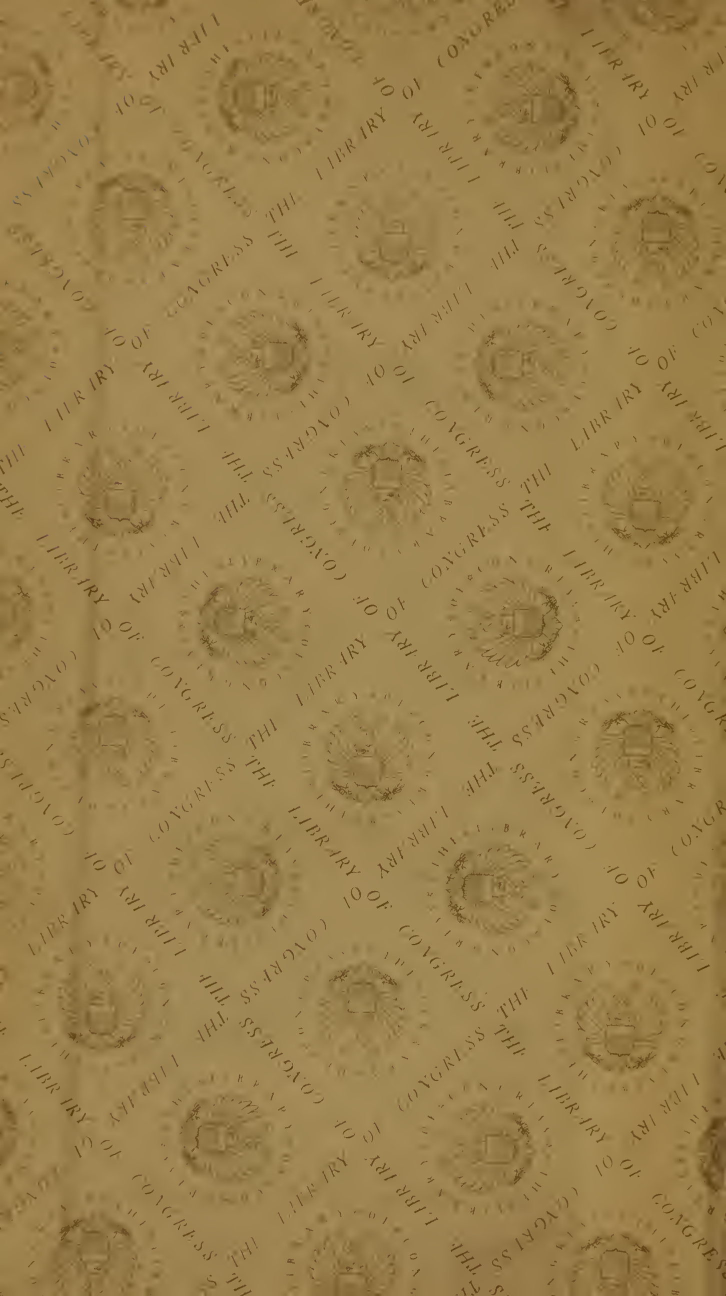
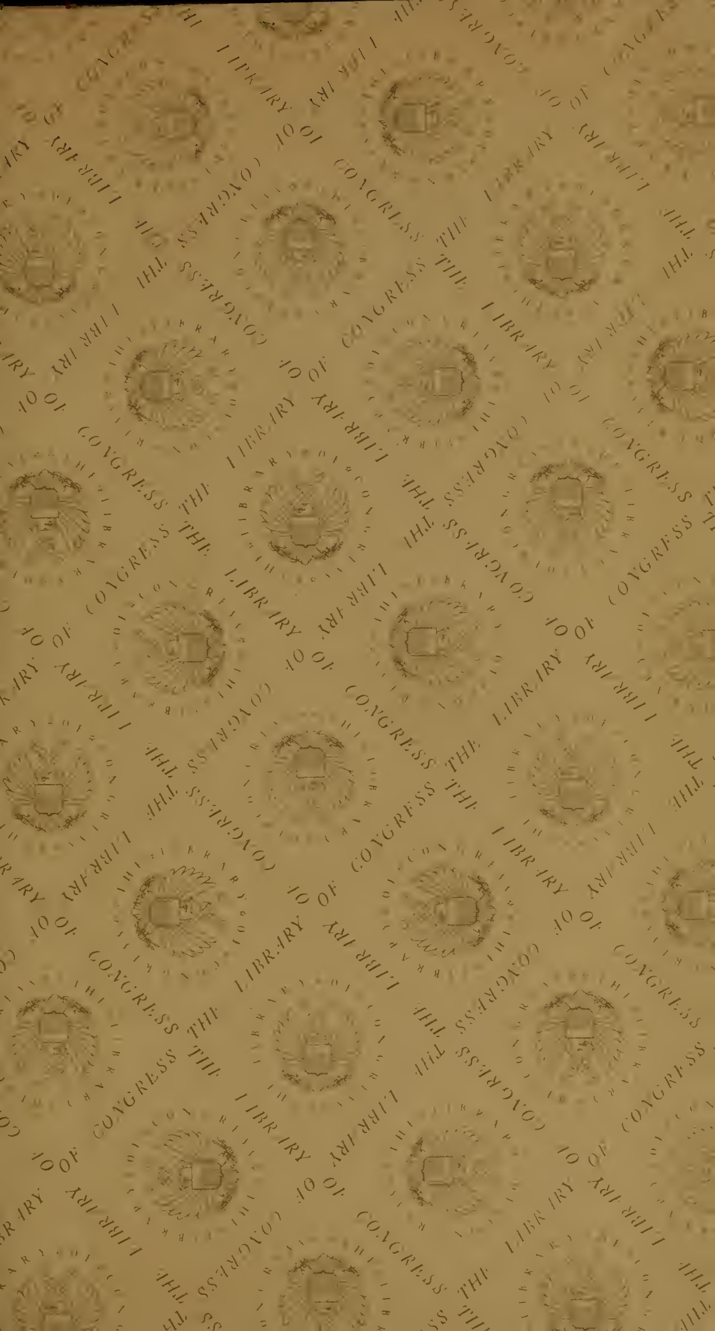
