*  
*politianum*  
*Sex Den-*  
*arium, Sy-*  
*racusanum*  
*trium de-*  
*narium,*  
*Rheginum*  
*Victoriat.*

(*Millium*) *denarium*, The Syracusan Talent had 3000 *Denares*. But what Authority have they for this Talent of 3000? None at all. Is it not a glorious Correction then, and worthy to be embrac'd by Mr. B. to change the Reading that's warranted by Three Authors, and to substitute another, that's supported by none? And what will they do with the following words, *Rheginum victoriati*? Will they insert *Millium* there too, and make it neither Latin nor Sense? But if the Talent of *Rhegium* was but equivalent to Five Pounds of Brass; why must that of *Sicily* be thought too low, when it's made equal to Thirty or Sixty?

'Tis very certain, that the Romans call'd the common *Attic* Talent, *Talentum Magnum*, The Great Talent; an Expression never used by any Greek Author: so that the Reason and Ground of it has been a great Enquiry among the Antiquaries of the last Age. But the Ingenious and Learned (y) *Gronovius* has lit upon a Conjecture, that has all the Characters of Truth and Certainty. The Romans had no such Summ nor Name as *Talent*, in their way of Accounts; but by their Dealings with the Neighbouring Greeks, the Sicilians, *Rhegians*, *Tarentines*, *Neapolitans*, they knew a Talent among Them stood for a small Summ of Silver. Afterwards when they extended their Commerce or their Conquests to other parts of *Greece*, they found a Talent there meant a vast Summ of 6000 *Denares*; which was 1000, or 2000, or 12000 times as much as the Talents of their Neighbours. This latter therefore was call'd the *Great Talent*, and in process of time *Talent* alone; the other acceptance of the word falling into disuse. I do

(y) *Gronov.*  
*de Pecun.*  
*Vet. iii, 3.*

not question, but all competent Judges will receive this Notion of *Gronovius* with approbation and applause. And as the Expression *Talentum Magnum* is so fairly explain'd by the Low *Sicilian* Talent: so reciprocally the Low Value of that Talent is plainly made out by the Expression *Talentum magnum*.

But there's one thing not yet accounted for, How it came about that in those *Dorian* Colonies the word *Talent* was applied to such inconsiderable Summs. I will crave leave to propose a Conjecture of mine, and submit it to the Censures of the Learned. (z) *Talent* originally is a word of Statics, and means LX pound weight of any thing. Now the Brass *Λιτρæ* of *Sicily* being at first a Pound weight, as the *Libra* or *As* was among the *Romans*; LX such *Litræ* weigh'd in all LX pounds, and consequently were call'd a *Talent*. Afterwards when Silver Money came into use among them, the Species of it had their denominations from the Proportions they bore to the Brass *Litra*. So that a small Silver Coin, equivalent in worth to a Brass Pound, was call'd *Λιτρæ*; and another Coin containing Ten of them, *Δεκάλιτρον*: just as the *Romans* call'd their Silver Coin *Denarius*, because it was equal in value to *Deni Asses*, Ten Brass Pounds. By the same Rule therefore a Summ of Silver, containing LX Silver *Litræ* or VI (*Δεκάλιτρæ*) *Denares*, was call'd a *Talent*; because it was equivalent to LX Pound weight of Brass. Here I conceive is a probable account, how the *Old Sicilian* Talent came to stand for VI *Denares*, or, as *Aristotle* expresses it, XXIV *Nummi*. But the same Author acquaints us, that afterwards the Talent sunk lower to the value of XII *Nummi*, or III *Denares*.

(z) *Suidas*,  
*Pollux*, and  
others.



*Denares*. The occasion of which seems to have been this. As *Solon* diminish'd the *Attic* Drachm a Fourth part in weight, making 100 of them go to a Pound, which LXXV made before; and as the *Romans* being straitned in the First *Punic* War, lower'd their Brass Money Five parts in Six, making their *As*, which till then was a full Pound weight, to be no more than two Ounces: so the *Sicilians* seem to have lessen'd their Brass Money Half in Half; and yet the Old Names (as among the *Romans*) continued still, notwithstanding the change in weight. A Talent of Brass therefore, containing LX of those Half Pound *Litræ*, was no more than III Denares or XII Nummi of Silver. But the *Rhegians*, according to *Festus*, seem to have sunk their Brass *Litræ* from a Pound weight to an Ounce: which is exactly what the *Romans* did in the Second *Punic* War, when they made their *As* to be *Unctialis* of a single Ounce weight. By which proportion, though the Talent even among the *Rhegians* might at first be LX *Litræ*, each of which weigh'd a Pound; yet after they were diminish'd to an Ounce a piece, a Talent of LX such *Litræ* would be worth no more than half a Denare, or the *Victoriatas* of *Festus*.

ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΑΙΤΡΟΝ.

We have an account of this Coin from *Diodorus Siculus*; (a) That after *Gelon* had van- (a) *Diodor.*  
quish'd the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, Ol. LXXV, I. p. 21.  
*Demareta* his Wife interceded in their behalf,  
and obtain'd for them an honourable Peace; and  
upon that occasion she caus'd a new Coin to be  
stamp'd weighing L *Litræ*, that is, Five Δεξί-  
ΑΙΤΡΟΝ,

λίτρα, Denares; or as *Diodorus* computes it, x Attic Drachms. This Money was call'd Δημαρέπον from her name, and by the Sicilians Πενήκοντάλιτρον from the weight and value of it.

(b) *Pollux*, The same Money is mention'd by (b) *Pollux*, but he tells us quite another story about the occasion of coining it; That when her Husband wanted money in the War against the Carthaginians, Demareta and the rest of the Women brought all their Silver Utensils to the Mint, and the Coin was call'd Νόμισμα Δημαρέπον. But the very Bigness of the Money, being five times the weight of their heaviest ordinary Coin, shews *Diodorus's* Narrative to be truer than *Pollux's*: for if *Gelon* had been in any straits for Money, he would certainly have stamp'd it in the smallest Species; whereas this was a sort of Medal, and by its magnitude declar'd the greatness of the Victory and the Booty. This *Demareta* was the Daughter of *Theron* Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, and after *Gelon's* decease was married to *Polyzelus* his Brother; (c) as we learn from the Scholiast of *Pindar*: who adds too, that from Her a Sicilian Coin was call'd Δημαρέτειον. (d) *Diodorus* acquaints us farther, that *Gelon* out of part of the Booty made a Golden Tripus of xvi Talents, and sent it to *Delphi* a Donatry to *Apollo*. And there's an Epigram of *Simonides* upon the same Tripus, which I suppose is not yet publish'd, and therefore I shall give it here out of the MS *Anthologia*;

Σιμωνίδε.

Φημι Γέλων', Ίέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θερασίβηλον,  
 Παῖδας Δεινομένευσ ἢ τρίποδ' ἀνδρείωμα,  
 Ἐξ ἑκατῶν λιτρῶν ἢ πενήκοντα ταλάντων  
 Δαρείου χερσὶ τὰς δεκάτας δεκάταν.

where

(c) Schol.  
*Pind.* O-  
 lymp. 2.  
 Αφ' ἧς ἔχ  
 τὸ Δημα-  
 ρέτειον νό-  
 μισμα ἐν  
 Σικελία.  
 (d) *Diod.*  
*ibid.*

Where it's observable that *Simonides*, who perhaps was then in *Sicily* and saw the Tripus, says it weigh'd above 2 Talents; but *Diodorus* says, *xvī*. If we believe the Scholiast of (e) *Pindar*; 'twas not one Tripus only, but several, that *Gelon* dedicated to *Apollo*, and this Inscription was engrav'd on them,

Φημί Γέλων', Ἱέρανα, Πολύζηλον, Θεσούβυλον,  
 Παῖδας Δεινομένους τὸς τείποδας δέμεναι,  
 Βάρβαρα νικήσαντας ἔθνη, πολλὰ δ' ὄψασθαι  
 Σύμμαχον Ἑλλησιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἑλευθείῳ.

(e) Schol  
 Pind Pyth.  
 i. Ανα-  
 θεῖναι τὸ  
 δεῖν χρυ-  
 σὸς τρίπο-  
 δας ὅτι  
 γεγάνηα  
 ταῦτα.

Which appears to be the very same Epigram with that ascrib'd to *Simonides*; and the one perhaps is to be supplied out of the other; the latter Distich of this being to be added to that. But what can be the meaning of *Δαρετίς χρυσῶ*? If we consider the passages already cited out of *Diodorus*, *Pollux* and *Pindar's* Scholiast, which all belong to the Subject of this Epigram; we can scarce doubt but the true Reading is,

Δαμαρετίς χρυσῶ τὰς δεκάτας δεκάταν

Where the Poet was constrain'd of mere necessity to use a *Pæon* instead of a *Dactyl*; as another Poet did without any necessity,

Ἄλλὰ τὸν ἔποισε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσιν ἔπειθε.

But the Copiers not considering this, and observing the Verse to have a Syllable too much, contracted the word into *Δαρετίς*; which has been done above 200 years ago, as it's evident from *Suidas*: *Δαρετίς*, says he, (f) τὴν τρίποδα δ' ἀνδέμεναι ἕξ ἑκατὴν λιτρῶν καὶ πενήκοντα ταλάντων *Δαρετίς χρυσῶ τὰς δεκάτας* where the Word, we see, is set down; but there's no Explication of it. He has only given part of our Epigram, where he found that *Δαρετίς*: and as that Word both in *Suidas* and the Epigram is to be corrected

(f) Suid.  
 v. Δαρε-  
 τίς.

rected from other Authors; so the rest of that Passage of *Suidas* is to be corrected from the Epigram.

ΔΕΚΑΛΙΤΡΟΝ, ΛΙΤΡΑ, ΗΜΙΑΛΙΤΡΙΟΝ.

*Pollux*, p.  
216, 436.

*Aristotle* in his Treatise of the *Agrigentine Government* informs us, that a Person was fin'd there (τετακοντα λιτρας) XXX *Litrae*; and that a *Litra* was equal in value to an *Aeginæan Obolus*. The same he repeats in his Discourse about the *Himeræan Government*; That the *Litra* was equal to an *Obolus*, and the *Δεκαλιτρον* contain'd X *Litrae*, and was worth a *Corinthian Stater*. These Particulars are told us twice by *Pollux*, in his ivth, and ixth Book; so that there's no room for any suspicion, that he mistook his Author. *Λιτρα*, says *Hesychius*, ἀβολός, οἱ ἢ νόμισμα παρὰ Σικελοῖς· οἱ ἢ ἐπὶ σαθμῶν· οἱ ἢ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὸ βλίβερα· *Photius* in his MS *Lexicon*: Λιτρα ἦν μὲν νόμισμα τι ὡς Δίριλιθ· ἐπὶ τε σαθμῶν· Ἐπιχαραμός τε καὶ Σώφρων ἐχρήσαντο· Σοφοκλῆς ἢ λιτροσκοπόν φησι ἢ ἀργυρομοιβὸν ἀπὸ τῆς νομισμαλιθ· *Hesychius* again, λιτροσκοπες, ἀργυρομοιβές, ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελικῆς νομισμαλιθ, ὃ καλεῖται λιτρα. Here are two good Authors concurring with *Pollux*, besides the Three others that one of them cites, *Diphilus*, *Epicharmus*, and *Sophron*; but we have not the Names of them only, but the very Passages too preserved to us in *Pollux*. The *Comic Poets*, (g) says he, of *Sicily* use the word *Λιτρα*, sometimes for a small piece of Money; as when *Sophron* says, in his Book call'd *Γυναικῶν Μῖμοι*, Ὁ μισθὸς δεκαλιτρον (the true Reading here seems to be δέκα λιτρῶν or λιτρῶν) and again in his *Ἀνδρῶν Μῖμοι*, Σῶσαι δ' ἐδὲ τὰς δύο λιτρας δύναμαι and sometimes for a Pound weight, as *Demologus* in his *Medea*,

(g) *Pollux*,  
p. 215.

Τετρα-

Τετρακονταλίτρεις τινὶ νεανίσκῳ πίδαας.

In the vulgar Editions it's πίδαας; which (i) *Sal-* (i) *Salmaf.*  
*masius* has truly corrected πίδαας, *Chains of* XL *de Modo*  
*pound weight.* But there's another error still re- *Usur. p.*  
 maining, Δηνόλογ⊙, a Poet as unheard of, as <sup>234</sup>  
*Phalaris's* two Tragedians *Aristolochus* and *Lysi-*  
*mus*: instead of which *Demologus* the MS of *Jf.*  
*Vossius* has it Δηνόλοχ⊙, which is certainly the  
 true Reading. For this *Dinolochus* was really  
 a *Sicilian* Comic Poet (as *Pollux* here supposes  
 him) (k) *being a* Syracusan, or an Agrigentine, (k) *Suid. v.*  
 and the Son, or, as others say, the Scholar of *Epi-* Δηνολ.  
*charmus*, and the Author of XII *Doric* Comedies.

He is cited again by *Pollux*, (l) Δηνόλοχ⊙ ἐν (l) *Pollux,*  
*Αμαζόσων*; and twice or thrice by *Hesychius*. But p. 500.

our Author proceeds and tells us, (m) *That even* (m) *Id. p.*  
*some of the Athenian* Comicks mention the word Δι- 217.  
 τεα, as *Philemon* in his Play inscrib'd Σικελικός,

and *Posidippus* in his Γαλάτεια. In the Editions

'tis printed Γαλάτεια, which Learned men have

corrected Γαλάτεια: and the Great *Salmasius* a-

cutely observes, that it appears by the Names of

these two Comedies, that the Scene and Subject

of them were in *Sicily*; so that the Poets there

used the word Δίτεα, not as *Attic* Money, but

as *Sicilian*. In another place (n) our Author a- (n) *Pollux,*  
 scribes the Play not to *Philemon*, but to *Diphi-* p. 436.  
*lus*; as *Photius* also seems to have done in the

passage above cited: but (o) *Athenæus* gives it (o) *Athen.*  
 to *Philemon*; so that it was dubious even in p. 658.  
 those days, whether of them was the Author of

it. The words of *Diphilus* are these;

Οἶον ἀρροῦζειν πασαῖ, μηδὲ ἐν δ' ἔχειν,

Ἐι μὴ κινύνας ἀξίως λίτρεαιν δοῖν.

In the *Vossian* MS it's πάντα for πασαῖ; which may  
 seem the truer Lesson; because of the elegant

Opposition there between πάντα and μηδὲν. But παρὰ too is a very tolerable Liction, being a Dish made of Cheese and other Ingredients; and the Cheese of Sicily, where the Action of this Play lies, was famous; as the Poet tells us

(p) *Athen.*  
*ibid.*  
(q) *Pollex,*  
436.

(p) in this very Comedy. But Epicharmus, continues (q) *Pollex*, mentions several names of Money in his Play call'd Ἀρπαγαί. The Passage there is thus represented in the *Vossian MS*:

Ὡσπερ αἱ πονηραὶ μάντιες αἰδ' ὑπονέμονται γυναῖκας  
μωραῖς ἀμπετάκιον ἀργυρίον, ἀλλὰ ἢ λίτερον αἰδ' ἂν  
ἠμίλιτερον δεχόμεναι, καὶ πάντα γινώσκοντι. And I

(r) *Salmas.*  
p. 261.

guess from the Emendation of (r) *Salmasius*, that the *Palatine MS* had it exactly so too; and perhaps the *MS* of *Vossius* is nothing but a Copy of it. *Salmasius* has thus reduced the words into Trochaic Verses:

— Ὡσπερ αἱ πονηραὶ μάντιες,

Ἄιδ' ὑπονέμονται γυναῖκας μωραῖς, αἰ πητέγκιον  
ἀργυρίον, ἀλλὰ ἢ λίτερον, αἰδ' ἂν ἠμίλιτερον  
δεχόμεναι Πάντα γινώσκοντι—

Where in the third Verse the true Measure is not observ'd, a Spondee being put there instead of a Trochee: but as for μωραῖς in the second Verse, the *Dorians* frequently made the Accusative *as* short, as we see in *Theocritus*. I would read the whole in this manner;

— Ὡσπερ αἱ πονηραὶ μάντιες,

Ἄιδ' ὑπονέμονται γυναῖκας μωραῖς, ἄμ πεντέγκιον  
ἀργυρίον, ἀλλὰ ἢ λίτερον, αἰδ' ἂν ἠμίλιτερον  
δεχόμεναι, καὶ πάντα γινώσκοντι τῶσθ' ἡν λόγῳ.

The three last words do not appear in the *MS*; but the vulgar Editions have τῶσθ' ἡν λόγῳ: which must be lengthen'd by a Syllable, to close up the Trochaic. The meaning of the Passage is this: Like those roguish Fortune-tellers, that wheedle

foolish

foolish Women, some of them exacting a five-Ounce piece of Money, some a Litra, some half a Litra; and, as those silly Women believe, they know all things.

Αμ in the Second Verse is for ἄν: for in ancient writing when the Ν came before Μ or Β or Π or Φ, it was chang'd into Μ; as in the *Chron. Arundelianum*, ΕΜ ΠΑΡΩΙ for ἐν Πάρῳ; and in the Marble of *Smyrna*, ΕΜ ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΑΙ for ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ: and the modern Greeks, though they write it Ν in those Cases, yet they pronounce it as Μ. In the third Verse I read ἡμιλίτριον instead of ἡμίλιτρον: for I observe that's the form of the Compounds with ἡμι, as Ημιαμόριον, ἡμιθωράκιον, ἡμιδιπλόδιον, ἡμισφαίριον, ἡμιπόδιον and many more. Another Passage from *Epicarmus* is thus cited by the same *Pollux*. (f) Ἐγὼ γὰρ τὴν βαλάντιον λιτροδεκάλιτρον ἐξάγγιον τε καὶ πεντάγγιον. which is thus exhibited in the *Vossian MS*. Ἐγὼ γὰρ τὴν βαλάντιον λιτροδεκάλιτρον σατήρ ἐξάντιον τε πετάγγιον. And so in all probability the *Palatine MS* reads it, as one may gather from (t) *Salmasius*, who thus corrects it by the help of it.

(f) *Pollux*,  
*ibid.*

(t) *Salmas.*  
p. 260.

— Ἐφ' ᾧ γὰρ τὴν βαλάντιον, λίτρα,

δεκάλιτρον σατήρ, ἐξάντιον τε καὶ πεντάγγιον.

But by this Emendation both the Verses have false Measure; neither does the Sense appear very elegant. It seems to me very probable that σατήρ in the MSS is an Interpolation; because in other places *Pollux* tells us, that the δεκάλιτρον was worth a *Corinthian σατήρ*: from whence the Interpolator borrow'd it, and clapt it in here. But it cannot be *Epicarmus's* own for two reasons, both because it is no *Sicilian* word, and because it makes a Tautology. If I may have leave to propose an Emendation, I would read the passage thus:

— Ἐγὼ

— Ἐχω γὰρ τὴν βαλάντιον λιτρῶν

Δεκαλιτρῶν τε πλήρες ἑξάντων τε καὶ πεντεγκίων.

I have my Purse, says he, full of Litrae and Denares, and Two-ounce Pieces, and Five-ounce Pieces.

Ν Ο Υ Μ Μ Ο Σ .

(u) *Pollux.* *Julius Pollux*, (u) who wrote his Book at Rome, and dedicated it to the Emperor *Commodus*, tells him, That the Word ΝῆμμϠ appears indeed to be of Roman Original, but it's really Greek, belonging to the Dorians of Sicily and Italy. So *Varro* also expressly teaches, that the Word *Nummus* was borrow'd from the Sicilians: (x) In argento, Nummi: id à Siculis. The same *Pollux* adds, that *Aristotle* in his *Treatise of the Tarentine Government* says, a certain Coin there was call'd ΝῆμμϠ, which for its Impress had *Taras* the Son of *Neptune* astride upon a *Dolphin*. Half a score of these *Tarentine Νῆμμοί* with that Stamp upon them are in *Goltzius*. Again our Author acquaints us, That according to *Aristotle* the Old Talent of Sicily contain'd xxiv Νῆμμοί, but the later xii only: and that a ΝῆμμϠ was equivalent to an *Obolus* and a Half. And then he confirms the Authority of the word ΝῆμμϠ by two Passages of *Epicharmus*; the First of them, Κῆρυξ ἰὰν εὐθύς πρὶώ μοι δέκα νέμμων μῶσχον καλήν; which is thus to be distinguish'd, and reduc'd to Iambics.