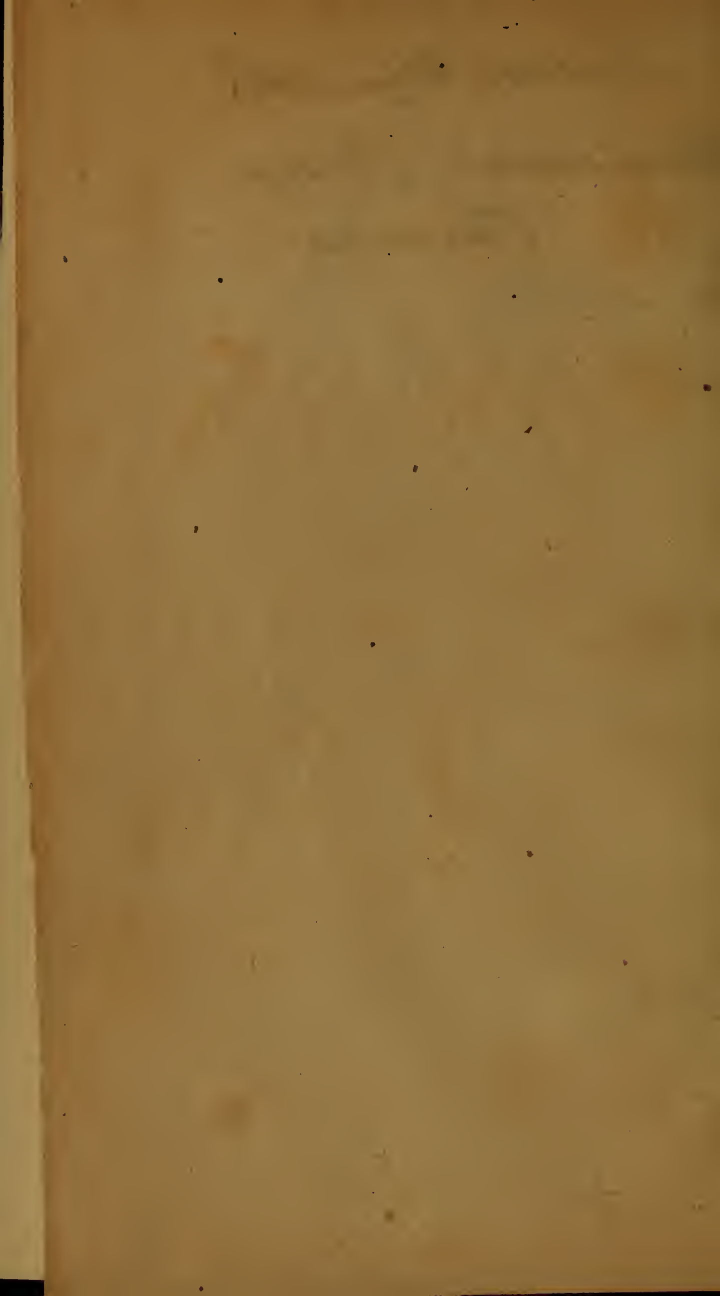




Tallon Macbeth
7/6
University College
Toronto
Jan 17th 1872



A

TREATISE ON HOMER,

WITH

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

BY

THE REV. JOHN R. DARLEY, A.M.

Master of the Royal School of Dungannon.

DUBLIN: SAMUEL J. MACHEN, 8, D'OLIER-ST.

LONDON: LONGMAN, BROWN, AND COMPANY,

AND ALL BOOKSELLERS.

PA4037
.D35

Library

TO THE

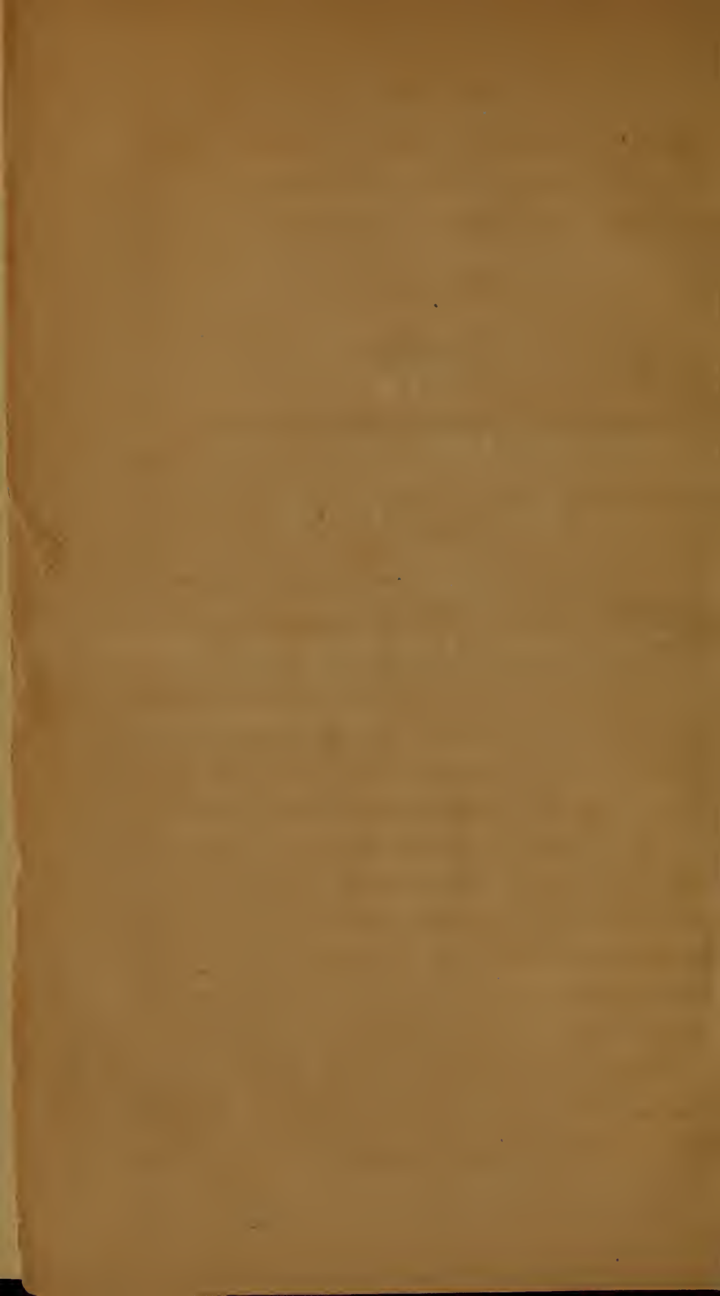
STUDENTS OF DUNGANNON COLLEGE,

THE FOLLOWING TREATISE

IS DEDICATED BY

THEIR AFFECTIONATE FRIEND AND PRECEPTOR,

JOHN R. DARLEY.



PREFACE.

The following Treatise was compiled solely for the use of my pupils. I had originally no intention of publishing or even printing it. I have been urged to do both. From the interrupted manner in which it has been written, arising from multiplied and manifold calls upon my time, it must be liable to many imperfections and defects, perhaps to many errors. If it tend, in *any* degree, to assist the youth of our country in their study of the father of Grecian poetry; if it form the least addition to the many improvements which have been latterly introduced into our Schools, I shall consider myself more than rewarded for the time I have spent on it, and the labour it has cost me. It can boast of little that is original. It is merely a condensation of what is most valuable in the works of many original writers and commentators on Homer. To Coleridge I am particularly indebted. I have also consulted the works of Buttmann, Thiersch, Heyne, Kennedy, Trollope, Wood,

Valpy, Matthiæ, &c. &c. Most of the Miscellaneous Questions have been extracted from the Classical Examination Papers of the Dublin and Cambridge Universities.

On the whole, I trust that a good deal of information will be presented, in a condensed form, and at a low price, to many who may not have the opportunity, the time, or the means, of consulting the original authors.

Dungannon College, June 24th, 1839.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND PRESERVATION OF THE ILIAD.

ORIGIN.—Popular Opinion—Wolfian Theory—its originators and supporters—Arguments in favour of the popular opinion—Answers to these arguments—Objections to the popular opinion—Answers to these objections—Arguments against the use of writing in Homer's age—Answers to these arguments—Arguments for the use of writing in Homer's age—Instances of feats of memory performed by others—Objections to those instances—Arguments in favour of the Wolfian hypothesis—Objections against it . . 1

PRESERVATION AND IMPROVEMENT.—Three races of Rhapsodes—many productions attributed to Homer—cause of this—views of Solon in patronising the Homeric Poems—Lycurgus—Pisistratus—Hipparchus—advantages and disadvantages resulting from the revisal of the Homeric Poems by the Pisistratidæ—διασκευαστὴς—διορθωτὴς—κριτικὸς—γραμματιστὴς—γραμματικὸς—ἀρνῳδοὶ—mode of interpretation styled πραγματικὴ—allegorical interpretation—διόρθωσεις κατ' ἄνδρα and πολιτικαὶ—διόρθωσις—παράδοσις—ἔκδοσις—προέκδοσις—ἐπέκδοσις—Zenodotus—Aristophanes—Aristarchus—Crates . 13

CHAPTER II.

THIRD BOOK OF THE SCIENZA NUOVA OF VICO.

Arguments against the opinion of Plato and Plutarch, that Homer possessed all the recondite knowledge of a civilized age—Country of Homer—Age of Homer—Arguments to prove both—Characters in tragedy borrowed from Homer—Philosophical observations—Philological observations 26

CHAPTER III.

GREEK ALPHABET AND MATERIALS FOR WRITING.

Cadmus—Phenician alphabet—Simonides—Epicharmus—Palamedes—Aristophanes—'Ιωνικὰ γράμματα—Greek alphabet evidently of Oriental origin—Βουστροφηδὸν γράφειν—κιονηδὸν γράφειν—Materials of writing . . . 33

CHAPTER IV.

LIFE OF HOMER.