— Κῆρυξ ἰὰν

Εὐθύς πρὶώ μοι δέκα νέμμων μῶσχον καλήν.

There seems to be no room for doubting, but that the Verses were thus written by the Poet; and yet the Reader may take notice, that there's a Spondee in the Fourth Place instead of an Iambic;



ambic; but then it is softned by two short Syl-  
ables that come immediately before it. The  
same Measure seems to be used in the Second  
Fragment of *Epicharmus*, cited by *Pollux*: 'Αλλ'  
ὄμως καλάι κ' ποι ἄρνες εὐρήσουσι δέμοι κ' νέμμις, πω-  
λατιάι γ' ἐντὶ τὰς ματρῆς; which is thus reduc-  
ible to Trochaics; though here the MS do not  
assist us:

'Αλλ' ὄμως καλάι τε ποίτ' ἄρνες εὐρήσουσί μοι  
Δέκα νέμμις, πωλατέαι γ' ἐντὶ μετὰ τὰς ματρῆς.⊕  
H̄i⊕ I take to be a true *Doric* word, from whence  
come πόπερ⊕ πόταλ⊕.

The Divisions of the ΛΙΤΡΑ.

ΠΕΝΤΟΥΤΚΙΟΝ a Coin of Five ounces Brass,  
or of Silver equivalent to them, is mention'd  
by *Epicharmus*, in that fragment produced a-  
bove.

—'Εξάδύλων τε κ' πεντεγυλῶν'

The Latins call'd it *Quincunx*. And perhaps,  
as the Latins had the *Septunx* too, so the *Sicili-  
ans* might have *ἑπτέγκιον*, though we have now  
no Author that mentions it. I will correct here a  
passage of *Festus*, which has created some trouble  
to the Learned Antiquaries of this and the last  
Age. *Sextantarii Asses*, &c. The *As's*, says he,  
of two Ounces weight, call'd *Sextantarii*, came into (y) *Feß.*  
use in the Second Punic War, to which he adds, *in Sextant.*  
*Septuennio quoq; (anno) usus est, ut priore numero;*  
*sed id non permanfit in usu, nec amplius processit in*  
*majorem.* Here *Festus* is very much blam'd by *Bü-  
dæus*, *Hottoman*, *Harduin*, and others; for af-  
firming that the *Sextantarii Asses* continued in  
use Seven Years only, since it plainly appears  
from *Pliny* that they lasted a good while longer.  
But the fault is not in *Festus*, but in those that

transcribed him ill; for the true Reading is thus : SEPTUNCIO quoque VARRO usus est, ut priore Numero, &c. that is, *Varro used the word Septuncium as he did the Number before it (Sextans); but the Word did not continue in use, nor did the Compounds from Uncia go to a higher number than Seven.* He means, the *Latins* did not say, *Oētuncium, Nonuncium, Decuncium.* But let us hear (z) *Varro* himself, who will be Voucher for this Emendation. *Septunx, à septem & uncia conclusum. Reliqua obscuriora, quod à deminutione : & ea quæ deminuuntur, ita sunt ut extremas syllabas habeant : ut à duodecim una dempta uncia, Deunx : Dextans, dempto Sextante : Dodrans, dempto quadrante : Bes, ut olim Des, dempto triente.* The meaning of which is, That they went no higher than *Septunx* in the Compounds from the Number and *Uncia*, but they said *Bes* for VIII Ounces, *Dodrans* for IX, *Dextans* for X, *Deunx* for XI : So that when *Festus* tells us in another place ; *Nonuncium, quod vulgo magistriludi appellant, significat novem uncias* : we are to understand him, that *Nonuncium*, though it was used by Schoolmasters when they taught Boys, was no legitimate word nor of popular use.

ΤΡΙΑΣ. ΤΕΤΡΑΣ. ΕΞΑΣ. The account that *Pollux* gives of the divisions of the λίτρα is excised from *Aristotle's* Book of the *Himeræan Polity* : The Passages are very faulty; but because they come twice over, they may easily be corrected by comparing one with the other, and both with the *Roman* Moneys which were borrow'd from *Sicily*. *Αριστέλης*, says he, ἐν τῇ Ἱμεραίων Πολιτείᾳ φησίν, ὡς οἱ μὲν Σικελιώται τὲς δύο χαλκῆς ἐξάλιτρα (α) (P. 436. ἐξ τάλαντα) καλῶσι, ἢ δὲ ἑκα Οὐγκίαν, τὲς δὲ τρεῖς Τριάκοιτα (P. 436.

(α) Pollux  
p. 216.  
436.

τρία τάλαντα) τὸς δὲ ἕξ Ημίλιθρον, ἢ δὲ ὀβολὸν, Λίτραν, ἢ δὲ Κορίνθιον σαπῆρα Δεκάλιθρον, ὅτι δέκα ὀβολὸς δύναται. Where the first Error of the Copyers is ἐξάλιθρα in one place, and ἕξ τάλαντα in the other : in the former place the *Vossian* and *Palatine* MSS have it, δεξάντα, in the latter they vary not from the Editions. Now from all the three words compared together, the true Reading easily results, Ἐξάντα : so *Hesychius* ; Εξᾶς, ἑξᾶς (νομίσματι) ἑξᾶς Συρακυσίοις, and *Arcadius* the Grammarian in his MS. Tract Περὶ Τόπων, quoted by *Salmasius* ; (b) Εξᾶς ἐπὶ ποσότητος ὃν περιεσπᾶται which is word for word too in *Theodosius's* MS. Epitome of *Herodian's* Book call'd Καθόλου, in the Public Library at *Oxford*. And we met with the word just now in the fragment of *Epicharmus*.

(b) *Salmasius de Mode Ufur. p. 256.*

Δεκαλίθραν τε πλήρες, ἐξάντων τε, καὶ περιεσχίαν.

For the MS there reads it ἐξάνπων : and it's well known that *ω* are commonly mistaken by Copyers for *ω*. I my self have had frequent experience of it in sheets from the Press : as in my notes on *Callimachus*, it's somewhere Printed πῶν instead of πῶν. The Second mistake of *Pollux's* Copyers is Τειάκοντα and Τρία Τάλαντα, for Τειᾶντα. *Hesychius*, Τειᾶντι πύρην, λαμβάνουσα Τριακοντα, ὃ ἐστὶ Λεπτά εἴκοσι. Here again is the very same error, that the Copyers of *Pollux* committed, τειάκοντα instead of Τειᾶντα. For this and Εξᾶς being Foreign Words, and not commonly understood in *Greece*, had the common Fate of all words of that sort, to be corrupted by Transcribers.

ΟΥΓΚΙΑ. So the MS has it, instead of Οὐγγία, and that's the truer Reading, though its written both ways in the Books of the *Greek Physicians*,

in the time of the *Roman Empire*, when they speak of *Weights and Doses*. *Photius* in his *MS Lexicon*; Οὐγκία, ἢ σαθρόν, Σώφρων κ' Επιχαρμος. *Suidas*: Οὐγκία, εἶδος μέγεθ, ἢ σαθρός.

The ancient Writers were content to be moderately accurate in their comparisons of Moneys. They commonly reckon'd the *Roman Denare* to be equivalent to an *Attic Drachm*; though in strict examination they were not so. But they thought it better to neglect those Fractions, for the conveniency of expressing themselves in round Summs; and they consider'd they were Historians, and not Masters of the Mint. We have an Instance of this in the very thing that now lies

(c) *Pollux*  
p. 2.6.436.

before us: where the *Sicilian Money* is thus adjusted by *Aristotle*, to the Moneys of *Greece*: (c) *An Οὐγκία*, says he, is one *Attic Chalci*; and the *Ημιλίτειον* is six *Chalci*, and the *Litra* is an *Egeian Obolus*. Now if we examine this rigidly, the computation cannot be true. For the *Litra*, according to *Aristotle*, contain'd xii *Attic Chalci*, and yet was equal to an *Egeian Obolus*: so that by this reckoning the *Egeian Obolus* was equal to xii *Chalci*. But the *Egeian Obolus* was to the *Attic* as x is to vi; and the *Attic Obolus* had the Value of viii *Chalci*: therefore the *Egeian Obolus* was not equal to xii *Chalci*, for the Proportion of xii to viii is not the same with the Proportion of x to vi. But as I said before, such small Differences were neglected by the Old writers, and they were content, if their calculations were tolerably exact. *Diodorus Siculus* says, *The Πεντηκοντάλλισον* of *Demareta*, was equivalent to x *Attic Drachms*: by which computation a *Δεκάλλισον* was equal to 11 *Attic Drachms*. But *Aristotle* computes that

a Δεκάλιτρον was equivalent to XII *Æginean* Oboli, which are more than II *Attic* Drachms. The same *Aristotle* assigns τρία ἡμισόβλια, an *Obolus* and a half as an equivalent to the *Sicilian* Νῦμμος: where he seems to mean the *Æginean* *Obolus*, and at that rate the Νῦμμος was the fourth part of an *Æginean* Drachm. But as the *Nummus* at *Rome* was the 12th of the *Denarius*, so the Νῦμμος in *Sicily* seems to have been the 12th of the Δεκάλιτρον. The Δεκάλιτρον therefore by this reckoning was equal to an *Æginean* Drachm, or to one *Attic* Drachm and  $\frac{2}{3}$ . And it's no great wonder, if *Aristotle* in different Books should make such different Computations; since in one and the same Paragraph his Accounts, as we have seen, are not consistent. But the Learned *Salmasius* and *Gronovius* instead of τρία ἡμισόβλια in *Pollux*, read it τρίτον ἡμισόβλιον, two *Oboli* and a half: and if this correction be admitted, the Calculation will be the juster. For a *Litra* being equal to an *Obolus*, the Νῦμμος, two *Oboli* and half will be exactly the 12th part of the Δεκάλιτρον; as the *Nummus* being two *As's* and half at *Rome*, and therefore call'd the *Sestertius*, was the 12th of a *Denare*. And indeed it must needs be own'd, whether we read τρία ἡμισόβλια or τρίτον ἡμισόβλιον, that as IV *Nummi* made a *Denarius*, so IV Νῦμμοι made a Δεκάλιτρον; as the Passage of *Festus* compared with *Pollux*, and the *Roman* Accounts compared with the *Sicilian*, make it plain beyond Controversie.

The *Roman* *TRIENS* signified a third part of an *As* or of XII *Ounces*, the *QUADRANS* a Fourth, and the *SEXTANS* a Sixth. This is certain, and needs not now to be proved. But yet among the *Sicilians*, from whom the *Romans*

borrow'd those words, a ΤΡΙΑΣ is said to mean three parts of the Λίτρα, or three Ounces, not the third part of it or four Ounces: and so ΤΕΤΡΑΣ to be four Ounces, and ΕΚΤΑΣ to be six Ounces: which makes a very wide difference between the accounts of the two Nations. Τρεῖς

(d) Pollux, Χαλκοῖ, (d) says Pollux, ὅπερ τειᾶντα; and again, p. 2, 6, 436. Τειᾶντα ὅπερ τρεῖς χαλκοῖ, that is, A ΤΡΙΑΣ means

three Ounces. Τετρεῖς δηνοῖ τέσσαρες χαλκῆς, says Hesychius, a ΤΕΤΡΑΣ stands for four Ounces. And in another place, Τειᾶντα, ὅπερ Λεπτά ἑκοσι, a ΤΡΙΑΣ is xx Lepta. Which is the same again with three Chalci or Ounces, one Chalcus containing vii Lepta. What shall we say to this matter? must we disbelieve these Grammarians? or suppose their Copiers have done them wrong? or must we take it at their words, that the Sicilians reckon'd so, though we do not know why?

(e) Scalig. de re Num. p. 5, 6.

Jos. Scaliger supposes, (e) that the Sicilians took those words in the same sense as the Romans did: and that the Grammarians were mistaken, though, says he, it is not so much a mistake, as an Idiotism; for the Vulgar used to call a Division into iv parts, Tetrantes, and into viii, Octantes, as we may see in Vitruvius. On the contrary, Salma-

(f) Salmas. De Modo Usur. p. 254, &c.

sius maintains, (f) That the Grammarians are in the right, and that the Sicilians took τειᾶς, and τετρεῖς, and δεκάς for iii, iv and x parts of xii Ounces or Litra; and that the Romans were to blame, for changing the meaning of those words; and that Vitruvius's sense of them is not an Idiotism, but the true and proper Notion. If so mean a Writer as I am may have the liberty to interpose in the Controversie of such great Men; I am persuaded the thing was thus. Both Sicilians and Romans had the same Notion and Use of the Words;

Τειᾶς

*Teiās* and *Triens*, *Τετράς* and *Tetrans* or *Quadrans*, *ἑξάς* and *Sextans* meant the 111d, 1vth, and vith part of any Whole whatsoever was spoken of; so that when they were applied to a Pound weight of XII Ounces, they must signifie IV, III, and II Ounces. Thus far I agree with *Scaliger*; and I think *Salmasius* was quite out when he espoused the other opinion. For the words themselves refute him; all we have of them of this Form in the Division of the *Litra* being only these three, *ἑξάς*, *τετράς*, and *τετράς*: but if *ἑξάς* meant six Ounces, and so the rest; then we should have had other such Divisions of the *Litra*, *ἑπτάς* for VII Ounces, *ὀκτάς* for VIII, *ἐννεάς* for IX, *δεκάς* for X, *ἐνδεκάς* for XI. On the other side, if *ἑξάς* signifie the vith part of the Pound, that is II Ounces; and the other two words in like manner; then the reason is plain why we have no more Divisions of it than those three: because they are the only Divisions of XII, that make even Numbers, all the rest producing Fractions; as *πεντάς* a vth of XII Ounces would be II Ounces and  $\frac{1}{10}$  of an Ounce, *ἑπτάς* a viith would be I Ounce and  $\frac{2}{7}$ , *ὀκτάς* an viiith would be I Ounce and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , *ἐννεάς* a ixth would be I Ounce and  $\frac{1}{3}$ , *δεκάς* a xth would be I Ounce and  $\frac{1}{5}$ , *ἐνδεκάς* a xith would be I Ounce and  $\frac{1}{11}$ . These being all Fractions, the *Sicilians* would not coin any Money of these several Divisions; because instead of being usefull they would puzzle and confound all reckonings. But if *Salmasius's* opinion were true, we should certainly have had *πεντάς* for a Coin of v Ounces: for we are sure they had Money of that weight; but then they did not call it *πεντάς* but *πεντέγκιον*, as in the Fragment of *Epicharmus*;

— Ἐξάντων τε κ' πεντεγχιών.

This single word πεντέγχιον is a Demonstration against *Salmasius*. For as the *Romans* taking Quadrans for a ivth part of XII Ounces, could not express the notion of a v Ounce piece by Quintans, but by Quincunx; so by the way of Reverse, the *Sicilians* expressing a v Ounce piece by πεντέγχιον could not mean iv Ounces by τετρας, but the ivth part of XII Ounces. Again, we are told by *Pollux*, that the *Sicilians* took ἐξάντα for 11 Ounces; but according to *Salmasius*, ἐξᾶς must mean a vi Ounce piece, which is utterly improbable upon another account; because ἐξᾶς would then be the same with ἡμιλίτειον. But as the *Romans* used Semissis to denote a piece of vi Ounces; and had therefore no such word as Sexunx; so the *Sicilians* having the word ἡμιλίτειον or vi Ounces, as appears from *Epicharmus*, *Aristotle*, and *Pollux*, had no need to say ἐξέγχιον or ἐξᾶς for the same weight. 'Tis true in some MSS of *Pollux* 'tis not ἐξάντα but διξάντα; and *Salmasius* is pleas'd to prefer that Reading, as a *Doricisim*, from διξῆς. But it's only in one place of *Pollux*, that the MSS have it διξ, in the other they all read it εξ. And with submission, they were not the *Dorians*, but the *Ionians*, that used διξῆς for διωῆς, as we see in xx places of *Herodotus*. And if the *Sicilians* used διξάντα in *Salmasius*'s sense, why did they not say τεξάντα, but τεῖάντα? for *Herodotus* has τεξοῖ for τεωοῖ as well as διξοῖ for διωοῖ. Upon all accounts then I espouse the opinion of *Scaliger* against that of *Salmasius*: but in the remaining part of the Dispute, I humbly conceive they are both mistaken; the one, while he excuses the use of τεῖᾶς and τετρας for 111 and iv parts of XII, as an *Idiotism*, which



which may be justified by *Vitruvius*; the other, while he thinks *Vitruvius* must be taken in that sense, which he esteems the true notion of the words. The Passage of *Vitruvius* is thus; (g) *Di-* (g) *Vitru-*  
*viduntur Circinationes tetrantibus in partes qua-* *viii, x, 11.*  
*tuor, vel octantibus in partes octo ductis lineis.*  
*Scaliger* interprets these *Tetrantes* and *Octantes* to be a Square and an Octagon inscribed in a Circle: which mistake is so palpable, that it needs no refutation. *Salmasius* says, *Tetrans* here means a thing with iv parts, and *Octans* a thing with viii. On the contrary to me it seems evident, that *Vitruvius* takes *Tetrans* for a Quadrant, or the ivth part of a Circle, and *Octans* for the viii th part. *A Circle*, says he, *must be divided into iv parts Tetrantibus.* If *Tetrans* had meant all the iv parts, he would not have said *Tetrantibus* but *Tetrante*. But there's another place that plainly shews what he understands by *Tetrans*. (h) *Ducatur rotunda Circinatio, &* (h) *Vitru-*  
*in ea catheto respondens diametros agatur. Tunc ab* *viii, iii, 3*  
*summo sub abaco inceptum in singulis Tetrantorum*  
*actionibus dimidiatum oculi spatium minuat, don-*  
*cum in eundem Tetrantem, qui est sub oculo veniat.*  
 Here he supposes a Circle to be divided by two Diameters at right Angles; that is, into iv equal parts; and these iv parts he calls *Tetrantorum*, and one ivth he calls *Tetrantem*. So that *Vitruvius's* Notion of *Tetrans*, and *Octans* does not differ from the received Notion of *Quadrans* among the *Romans*, as *Scaliger* and *Salmasius* thought. They were taken by *Vitruvius* and every body else for the ivth and viii part of any Whole whatsoever; and all the words of that Form, that could be applied to the Divisions of the *As* or *Libra*, have the very same meaning,  
*Sextans*

*Sextans* the sixth part of the whole *As*, *Triens* the third, *Quadrans* the fourth: and so among the *Sicilians* ἑξᾶς, τετράς, τρίεξς. *Oſtans* indeed was not used as a division of the *Libra*, because as I observ'd before, it would have made a troublesome Fraction: but it was used in the Division of other things whether Magnitude or Number, as here by *Vitruvius* for the sixth part of a Circle. So ΔΕΚΑΣ a *Sicilian* word mention'd by

(1) *Salmas.*  
p. 256.

*Arcadius*, (i) Τὸ Δεκάς περιπατάται, ὅτε ὄντι ποσότητος τὰς ἑξῆς, though it was no Species of Money for the reason above named, yet it was a name of Measure and Quantity, and denoted the sixth part of any thing. It appears then from the whole account, That the ancient *Romans* had all their Names and Species of Money from the *Dorians* of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and continu'd every word in its original Sense. And because Money was first coin'd at *Rome* by *Servius Tullius*, who began his Reign Olymp. L, 4 and died Olymp. LXI, 4. and consequently was contemporary with *Phalaris*; 'tis a plain case, that in *Phalaris's* time as well as afterwards, the *Sicilians* had those Species of Money.

After I had prepared this Defense of my account of the *Sicilian* Talent, I observ'd that Mr. B. in his Second Edition had made some few Additions to his Remarks upon this Article. At first he told us, *It would not perhaps be difficult to offer some Emendations of Pollux, that might set these things right*: but it seems for some secret Reasons he would not oblige us with them. But in his 2d Edition being in better Humour, *Not to be too reserv'd*, says he, *with the Dr. I shall now offer what may set Pollux right, and I wish the Dr. himself were as capable of Emendation.*

P. 81.

ibid.

*mendation.* I thank the Gentleman for his good Wish; but if he can give Me no better *Emendation*, than this that he has given *Pollux*; he would be no better a *Director* to Me, than some body has been to Him. His first *Conjecture* is, that (k) ἐξ πάλαια, ὅπερ ἐστὶ δύο χαλκοί, is an Error of the Copyists for ἐξάλιτες: A profound Conjecture indeed! 'tis but borrow'd from the other (l) place of *Pollux*, where the Text has it ἐξάλιτες, and I have prov'd above, that both places are corrupted, and that the true Reading is Εξᾶνθα. Which ἐξάλιτες, says Mr. B. signified the viith part of a *Litra*: and so the rest of the Compounds of λίτες in the same manner. Here our *Emendator* makes Εξάλιτες mean the viith part of a *Litra*, which by all Analogy and all Examples of Authors must needs mean vi whole *Litræ*: so that he's out of his reckoning no less than six times six. What thinks he of ἐξάμηνον, ἐξαήμερον, ἐξαέτης, ἐξάπιχτος, ἐξαδέκηνον, ἐξάδεκαχμο, ἐξάστριχος, and xx more? Must these signify the viith of a *Month*, *Day*, or *Year*, &c. or as all the World has yet suppos'd, must they mean vi *Months*, vi *Days*, vi *Years*, and so on? According to Mr. B's wise computation the δεκάλιτες must not be ten *Litræ*, but the Tenth of a *Litra*; which is a Hundred times less, than *Aristotle* and *Pollux* dream'd of. The Πενήκοντάλιτες must not be L *Litræ*, but the lth of a *Litra*; which is 2500 less than poor *Diodorus Siculus* thought it, who values it at x *Attic Drachms*. The Prisoner's Chains, that *Diphilus* calls (m) Τετρακοντάλιτες, must not be xl Pound weight, but the xlth part of a Pound, which would not be quite so heavy, as some of those in *Newgate*. But of all Men

*Aristophanes*

(k) *Pollux*  
p. 436.

(l) *Id.* p.  
216.

(m) *Pollux*,  
p. 215

(n) Aristophanes in Pace.

*Aristophanes* (n) is in the most dangerous condition with his

Πόθεν ἂν λάβοιμι ῥῆμα μπειδύπορον ;

for he wish'd here for something, *that would hold the measure of 10,000 Casks*: but Mr. B. can tell him, that it means no more *than the 10,000th part of a Cask*; so that either the Poet or Mr. B. are mistaken a Hundred Millions in the reckoning. After so glorious a beginning, Mr. B. tells us in the next Sentence, *that the Sicilian Talent was a piece of Silver, that answer'd to LX Litrae of Brass*. It seems he cannot open his Mouth without mistaking; for the Talent was no *piece of Silver*, nor a single Coin, but a *Summ*, as a Pound Sterling is in *English*: and 'twas reckon'd a Talent, whether it was paid in Silver or Brass; whether with vi Silver Δεκαλίτρα, or xxiv Νῆμμοι, or lx Λίτραι, or cxx Ημιλίτρα; or all in Εξἄντες or Οὐγκίαι of Brass; just as a Pound here is the same, whether it be paid in Crowns, or Shillings, or Half-pennies, or Farthings. His very next Sentence acquaints us, *That this LX Pound weight of Brass was then divided into xxiv pieces call'd Νῆμμοι, each νῆμμο being equal to two Pounds and a half, which the Romans would have call'd Nummus Sestertius, as they would have call'd iv of them a Decussis*. Here are three mistakes in the compass of one Proposition; so very fruitful is Mr B. in those happy Productions. The *Sicilian Νῆμμο* he makes to be a *brass piece* of 2 Pound and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; which was a small piece of Silver, about the weight of Three Pence *English*. *Aristotle* says, the *Tarentine Νῆμμος* had stamp'd upon it ΤΑΡΑΣ astride upon a Dolphin; and there are several Silver ones of that sort yet preserv'd, but nothing

like

like it in Brass. And indeed the absurdity of the Examiner's Notion is visible at first view: for who would stamp any Species of 2 pound and  $\frac{1}{2}$  weight? the heaviest Coin was but one pound, and higher than that they did not go. He mistakes again, when he teaches us, that the Romans would have call'd that Brass piece of 2 Pound and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , a *Nummus Sestertius*. For the Roman *Sestertius* was, like the Sicilian, of Silver: In *argento*, says *Varro*, *Nummus, id à Siculis*. There was no such Coin as *Sestertius*, till the second *Punic War*, when Silver Money came into use. Then he says, they would have call'd Four of those Brass pieces, a *Decussis*. Here he imagines that *Decussis* was a particular Coin; which was a Summ of XII Asses, or of XII pound weight of uncoin'd Brass; so were *Tressis*, *Quinquessis*, *Octussis*, and so on to *Centussis*, all Summs and not Species: though some Learned men have maintain'd these to be Coins, and the *Sestertius* to be Brass too; and so might lead Mr. B. out of the way. In the next place he procedes, to give an account how the Sicilian Talent of XXIV Νόμοι came to sink so low, as XII Νόμοι: but his Suppositions, being bottom'd upon those two Mistakes, that the Talent was a single Coin of Silver, and the Νόμοι a Coin of Brass, they must needs be all Mistake too; and the Superstructure be like the Foundation. If the Readers be not yet tir'd with his endless Blunders, they may see what work he makes of this in Pag. 81.

But the strangest thing of all, if any thing besides being in the Right can be now thought strange in our Examiner, is the flat Contradictions between this new Addition and what Mr. B. had said

said here before. The Old part is to prove, that the Low *Sicilian* Talent is a mere Figment; the New is to make it probable, that there was a Low Talent, and to shew how it came to be so: the Old decries the passage of *Pollux*, as *so obscure and interpolated*, that nothing can be made on't; the New offers to clear it up, and to *set the thing right*, to make way for the Low value of the Talent: The Old undervalues *Festus*, and corrects it 3000 Denares instead of 3: the New espouses the present Reading 3, and would reconcile it with other Writers; in the Old the *ἐξάλιστον* is interpreted vi Litrae, in the New it's but ii: in the Old *he has good reason not to admit that the Sicilian Νεμμος was the same with the Roman Sestertius*; in the New he readily admits and plainly supposes it: in the Old *a Talent may be Brass, and equal to a Litra*; in the New *the Talent is a piece of Silver, and answers to LX Litrae*. Now if the old Text had been cashier'd, and struck out, we might allow this New Addition as the Examiner's Second Thoughts, and give him the common Right of changing his former Opinion upon better consideration. But, as if it were on purpose to amaze and astonish his Readers, the Old Text stands still as it did, and the New Piece is clap'd into it, as if they both consisted very well, and suited together. We have had one Instance before, (o) where his Text and his Margin, like the two Faces of *Fanus*, look quite contrary ways: but in This place not only the Margin is at war with the Text, but the very Text (p) too by another Addition has a Civil War within it self. Now the Readers perhaps may be inclin'd to suspect, that some Assistant was over officious here, and that

Mr. B.

(o) See here p. 168.

(p) p. 89.

Mr. B. himself would not blow hot and cold with the same Breath; but I would advise them not to be too rash, but to learn by my (q) ex- (q) See  
 ample, how feeble all such Arguments from p. . .  
 Reason are in things that concern the Examiner. However, if there was any such Assistant, that put in a Finger here, I must own my self oblig'd to him: for though he bungled grievously in his Work, yet his Design was wholly on my side, To account for the Low Sicilian Talent, and to void all that Mr. B. had written about it before. And I am the more confirm'd in my opinion, That he was against Mr. B. because I find him playing meer Booty with him; *Suppose*, says he, *there was a Sicilian Talent of this low value; yet when a Talent was simply mention'd, it must mean the Common Talent, made up of 60 Minæ, and those divided each into 100 Drachmæ, and these into Oboli.* This looks now like a Salvo to come off with Mr. B. and to reconcile the New Piece and the Old together; but it's perfectly a Banter upon him, and seems design'd for a Piece of Nonsense: for the meaning of it is exactly thus: *Though a current Talent in Sicily was but worth about Half a Crown; yet when a Talent was mention'd in Sicily, it must mean 180 Pound Sterling.* But we may expect to have this Passage clear'd, when Mr. B. and the Assistant next see one another: and then too he may please to resolve, whether he will still oppose my Account of the Sicilian Money; or, if not, renounce, as he promises, not some particular Epistles only, but the whole Set of them.

P 39.

## XV.

**B**UT to let pass all further arguments from Words and Language ; to me the very Matter and Business of the Letters sufficiently discovers them to be an Imposture. What force of Wit and Spirit in the Stile, what lively painting of Humour, some fanstie they discern there ; I will not examine nor dispute. But methinks little Sense and Judgment is shown in the Ground-work and Subject of them. What an improbable and absurd story is that of the LIV Epistle? *Stesichorus* was born at *Himera* ; but he chanced to die at *Catana*, a hundred miles distance from home, quite across the Island. (p) There he was buried, and a noble Monument made for him. Thus far the Sophist had read in good Authors. Now upon this he introduces the *Himerenses*, so enraged at the others for having *Stesichorus's* Ashes, that nothing less will serve them, than *denouncing War*, and *sacking their City*. And presently an Embassy is sent to *Phalaris*, to desire his assistance : who, like a generous Ally, promises them what Arms and Men and Money they would : but withal, sprinkles a little dust among the Bees, advising them to milder counsels,

\* *Suidas*  
 Πάντα ὅ-  
 κτω. &  
 Στήσιζ.



sels, and proposing this expedient, That *Catana* should have *Stesichorus's* Tomb, and *Himera* should build a Temple to him. Now was ever any Declamator's Theme so extravagantly put? What? to go to War upon so slight an occasion? and to call in too the assistance of the Tyrant? Had they so soon forgot *Stesichorus's* own counsel? † who, when upon another occasion they would have asked succour of *Phalaris*, dissuaded them by the Fable of the *Horse* and his *Rider*. Our Sophist had heard, that Seven Cities contended about *Homer*; and so Two might go to Blows about another Poet. But there's a difference between that Contention, and this Fighting in Earnest. He is as extravagant too in the Honours he would raise to his Poet's Memory; nothing less than a Temple and Deification. *Cicero* tells us, that in his days there was his Statue still extant at *Himera* (then called *Thermæ*,) which, one would think, was Honour enough. But a Sophist can build Temples in the Air, as cheaply and easily as some others do Castles.

What an inconsistency is there between the LI and LXIX Epistles? In the former he declares his immortal hatred to one *Python*, who, after *Phalaris's* flight from *Astypalæa*, would have persuaded his Wife

*Erythia* to a second marriage with himself; but seeing her resolved to follow her Husband, he poison'd her. Now this could be no long time after his banishment; for then she could not have wanted Opportunities of following him. But in the LXIX Epist. we have her alive again, long after that *Phalaris* had been Tyrant of *Agrigentum*; for he mentions his \* growing old there. And we must not imagine, but that several years had passed, before he could seize the Government of so populous a City, that had † 200,000 Souls in it, or, as others † say, 800,000. For he came an indigent Stranger thither, according to the Letters; and by degrees rising from one employment to another, at last had opportunity and power to effect that design. Besides, in the LXIX Letter, she is at *Crete* with her Son; and in the LI, she is poison'd (I suppose) at *Astypalæa*: for there her Poisoner dwelt; and 'tis expressly said, she design'd, but could not follow her Husband. Which seems an intimation, that the Sophist believed *Astypalæa* to be a City in *Crete*. 'Tis certain, that the Editors of *Phalaris* by comparing these two passages together, made that discovery in Geography: for it could not be learnt any where else; and 'tis an admirable token, both that the Epistles are old and genuine, and that

\* Διὰ τὸ  
ἐπὶ τὸν γῆ-  
εγ. Ep. 69.

† Diod. St.  
cul. p 205.  
‖ Diog.  
Laert. in  
Empedoc.

that the Commentators are not inferior to, nor unworthy of their Author.

What a scene of putid and senseless formality are the LXXIIX, LXXIX, and CXLIV Epistles? *Nicoles* a *Syracusan*, a Man of the highest rank and quality, sends his own Brother an hundred miles with a request to *Phalaris*, That He would send to *Stesichorus* another hundred miles, and beg the favour of a Copy of Verses upon *Clearista* his Wife, who was lately dead. *Phalaris* accordingly sends to *Himera* with mighty application and address, and soon after writes a second Letter of Thanks for so singular a Kindness. Upon the fame of this, one (II) *Pelopidas* entreats him, That || Ep. lxxv. he would procure the like favour for a friend of His; but meets with a repulse. Now, whether there was any Poem upon *Clearista* among the Works of *Stesichorus*, whence our Sophist might take the Plot and Ground-work of this story; or whether all is entirely his own invention and manufacture; I will not pretend to guess. But let those believe that can, that such stuff as this busied the head of the Tyrant: at least they must confess then, though the Letters would represent him as a great admirer and judge too of Poetry, that he was a mere *Asinus ad Lyram*. For, in the LXXIX Epist. he calls this Poem upon *Clearista*

*rista μέλῳ* and *μελωδίαν*, which must here (as it almost ever does) signify a *Lyric Ode*, since it is spoken of *Stesichorus* a Melic or Lyric Poet. But in the CXLIV he calls it an *Elegy*, *ἐλεγείον*; which is as different from *μέλῳ*, as *Theognis* is from *Pindar*, or *Tibullus* from *Horace*. What? the same Copy of Verses both an Ode and an Elegy? Could not some years acquaintance with *Stesichorus* teach him the very Names? But to forgive Him, or rather the Sophist, such an egregious piece of Dulness; why, forsooth, so much ado, why such a vast way about, to obtain a few Verses? Could not they have writ directly to *Stesichorus*, and at the price of some Present have met with easie success? Do not we know, that all of that String, *Bacchylides*, *Simonides*, *Pindar*, got their livelyhood by the *Muses*? So that to use *Phalaris's* intercession, besides the delay and an unnecessary trouble to both, was to defraud the Poet of his Fee.

Nay certainly, they might have employ'd any hand rather than *Phalaris's*. For, begging pardon of the Epistles, I suspect all to be a Cheat about *Stesichorus's* friendship with him. For the Poet, out of common gratitude, must needs have celebrated it in some of his Works. But that he *did not*, the Letters themselves are,

are, in this point, a sufficient witness. For, in the LXXIX, *Phalaris* is feigned to entreat him, not once to mention his Name in his Books. This was a sly fetch of our Sophist, to prevent so shrewd an objection from *Stesichorus's* silence as to any friendship at all with him. But that cunning shall not serve his turn. For what if *Phalaris* had really wish'd him to decline mentioning his Name? *Stesichorus* knew the World well enough, that those sort of requests are but a modest simulation; and a disobedience would have been easily pardon'd. In the LXXIV Letter, the Tyrant proclaims and glories to his enemy *Orsilochns*, that *Pythagoras* had staid five Months with him: why should he then seek to conceal from Posterity the twelve Years familiarity with *Stesichorus*? *Pindar*, exhorting *Hiero* the Tyrant of *Syracuse* to be kind to Poets and Men of letters, tells him how *Cræsus* had immortal praise for his friendship and bounty to them, but the

† *Pyth* 1.  
 Τὸν ὃ ταύ-  
 ρω χαλκί-  
 καυτήρα  
 μηλέανον  
 ἔχθρὸν  
 φάλαειν  
 κατέχευ  
 πονταφ  
 π.

memory of that cruel and inhospitable *Phalaris* was hated and cursed every where. How could *Pindar* have said this, had he heard of his extraordinary dearness with *Stesichorus*? For their acquaintance, according to the Letters, was as memorable and as glorious, as that of *Cræsus* with *Æsop* and *Solon*. So that *Pindar*, had he known it, for that

sole kindness to his fellow Poet, would have forborn so vile a character. *Plato*, in his Second Epistle, recounts to *Dionysius* some celebrated friendships of learned Men with Tyrants, and Magistrates; *Simondes's* with *Hiero* and *Pausanias*, *Thales's* with *Periander*, *Anaxagoras's* with *Pericles*, *Solon's* and others with *Cræsus*. Now, how could he have mis'd, had he ever heard of it, this of *Stesichorus* with *Phalaris*? being transacted in *Sicily*, and so a most proper and domestic Example. If you say, the infamy of *Phalaris* made him decline that odious instance: in that very word you pronounce our Epistles to be spurious. For if They had been known to *Plato*, even *Phalaris* would have appeared as moderate a Tyrant as *Dionysius* himself. † *Lucian*, that feigns an Embassy from *Phalaris* to *Delphi* for the dedication of the Brazen Bull, makes an Oration in his Praise, as *Isocrates* does of *Busris*; where, without doubt, he has gathered all the stories he knew for Topics of his commendation: but he has not one word of his friendship with *Stesichorus*. Nor, indeed, has any body else. And do not you yet begin to suspect the credit of the Letters?

† In *Phalaris*. prior.

'Twould be endless to prosecute this part, and shew all the filliness and impertinency

pertinency in the Matter of the Epistles. For, take them in the whole bulk, they are a fardle of Common Places, without any life or spirit from Action and Circumstance. Do but cast your eye upon *Cicero's* Letters, or any States-man's, as *Phalaris* was : what lively characters of Men there ! what descriptions of Place ! what notifications of Time ! what particularity of Circumstances ! what multiplicity of Designs and Events ! When you return to these again, you feel by the emptiness and deadness of them, that you converse with some dreaming Pedant with his elbow on his desk ; not with an active, ambitious Tyrant, with his Hand on his Sword, commanding a Million of Subjects. All that takes or affects you, is a stiffness and stateliness and operoseness of Stile : but as that is improper and unbecoming in all Epistles, so especially it is quite aliene from the character of *Phalaris*, a man of business and dispatch.

**M**R. *B.* begins the Examination of this Article, with a Pedantic Digression and common Place about *Pedantry* ; which I will not now meddle with, but reserve for a more proper place ; that I may not, as He has done, interrupt the Business of this Section with an impertinent Excursion, that has no manner of relation to't.

The first Absurdity that I noted in the Matter of the Epistles, was *the Himeræans going to WAR with the Catanæans about Stesichorus's Ashes, and calling in Phalaris to their Assistance, against Stesichorus's own Advice in a Case exactly like it.* Now the Examiner pretends to answer this; but with greater Craft, than Ingenuity, he drops the principal part of it. *What is there, says he, in this Story either absurd, or improbable, that the Himeræans should be so concerned to get the Ashes of Stesichorus, and the Catanæans to keep them?*

P. 100.

(a) Ep. 54.  
 ΕΛΘΣΙΝ  
 ὑμῖν πάλιν  
 ἐν Σικε-  
 λίῃ.

What I, from the (a) Epistles, call'd a *War* and *sacking of a City*, and a *dependance upon the most Brutal of Tyrants*; our Honourable Examiner files a *Concern*, and says not one word about the *going to War*. But he tells us, *This very thing happen'd afterwards in the Case of Euripides, whose Bones the Athenians sent a solemn Embassy to Macedonia to retrieve, but their request was denied.* And is this the *very thing*, and the same Case with that in the Epistles? It's so far from being the *very thing*, that one can hardly pick out a more proper Instance to refute the Epistles. For as the *Athenians* met with a *Denial*, when they demanded *Euripides's Ashes*, and yet declar'd no *War* upon that account, nor committed the least *Hostilities*; so likewise the *Himeræans* would never go to *War* upon so slight an occasion, especially against a powerful City, that had the same Original with their own, both Colonies being founded by the *Chalcidians* of *Eubœa*. After this he informs us from *Pausanias*, *That the Athenians built a Noble Monument to Euripides*: but neither *Pausanias* nor *Thomas Magister*, who are the only Authors, I suppose, that speak of it, say a word of its *Nobility*;

P. 100.



bility; but the (b) one calls it barely Μνημα (b) *Pausan.*  
*Eveπίδα κενόν*, and the other (c) Κενοτάφιον, with-  
 out a word in its Commendation. Then he tells *P. 2.*  
 us out of *Plutarch*, That the Orchomenians endeav-  
 our'd all they could to get *Hesiod's Bones*, but the Lo-  
 crians that had'em, would not be prevail'd upon to part  
 with'em. And here again he puts a force upon his  
 Author, and makes him say more than he really  
 does: but though the Case were so, as he repre-  
 sents it, it would be, as the most of His are, a  
 good Argument against Himself. For as the Or-  
 chomenians did not go to War upon't, though the  
 very Oracle advised them to fetch *Hesiod's Bones*;  
 so the *Himeræans* would not have run that haz-  
 ard for the sake of *Stesichorus's*.