Two extant biographies of Homer—Arguments for and against the genuineness of that ascribed to Herodotus—Origin of epithets Melesigenes and Mœonides—Derivations of his name—Pronepides—Phemius—Mentes—Homer's accurate and extensive knowledge of geography—Mentor—Cause of blindness—Not born blind—Farthest points eastward and westward mentioned in his poems—Ground of the conjecture that he visited Judea—Cause of his death—Nine countries claim the honour of being his birth-place—Ground of their claims—Arguments to prove that Homer was an Asiatic Greek—Bryant's theory—Koliades—Geographical difficulties against Sir William Gell's opinion, that Thiaki corresponds

with the ancient Ithaca—Answered—Schubarth—Thiersch—Maciucca—Barnes—Different opinions about the age of Homer—Deduced by Wakefield from his use of the digamma—Evidence from the poems positive and negative—Positive evidence favourable to an early date - two objections to the theory of Wood and Mitford, which supports an early date—Answered—Negative evidence favours an early date—Mitford completes the evidence furnished by the Poet himself—Ground of Homer's popularity—Admired by Latin as well as Greek writers—Particular defects censured by his admirers—Six objections of Zoilus—Christian fathers—Eustathius—Leontius Pilatus—Scaliger—Tasso—French Zoilists and their opponents . . . . . , 37

CHAPTER V.

THE TROJAN CONTROVERSY.

Not of modern date—Stesichorus—Euripides—Herodotus—Theocritus—Isocrates—Chrysostom—Metrodorus—Anaxagoras—Thucydides—Bryant—Arguments of Bryant—Answered—Wood's description of the Troade - 58

CHAPTER VI.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ILIAD.

Antiquity of the Iliad—Manners—Similar to the Patriarchal—Instances of similarity—Chivalry of Greeks analogous, not similar, to modern chivalry—Morals of the Homeric heroes—Present manners of the Arabs similar to those of the Homeric age—Stability of the manners of the Arabians—Six points of resemblance between the ancient Greek and Jewish and the present Arabian manners—Mythology of Homer—

Peculiarity of the Mythology of the Iliad—Opinion of Herodotus about the Greek Theogony—Idolatry unknown in Homer's time—Difference of the Mythology in the Iliad, Odyssey, Æneid, and Pharsalia—Continued allegorical interpretation unreasonable—Systems of Iamblichus and Porphyry—Origin of Greek Mythology figurative—Foundation partly physical, partly historical—System of Euhemerus—Deities of Jupiter's race chiefly moral figures—Homer's system of theology not derived from Egypt, but from an accurate observation of nature—His theological opinions—His scenery real and Grecian, gives an air of probability to his wildest excursions of fancy—Causes of the opinion of the critics, that there is an exquisite artifice in the plan of the poem—Apion—Inconsistencies in Homer—Objection to the generally received opinion of the subject of the poem—Answered by Coleridge—Primary argument according to Penn—Objection of Coleridge to this hypothesis—Characteristics of the poem—Most sublime passage in the Iliad—Homeric, Hesiodic, and Virgilian shields—Contest of Homer and Hesiod—Characters of the Iliad—Similes—Homer a picturesque writer in one sense of the word—Knowledge of the Arts—Geography—Navigation—Military art—Language—Digamma—Versification—Cæsura—Arsis—Vis ἐκτατικὴ—shortening of long vowels or diphthongs—Correptiones Atticæ—Apostrophe and Crasis—Synizesis—Greek poetry cultivated before Homer—Three things must be proved before it be admitted that Homer used the digamma—Dunbar's six laws—Apparent deviations—Position of the Ictus, according to Dunbar, in Heroic, Iambic, Trochaic, and Anapæstic verse—Its effect—Examples—Error of critics—Four cases in which the principle of the Ictus holds—Olen—Thiersch's explanation of the principles of Homeric versification—Bucolic Cæsura—Excellency of hexameter verse—Epic period—Its beauty—Hiatus—When not offensive . . . 66

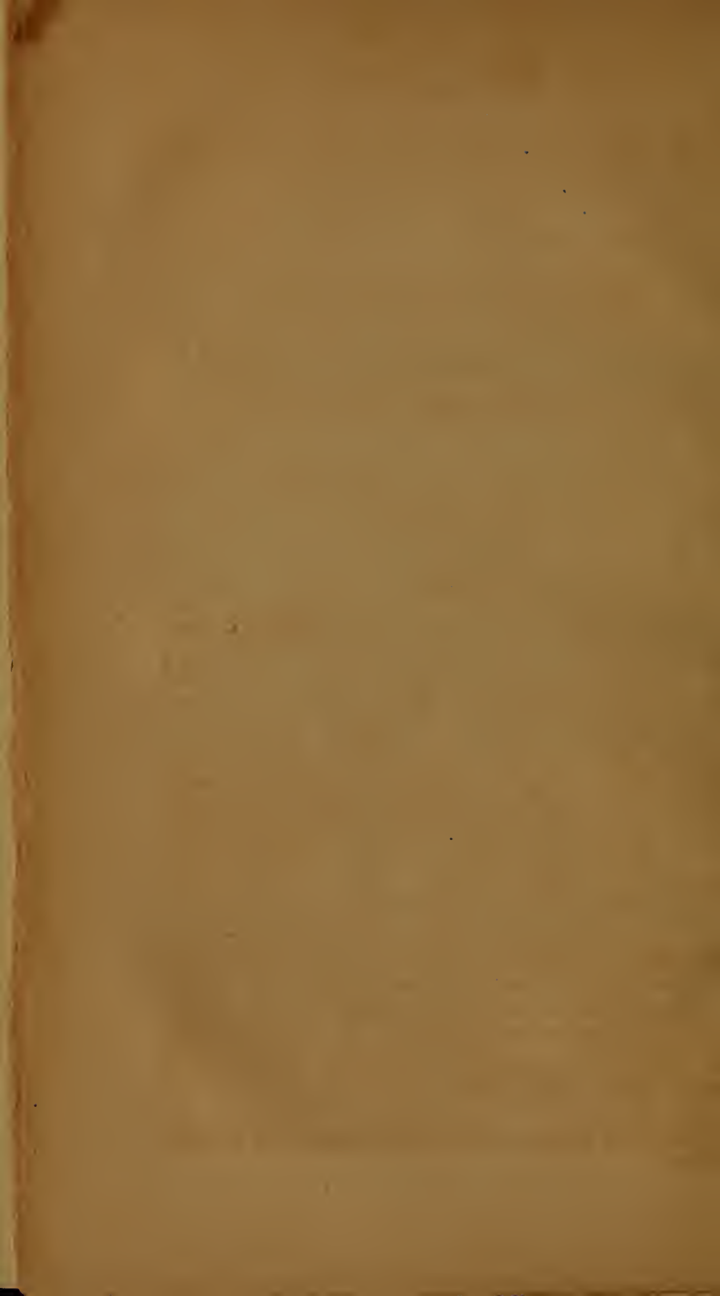
CHAPTER VII.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ODYSSEY.