I had blam'd the Epistles for raising (d) a  
 Temple to *Stesichorus*; which the Examiner justi-  
 fies from the several Temples erected to *Homer* at  
*Smyrna* and in other Places: Which the Doctor, *(d) Ep. 54.*  
 says he, knew nothing of, though it be no secret *Νεὸς ἱστῶ-*  
 even to the first beginners of Learning. 'Tis a *δω Σησι-*  
 good proof indeed, that the First Beginners may *Χέρι.*  
 know this thing, because our Examiner knows *P. 101.*  
 it. But there's another thing, that I perceive even  
 He knows nothing of, that *Homer's* case and *Stesicho-*  
*rus's* have no relation to one another. For I pray,  
 at what time were the Temples built to *Homer*?  
 'Twas a long time before he was honour'd with  
 so much as an Epitaph. (e) He was buried, says *(e) Herod.*  
*Herodotus*, in the Island *Ios*, *ἔβρετο πολλῶ χρόνῳ*, *ῶτα Ho-*  
 and a LONG TIME after, when his Poems became *meri.*  
 famous, they made an Epitaph upon him. As for  
 his Temple at *Smyrna*, which *Strabo*, *Cicero*, and  
 others mention, it must needs be as recent as the  
 City it self, and that was built by *Antigonus* *Strabo p.*  
 and *Lysimachus* six or seven hundred years after *646.*  
 the

*Ælian.*  
xiii, 22.

the Poet's time, the old City having been ruin'd and desolate for 400 years together. And then the Temple at *Alexandria*, that *Ptolemee Philopater* erected to his Memory, was later than that at *Smyrna*: and the Marble of *Homer's Abotheosis*, which is publish'd with an ample Commentary by the very Learned *Cuperus*, may be reasonably supposed to be later than them both. What has the Examiner got therefore by his Instances of *Homer's* Temples? They are all near 300 years younger than *Phalaris* and *Stesichorus*; and if a Custom obtain'd in this Latter Age, will he infer, that it was used too in the Former? Or will he compare the Fame of *Stesichorus* with the Glory of *Homer*? Or will he suppose that *Stesichorus* could immediately obtain those Honours; which *Homer* did not, 'till his Books had lasted vi Centuries, when he was numbred among the ancient Hero's? This is so poor an Excuse for the Sophist, that it's a further Detection of him. For, since He lived after *Ptolemee's* time, and had heard of *Homer's* Temples at *Alexandria* and *Smyrna*, it might easily come into His head to build the like for *Stesichorus*: but the true *Phalaris*, in whose days even *Homer* himself had no Temple erected to him, would never have thought on't.

P. 101,  
102.

(f) *Diod.*  
p. 280.

But what a morose piece of Critic is that, where he will not give Me leave to say, as others have done, *That Himera was afterwards call'd Thermae*? Because forsooth *Diodorus* and *Cicero* say, they were not built upon the same spot of Ground. And yet *Diodorus* himself (f) expressly calls the Inhabitants of *Thermae*, *Himeræans*: and *Scipio*, when he gave them the Statues that formerly belong'd to *Himera*; and *Cicero*, when

when he tells that story of *Scipio*, do both as good as declare, that they look'd upon them as the same City. *Polybius* therefore joins both words together, and calls them (g) Θερμῶν ἢ Ἰμερῶν; and so *Ptolemy*, Θερμαὶ ἢ Ἰμερῶν πέλις, P. 24. which *Cluverius* corrects Ἰμερῶν; and so an Inscription in (h) *Gruter*, COL. AUG. HIMERORUM THERMIT. And if I may not say P. 433. *Himera* was called *Therma*, because they were not upon the same Spot; I must not say neither, what every body has said, that *Naxos* was call'd *Taurominium*, nor that *Sybaris* was call'd *Thurii*; no, nor that *Smyrna* was call'd *Smyrna*, nor *Magnesia* call'd *Magnesia*; for the new Towns of those Names were as remote from the old ones, as *Therma* from *Himera*.

I had charg'd the Letters with an *Inconsistency*; because the list makes *Phalaris's* Wife to have been poyson'd at *Astypalæa*, soon after her Husband's Flight, but the *lxxixth* makes her alive in *Crete* many years after, when *Phalaris* was grown old in the Monarchy at *Agrigentum*. Mr. B. is pleas'd to reply, *That here I make an unreasonable Supposition, that the Letters must have been written in the same Order that they now stand; for if that do not take place, there's no manner of Inconsistency between these two Epistles.* Now what Name ought to be given to such a Writer as this is, who prevaricates so notoriously in a case as plain as the Sun? Did I ever make such a Supposition, that the Letters were written in the order they are Printed? Had I not expressly suppos'd in the *ivth* Article, that the *lxxxvth* Letter might be written before the *lxxxivth*, nay before the *xxth*, nay before the very First of all? And is it not visible and plain to any man of Sense, that

P. 102,  
103.

See here  
p. 136.

that I place the *Inconsistency* here, not upon the order of the Epistles, but upon the differences of Place and Time? I would ask him now in his own Language, *Was the pleasure of forging this imaginary Supposition, which is worthy of himself, and none of mine, an equivalent to the shame of being told on't?*

P. 103.

But he tells me, *I make Four other Suppositions; which have not the least Countenance from the Epistles, or any other History.* What the Examiner will grant or deny, to me is indifferent: but I appeal to Others, if every Particular that I said there may not be fairly gather'd from the Letters themselves. (i) Phalaris fled from Astypalæa; His Wife (k) endeavouring to follow him was poison'd by Python, who courted her to a second Marriage. Again, (l) His Wife is alive in Crete, when Phalaris had long possess'd the Government of Agrigentum. All this is plainly affirm'd in the Letters. Now if *Astypalæa* was not a Town of *Crete*, but an Island of the *Sporades*, as I have prov'd already against *Phalaris's* Editors; then if she was poison'd at *Astypalæa*, she could not afterwards be alive in *Crete*. And if she was poison'd for endeavouring to follow her Husband, which cannot reasonably be suppos'd to be very long after his Flight: she could not be yet alive, when he was grown old in *Sicily*. I must confess, that these two Accounts are still in my opinion *Inconsistencies*. But Mr. B. and I may have very different Notions of what deserves to be called by that Name. For his Examination flatly contradicts his own Index to *Phalaris*; and his Margin in more places than one is directly opposite to his Text; and yet he seems not to apprehend them to be *inconsistent*

one

one with another: for he has made no retraction of his Index to *Phalaris*; and has made his Margin keep company with his Text, as if they were very good Friends.

My other Exception against the Epistles was the Sophist's absurd Conduct about *Nicoles's* Address to *Phalaris*, to obtain by his Intercession a Copy of Verses from *Stesichorus*. But the Examiner protests, he can see no harm, nor any thing unnatural in't.

P 104.

Now this being a matter of mere Judgment, and no Controversie of Fact, I am not surpriz'd to see Mr. B. and my self have such different opinions about it. And when a thing is once brought to that Issue, 'tis in vain to dispute further about it; but we must refer the whole matter to the Readers, that have Taste and Skill. I shall only take some short notice of the Particulars, that his Argument is built on. He says, *Phalaris was not successfull in a second Attempt upon Stesichorus, at the instance of a Sicilian Gentleman*.

P 104

But it's plain from the Epistle it self, that *Phalaris* refus'd to make a second Attempt; so that the *Gentleman* was unsuccessful with *Phalaris*, not *Phalaris* with *Stesichorus*. Mr. B. it seems, does not know his own *Favourite Book*; and yet if I, that despise it, and believe it not worth the Reading, had made such a mistake about it, as this is: he would have given us two whole Pages in aggravation of the Fault, and have pour'd out his *Grimace* and *Banter* profusely upon so worthy a Subject.

Ep. 65.

But he finds I have high Thoughts of *Phalaris*, because I said, *That such Stuff as Stesichorus's Verses did not buse his Head*. They were not high Thoughts of his great Monarchy, but hard ones of his Cruelty and Barbarity, that made me

P. 104

suppose,

suppose, such matters did not busie his head. Mr. B. then might have sav'd that diminishing Character that he gives here of *Phalaris's* power. One may guess it was much against his Mind, to depress his *Sicilian Prince*: but his Anger against his Antagonist was stronger here than his Sense of Loyalty. But let us see how he manages? *He was only a petty Prince, he says, of one Town in Sicily.* I perceive, he has not lost all his former respect for him; he'll make him a *Prince* still, though it be but a *Petty* one. But why so ill-natur'd as to allow him but one single Town, *Agrigentum*; and in that single Town too to take away Half of his Subjects? What will he do therefore with (m) *Suidas*, who makes him *Tyrant of all Sicily*? or with (n) *Diogenianus*, who affirms, *That he subdu'd the City and Country of Leontini*? or with (o) *Polyænus*, who makes him conquer the *Sicanians* and take *Ouessâ* (or rather *Inessâ*) their *Capital City*? or with (p) *Diodorus*, who informs us, that he had two Castles, *Ἐκρομος λόφος*, and *Φαλαῆριον*, in the Territories of *Gela*, a days Journey from *Agrigentum*? or lastly, what will he do with the *Epistles* themselves, (q) which pretend he vanquished the *Leontini*, and the *Tauromenites* and *Zanclæans* their Allies? If Mr. B. pleases to take all these into the account, he may allow his *Prince* to have been Master of a *Million of Subjects*; though *Agrigentum* should not be so populous, as *Laertius* represents it. And why now would Mr. B. deal so unkindly with him, to make him a *Petty Prince of one City only*, when such Credible Authors assign him many more? Is there not, as I have often observ'd, a certain Fatality in this Gentleman's Errors, so that whether he talks for *Phalaris* or against him, on both sides he is always mistaken? He

(m) *Suid.*  
Φάλ. τω-  
εργνήσας  
Σικελίας  
ἅλης.

(n) *Diog.*  
Πατρι-  
μῶν ii, 50.  
Κάλαπο-  
λεμῆσας  
τῶς Λεον-  
τίνης.

(o) *Polyæ-*  
*nus*, v, 1.

(p) *Diod.*  
p. 741

(q) *Epist.*  
85.

He goes on and tells me, *That there have been Tyrants with many millions of Subjects that have employ'd themselves about Poems. Has not the Dr. seen, says he, the Fragments of Augustus's Letters to Horace, pressing and obliging that Poet to write?* Never was piece of History more aptly applied: I can heartily now forgive him all he has said about Me, when I see how judicious and exact he is in bestowing Names and Characters. *Phalaris* is a *Sicilian Prince* with him, and *Augustus* is a *Tyrant*. Methinks that *Dionysius Tyrant of Syracuse* had been a nearer and properer Comparison; for he was so concern'd with Poets and Poems, that he not only had several Poets in his Court, but himself made several Tragedies. Though even this or any other such Instance had been wholly impertinent; for as I said, 'twas not *Phalaris's* Greatness, but his Barbarity and Ignorance (being an illiterate Publican, before he usurp'd the Tyranny) that makes his Dealings with *Stesichorus* for Copies of Verses, to be so improbable and absurd.

But a *Present*, he says, had been an improper means to obtain Verses of *Stesichorus*; for he was one of the *Greatest Men* of Sicily. This is a new piece of History, and to be sure he takes care to make it out well. Yes by two very good Arguments, First, *because, as Suidas tells him, his Brother Helianax was Νομοδότης, a Lawgiver.* Ay, no doubt on't, if he was a Lawgiver, he must consequently be a Member of Parliament. But it falls out unfortunately, that the Legislative Power was not always in such Great Hands, as it's now a-days: *The best Law-makers, says (r) Aristotle, were of the MIDDLE Rank of Citizens; for Solon was such a one, as appears by his Poems;* and

P. 105.

P. 105,  
106.(r) *Arist.*  
*Polit* iv,  
11.

and Lycurgus, for he was no King; and Charondas and most of the rest. Even Aristotle himself,

(f) Laert.  
Plutarch.  
c. Colotem.

whose Nobility was not (f) extraordinary, made Laws for the *Abderitans*. *Zaleucus*, as we have seen above, was but a Shepherd and a Slave.

(t) Laert.  
Plut. ibid.

(t) *Eudoxus* the *Cnidian* made Laws to his own Citizens; and yet (u) he was so poor, that

(u) Laert.

*Theomedon* a Physician bore his Charges at *Athens*; and his Friends made a Purse for him,

(x) Laert.

when he was to travel to *Egypt*. And (x) *Protagoras* was Lawgiver to the *Thurians*, and yet at

\* *Bnjulus*,  
Φορμιονί-  
ρος. Gelli-  
us, v, 3.

first he was no better than \* a Porter to carry Burdens. Why then must *Stesichorus* be one of

the Greatest Men in *Sicily*, because he had a Brother a Lawgiver? The Examiner, we see, will still be true to his old way of Reasoning:

for one may fairly infer the very contrary from it, that he was but of *Middle* and ordinary Quality.

Well, but he must needs be one of the Greatest

P. 106.

men there; because he made an Apologue to the

(y) Arist.  
Rhet. ii, 2.

*Himeræans* against *Phalaris*, (y) *About the Horse* and his Rider, and the Stag. And is that such a

(z) *Livy*, ii.

proof of his *Wealth* and *Greatness* above the low temptations of Money and Presents? (z) *Mennenius Agrippa* made such another Apologue

to the *Romans*, and yet he was so very poor, that he left not enough to bury him. There's

another Apologue too of *Aesop's*, mention'd by *Aristotle* in the very place where he tells *Stesichorus's*:

and if *Aesop* a poor Slave could make Apologues at *Samos*, relating to Public Affairs; why must *Stesichorus's* Apologue at *Himera* prove

him one of the Greatest men in *Sicily*? The *Arundel* Marble gives us a Date, when *Stesichorus*

the Poet *ἦεν τῷ Ἑλλάδου ἀφικέσθαι*, went into *Greece*. Now *εἰς Ἑλλάδου ἀφικέσθαι* means to travel into

Greece



Greece to get Money, as his Brother Poets did, who were to make their Fortunes by their Pen.

When Homer was very poor, (a) says Herodotus, (a) Herod. Vita Homeri. some persuaded him εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπικέσθαι to go into Greece; and he design'd it, but died in Ios, before he began the Voyage. And the Readers will be apt to suspect, for all the Greatness that Mr. B. dreams of, that Stesichorus had no other Errand to Greece, than Homer had before him, and Simonides and others after him.

I had made another Censure upon the Epistles for calling the same Copy of Verses both Μέλῳ and Ελεγείον. The Examiner replies, *That by the different cast of his Head, he should have reason'd just the other way, and have infer'd something in favour of the Letters.* First, he says, a Sophist would not have confounded the words. True; a learned Sophist would not have writ such sorry Epistles, as a judicious Man would not have publish'd them: but our Mock Phalaris is a Sophist of that size, that no kind of Blunder is below his Character. But a Prince, says Mr. B. might not think himself oblig'd to write with all the exactness of a Scholar. This is just the Second Part of his (b) Complement to Queen Elizabeth: he's resolv'd, it seems, to stand up for Princes, and maintain for them a Royal Prerogative of speaking improperly. But let Mr. B. be as good a Courtier as he pleases: I am now to consider him only in his Capacity of a Critic. I shall procede therefore to his next Remark, *That Phalaris call'd it an Ελεγείον, when he ask'd it of Stesichorus, and knew not what Measure it would be in: but when he had it, and saw it was Lyric, he then call'd it Μέλῳ.* Who can deny now, but this is sharply observ'd? but there's

P. 106,

107.

(b) See

here p.

223.

P. 107:

- one inconvenience in't, that while he's careful of the *Prince's* Reputation, he betrays the *Poet's*. For if an *Elegy* in the proper Sense of the word (as this Excuse supposes) was bespoken of *Stesichorus*; why should he make a *Lyric Poem* instead on't? This had been just like the *Sign-Painter*, that whatsoever was bespoken of him, whether a *Lion* or a *Dolphin*, always painted a *Rose*. But *Mr. B.* will prove, *That* Ἐλεγὸν and Ἐλεγείον had a looser sense than what the *Grammarians* put upon them; because *Dion Chrysostom* calls *Heroic Verses* on *Sardanapalus's Tomb* Ἐλεγείον. But there's a *Figure of Rhetoric* here, call'd *Self-contradiction*, that's very frequent in our *Examiner's* Reasonings. For he had newly said,
- P. 107. *A Sophist could not mistake* Ἐλεγείον, *the distinct Sense of which was so well settled before his Time by the Grammarians*: and now he produces *Dion Chrysostom*, (who as he tells us, was as errant a *Sophist and Declamer as ever was*) employing it in a looser meaning than what the *Grammarians* put upon't. But to let this pass; what he teaches us here about *the Distinct Sense that the Grammarians settled upon't*, is but a cast of his own loose and unsettled Sense. For the *Grammarians* knew well enough, that Ἐλεγείον was taken for *Epitaph*, even without a *Pentameter* in't. They could learn that out of *Herodotus*, among others,
- P. 105. (c) *Herod.* when he tells 'em, (c) *That the People of Ios* τὸ ἔλεγείον τὸδε ἐπέγραψαν, *wrote this Elegy on* *Homer's Tomb*,
- P. 106. *Vita Ho-* *meri.* *Ἐνθάδε τὸν ἱερὸν κεφαλῶν καὶ γὰρ καλύπτει*  
*Ἄνδρῶν Ἡρώων κοσμήτερος δῖον Ὀμηρον.*
- (d) *Suid. v.* *And (d) Suidas*, one of those *Grammarians*, could not be ignorant of this; for he cites the very same *Epitaph*, and calls it Ἐλεγείον. The case
- P. 106. *Ομηροσ.*

case is no more than this: In the old times they generally made their Epitaphs in a single Distich, Hexameter and Pentameter; whence in process of time an Epitaph at large came to be call'd

Ελεγείον. (e) *The Ancients*, says the Scholiast upon *Apollonius Rhodius*, used Ἐλιγεία for Inscriptions upon Tombs. τὰ ἐλεγεία, (f) says *Lycurgus* the Orator, τὰ ἐπηγεγραμμένα ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις. But what advantage is this now to Mr. B. and his *Phalaris*? An Ελεγείον of all Hexameters is as remote from a *Lyric Song*, as if it was mix'd with Pentameters. So that Ελεγείον and Μέλιον cannot yet be used for the same Copy of Verses,

but by that Privilege of making Solecisms, that Mr. B. would vindicate to *Princes*.

But his next Proof perhaps may be better: for a *Nightingale*, he says, in *Aristophanes's AVES*, is said to sing Ἐλεροι, and by and by those very

Ἐλεροι are called Μέλι. This indeed carries both Surprize and Demonstration along with it.

What a strange reach of Fancy has our Examiner? Who but He could ever have thought on this pretty Argument from a *Nightingale*? Let us put it into a Syllogism, *A Nightingale sings Μέλι, A Nightingale sings Ἐλεροι, Ergo Μέλι and Ἐλεροι are the same.* Very quaint indeed, and out of the common way! but it has one little Fault, that if a *Nightingale* can sing more Tunes than One, his Syllogism must then be hush'd.

Mr. B. seems to bring this Argument with a very serious Air; as if because the Poet metaphorically calls the Singing of a Bird by the several Names of Human Music, we may infer that all those Names may signify one and the same thing. But in the very same Page *Aristophanes* says, that the *Upupa*, which we call the *Hoopoe*;

(e) Schol. Apollonii ii, 784. Τοῖς ἐλεγείοις ἐν τοῖς ὀπίσθαισι ἐχρῶντο οἱ παλαιοί. (f) *Lycurg.* p. 168.

P. 107, 108.

no very melodious Bird, chanted a Μέλθ.

(g) *Aristoph.*  
*Suph. p.*  
376.

(g) Ὁ ὑποφ μελωδεῖν εἶν ᾄδουσιν αἰεταί.

Mr. B. therefore by the very same Reasoning may give us another Syllogism, *The Nightingale sings a Μέλθ, The Hoopoe sings a Μέλθ, Ergo the Hoopoe sings like the Nightingale.* And by the same Argument Blackbirds will sing like them; for Their Notes too are Μέλη,

(h) *Anthol.*  
i, 20.

(h) Κόσσυφοι ἀχέουσιν ποικιλότραυλα μέλη.

and so the *Cicada* too,

(i) *Ibid.* iii,  
24.

(i) Ξυδαὶν ἐκ περιούγων ἀδὴ κρέκκουσα μέλθ.

Nay the very Frogs will croak like Nightingales;

(k) *Moschus.* id. iii.

(k) Ταῖς Νύμφαισι δ' ἔδωξεν αἰετὶ Βάτραχον ᾄδαντι  
Τῷ δ' ἐγὼ ἐφθονέομι, τὸ γδ Μέλθ ἐκαλὸν ᾄδει.

But what is still more extraordinary, the same Nightingale in *Aristophanes* a little after begins to chant a Lesson of *Anapaests*,

(l) *Aristoph.*  
*Suph. p.* 395.

(l) Ὑμνων ἀνὰ τὸν ἀνὰ τὸν ἀνὰ τὸν  
Ἄρχε τῶν ἀναπαίσεων.

So that by Mr. B's. powerful Argument both Μέλη and Ἐλεγεῖοι and Ἀνάπαιστοι may be all used in the same signification. And if Mr. B. had but produc'd some *Anapaests* of Nightingales to confute my observation (m) about the Measures of that Verse, they might have done him perhaps much better service than those of *Aeschylus* and *Seneca*.

(m) See  
here p.  
134 &c.

I had declar'd, That I suspected all to be a Cheat, about the Friendship between *Phalaris* and *Stesichorus*; because the Poet himself never mention'd it, nor any other Writer; though several, had it been true, had fair occasion to speak of it. Now the Examiner accounts for *Lucian's* silence; because he had said enough, in naming *Pythagoras*, and to have added *Stesichorus*

*us's name, would have made the Piece look stiff* P. 109.  
*and unnatural.* Wonderfully nice and exact:  
 he can tell you to a single Word, when a Trea-  
 tise will be stiff; like the Gardiner that could  
 determin to a Minute, when his Melons were  
 ripe. *How many have I sav'd, says Phalaris in*  
*Lucian (n), who plotted against me, and were con-* (n) Lucian  
*vinced, as Acanthus that stands here, and Timo-* 1 Phal p.  
*crates, and Leogoras his Brother?* Now ac- 845.  
 cording to the Letters, *Stefichorus* too was taken  
 Plotting, and yet the Tyrant saved his Life, and  
 made him his Friend. But, says Mr B, if *Lucian* here  
 had added *Stefichorus* to the other Three, that single  
 Name would have made the Discourse as stiff as  
 any Buckram. And yet allowing, that *Lucian*  
 himself had as nice a sensation of Stiffness as  
 Mr. B. appears to have, and therefore would  
 not put down Four names, but Three only; yet  
 methinks he might have spar'd one of those  
 Three, and put *Stefichorus* in his room; unless  
 Mr. B. will shew, that *Timocrates* or *Leogoras*  
 (whom no body ever heard of) were as famous  
 as *Stefichorus*, and their Examples as memorable.  
 But Mr. B. adds further, *that if Lucian's silence*  
*be an Exception to Stefichorus's acquaintance with*  
*Phalaris, it is to Abaris's too: which yet (o) our* (o) Dissert.  
*Critic has before, for the sake of Aristotle and* p. 15.  
*Jamblichus, been graciously pleas'd to allow.* Now  
 without the Examiner's telling us, we might  
 guess, *that he was not awake sometimes in his Work;* P. 203.  
*for surely the Man that writ this, must have been fast* P. 137.  
*asleep; or else he could never have talk'd so wildly.*  
 There is not one word in that place that his  
 Margin refers to, about *Phalaris's* Friendship  
 with *Abaris*. And how could I allow it for the  
 sake of *Aristotle*, who says not the least Syllable

of it; or if I should allow it for the sake of *Jamblichus*, What would that be to *Lucian*? For according to *Jamblichus*, the Tyrant was kill'd by *Abaris*'s means upon their first Acquaintance; how then could *Phalaris* in *Lucian* have magnified himself to the *Delphians* upon the past friendship of that *Hyperborean*? If *Lucian* had believed the story, as *Jamblichus* tells it, That the Tyrant was deposed by *Pythagoras* and *Abaris* at their first Visit; his mentioning *Abaris* or *Pythagoras* in *Phalaris*'s Speech at *Delphi*, had been very absurd. But *Stesichorus* had been a proper Instance, if the Letters be true; for he was XII Years the Tyrant's Friend, and died too before him. So that *Lucian*'s not mentioning Him shews he knew nothing of the Epistles; as on the contrary his mentioning *Pythagoras*, shews he knew nothing of that story of his deposing *Phalaris*.

P. 109.

In the next place *Mr. B.* accounts for *Plato*'s Silence about the Friendship of *Stesichorus* and *Phalaris*: because *Plato* mentions nothing there of the Acquaintance between *Pythagoras* and *Phalaris*. An admirable account indeed! *Plato* says *Mr. B.* might omit the mention of *Stesichorus*'s Friendship with *Phalaris*, and yet might believe it true; because he mentions not another Friendship, that in all probability is as mere a Fiction as that. Which is a just as if he reason'd thus; The Ancients in their Accounts of *Aesop*, say nothing of his Ugliness, and yet they might believe it: because they say nothing neither of (p) *Xanthus* the Philosopher with his Company of *Scholastics*. But says *Mr. B.* the *Pythagoreans* all agree, that their Master and *Phalaris* were acquainted; and *Dr. B.* grants it. I granted they were Contemporaries; and by a familiar slight of hand, (q) he turns the

(p) *Planud.*  
u. *Aesop.*

(q) See here p. 30.

the word into *Acquaintance* ; as he once did before. But how knows he that *all the* Pythagoreans agree ; when the only men that speak a word of it are *Lucian* and *Jamblichus* ; and they were neither of them *Pythagoreans* ? or suppose the *Pythagorean* story true, as (r) *Jamblichus* reports it, *That Phalaris blasphem'd the Gods, despised Philosophy, and design'd to murder Pythagoras* ; would this have been as proper and domestic an Instance for *Plato*, as the XII Years Friendship with *Stesichorus* ? What a master of Decency is *Mr. B.*, and what a Relish has he of dextrous management, who goes about to excuse *Plato* for not numbering *Phalaris's* and *Pythagoras's* Enmity (for so it's represented by those *Pythagoreans* he speaks of) among the *Celebrated Friendships* of Learned men with Tyrants ?

As for the argument from the silence of *Pindar*, P. 110, he will not attempt to answer it ; which is a better sign of Discretion, than he usually shews. 111. However he'll put me in mind of one false Colour that I have given to my Argument : For I said, *Pindar exhorts Hiero to be kind to Poets and men of Letters* : but, says he, *there's not a word of that in the Verses themselves, whatever guess the Scholiast may make at their remote meaning. So that the Doctor might as well prove his Point from Aεισον μὲν ὕμνων.* What shall we say now to such a hardy Writer, as this is ? who can deny with such an Air of Confidence, what every bodies Eyes can witness to be true ? The very words of *Pindar* immediately preceding the passage I cited, are

Καὶ λόγοις καὶ αἰθερίαις,

which by the nicest Translation means *Men of Letters, and Poets.* And to be kind to such the

Poet exhorts *Hiero* in the Paragraph just before,

Ἐυανθεῖ δ' ἐν ὄργᾳ παρμένον,  
 Εἴπερ φιλεῖς ἀκοᾶν ἀδείαν ἀ—  
 Εἰ κλύειν, μὴ χέμνε λίαν σαπνάις :

that is; *Continue your generous Temper, and if you desire immortal Fame, do not be weary of being Bountifull.*

After he has denied that to be in *Pindar*, which is evidently and expressly there; the next and last advance he makes is to deny that to be in the *Letters*, which He himself once knew to be there, if it was He that translated them.

P. 111.

*The Letters*, he says, do not imply, that there was any extraordinary dearness between *Stesichorus* and *Phalaris*; there's no proof from them, that *Stesichorus* lov'd him; His friendship was desired, and he only out of prudence did not stand off. This is

spoken with a good measure of Assurance, let us see, with what measure of Truth. The Tyrant

(f) Ep.  
103.

declares, (f) that though he gave *Stesichorus* XII Years of Life, yet still he was in debt to him; for He alone of all Mortals gave him Courage, and

(t) 54.

taught him to despise Death; and (t) that for the sake of *Stesichorus*, he's ready to encounter certain Destruction. And the Fame of *Phalaris's* kindness

(u) 31.

to him was so great, (u) that the *Tauromenites* applied to *Stesichorus* to intercede with the Tyrant, that he would remit the Price of their Captives. *Stesichorus* dies, before he could do it

for them; but he leaves it in command to his Daughters to ask that favour in his Name. The Tyrant upon the first notice of the request immediately returns the Money, with this Protestation, That he would not only do that for his sake, ἀλλ'

εἰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδυνάτων ὄντι μείζον, but any thing else,

though



though 'twere more than Impossible. And yet it appears, from another Letter, (x) that the Sum he remitted here was no less than a Hundred Talents, or 18, 000 Pound Sterling, the greatest Sum by much that appears in the whole Set of Epistles, and six times as much as (y) in another Letter he was forc'd to borrow for himself. This I presume is a pretty good token of an *Extraordinary Dearness* on *Phalaris's* side : and this alone would be argument enough, to prove *Stesichorus* was not insensible on His part ; for Mr. B. surely will not make such a Ninny of his *Sicilian Prince*, as to suppose him so prodigal of his highest Favours without suitable returns of Friendship. But besides this, the very Letters are as express for *Stesichorus's* Love as for *Phalaris's*. For as the *Tauromenites* address'd to *Stesichorus*, to obtain favours of the Tyrant; so (z) *Pelopidas*, and (a) *Nicocles* apply themselves to the Tyrant to get favours of *Stesichorus*, which in His way were Copies of Verses. And the Argument that *Phalaris* uses to persuade the Poet to do that favour, is (b) *To confirm the receiv'd Opinion that the World had of their Friendship*. And he tells us both there and once more; That *Stesichorus* desired leave to celebrate him in his Poems. But the Tyrant begs he would not do it, Πρὸς ἑταίρειν Διδὸς ἢ κοινῶν *Esias*, by such Obtestations as are used among the Dearest Friends and Relations. And its sufficient, he says, for Him to be written ἐν αὐτῷ Συναίρει in *Stesichorus's* own Heart. Now if these do not imply a Friendship on *Stesichorus's* part, as well as *Phalaris's*, let the Reader be Judge : and at the same time let him reflect, what an odd sighted Examiner I have to deal with ;

with; that at some times can see in Books what never was there; but at other times cannot see the plainest things, not only in other Men's Books, but even in his Own.

## XVI.

IT must needs be a great wonder to those that think the Letters genuine; how or where they were conceal'd, in what secret Cave, or unknown Corner of the World; so that no body ever heard of them for a thousand years together. Some trusty Servant of the Tyrant must have buried them under ground; and it was well that he did so. For if the *Agri- gentines* had met with them, they had certainly gone to pot. They that burnt alive both Him, and his Relations, and his Friends; would never have spared such monuments of him, to survive Them and their City. And without doubt it was immortal Vellum, and stoln from the † *Parchments of Jove*; that could last for ten Ages, though untouch'd and unstirr'd; in spite of all damp and moisture, that moulders other mortal skins. For had our Letters been used or transcribed during that thousand years; some body would surely have spoken of them. Especially since so many of the Ancients had occasion to do so: so that their

† Διφθ. -  
ἐπι Διός.

their Silence is a direct argument that they never had heard of them. I have just now cited some passages of *Pindar*, *Plato*, and *Lucian*; which are a plain indication, that they were unknown to those Three. Nay, the last of these, besides the proof above-named from his silence and prætermission, does as good as declare expressly, that he never saw our Epistles. For, not to mention other differences of less moment, he makes both \* *Phalaris*, and his Smith *Perilaus*, to be born at *Agri-gentum*; but the Letters bring one of them from *Astypalæa*, and the other from *Athens*. *Lucian* then knew nothing of them; or at least knew them, as I do, to be spurious, and below his notice. Much less could he be the Author of them, as *Politian* and his followers believe; for he would neither have been guilty of such flat Contradictions; nor have so forfeited all Learning and Wit, by those gross blunders in Chronology, and that wretched pedantry in the Matter. And whosoever those Authors were, that *Lucian* followed, in his Narrative of *Phalaris*; They too are so many Witnesses against the Epistles. One can hardly believe, indeed, that the Sophist should venture to fetch his Tyrant from *Astypalæa*, without the warrant of some old Writer. But yet *Lucian* and

\* *Phalar*  
 ι. Ἐγὼ γὰρ  
 ἔγνων αἰφαι-  
 νῶν ἐν Ἀ-  
 κρόγαντι  
 ἄν. & ibid.  
 Πείλας  
 ἦν τις ἡμε-  
 ραπός.

other

other Authors compell us to think so. And we find him as fool-hardy on other occasions. \* *Heraclides of Pontus*, that liv'd within two Centuries of *Phalaris's* Age, says, the *Agrigentines*, when they recover'd their Liberty, burnt Him and his Mother: but our Sophist makes him an Orphan, † ἑρφαρίης περιεργάζιναι; which if any one shall contend to mean the loss of his Father only, yet still He and *Heraclides* will not set horses together. For if *Phalaris* fled alone from *Astypalæa*, neither Wife nor Child nor any Relation following him, according to the Letters; how came the Old Woman to be roasted at *Agrigentum*? So little regard had the Sophist to fit his stories to true History: and I have had too much regard to him, in giving Him the Honour and Patience of so long an Examination.

\* *De Polit.*  
ἐν ἑπτασι  
ἡ ἑρφαρίης  
μητέρας.

† *Epist.*  
xlix.

P. 113,  
114.

THE Examiner, as if he design'd to make some amends for his former tedious Trifling, will give us very little Trouble upon this last Article. He would only parallel the Thousand Years, that *Phalaris's* Epistles lay in obscurity, with some Examples of other genuine Books, that had the same Fortune. *Velleius Paterculus*, he says, is not quoted till *Priscian's* time, 500 years after he wrote: and then we hear no more of him till *Aventinus's* time 900 years after *Priscian*. So *Phadrus* is first mention'd by *Avienus* (400 years after the Author's time)

time) and by none after him till *Pithæus* brought him to light. And *Lactantius de Mortibus Persecutorum* was not seen since *St. Jerom's* time, till after a Thousand years *Baluzius* publish'd it. But the Gentleman is out in his last Instance; for *Lactantius's* Book is mention'd by *Freculphus*, an Author of the ixth Century, and by *Honorius Augustodunensis* in the xiith, as the very Editions of *Lactantius* might have inform'd him. But to pass that over, what are all these Examples in comparison of *Phalaris's* Case? *Paterculus's* Book was own'd within 500 years, *Phædrus's* within 400, and *Lactantius's* within 100: and if they were not mention'd from those times till the Restoration of Learning, the reason is apparent, because the Western World in that Interval of time was so wretchedly ignorant and immers'd in Barbarity, that such Books as those were not read; or if they were read, the Readers of them were not Writers themselves, so as to let Posterity know that they read them. So that the Case of these Three Authors is common with most of the Rest: for there are several others of the Ancient Books, which we now have and acknowledge for Genuine, that are not mention'd by the Writers of those Barbarous Ages. But the Fortune of *Phalaris's* Epistles runs counter to all this: the Thousand years that follow'd that Tyrant's Age, was the greatest and longest Reign of Learning, that the World has yet seen or perhaps ever will: and in all that time these Epistles were never once heard of; but they first came into notice, when Learning decaying, in the very Dusk and Twilight before the long Night of Ignorance. Neither were they mention'd at 100, or 400, or 500 years af-

P. 106.

ter the Date of them, and then forgot for some Centuries (as it happen'd in Mr. B's Instances) but they were never seen for the first Thousand Years after their pretended Writing; and when they once appear'd, they continu'd always in use. A man must have a very singular *Cast of his Head* that can think these Cases to be parallel. But the greatest Difference is yet behind; for though the Writers of the Barbarous Ages do not speak of *Paterculus*, nor *Phædrus*, nor *Lactantius*; yet they do not tell us any thing, that implies there were no such Books in being. If they say any thing amiss, that they might have corrected out of those Authors; 'tis to be imputed to their own Ignorance or Laziness, that they would not search into them; and cannot pass for a Negative Proof, that there were no such Authors. But the Writers for the first Ten Ages after *Phalaris*, being Men very inquisitive, and of universal Learning, and acquainted with all sorts of Books, some of them must needs have met with the *Epistles* in all that time; if the Book had been above ground: and yet they tell us several Particulars relating to *Phalaris*, which of necessity imply, that they never had seen the *Letters*.

As besides the Passages that I have already produc'd, there was a Controversie in those Ages about *Phalaris's* Bull: for *Timæus* the famous *Sicilian* Historian, who wrote about Olymp. cxxviii, said the whole story of the Bull was a mere Fiction, though it had been so much talk'd of by Historians as well as Poets. *Τίμαιος*

(a) Polyb. Excerpta, p. 58.

φησι μήτε γινέναι πιστόν (ταύρον) ἐν τῇ περιηγημένῃ πόλει (Ἀκράγαντι) says (a) Polybius; Τέρον δὲ ταύρον ὁ Τίμαιος, ἐν τῇ ἰσχυραίᾳ διαβεβαιωσάμενος μὴ γινέναι

γυνέσθαι τὸ σύνολον, says (b) *Diodorus*. This I suppose is a plain Argument, that in the Age of *Timæus*, (who was a Native of *Sicily* and the Son of *Andromachus* the Founder and Governour of *Taurominium*, and wrote his Histories (c) at *Athens*) the Epistles were neither known in *Sicily*, where they are suppos'd to be writ, nor at *Athens*, the common Academy of Learned and Curious Men. For if *Timæus* had heard of these Letters, how durst he have call'd in question the common Tradition about the Bull, since these Letters, if they be genuine, are such an Authentic and Demonstrative Proof of it? Well; but *Polybius* and *Diodorus* endeavour to refute *Timæus*, and to prove, that there was really such a Bull. And pray how do they go about it? Do they appeal to the Tyrant's own Letters? the most certain and easy way of Conviction, if such Letters were then in the World? nothing like it; but the sole Argument that they go upon, is a Brazen Bull that *Scipio* found in *Carthage* with a Door in the side of it; which was therefore suppos'd to have been *Phalaris's* Bull, and to have been carried to *Carthage* Ol. xciii, 3. among the Spoils of *Agrigentum*. But could either of them have omitted to mention the Tyrant's Letters, if ever they had met with them? and yet the one of them was a *Sicilian* born, and both of them great Travellers, and great Scholars. The Epistles therefore were not heard of in *Polybius's* time cxx years after *Timæus*, nor in *Diodorus's* time cxx years after *Polybius*. I am aware, that the Scholiast of *Pindar* represents *Timæus's* Narrative quite another way; for he tells us, as from that Historian, (d) That the *Agrigentines* cast *Phalaris's* Bull into the Sea;

(b) *Diod.*  
P. 210.