Arguments in favour of the Iliad and Odyssey, being the compositions of the same author—Arguments for a difference of authors—The manners of the Iliad and Odyssey, though resting on the same heroic base, differ in degree—In the mythology there is a striking change—The plan of the Odyssey differs from that of the Iliad, and imports a great advance in the art of composition—Peculiar charm of the Odyssey—The Odyssey a reflection of contemporary society—As a poem absolutely unique—Prominent characters of the Odyssey—Marked difference between the Iliad and Odyssey—Comparison of the Iliad and Odyssey with the plays of Shakspeare—Instances of allegory—Similes—Changes in the form of words indicate a date subsequent to that of the Iliad—Versification—Contrast and resemblance of the Iliad and Odyssey—Difference between the Homeric and all the Greek poetry of subsequent ages—Instance in the Odyssey of a form of government similar to that of Britain—Latest event mentioned in the Odyssey—Names of the northern and southern divisions of Greece . . . 125

CHAPTER VIII.

Miscellaneous Questions . . . 142



TREATISE ON HOMER.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND PRESERVATION OF THE ILIAD AND ODYSSEY.

ORIGIN.

1. WAS the Homeric question ever started among the ancients? Yes. Seneca says, "Græcorum iste morbus fuit, quærere prior scripta esset Ilias au Odyssea; præterea an ejusdem esset auctoris."

2. The first originators among the moderns of the Wolfian theory? *Francis Hedelin*, better known as the Abbé d' Aubignac, and *Charles Perrault*, at the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. *Dean Prideaux* hinted, in his life of Mahomet, that Homer's Rhapsodies were compiled out of his loose poems, as the Koran was after Mahomet's death; then *Bentley* expressed an opinion, that Homer composed the Iliad for the men and the Odysseis for the women, in a *sequel** of Rhapsodies to be sung by himself at festivals; and that these loose songs were not collected into the form of an epic poem until about five hundred years after. The outline of Wolf's theory was

* The word *sequel* is of importance in determining Bentley's opinion.

sufficiently clearly sketched by *Vico*, in his "Scienza Nuova," published at Naples in 1730; then Wolf, in his Prolegomena, and Heyne, in his Excursus, completed the theory.

3. The critics of the Alexandrian school, who separated the age and authorship of the Iliad and Odyssey, were called χωρίζοντες. P. Knight (in his Prolegomena) and Milman (in the Quarterly Review) hold this opinion, though in other respects they oppose the Wolfian theory.

4. Who supplied Wolf with the main foundation of his system? Villoison, by his publication of the Venetian Scholia, though he himself was bitterly opposed to it.

5. Opinion of Longinus? That Homer composed the Iliad in his youth, and the Odyssey in his old age. Pascal considered that Homer wrote a romance to amuse; that Troy and Agamemnon never existed.

6. Vico concludes, from the diversities of style in the Homeric poems, &c. that they were the production of various Rhapsodes, first arranged into the Iliad and Odyssey by the Pisistratidæ—the Iliad to have been composed in North Eastern Greece, and the Odyssey in Western Greece, about the time of Numa, four centuries and a half after the Trojan war; the Pisistratidæ being expelled a short time before the Tarquins.

7. The Homeric question refers only to the Iliad, for no one can question the Odyssey to have been the composition of an individual poet.

8. There are three ways, according to Heyne, in which the Iliad may have been composed. First, by one author, and with unity of design, but this original unity of form was lost in Western Greece, by means of the desultory recitation of parts only by the itinerant Rhapsodes, and this unity was restored by the Pisistratidæ; this is the popular

opinion. Secondly, the general plan of the poem may have been conceived by one author, and the outlines of the epic argument traced, which were afterwards filled up by the introduction of various parts. Thirdly, it may have been no more than a skilful combination of poems by different authors on the same subject—viz. the Trojan war; this is the Wolfian theory. To these may be added Bentley's opinion, that Homer wrote his poems in such short rhapsodies as he could recite separately, and that they were *for the first time* put together by Pisistratus.

9. What are the arguments in favour of the popular opinion? First, the general belief of the earliest and greatest writers of antiquity, as Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle, who sets up the Iliad as a standard of epic unity and perfection. Second, the artificial construction of the plots. Third, the unity of design, of action, and of character, which pervades the poems; the same peculiarities of language and of sentiment, and the intimate connexion which subsists between the whole and every part.