(c) *Plu-*  
*tarch De*  
*Exilio.*

(d) *Schol.*  
*Pind. Pyth.*  
and 1.

and that the Bull in Agrigentum, which in his time was shewn for Phalaris's, was only a Statue of the River Gelon. So that by this account *Timæus* did not deny, that the Tyrant had a Brazen Bull; but only censur'd the mistake of those that took a Statue of a \* River for it; for Rivers were often represented *πυρόμαχοι* in the shape of Bulls. And if any one pleases to give credit to this Scholiast before *Polybius* and *Diodorus*, this Passage of *Timæus* will have no force against the Epistles. But I suppose there will not be many of that mind: or if all should be so; yet the Authorities of *Polybius* and *Diodorus* are still as strong against the Epistles for Their two Ages, as if they were believ'd in their account of *Timæus*. For since it's evident and undeniable, that they both suppos'd *Timæus* had denied the whole story of *Phalaris's* Bull; they would as certainly appeal to the Epistles, upon the supposition that *Timæus* deny'd it; as if he really had deny'd it.

Another Instance, which seems plainly to imply, That the Epistles of *Phalaris* were not extant in those Ages, is a Tradition, that he eat his own Son. (e) *Aristotle* among other Examples of Eaters of Human Flesh reckons *Τὸ περὶ Φάλαειν λερόμαχον*, the Report about *Phalaris*.

What that report was, the Philosopher does not say expressly; but perhaps we may be inform'd by his Scholar *Clearchus*, who in his Book Of *Lives*, says, (f) *Phalaris the Tyrant came to that degree of Cruelty and Immanity, that he devour'd sucking Children*. And from Him perhaps *Tatian* might have it; where he tells us,

(g) *That Phalaris used to take Infants from the Mothers Breasts, and eat them*. But this can hardly

\* *Ælian*.  
*Var. Hist.*  
ii, 33.

(c) *Aristot.*  
*Ethic. Nicom.* vii, 5.  
*Eudem.* vi,  
5.

(f) *Athen.*  
p. 396.  
*Γαλαρνούδου*  
*δοινάμαχου*  
*βιβλίον.*

(g) *Tatian*  
*See* 54.  
*Ὁ τὸς ὀπι-*  
*μαστῆρας*  
*δοινάμαχος*  
*παίδους.*



hardly pass for *Aristotle's* meaning; because he says there, that some of the Savage Nations about the *Euxine* were Eaters of Children; and yet he makes *Phalaris's* Inhumanity to be different from theirs. He seems to explain himself presently after, where he says, Φάλαεις ὄψιδυμῶν παιδίῳ φαγεῖν *Phalaris longing to eat a Child*: but his Paraphrast *Andronicus Rhodius* (as he's commonly suppos'd to be) says, it was *Phalaris's* own Son, that *Aristotle* makes him eat: Ὁ Φάλαεις ἐποίησε φαγῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παιίδα: and so *Aspasius* the Scholiast, (b) Ὁ Φάλαεις λέγεται φαγεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παιίδα, *Phalaris is reported to have eaten his own Son*. It appears I suppose sufficiently from these several Authors, That there was a prevailing Tradition about *Phalaris's* eating his own Son, when he was an Infant; and that alone will effectually prove, that in those Ages they had never heard of the Tyrant's Epistles. For we have Five there to his Son *Paurolos*, and Two to his Wife *Erythia* about his Son's Education; by all which it appears, that he was a very fond Father, that his Son was then grown a Man, and that he was his (i) Only Son. How then could he eat his own Son, while he was an Infant, according to that Tradition? Or how is't possible that such a story could obtain in the World, if the Authentic Letters of the Father could be produc'd to disprove it?

(b) *Aspasius ad Aristot. p. 154.*

(i) *Ep. 18. Ὡς πατὴρ τῶν ἐνός υἱὸς οὐδέ μὴ.*

I had observ'd, that *Lucian* in his Two Tracts about *Phalaris*, where he supposes the Tyrant to have sent the Brazen Bull to *Delphi* as a Donary to *Apollo*, and endeavours to persuade the *Delphians* to accept of it, has several Particulars, that contradict the Epistles; which is an Argument, that he either had never heard of them, or believ'd them to be a Cheat. Mr. B.

P. 115. endeavours to answer this, by producing my own words, *That Lucian FEIGNS an Embassy from Phalaris to Delphi: so that if the whole, says he, be a Fiction, how can we argue from it seriously?* But if Mr. B. himself argue *seriously* here, he discovers no extraordinary Judgment. For the whole Story may be *feign'd* by *Lucian*, and yet the several parts of it may and ought to be agreeable to Truth.

Ψευδῆ μιν ἀποσιῶσθαι ἂν κεν περὶ Δορίαν ἀκούειν,

*If I tell Lyes, says Callimachus, I would tell such as are probable and plausible.* Ovid's Epistles of the Heroines are all Fictions of his own; but yet the Subject and Ground of them is taken from Ancient History; he does not confound Countries and Ages together. So *Lucian's* Dialogues of the Dead are nothing but Romances; but he takes care to represent the true History and Character of each Person; he does not make *Cræsus* a *Cynic* Philosopher, nor *Diogenes* a King. By the same reason, if *Lucian* had seen and believ'd these Epistles; he would not call *Phalaris* an *Agrigentine*, whom They declare an *Astypalaan*; nor *Perilaus* a *Sicilian*, whom They represent as an *Athenian*; nor have mention'd such obscure names as *Acanthus*, *Timocrates*, and *Leogoras* for examples of the Tyrant's Clemency, when the Letters themselves would have furnish'd him with such an illustrious Instance of it in the story of *Stesichorus*.

P. 115. But Mr. B. is pleas'd to say further, that *Lucian's* differing from the Epistles either proves nothing against them, or proves too much; *even that Lucian never saw Timæus, as Learned as he was, and as often as he mentions him.* For *Timæus* relates, that the *Agrigentines* threw the Bull into the Sea, but *Lucian* says, *Phalaris*

laris sent it to Delphos. Now I'm afraid, he that consulted Books for the Examiner has deceiv'd him here; for I do not remember that *Lucian* ever quotes *Timæus's* Writings, much less mentions him so often, as Mr. B. here pretends. He names him indeed once in his *Macrobii*, That he liv'd xcvi years; but he could hardly have that from *Timæus* himself, but from the accounts of Others. But however I'll allow Mr. B. that *Lucian* had read *Timæus*: but I cannot by no means allow him, that this Argument of mine must, if it prove anything at all, prove that *Lucian* never saw *Timæus*. That is such an Inference as I could hardly have believ'd, a Man that has dealt so much in Logic, could possibly be guilty of. For it's evident, that if *Lucian* had seen and approv'd the Epistles, he would never have departed from them in his account of *Phalaris's* Country; for the Letters had been an Authority above all Exception. But the case is very different with *Timæus*, who wrote his Histories cxxl years after *Phalaris's* Death. *Lucian* might have read those often enough, without giving as much credit to them, as to *Phalaris's* own Letters. Nay it's plain, he might have read this very account that *Timæus* has given of *Phalaris's* Bull; and yet might purposely contradict it. For he might read in *Polybius* and *Diodorus*, whose Passages we have cited above, that the very Bull was found at *Carthage* and restor'd to the *Agrirentines* by *Scipio's* order; and to think *Timæus* to be both ways mistaken, whether he denied, as those two Historians say, that there ever was such a Bull; or affirm'd, as the Scholiast of *Pindar* says, that the Bull was sunk in the Sea. So very weak and absurd is Mr. B's Inference; that

if *Lucian* has receded from *Timæus's* account, he might as well depart from the Epistles themselves, though he look'd upon them as Genuine. But besides all this, there is no Contradiction at all between *Lucian* and *Timæus*: so that the very Ground, that Mr. B. reasons from, is as fallacious as his way of Reasoning. For *Lucian* says no more than this, That the Tyrant sent the Bull for a Present to *Delphi*; and the *Delphians* demurring, whether they should accept it or no, he makes two Orations in *Phalaris's* Name to persuade them to receive it: but that they really receiv'd it, there is not a word said. Nay one may rather infer, from the custom of *Lucian* and other Sophists to chuse the ἡπώ λόγον the weaker and paradoxical side of a Dispute, that there was some Tradition, that the Bull was sent to *Delphi*, and rejected by the Priests there. It might be return'd therefore to *Agrigentum*, and afterwards be either thrown into the Sea according to *Timæus*, or carried to *Carthage* according to *Polybius* and *Diodorus*.

In the next attempt Mr. B. would reconcile the Epistles with *Jamblichus's* Story, about *Abaris's* Conversation with the *Sicilian Prince*. In the former Edition of my Dissertation, I had allow'd that Story a place among the Historical Accounts of *Phalaris's*; though even then I believ'd it a mere Romance of *Jamblichus's*, but I had no room nor occasion to examin and refute it. But in this Second Edition, where the Exceptions of the Examiner has made it necessary to enquire into all those Particulars, (k) I have freely declar'd, and, as I humbly conceive, have fully made out my Opinion, That there's no credit to be given to that story about *Abaris*.

See here  
p 46, 47,  
48.

To go on then to the following Paragraph, where he endeavours to make *Heraclides* agree with the Epistles. He takes hold of a small Handle I had given him, That the *ὄρφανία* of *Phalaris* may possibly mean *the Loss of his Father only*, not the Loss of *both Parents*. But then he ought to have retracted his own Translation of *Phalaris*, for there he renders it, (l) *A prima infantia PARENTIBUS fuisse orbatum*. But perhaps, as he says, *he did not remember any such Epistle in his Edition of Phalaris*: and indeed he seems, by the frequent Contradictions he makes to that Edition, to have quite forgot that He ever set it out. Though some have been so free as to make a Question, whether that proceeds from the Badness or the Goodness of his Memory. But That is no Question with Me: the Question here that I am concern'd in is, *Whether it may be gather'd from the Epistles, that Phalaris's Mother did not follow him to Agrigentum*. Now the Reasons, why I think that she did not, are these. First the (m) Tyrant tells us, that he was an *Orphan in his Childhood*, which is likely to signify that his Mother was then dead: then he tells us in several Epistles, that he was forc'd to leave his Wife and only Son behind him; which is a shrewd sign, that the Mother too, if alive, was left with them. Besides this, there is not one Word in all the Epistles relating to the Old Gentlewoman, which Mr. B. will confess, a man of *Phalaris's* (n) *Benevolence and Affection to his Family* could hardly have omitted: and in the Letters to his Son, there's no mention made either of the Young Man's Duty to his Grandmother, or of Her Love to Him: and so in the Letters to his Wife,

P. 117.

(l) *Phal.*  
Ep. 49.

(m) Ep. 49.

(n) *Ina'ek*  
*Phalar.*

there's as great a silence about the Mother's Kindness to her Daughter-in-Law. Now it can hardly be suppos'd, that in Familiar Epistles, as these are, and never intended for the Publick, the Mother should be quite forgot, when he writes to his Son and his Wife. In the XIVth Book of *Tully's* Epistles, which are written to his Family, we have his Wife *Terentia*, his Daughter *Tullia*, and his Son *Cicero*, all that were then alive, mention'd in every Page: and if his aged Father or Mother had liv'd then, without question scarce a Letter would have escap'd him without some testimony of his Duty and Affection to them. If Mr. B. therefore will not take it ill, that we compare a *Roman Senator's* Epistles to his *Sicilian Prince's*; we may fairly infer from the Comparison, that *Phalaris's* Mother was dead before the Date of these Letters; and consequently that *Heraclides* contradicts them, where he says, That the Old Woman was burnt in the Bull, when her Son was deposed.

Mr. B. has two Exceptions still behind, which must briefly be consider'd. He denies that his Copy of *Heraclides* says, *Phalaris was burnt in his Bull*: but I have answer'd this (o) already, and no more needs to be said to't. Then he tells us, That his Copy of *Phalaris* has no such Epistle, as implies that the Tyrant fled alone from *Astypalæa*, but if there should be such an one in the King's MS, he'll answer this Objection, when the Library Keeper is in so good an Humor, as to favour him with a sight of it. Now in my Opinion, Mr. B's. own Edition of *Phalaris* sufficiently implies it; as I think I have newly prov'd. But there is no Epistle in the King's MS. but what is extant

p. 117.

(o) See here p. 188.

extant in the common Copies: on the contrary there are several wanting. And if Mr. B. pleases to make tryal of my *Good Humour*, either for a sight of that MS, or of any thing else in my Power; he may then represent me to the World upon his own Knowledg; and not upon the Reports of those, that think to ingratiate with Him by calumniating Me, though they never knew me any more than He does.

I have now gone through all the Gentleman's Exceptions to my Dissertation about *Phalaris's* Epistles; and that I may oblige him at parting, I will help him to a rare Expedient, that will give a clear and plausible account, why the Tyrants Epistles were not known for about 1000 Years after his Death. It appears by the xxxivth Letter, That he began to be very apprehensive of some Conspiracies against him; 'tis very probable therefore, that he would provide against a sudden Stroke, and secure such things as he esteem'd most valuable. And because all other Monuments besides Letters are short liv'd and perishing, he must needs have a particular regard to his *Epistles*, those Monuments of his Wit and Learning and Virtues, which might do him right to Posterity, against the calumnies of Popular Hatred. We may suppose then that he would put these his Precious Remains into a Chest of Cedar, or Cypress, secur'd against Moisture with Pitch and other Bituminous Substances; and so bury it in the Earth, in a Case of Marble, where it might remain for a Thousand Years; till at last it was fortunately dug up; though the Manner and Circumstances of the Discovery of it are now quite extinct. We have a famous Instance, like this of our

*Sicilian Prince*, in the Story of *Numa the Roman Prince*. (p) *Numa* order'd some Writings to be put up safely in a Coffin of Stone, and to be privately buried with Him; and they happen'd to be dug up, A. u. c. DLXXII, when they had lain in the ground ccccxc Years. Here are very good witnesses of this matter of Fact, *Cassius Hemina, Lucius Piso, Valerius Antias*, all *Roman* Historians of great Antiquity and Reputation. 'Tis true indeed, that *Numa's* Books are not now to be had, for they were burnt by order of the Magistrate, because they contain'd something that was dangerous to the public Religion. But however the Story we see has three substantial Vouchers; and if the Years that these Books continued under ground do not reach to the number that *Phalaris's* lay buried; we must consider, what *Livy* tells us from the Historians named above, (q) that the Writings were not only intire, but look'd as fresh as if they were newly writ. If they lasted then near 500 Years, with all the freshness of a new Book, we may reasonably suppose, they would have been legible still, had they lain 500 Years longer. Now, to use the words of Mr. B. what is there in this Story about *Phalaris's* burying his Letters either absurd or unnatural? what was really done at *Rome*, may be fairly presum'd to have been done too in *Sicily*. Nay further as he judiciously observes, *This Supposition must be shewn IMPOSSIBLE, before any convincing Argument can be drawn from the silence of all the Ancients, to prove these Letters Spurious*. And if once he can bring his matters to That Point; he can ly so intrench'd there, that he may hold out for his *Phalaris*, as long as *Troy* did against the *Greeks*.

Nay

(p) Liv. lib. xl.  
Pliny xiii, 13.  
Plut. Numa, Laſtantius 1, 22.

(q) Liv. xl. Non integros modo, sed recentissima Specie.

P. 100.

P. 89.



Nay to leave the Gentleman still in better Humour, I'll oblige him with a further remark, and shew how all the objections against the Letters may be evaded by his single Supposition, That they were buried under ground. For as the Lives of the greatest Heroes have been attended with such extraordinary Events, as seem to be either miraculous or incredible: so the Writings, that have had the singular Fortune of lying some Ages under ground, have all of them had some remarkable Qualities, that cannot be found in vulgar Books. As the Writings of *Numa* for instance were (r) 11 Latin Books and (r) *Pliny.* 11 Greek Books; and yet they were (s) VII Latin and (s) *Livy.* VII Greek, nay they were XII Latin and XII Greek (t). Now for the same Things to be II, (t) *Plut.* VII and XII is no ordinary Case, but a peculiar Property of buried Writings. Again, those Greek Writings of *Numa's* were a System of the (u) *Pythagorical* Philosophy; and yet we (u) *Pliny.* know, that *Pythagoras* the Founder of that Phi- *Livy.* losophy liv'd IV or V Generations after *Numa's* time. And again, the Books of *Numa* were made of *Aegyptian Papyrus*, which was not applied to the use of Writing, till a good while after *Numa* was Dead. But if *Numa's* Books could consist of *Aegyptian Paper*, and contain the Præcepts of *Pythagoras*, so many Generations before Paper was made, or *Pythagoras* was born: what wonder is it, if the Epistles of *Phalaris*, which we suppose now to have been buried like *Numa's*, should have the names of several Towns and other things, that were not built nor heard of till long after the Tyrants Death? So the famous *Hetruscan* Monuments that *Curtius Inghiramus* dug up in *Italy*, after they

they had been buried some Thousands of Years, were written upon Vulgar Paper, such as now is in use and made of Linen Rags, a very recent Invention : and which is still the more wonderful, upon every Sheet there was the Cypher of the Man that made it, who was either then alive or newly Dead, when the Monuments were found. 'Tis the Privilege therefore, of buried Books to have that Prophetic Quality of considering Future things as if they were present : which will fully account for all the odd things in Chronology, that the *Letters* are tax'd with. And then for the *Attic* Dialect that *Phalaris* has us'd there, we have a Salvo clear beyond Mr. *B's* project of *Transdialec'ting*. For the *Revelation of St. James*, that was writ with the Apostle's own Hand, and lay buried in *Spain* from that time to the xvth Century, had some parts of it in modern *Spanish*, which was not in Being in the time of the Apostle. Now if the buried Writings in *Spain* can use Dialects that were no where spoken till many ages after the Date of them ; why might not the buried Epistles in *Sicily* use the New *Attic* Dialect, though it was first form'd and introduced some Generations after the Authors Death. 'Tis true, the (x) Learned *Aldrete* endeavours to account for the modern *Spanish* in the Apostle's writings from the Gift of Prophecy that he was inspired with ; by which he fore-knew when his buried Writings would be dug up, and therefore used the Language that would then be in fashion. But he needed not to have recourse to any Apostolical Gift, if he had but consider'd, that it's the General Property of all such Buried writings to speak Proleptically, and to anticipate those Things

(z) Bern. Aldrete, *Varias Antigüedades de Espanna Africa, y otras Provincias.*

Things that are to happen in future Ages : So *Numa* did, so the *Hetruscan* Heroes of *Inghirannus*, and so the *Sicilian Prince*.

## XVII.

WHEN I was to write my Dissertation upon *Phalaris* at the request of my Learned Friend ; I read the *Epistles* over, and the Passages that I remark'd as I went along, were the Topics of that Discourse. But having since been oblig'd upon the account of Mr. *B.* to read the *Epistles* over again, I observ'd three or four Places that then had escap'd me, which are as certain signs of an Imposure, as any I had produc'd before.

In the III<sup>d</sup> Epistle the Sophist uses the word ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ to express the notion of *God's Providence*, Εἰς τὴν τῶ δαιμονίῳ πρόνοιαν ἀναφέρων τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν. And again in the CIV<sup>th</sup> he threatens the *Catanacans*, that he will never cease to be their Enemy, Ἐως ἂν ἡ διοικήσα πρόνοια τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρμονίαν τῶ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ φυλάτῃ, as long as Providence sustains the Frame of the World ; and he presently adds, That they profaned the fire of *Ætna* ; if the Fire of that Mountain, like the other Elements of Nature, had any thing of Divinity in it ; Ἐἴγε θείας τύχης, says he, ὥσπερ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς φύσεως  
ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ

ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ, ἢ τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν πῶς  
 μεμολοῖσθαι. Now here are no fewer  
 than Three words, ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ, ΣΤΟΙ-  
 ΧΕΙΑ, ΚΟΣΜΟΣ, that were never  
 taken in those Senses in the days of the

(a) Laert  
 in Platone.

true Phalaris. For (a) Laertius acquaints  
 us out of the famous Phavorinus's ninth  
 Book Παντοδαπῆς Ἱστορίας of Omnifarious  
 History, That Plato first applied Στοιχεῖον  
 Element, to a Philosophical Sense, and first  
 nam'd προνοία the Providence of God :  
 πρῶτον ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ὠνόμασε ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ-  
 ΟΝ ἢ Διαλεκτικὴν, ἢ θεῶν ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΝ.  
 So that προνοία before Plato's time did  
 not signify Divine Providence, nor was  
 ever ascrib'd to the Deity; but was used  
 only to denote Human Consideration and  
 Forecast. And so στοιχεῖον seems to have  
 meant nothing else, but the Letters of  
 the Alphabet, till Plato first applied it  
 to signify the Elements of Natural Bodies.

(b) Plato  
 in Sophista.

Τὰ μὲν πρῶτα, says (b) Plato, οἷα περὶ  
 ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ, ἐξ ὧν ἡμεῖς τε συγκείμεθα ἢ  
 ἄλλα, The first Elements, as it were,  
 whereof Men and all other Things consist :

(c) Plato  
 in Timaeo.

and (c) in another place he says, Τὸν δὲ  
 τὸν κόσμον, ζῶον ἔμψυχον ἔννευτε, τῇ ἀλη-  
 θεΐᾳ διὰ τὴν τῆς θεῆς γένεσθαι ΠΡΟΝΟΙ-  
 ΑΝ, The World, being an Animal endued  
 with Soul and Mind, was in reality  
 made by the Providence of God. Where

(d) Proclus

(d) *Proclus* in his *Commentary* tells us, *(d) Proclus*  
 Ὅτι δ' εἰ μεμνήσθης, καὶ ὧν ὁ χερωνεύς εἶπε περὶ in *Plat. Timaeum*, p.  
 τῆς Προνοίας ὀνόματι, ὡς Πλάτωνος ἔγωγε πε- 126.  
 εἰ τὴν θεῖαν κελεύσαντι. For *χερωνεύς* we  
 must read *Χαιρωνεύς*, that is, *Plutarch* who  
 was born at *Chæronea*; and the latter  
 part of the Sentence may thus be correct-  
 ed, ὡς Πλάτωνος ἔγωγε πρώτη θεῖαν καλέσαν-  
 τινος. We must remember, says he, what  
*Plutarch* says about the name of *Πρόνοια*,  
 that *Plato* was the first that applied the  
 word to signify *Divine Providence*. There's  
 little question to be made, but that this is  
 a true Emendation: though whether *Plu-*  
*tarch* says this in any of his Books that  
 are now extant I do not now remember.  
 Well, since it appears from so good Au-  
 thority, who it was that first put these  
 new significations upon *Πρόνοια* and *Στοι-*  
*χῆιον*; we may justly pronounce, that the  
*Epistles* are a cheat; since they have used  
 the words in the *Platonic* Sense, and yet  
 pretend to bear Date above a whole Cen-  
 tury before *Plato*.

And now that I am speaking of *Πρόνοια*,  
 I cannot omit a very elegant Saying of *Hie-*  
*rocles* the Stoic; which, as \* *A. Gellius* (e) *Gellius*  
 tells us, the *Platonic* Philosopher *Taurus* had ix, 5.  
 always in his Mouth, when *Epicurus* was  
 mention'd: Ἡδονὴ τέλος πόρνης δόγμα ἐκ  
 ἔστιν προνοια, ἐδὲν πόρνης δόγμα which be-  
 ing

(f) Pear-  
son Prole-  
gona. ad  
Hieroclem.  
p. 14.

ing manifestly corrupted, our most excellent Bishop Pearson corrects it thus, Ἡδονὴ τέλει· πόνου δόγμα: ἐκ ἐστὶ πονοία ἐδὲν· πόνου δόγμα. i. e. *Pleasure is the Summum bonum: a Strumpet's Tenet. Providence is nothing: a Strumpet's Tenet.* Now the Emendation in the main is true and good; for Πονοία is with great Sagacity chang'd by him into Πέροια, which is the Basis of the whole Sentence. But yet there's something harsh in the Syntax, that his Lordship has made there, Οὐκ ἐστὶ πονοία ἐδὲν: for the Author, if he had us'd ἐδὲν, would have said Πέροια ἐδὲν ἔστι. Besides that the same answer Πόνου δόγμα coming twice makes the Saying a little Flat, and scarce worthy to be us'd by *Taurus* so frequently; nor is it true, that all Strumpets deny Providence. I am perswaded, that the true Reading is thus; Ἡδονὴ τέλει· πόνου δόγμα. Οὐκ ἔστι πονοία· ἐδὲ πόνου δόγμα. Now it's impossible in our Language to express this Saying with the same brevity and Turn, that the Original has; but the Meaning of it is, *Pleasure is the Summum bonum: a Strumpet's Tenet. There's no Providence: a Tenet too bad even for a Strumpet.*

In the Passage already quoted from the Letters we had ἁρμονία τῆς ΚΟΣΜΟΥ, *The Harmony and Frame of the WORLD.*

But

But I have sufficiently prov'd above by the Testimonies of Four or Five good Witnesses, that *Pythagoras* was the first, that call'd the Universe Κόσμος. And I humbly conceive, that very Few, when they have consider'd what I have said about the Ages of *Phalaris* and *Pythagoras*, will believe that the Tyrant was a Disciple of the Philosopher's. The word ΚΟΣΜΟΣ therefore is another detection of the Sophist's Imposture; and not Κόσμος only but ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ too; for That also is a *Pythagorical* Expression; and it was a Position of that Sect, \* Καθ' ΑΡ- (g) Laert. MONIAN συνεσάναι τὰ ἔλα, That the U- in *Pythag.* niverse and all things in it consisted by HARMONY: which is the very notion here of the Sophist.

## XVIII.

**D***emosthenes* made the Oration *de Corona*, when *Aristophon* was Archon, Ol. CXII, 3. This we know from the famous Critic *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*; but the Passage (a) where he tells this, wants E- (a) *Dionys.* mendment. Ὁ περὶ τῶ Σπεράνης λόγος, ἐπ' *Halic. de* Ἐρισφάντος ἀρχοντοῦ μὲν ἐνιαυτὸν μετὰ τῷ *Demosth.* ἐν Χαίρωνείᾳ μάχῃ, ὁκτώ δ' μετὰ τῷ Φι- p. 124. λίππῃ τελευτήν. Some Editions have in the Margin ἐνιαυτῷ instead of ἐνιαυτὸν: but the whole

whole passage is to be read thus: ἐπὶ Ἀριστοφάντων ἄρχοντι, ἢ (i. e. ὀγδόω) μὲν ἐμαυτὰς μετὰ τῷ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχῃ, ἔκτω δὲ μετὰ τῷ Φιλίππου τελευτῷ: that is, *The Oration about the Crown was made in Aristophon's Archonship, the VIIIth year after the battle at Chæronea, and the VIIth after Philip's Death.* That the Numbers here are agreeable to matter of Fact, appears from *Diodorus*, and from *Dionysius* himself in his Life of *Dinarchus*. In that Oration (b) the Orator has given us, the Epitaph, that was made by Public Order upon some of those that were slain in the War against *Philip*; the last Distich of which is this;

(b) Demosth. de Corona, p. 187.

Μὴδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν ὅτι θεῶν, ἢ πάντα κατορθεῖν.  
Ἐν βιοτῇ μοῖραν δ' ἔτι φυγεῖν ἔπορευ.

*To miscarry in nothing, and to succede well in every thing, belongs only to the Gods.*

This part of the Epitaph became very famous in the following Ages, and was often cited; as by *Themistius*, (c). Ἐπεὶ δὲ

(c) Themist. Orat. iii.

τὸ μὴδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν ἔξω τῆ φύσεως καὶ τῶ ἀνθρώπινος, &c. that is, *To miscarry in nothing is above the Power of Human Nature; for I cannot believe there were ever such Men, as the Stoics describe and call Wise; and the Epigram, that was written upon the public Sepulchre at Athens seems to say truer; for it makes the Miscarrying in Nothing*



thing to be the Attribute of the Gods alone;

Καὶ γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς μόνοις τὸ πάντα κατορθῆναι ἀπονέμει.

'Tis cited too by an Anonymous Author in Suidas: (d) Ὁρθῶς γὰρ εἴ-

ρηται τὸ μὲν μηδὲν ἀμαρτῆν δεῖ ἔσθαι ἢ πάν-

τα κατορθῆναι ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἐκ ἀνείποι ἐπι-

σθῆναι, ὅτι μὴ πάσεται τὸ δέπαι. 'Tis a good

saying, That to miscarry in nothing, and to

succeede in every thing is the Property of

God: but a Man can say upon no occasion,

That such a thing shall not befall him. Ju-

stinian too seems to mean it, when he

says, (e) Omnium habere memoriam, & penitus in nullo peccare Divinitatis magis

quam Mortalitatis est; quod & à Majoribus dictum est.

But the strangest thing of all is, that the Tyrant is introduc'd with that very Saying in his Mouth, Τὸ μὴδὲν ἀμαρτῆναι εὐβότος ἴσως ἢ δικαίως δεῖ νομίζεσθαι. Never to miscarry in any thing is reasonably, perhaps, and justly accounted to be the Privilege of God alone. And yet the Tyrant himself had made his last and fatal miscarriage above cc years before that Epitaph was written.

(d) Suid. v. Συγγραμματα.

(e) Cod. lib. 1. Tit. 17. leg. ii. §. 14.

Ep. 129.

## XIX.

Here's nothing in the world more Liberal and Profuse than a Sophist: he can give Five or Six thousand pound

M III

Sterling

Sterling with as little concern, as another man would part with Ten Shillings. The first Present, that the Writer of *Euripides's* Letters gives the Poet, was no less (a) than XL Talents, which amounts to 7200*l.* English. But our mock *Phalaris* goes quite beyond him in Generosity; for he rewards *Polyclitus*, a Physician that had cured him of a dangerous Distemper, with IV. Goblets of refin'd Gold, II Silver Bowls of ancient Workmanship not to be match'd in the present Age, x Couple of large Thericlean Cups, xx young Boys for his Slaves, and 50,000 Attic Drachms; besides an Annual Salary for Life, as great as was paid to the chief Officers of his Fleet and Army. Now this is a story credible enough, if we consider that a Sophist was the Pay-master; for as the Actors in Comedies paid all their Debts upon the Stage with Lupins, so a Sophist pays all his with Words. But if we consider the true *Phalaris* and real Physician of that Age; the whole is most improbable and absurd, both in respect of Him that gives, and of Him that receives

First, it does not at all suit with the State of those times, that the Tyrant should so abound in Gold; as to give IV Cups of that Metal; which perhaps

were

(a) *Eurip.*  
*Epist. v.*

*Phal. Ep.*  
70.

were more than he had in all his Possessions. We are assur'd by good hands, that in those days Gold was a very scarce commodity in Greece; *σπάνιον ὄντως τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁ χρυσοῦς καὶ πᾶν*, are the words (b) of *Athenæus*; who adds, that the first Gold that shone among the *Greeks*, was that which was plunder'd from the Temple of *Delphi* by the *Phocæans*; which happen'd Olymp. CVI, 3. Afterwards, says he, when *Alexander* had conquer'd *Asia*, there was plenty of it brought among them. But in *Phalaris's* time there was scarce any Gold to be found in all *Greece*, as appears by this story. (c) The *Spartans* were commanded by the Oracle to gild the Face of *Apollo's* Statue with Gold; and having in vain enquir'd in *Greece* for some of that Metal, they ask'd the Oracle, Where they might purchase any? and he order'd them to go to *Cræsus* King of *Lydia*, and buy some of Him; which was accordingly done. This is told us by *Athenæus* out of two very ancient and credible Historians; *Theopompus* a Scholar of *Isocrates's*, and *Phanias* a Scholar of *Aristotle's*. Now *Cræsus*, we know, was contemporary with *Phalaris*; so that in the Tyrant's time there was not Gold enough in *Greece* (except what was already consecrated in the Temples) to gild the

Face of a Statue; and yet the Sophist gives away in one Letter more than would have gilt the whole Statue from Head to Foot. Nay even at or after the plundering of the Temple at *Delphi*, Gold was yet so

(d) *Athen.* scarce in Greece, (d) That *Philip* King of  
 p. 155. & *Macedon*, having a little Golden Cup, *φιά-*  
 2, 1 *Pliny* *λιον χρυσεῖν*, weighing no more than L  
 xxxiii, 3. *Drachmæ* or half a Pound Troy-weight,  
*Eustath.* I- was so chary of it, and afraid it should be  
 liad. p. 815.

stolen from him, that every Night when he went to Bed, he put it under his Pillow. And yet we see the *Sicilian Prince* so abounded with it cc years before, that he could spare Four Golden Cups *φιάλας τέσσαρας*, of the very same Fashion, with King *Philip's*, only all of them larger for one Gift to a Favourite. But perhaps the Admirers of *Phalaris* will be ready to say, That Gold might be common in *Sicily*, though scarce in other Countries in Greece. But then another piece of History lies cross in their way: for the same *Theopompus* and *Phanias* tell us farther; (e) That when *Hiero* King of *Syracuse*, who began his Reign above Lxx years after *Phalaris's* was ended, had purpos'd to make a *Tripus* and a *Victoria* of fine Gold, *ἀπέχετο χρυσεῖ*, and present it to *Apollo* at *Delphi*; he sought a long time in *Sicily* for Gold, but none could be found;

(e) *Athen.*  
 132.

found. Whereupon he sent Messengers into Greece; who after a long search to no purpose, at last met with some at *Corinth* in the hands of one *Architeles*; who having for many years bought up Gold by little and little had amass'd a pretty quantity of it. But it's something strange, that *Hiero* should be forc'd to send out of *Sicily* for Gold, and yet *Phalaris* so long before him would have his very Physician serv'd in Gold Plate, ἀπέφθε χρυσῶν, of the very same Fineness that *Hiero* wanted. 'Tis true the same Historians tell us, (f) that a year or two before *Hiero's* (f) Athen. p. 231. Reign, his Brother *Gelo* had dedicated a *Tripus* and a *Victoria* to *Apollo*. But of *Gelo's* Donary we have had occasion to speak already, and it appears there that the Gold, which *Gelo* then had, was the Spoil of the *Carthaginians*: so that it was not in *Sicily* in *Phalaris's* days; neither did it continue long there. For the *Carthaginian* Army brought it Olymp. LXXV, 1. and before the end of *Hiero's* Reign, Olymp. LXXVIII, 2. there was none of it to be found.

In the next place, if we consider the Receiver of this vast Present, *Polyclitus* the Physician; the Reward will seem disproportion'd to the condition of the Man. It was the common practice of those Old

(g) *Strabo.*  
p. 181. *A-*  
*ristoph. &*  
*Schol. p.*  
301.

(h) *Diodor.*  
p. 80.

(i) *Herod.*  
iii, 131.

times to hire (g) Physicians by the Year for the service of a whole City, and to pay them out of the public stock: nay (h) some of the Lawgivers took express care of it in the very constitution of their Governments. The General Price of a Year's service we may learn from *Herodotus*; where he tells us, (i) how *Democedes* the *Crotonian*, who had the greatest reputation of all the Physicians of his time, which was a few Years after *Phalaris's* death, was hired publicly a whole Year by the *Æginæans* for one Talent; and the next Year by the *Athenians* for a Hundred Minæ, i. e. a Talent and  $\frac{2}{3}$ ; and the next Year by *Polycrates* the *Samian* for two Talents. Now what proportion does this bear to the extravagant Present of the *Sicilian Prince*? where besides the Gold and Silver Vessels, and the Score of handsom Slaves, and the yearly Pension equal to an Admiral's, the very ready Money 50,000 *Attic* Drachms comes to VIII Talents and  $\frac{1}{3}$ ; which is more than *Democedes* could earn in Four whole years; and yet *Polycrates* excell'd *Phalaris* in Riches and Power, as much as *Democedes* may be suppos'd to excell in his Art this unknown *Polyclitus*. And if we take our measure from those Physicians, that were not hir'd by the Public, but practis'd privately

vately for Fees, as the custom is now : the disproportion will still be the greater. For the ordinary Fee of a Physician was very low in those days, and after ; as appears by those famous Verses of the Philosopher *Crates*, where he represents the Account-Book of some of the wealthy Men of that Age :

Τῷ δὲ μαγείῳ μνάς δέκ', ἰατρῷ δεξαχμῖω, Laert. in Cratese.  
 Κόλακι τάλαντα πέντε, συμβέλω κτηνῶν,  
 Πόρην τάλαντον, φιλοσόφῳ τετράβολον.

i. e. To a Cook, 30 l. to a Physician Two Groats ; to a Flatterer 900 l. to a Counsellor Nothing ; to a Whore 180 l. to a Philosopher a Groat. 'Tis true, the same *Democedes*, when he afterwards in *Persia* cur'd *Darius's* Foot, had a very rich Present of Gold by the Emperour's Wives ; but to argue from the Riches of the *Persian* Court, that the like might be done at *Agrigentum*, is truly, as the Mock *Phalaris* says, to compare an Indian Elephant to a Fly.

## XX.

**T** *Atian* in the beginning of his Oration Against the Greeks gives a List of some Inventors ; and among the rest he tells us out of *Hellanicus* the Historian, That *Atossa* the Persian Empress was the

First that wrote Epistles; Ἐπιστολὰς συντάσειν ἐξῆρξεν ἡ Περσῶν ποτε ἡγιστάμενη γυνὴ, κατὰ πρῶτον Ἑλλάνικῳ, Ἀτοσσα δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἦν. The same thing is affirm'd by

(a) Clem.  
Alex Strm.  
i. p. 132.

Author; (a) πρῶτον Ἐπιστολὰς συντάξαι Ἀτοσσαν τὴν Περσῶν βασιλεύσασάν φησιν Ἑλλάνικῳ. Now that *Atossa* was younger than *Phalaris* by one or two Generations,

(b) Herod.

appears several ways. (b) She was the Sister and Wife of *Cambyses*, who began his

(c) Herod.

Reign Olymp. LXII, 4. (c) She was afterwards married to *Darius*, and was alive at his Death, Olymp. LXXIII, 4. Nay

she was still alive when *Xerxes* return'd from his Expedition, Olymp. LXXV, 1, as its evident from *Persæ* a Tragedy of *Æschylus*. The odd manner of her Death is told us by *Aspasius*; That her Son *Xerxes* in a fit of Distraction butcher'd

(d) Aspasi-  
us ad Ari-  
stot. Ethic.  
p. 124.

her and eat her; (d) Ἐξέρξας, says he, ὁ τῶν Περσῶν Βασιλεὺς μανεὶς ἐφαγε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα κρεουργήσας. Now suppose him to have done this in the very Year of his Return; yet *Atossa* would survive *Phalaris* LXX Years; though we allow him by the most favourable account to have liv'd till Olymp. LVII, 1. And according to *Hippostratus* (e) and the

(e) See  
here. p.  
34, 35.

Scholias of *Pindar*, She is two Generations lower than *Phalaris*:

*Phalaris*



*Phalaris* 1 *Telemachus*.

2 *Emmenides*.

3 *Enesidamus*. 1 *Atossa*.

Reign'd 4 *Theron*. 2 *Xerxes*. Reign'd

Ol. LXXIII, 1.

Ol. LXXIII, 4.

It is evident then, that if *Atossa* was the First Inventress of Epistles; these that carry the name of *Phalaris*, who was so much older than her, must needs be an Imposture. And that She really found out the way of Epistles, we have the most proper and competent Witness, that can possibly be had. For *Hellanicus* was a Contemporary of this *Atossa*; (f) being LXV Years old at the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War: So that he was born at Ol. LXXI, 2. and was in the xvth Year of his Age at *Xerxes's* Expedition. But besides the Authority of *Hellanicus*, (g) *Clemens* tells us of Himself, that he took his Account of the several Inventors from *Scamon*, *Theophrastus*, *Cydippus*, *Aristophanes*, *Aristodemus*, *Aristotle*, *Philostephanus*, and *Strato*, in their Books (h) *About Inventions*: So that either All or at least Some of these must be suppos'd to have reported that Invention of *Atossa's*. And I conceive we have a double Argument here against our *Mock-*

(f) *Gellius*  
xv, 23.

(g) *Clemens*  
ibid.

(h) *Περὶ*  
*Ευρημα*  
*των*.

*Phalaris* ;

*Phalaris*; a Positive one, That *Atossa* first invented Epistles; and a Negative; That the Epistles of *Phalaris* were not heard of in the days of those Writers.