10. How are these arguments answered by its opponents? The first proves too much, and therefore nothing; for besides the Iliad, Odyssey, Margites, Batrachomyomachia, hymns and epigrams, at least twenty other poems were attributed to Homer, which are now acknowledged not to be his, therefore neither may the Iliad and Odyssey. In the time of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plato, the investigation of the genuineness of national compositions formed no part of scientific criticism, much less of the duties of the philosopher and historian. These authors quote Homer merely for historical evidence, or censure him for moral or political reasons; and for these purposes a reference to the poems was equally proper, whether the

common belief as to their origin was founded in fact or not. Second, the artificial construction of the plots of the Iliad and Odyssey prove, on the contrary, that their present form cannot be genuine, for *none* of the cyclic poets who followed Homer imitated this construction—never plunged in medias res, never laid distant trains for future catastrophes, (as Milman, whose argument this is, says is so remarkable in the Iliad,) never carried on parallel lines of argument, never depressed others in favour of the hero of the poem, were ignorant of concealments, turning points, windings up, but uniformly began with the egg—story succeeding story in historical order, and concluding when the war was at an end. Many of these poets were men of genius, and it was an easier task to rival the plots than the poetry of the Homeric epics. Third, there is no *necessary* connection between the rhapsodies that constitute the poem. Did the Iliad terminate at the death of Hector, and were thus the two last books omitted, or if the catalogue of the ships and troops was left out, would the design be less perfect, or the poem less connected? Aristophanes, Aristarchus, P. Knight, &c. reject from the two hundred and ninety-seventh verse of the twenty-third book of Odyssey to the end; the Necyomanteia, in the eleventh book of Odyssey, is also considered spurious; others reject the last book of the Iliad. Why may not more be rejected? And does not this prove that there were other poets capable of writing so similarly to Homer, that early antiquity never doubted the identity of their authorship?—and some of the most splendid passages in the poems are contained in those rejected parts; several gaps also still remain, sufficient to show where distinct poesies have been unskilfully joined together, as from the three hundred and fifty-sixth to the three hundred and

sixty-eighth verse of the eighteenth book of the Iliad, which contain a dialogue between Jupiter and Juno, awkwardly thrust in between the speech of Achilles to his myrmidons and the arrival of Thetis at the mansion of Vulcan; and the violent change of scene in the fourth book of the Odyssey, verse six hundred and twenty, from Sparta to Ithaca. There are several diversities of language between the Iliad and Odyssey, (as we shall see hereafter,) and Vico uses this as an argument against the identity of the authorship of the poems.

11. What are the objections against the popular opinion? First, it is inconceivable how any individual should have suddenly appeared, in the midst of a barbarous age, with a mind capable of producing an epic poem so perfect in every point of art, diction, versification, character, and action. Secondly, did such a person exist, how could he have executed his plan? The art of writing, (it is said by Josephus and others,) and certainly the use of manageable writing materials, was unknown in the period in which he is supposed to have lived; and the preservation, but especially the invention and composition of the Iliad, consisting of fifteen thousand lines, and the Odyssey of as many more, together with the Margites, Batrachomyomachia, and hymns, on the authority of Thucydides and Aristotle, is, without the aid of writing materials, utterly impossible. Thirdly, even were it admitted that poems so long could have been invented and remembered by one man, under all these disadvantages, for what end could it have been designed; it was too long for one recital, and thus the author must have laboured at a work which would serve no purpose.

12. Answer to first objection? Paterculus observes of Homer, "Neque ante illum, quem ille

imitaretur, neque post illum qui eum imitari posset, inventus est." Now if the latter part of this assertion is confessedly true, why might not the former be true also? Poetry is not, like science, progressive; but a bright genius arises at intervals, surpassing all before and after him—"Poeta nascitur, non fit."

13. Answer to the second objection? It consists of two parts—first, the non-existence of the art of writing and of writing materials is by no means certain; second, did they not exist, the composition of the Homeric poems is posssible without them, as similar feats of the human memory have been accomplished.

14. Answer to the third objection? Granting that the Iliad is too long for one recitation, it is not unreasonable, from our knowledge of the Greek character, to suppose a succession of recitations at some public festival; thus Herodotus read his history at the Olympic Games.

15. Arguments against the use of writing in Homer's age? First, the testimony of Josephus, who mentions as an opinion of some that Homer did not leave his poems in writing. Second, the non-existence of prose authors before Cadmus the Milesian and Pherecydes of Scyros, 544 B.C., and of any note before Hecatæus of Miletus and Pherecydes of Athens, about 500 B.C. Third, the non-existence of written laws before those of Draco, three hundred and fifty years after Homer. Fourth, the non-existence of written contracts. Fifth, the non-mention of writing in Homer.

16. Answers to these arguments? First, Josephus wrote as late as the first century of the Christian æra; he speaks very undecidedly; and his authority cannot be admitted, for his assertion is contained in the midst of a laboured attempt to throw discredit on the early history of Greece, and

to eulogise his own country, where the knowledge of letters had existed at a much earlier period. Second, it is supposed that until writing is common in a nation, all compositions will be in verse, because verse alone can be borne in memory; but the moment that paper, or parchment, or a smoothed hide is to be had, (if the art of carving wood, stone, or lead, were known in Homer's time, it would not serve the purpose,) the chronicler in prose comes forward. Now, admitting the priority of verse composition, how does it follow that the pre-eminence thus attained would be immediately relinquished, as soon as the way was opened for the introduction of prose? Is it not more probable that the species of composition, by which their predecessors had sealed their immortality, would induce others also, for a time at least, to follow in the same path? And accordingly Strabo affirms that the first prose writings were poetry in every thing but the want of measure. The book of Job is a parallel case; it is a poem of high merit, composed above two thousand years A.C., whereas the earliest prose composition we have is the Pentateuch, B.C. 1570; and alphabetical writing was known to the Israelites long before the time of Moses, as he frequently speaks of it in terms which plainly prove it to have been in common use—Numb. v. 23, Deut. xxiv. 1. Third, though the code of Draco is the first that can be affirmed to have been written in Greece with historical certainty, there is a passage in Euripides (Hec. 854) from which it may be inferred that laws were written at the time of the Trojan war; and Sophocles more distinctly says they existed at the time of Oedipus (Ant. 454); besides, the absence of a written legislation does not argue much against the knowledge of writing in general for the ordinary purposes of life. Fourth, as to the objection that