The words of *Tatian* and *Clemens*, are Ἐπιστολὰς συντάσσειν: now whether we take συντάσσειν in a general Sense for *Writing*, or more strictly for *Comprizing in a Volume, and Publishing*; 'tis either way sufficient to prove *Phalaris's* Epistles a Cheat. But it may be objected in their behalf, that *Epistles* were in use many Hundred Years before *Phalaris*; even before the *Trojan* Times; as appears from

(i) *Apollod.* (i) *Apollodorus* and *Zenobius* and others, p. 81. *Zenob.* p. 50. who relate, how *Bellerophontes* carried

Ἐπιστολὰς *Epistles* from *Prætus* to *Jobates*; and how then can *Atossa* be call'd the Inventress of Epistles? But in answer to this, we are to observe that those Authors speak not accurately there, but accommodate their Expression to the Manners of their own Times. For *Homer*, out of whom they all have it, does not call it an *Epistle*, but Πίναξ ᾠκυκτός: words

(k) *Hom. Il.* (k) Πίναξ δ' ὄγε σήματα λυγρὰ, εἰρημιαία ζ. v. 169. *Πίναξ* ἐν πίνακι ᾠκυκτῷ θυμωδὸς ἄρα πολλὰ.

Now Πίναξ ᾠκυκτός is the same with *δελπός*, and in Latin *Tabellæ*, *Pugillares*, *Codicilli*; small Leaves of Wood, cover'd with Bees-Wax, and so written on by a Pen

Pen of Metal. So *Pliny* interprets this Passage of *Homer* (l), *Pugillarium usum* <sup>(l) *Pliny*,  
xiii, c. ii.</sup> *fuisse etiam ante Trojana Tempora invenimus apud Homerum.* And he expressly affirms, that the Writings that *Bellerophon*tes carried, were not *Epistles*, but *Codicills*: (m) *Homerus Bellerophonti Codicillos datos, non Epistolas, prodidit.* <sup>(m) *Ibid.*  
c. 13.</sup> Now it's evident, that these *Codicills* could never serve for a Volume of Letters, as *Phalaris's* are; for the use of them was only for a single Letter, which as soon as read was erased, and the Wax smooth'd anew; and so the *Codicills* were return'd with an Answer upon the same Wax where the former Letter was written. The occasion of *Pliny's* writing this last Passage is pleasant enough. *Licinius Mucianus* had reported in his History, (n) *That when he was Governour of Lycia, Himself saw and read in a certain Temple there, a Paper-Epistle written from Troy by Sarpedon.* <sup>(n) *Sarpedonis à Troja scriptam in quodam Templo Epistolæ chartam.*  
*Plin. ibid.*</sup> Now if this were true, *Hellanicus* and his Followers must be miserably out, when they make *Atossa* invent *Epistles* so many Hundreds of years after. But I wonder, says *Pliny*, at this (o) *Paper Letter of Sarpedon's*; since even in *Homer's* time, <sup>(o) *Papyrus, Charta.*</sup> so long after *Sarpedon*, that part of *Ægypt*, which alone produces *Paper*, was nothing but *Sea*; being afterwards produced by the *Mud*

of

(p) In ipsa  
 illa Lycia  
 Codicillos  
 datos, non  
 Epistolas.

of the Nile: Or if Paper was in use in Sarpedon's time, how came Homer to say, (p) that in that very Lycia, where Sarpedon liv'd, not Epistles, but Codicills were given to Bellerophontes? So that Learned Naturalist refutes the pretended Letter of Sarpedon; though with humble submission he puts a false colour upon one part of his Argument: for the Epistle was not given to Bellerophontes in Lycia; but in Argos of Peloponnesus to be carried to Lycia. However without that needless Colour he has sufficiently confuted the credulity of Mucianus; who though he was Governour of a great Province, and General of a great Army, and three times Consul in Claudius's and Vespasian's time, and besides all that, a Learned and Inquisitive Man, was miserably impos'd on with a Sham Letter of Sarpedon's: a remarkable Instance, that not only the Title of Honourable, but even the Highest Quality and Greatest Experience cannot always secure a Man from Cheats and Impostures.

F I N I S.

# Addenda.

**P.** 35. *lin. 25. Antefion* ] In the Scholiast here it's Ἀντιφών, but the true reading is Αὐτιφών. See *Herodotus*, p. 350. *Apollodorus*, p. 142. — *Pausanias* in several places; and the Scholiast himself on *Pyth. iv.*

**P.** 42. *l. 3. Δεωπρεπίθ* ] A part of it is produc'd by (a) *Plutarch*; Ἐργ. Σιμωνίδης μὲν ἐν γῆρα (a) *Plut.* ἄρ' οἷς ἐνίκα, καὶ τὸ πύγμα ἀλλοῖ τοῖς τελευταίοις ἐπίσιν, *An Sen.* &c.

Ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίῃ δὲ Σιμωνίδῃ ἔσπετο κῶδθ

Ὀυδωκονταέτη παιδί Δεωπρεπίθ.

**P.** 52. *v. 33. Ephebi* ] In the account of the *Ephebi* I follow'd *Censorinus* and *Didymus*. But others in (b) *Harporation* make the Ἐφηβοὶ begin at xviii years of age, and continue so to xx, and then they were called Ἄνδρες. Before the xviii year they were Παῖδες. And this account agrees better with the story of *Pythagoras's* fighting at *Παίδων πυγμῇ*. *He*, and *Hyllus* the *Rhodian* mention'd by *Pausanias*, offer'd themselves to fight with the *Boys*, but being compleat xviii years old they were excluded; because they were no longer Παῖδες, but Ἄνδρες. Vex'd at this disappointment, they offer'd themselves to contend at the *Match for Men*, though they wanted two years of *Man's Age*: and being admitted, they carried the *Victory* from them all. This is that

(b) *Harpor.*  
v. Ἐπιδισ-  
τίς, ὅτι Ἐ-  
πώθυμοι.

which

which made *Pythagoras's* Victory at *Olympia* so memorable.

(c) *Clem. Strom. vi. p. 268.* P. 58. l. 12. *Persian Forces*] So (c) *Clemens Alexandrinus* declares that the Expedition was not upon the *Lydians*, but the *Athenians*. Τὸ κρητὸς Ἐπιμενίδε αἱ θούσαι Ἀθηναίοις τὸ Περσικὸν πόλεμον εἰς δεκαετὴ ὑπέειδεντο χρόνον. He seems to have had this passage from *Plato*, whose words I have cited.

(d) *Laert. in Anaximand.* P. 63. l. 3. *Olymp. lII.]* The famous *Apolodorus* seems to favour this early beginning of *Polycrates's* Reign. (d) For he says *Anaximander* was LXIV years old at *Olymp. LVIII, 2.* and died soon after, having flourish'd most in the time of *Polycrates Tyrant of Samos*; καὶ μετ' ἄλιγον τελευτήσας, ἀκμύσασαυτὴ πη μάλιστα κατὰ Πολυκράτην τὸ Σάμιος τύραννον. Now if we place the first year of *Polycrates* at *Olymp. LIII, 3.* *Anaximander* at that time was in his XLVth year, which seems old enough in all reason to begin his ἀκμὴ at.

(e) *Censor. cap. XV.* P. 71. l. ult. After his own Description of *Agges*] (e) *Censorinus* says the very same thing about *Plato*, that he died at LXXXI, which he counted the legitimate extent of human Life. Annum octogesimum & unum, in quo Plato finem vitæ & legitimum esse existimavit, & habuit.

P. 78. fine. About *Theanor's* going to *Lysis's* Sepulchre.] *Olympiodorus* in his MS. Commentary on *Plato's Phædon*, says it was *Philolaus*, one of those that escap'd ex incendio Cylonis, who came to his Master's *Lysis's* Sepulchre at *Thebes*. Γούλων ἐφῆκε πῦρ τῶ διδασκαλείῳ, καὶ πάντες ἐκαύθησαν πλὴν δὲ τοῦ Φιλολάου καὶ Ἰσπαρχοῦ. Ἦλθεν ἔνθ' ὁ Φιλόλαος εἰς Θήβας, ἰφειλων γῆρας τῶ οἰκίῳ διδασκάλῳ τειθειῶτι καὶ ἐκεῖ τεθαμνίηνε πύθησθαι τῶ Λύσιδι.

P. 79. l. 19. When he was XLVII years old] Pausanius says above XLVI. Φίλιππος μὲν ἐν περὶ σταβίδας ἔξ ἧς πεπερασμένοντα ἔσθ'.

P. 80. l. 21. About Olymp. cxi.] At Olymp. cxi, 2. when *Ekranetus* was Archon. *Dionys. Halicarn. de Demosth.*

P. 126. l. ult. Manufactures] So *Plutarch* in his life of *Solon*: Γενέσθαι πολίταις ἔδιδουσι πλὴν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἀειφυγία τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἢ πανεσίους Ἀθίναζε μετακισσομένοις ὅτι τέχνη.

P. 156. l. 28. An 'Aminn, or Chariot drawn by Mules.] (f) *Pollux* also speaks of *Anaxilas's* (f) *Pollux*, Victory with the 'Aminn; and he adds, That at the same time he brought a breed of Hares into Sicily, which before had none of those Animals; and in the Money of the *Rhegians* he stamp'd an 'Aminn and a Hare. This *Pollux* tells us out of *Aristotle*; but he seems to have mistaken the Money of the *Rhegians*, for that of the *Messanians*. For among the *Rhegian* Coins, that can now be heard of among Antiquaries, there are none of that Stamp; but of the *Messanian* Coins, there are VIII in *Paruta*, with an 'Aminn on one side, and a Hare on the other; II with an 'Aminn without a Hare; and II with a Hare, and on the Reverse an Olympic Crown.

P. 187. l. 22. Flaw in his Preface.] I was mistaken here, when I thought the Examiner had discover'd his own mistake: for he continues the Blunder about *Dionysus Junior*, p. 183 of his Examination: and is still so little sensible of it, that he tells me I borrow'd the Argument from him, without making the least Improvement.

P. 203. l. 9. Ἀκίετε λέω, O yes, or O yes.] The  
 (g) *Acharn.* Attic Idiom has it Ἀκίετε λέω. (g) *Aristoph.*  
 p. 300. Ἀκίετε λέω. Κατὰ τὰ πάλαια τὴς γῆς, &c.

And again,

(h) *Iren.* (h) Ἀκίετε λέω. Τὴς γῶργες ἀπέναι, &c.

P. 454. P. 269. l. 14. *Phrynichus* Master of Dancing.]

(i) *Plut.* We have part of an Epigram made by (i) *Phry-*  
*Sympos.* *nichus* himself in Commendation of his own  
*Quæst.* Dancing :  
 viii,

9. Σχῆματα δ' ὄρχησις τόσα μοι πόρεν, ὅσ' ἐνὶ πάντε

Κύματα ποιῆται χεῖμα πνύξ ὀλίη.

P. 355. l. 2. We cannot now tell] But we  
 may make a near guess at it from the accounts  
 we have of *Agatharchus* the Painter, who first  
 made a Scene, according to *Vitruvius*, whom I  
 cited above. Ἀγάθαρχος, says *Harpocration*, τέ-  
 τε μνημονεύει Δημοθένης ἢν δὲ ζωγεῖσθ' ἑθαυτῆς,  
 Εὐδῆμος υἱὸς, πὸ δὲ γένθ' Σάμου. The very same  
 words are to be found in *Suidas*. Now the pas-  
 sage, where *Demosthenes* speaks of him, is in his  
 Oration against *Midias*, p. 360. But there's a  
 larger account of him in *Plutarch's* Life of *Alci-*  
*biades*, and the largest of all in *Andocides's* O-  
 ration against *Alcibiades*. The substance of all  
 their Story is, That *Alcibiades* forcibly detain'd  
*Agatharchus* in his house, and would not let him  
 stir out, till he had painted it. Now *Alcibiades*  
 died (k) Olymp. xciv, 1, when he was about  
 (l) xl years old. And we can hardly suppose  
 him less than xx, when he had this frolick upon  
*Agatharchus*. Especially if what *Demosthenes's*  
*Scholiast* says be true, that the reason of it was,  
 because *Agatharchus* was taken in bed with *Alci-*  
*biades's* Miss. *Agatharchus* then was by this ac-  
 count alive still about Olymp. lxxxix, 1. which

is

(k) *Diador.*

(l) *Corn.*

*Nepos.*



is xxxvi years after Olymp. lxxx, when *Aeschylus's* last Play was acted. It's plain then, he was but a young man, even at Olymp. lxxx; and if we consider he was *αὐτοδίδακτος* his own Master in Painting, and took it up of himself, we can scarce suppose, he could invent the Painting of Scenes, till very near that Olympiad.

P. 362. l. 2. Πυρρίχαις ὕσατο.] One may correct it also, Πυρρίχαις, which comes to the same thing.

P. 365, &c. About *Charondas's* not being Law-giver to the *Thurians*] After this was committed to the Press, I recollected a Passage of *Laertius*, which at that time was quite out of my mind. This Author tells us from *Heraclides Ponticus*, That *Protagoras the Sophist was Law-giver to the Thurians*. *Ἡρακλείδης*, says he, ὁ Ποντικός, Θεαίοις νόμους γέγραται φησὶ Πρωταγόραν ἢ Ἀβδηρίτην. The same Author tells us, that *Protagoras flourish'd*, καὶ ἔτεταρτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. at Ol. lxxxiv, the very time that the *Athenian Colony* went to *Thurii*. It's very probable he was then at *Athens*; for he was twice there: his second coming was between Olymp. lxxxix, 1. and lxxxix, 3. as *Athenaus* proves, p. 219. This, as I take it, is a great Confirmation of what I have said about the spurious *Charondas*.

*Laert. in  
Protag.*

F I N I S.

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# F I N I S.

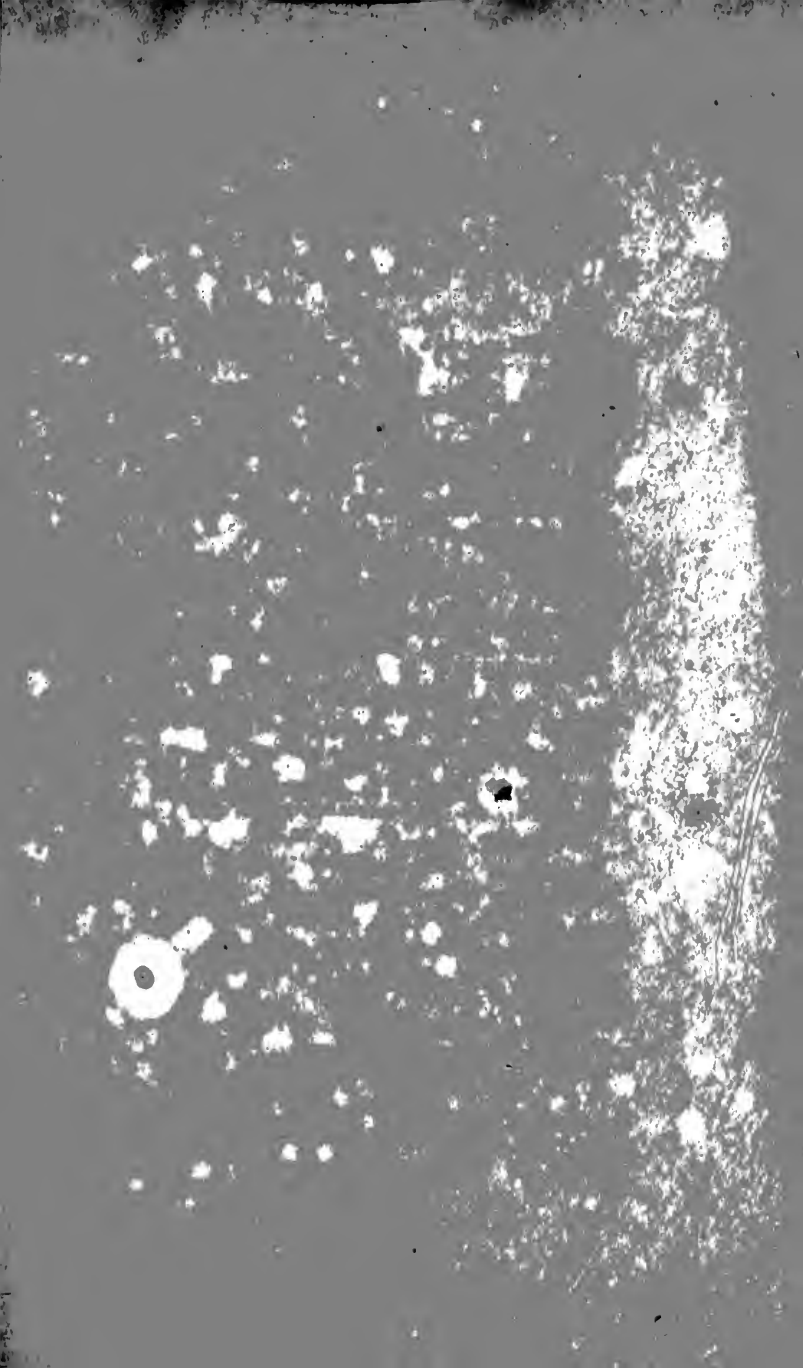
Αἰτιατικὸν τῶν ἰσοπέδων ἰσοπέδων  
ἰσοπέδων τῶν ἰσοπέδων

ERRATA.

In the Preface.

PAG. v. line 11. read *is a Sword.* p. xiii. l. 12. of r. and. p. xxi. l. 9. an r. any. p. xxvi. l. 30. add, *For at that time I liv'd with the Right Reverend the Bishop of Worcester at a good distance from the Library.* p. xxxiii. l. 26. *is r. are.* l. 27. *borders r. border.* p. xxxviii. l. 26. *dele Comma.* p. liii. l. 29. *inf licem r. infelicem.* p. lxiii. l. 10. r. *make for.* p. lxvii. l. 27. *Pupils r. Pupil's.* p. lxxii. Marg. r. p. xl. p. lxxv. l. ult. r. *Bores.* p. lxxvi. l. 22. *there r. here.* p. lxxxvii. l. 17. *in. r. upon.* p. lxxxviii. l. 5. *Case r. Plato.*

In the Book. P. 3. l. 16. r. *Cry.* p. 14. l. 21. a full stop after *Homer.* P. 40. l. 7. *ὄτακαί r. ὄτα γὰρ.* p. 43. l. 8. lxxx r. lxxxviii. and so l. 11. *ibid.* p. 52. l. 25. *we r. he.* p. 53. Marg. *Ol. r. Or.* p. 58. l. 12. r. *γυρσιός.* p. 63. Marg. l. 8. r. *χρόνο.* p. 65. l. 4. *we r. he.* *ibid.* l. 29. *all. r. most.* p. 73. Marg. l. 6. r. *Συβαρίται.* p. 86. l. 3. r. *ἔϊτορ.* p. 102. l. 1. r. *μισόγεοι.* p. 134. l. 9. *iii r. iv.* p. 185. l. 27. r. *call'd the place ΕΥΣ : ΧΩΡΑ.* p. 193. l. 8. r. *Δισχύλον.* p. 199. l. penult. r. *Χωρίον.* p. 207. l. 19. r. *Απηναις.* p. 209. l. 31. r. *ἔθλον.* l. 32. *Χωτλήος —, ἔθλον.* p. 227. l. ult. r. *ἑόστα.* p. 233. l. 14. *dele i. e. l. 28. them r. it.* p. 263. l. 7. r. *Composition.* p. 273. Marg. r. *φύται.* p. 292. l. 29. r. *ἄν.* p. 319. l. 17. r. *his last.* p. 323. l. 4. r. *we may suppose that.* p. 342. l. 24. r. *Jamblichus.* p. 343. l. 1. r. *Ptolemees,* p. 355. l. 28. r. *Holstenius and Bark.* p. 369. l. 27. *dele and.* p. 384. l. 4. *it r. in.* p. 404. l. 29. r. *of.* p. 407. *set the numbers in the Margin 6 lines lower.* p. 430. l. 28. r. *true.* p. 456. l. 14. *Static.* p. 458. l. ult. r. *τάς.* and 459. l. 21. *ἄς.* p. 479. Marg. r. P. 409, &c. p. 509. l. 33. r. *Learning was.* p. 528, 417. r. *ἀμαρτίῃ.*



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