treaties were verbal, and, therefore, accompanied by sacrifices and appeals to heaven, in order to ensure their performance, a similar custom prevailed in the patriarchal age, and among the Jews to a very late period; for instance, Abraham's contract with Ephraim. Nor does it appear that written contracts were resorted to (except the bill of divorce, Deut. xxiv. 8) until the time of Jeremiah, who speaks of one upon the purchase of a field (Jer. xxxii. 6.) The Romans also made their contracts before witnesses in the forum, called *stipulatio*. Besides, the formality of written documents was not likely to occupy the attention of warriors, who had spent their lives in the service of arms. Fifth, Homer in two passages may allude to alphabetical writing; the one is in Il. Z. 168—the σήματα λυγρά was more probably alphabetical than symbolical writing, for symbols could scarcely convey a message of so peculiar a nature as Prætus wished to convey to Jobates about Bellerophon; the words are as applicable to one species of writing as the other, and their application to alphabetical writing is confirmed by a passage in Ovid—" Ite hinc, difficiles, funebria signa, tabellæ: the other passage is, Il. H. 175, οἱ δὲ κλῆρον ἐσημήναντο ἕκαστος.

17. Arguments for the use of writing in Homer's age? First, the two passages above mentioned. Second, *Sophocles*, Trach. 157, mentions a δέλτον ἐγγεγραμμένην, or written will of Hercules. *Euripides*, Hippol. 861. 881, speaks of an ἐπιστολὴ or δέλτοσ written by Phædra to Theseus, eighty years before the Trojan war. (*Virgil* also speaks of the Sibyl writing on leaves in the time of Æneas, Æneid 3. 443 and 6. 74, and of Æneas writing on a shield, Æn. 3. 286, " Æneas hæc de Danais victoribus arma.") And although γράφω originally signified to carve, yet even Wolf allows that

Æschylus and Pindar used it in the sense of "write," and therefore Sophocles and Euripides. Agamemnon also sends a letter to Clytæmnestra, in the opening of the Iphigenia of *Euripides*. Third, Cadmus introduced literal characters into Greece about 1045 B.C., about two hundred years before Homer, and from the great utility of writing every exertion would be made to counterbalance the difficulties and impediments to its reception and improvement. Fourth, Homer was acquainted with the Sidonian artisans, and there was a long and close alliance between the Sidonians and Jews. The Jews (Isaiah xxxiv. 4, Jer. xxxvi. 2) wrote on parchment, the best of which was made at Pergamus, sixty miles from Smyrna; it is, therefore, probable that Homer was acquainted with the article, and the use the Jews made of it. Fifth, Heyne allows (though Wolf does not) the existence of written copies of the component parts of the Iliad in Ionia, long before the time of the Pisistratidæ, though he maintains, with greater inconsistency, the distinct authorship of those parts. Sixth, the word "confusos" in the passage of Cicero, in which he says, that "Pisistratus primus Homeri libros, confusos antea, sic disposuisse, ut nunc habemus," distinctly refers to a prior connection and orderly arrangement. Seventh, and when Hipparchus is said, *τὰ Ὁμήρου κομίζειν*, to carry the works of Homer to Athens, the verb *κομίζω* applies to the conveyance only of things real and material, and consequently to the works of Homer in an embodied form or volume.

18. Instances of feats of memory performed by others? In the early ages of society, while the mind was unfettered by variety of occupation, the memory would be rendered, by cultivation, retentive to a very high degree; and if Xenophon asserts that in his time several persons could recite

the Iliad and Odyssey throughout, and this when copies were multiplied through Greece, still more would it be the case, when the absence of every other means for their preservation rendered it absolutely necessary. Merian brings up the Italian Improvisatori and Tasso, who composed four hundred stanzas or three thousand two hundred verses of his Jerusalem without writing them down. Cesarotti speaks of Macpherson's Ossian; and we are told that Silvio Pellico and Maroncelli composed many thousand verses in their confinement. The Calmuck singers, also, are said to retain in memory and recite the Dschangariade, an epic poem of the Calmucks nearly equal in length to the Iliad.

19. Objections to those instances? With regard to those mentioned by Xenophon, the point in question is not whether thirty thousand lines may not be learned by heart from print or manuscript, but whether one man can *originally compose* a poem, considered to be a perfect model of symmetry and consistency of parts, without the aid of writing materials. The Improvisatori, with a thousand common places in their heads, and with a language one half of which rhymes to the other, may easily pour forth verses, *as they are called*, to any extent; the same can be done in English. There is no authority for the story about Tasso; and if there were, it is known that he had for many years arranged the plan of his poem, and these four hundred stanzas would be, at most, but the filling up of a picture, the outline of which had been already fixed. Ossian is now generally allowed to be a modern production. The verses of Pellico and Maroncelli should be seen and compared with the Homeric poems before their example can be allowed to be a pertinent one.

20. The second hypothesis with respect to the

origin of the Homeric poems, viz. "that the general plan and outlines of the epic arguments were traced by one author, but subsequently filled up by the introduction of various parts," is not tenable, for it implies either that the author conceived the plan of a poem far beyond the powers and attainments of his age, or that his simple metrical narrative was afterwards, by the efforts of a succession of authors, expanded into the noble poem which we possess; but there are no grounds for entertaining so paradoxical an opinion, nor is it consistent with the belief of antiquity that the verses of the Iliad were recited in separate rhapsodies.

21. Arguments in favor of the third hypothesis, viz. the Wolfian. First, under this head may be reckoned the objections against the popular opinion, together with the arguments in its favor, which have been already considered; besides, second, this hypothesis accords with the old tradition, that the poem was composed of rhapsodies, originally recited separately; the citations which are found in Herodotus, Plato, Strabo, Dionysius Halicarnassus, Athenæus, &c. sufficiently attest this tradition; thus our fifth book of the Iliad is quoted as *Διομήδους ἀριστεία*, the eleventh as *Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀριστεία*, the twenty-fourth as *Ἕκτορος λύτρα*, or simply *λύτρα*; these citations, also, do not always agree with the present arrangement, as they sometimes include more than forms one of our books; the legend of the intrigue of Mars and Venus, recited by Demodocus to the lyre in the eighth book, and the Necyomanteia in the eleventh book of the Odyssey; the Doloneia, or rencounter of of Ulysses and Diomede with Dolon, in the tenth book of the Iliad; the *Λιταὶ*, or embassy to Achilles; the *Ἀγὼν ἐπιτάφιος*, or funeral games; the *Ὁπλοποιία*, or the arms of Achilles; the

Νίπτρα, or Euryclea's washing the feet of Ulysses ; the Μνηστηροφόνια, or slaughter of the suitors ; the τὰ ἐν Πύλῳ, or τὰ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, the visits of Telemachus to Nestor and Menelaus ; are instances of those rhapsodies which were separately recited. Third, this hypothesis agrees also with the description of Phemius and Demodocus in the Odyssey. Fourth, it is confirmed by the uniform practice of the human mind, which, proceeding from particulars, reduces those that are similar into one whole, and gradually advances from humble beginnings towards perfection.

22. Objections against the Wolfian theory? First, it is a speculation which opposes a belief venerable even for its antiquity, and which could not have been so universally prevalent if it were not in some degree well founded, although we cannot at present discover the grounds on which it rested. Second, it is much easier to advance objections to the received opinion, than to confirm or prove it. Third, so far from diminishing, it adds to the difficulties of the Homeric question, for we have now to account not for one, but for several Homers in so early an age. Fourth, it is improbable that a number of individuals should chance to compose verses so connected as to form so perfect a poem. Fifth, even were this the case, the uniformity of language and sentiment, and the strict preservation of character, are unaccountable.

23. How does Heyne answer the last objection? He says there is an analogous similarity in the fragments of the epic poets which remain, arising, perhaps, from their use of Ionic, the character of their subjects, and their custom of recitation ; and it is not accurately true that there is such a strict uniformity through all the parts of the Iliad.

24. The conclusion to which Trollope comes on this subject? That the Iliad and Odyssey are the

production of one mind; that they were originally committed to writing by Homer himself, (though not in the same character as we now have them in); that the confusion in which they were afterwards involved arose from the unconnected manner of reciting them in European Greece; that this confusion did not extend to the written copies dispersed through Ionia; that they were again reduced to their original form, and the order in which they now are, by Pisistratus; that the arrangement of Pisistratus was confirmed or amended by comparing it with a manuscript copy of the two poems, which had been obtained for that purpose from Ionia by Hipparchus.

PRESERVATION AND IMPROVEMENT.

25. How were the Homeric poems preserved? By the rhapsodes.

26. There are three races of rhapsodes? First, the ἀοιδὸι, who sung their own verses, (as Phemius and Demodocus.) Homer seems to have been one of these. Second, the ῾Ραψωδοὶ, who recited the poems of others, and were so far poets themselves as not to scruple to alter, omit, or add to their originals; the most celebrated of these were the Homeridæ of Chios, to one of whom, Cynæthus, the hymn to Apollo was attributed, and from the line τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἐνὶ παιπαλοέσσῃ, it must have been the production of a Chian rhapsode. This race extended to the time of the Pisistratidæ, and for some time after, until copies of Homer became common in Greece. Third, the third race existed between the year B.C. 430 and the age of the Alexandrian critics; they were mere reciters, and composed none, and in conse-

quence of the formation of a regular theatre, and the exhibition of regular dramas, were held in no estimation, and were acceptable only to the lowest people.

27. Derivation of Ῥαψῳδοὶ? Ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων ἀοιδοὶ, because they joined together their own or others' short poems, and fitted them for connected recitation; the derivation from the ῥαβδὸς, or wand, which they carried in their hands whilst reciting, is not approved of.

28. The following cyclic poets, who lived between Homer and Pisistratus, seem to have been rhapsodes of the second class:—*Arctinus*, author of the *Æthiopis*, in which were related the exploits of Memnon at Troy, after the death of Hector. *Lesches*, author of the little *Iliad*, which contained the history of the siege, from the death of Achilles to the capture of the city; in this, Neoptolemus is represented as carrying away Æneas prisoner in his ship, whereas in the twentieth Iliad he is described, prophetically, as reigning at Troy—

Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,
Καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

Stasinus, author of the *Cyprian verses*, which comprised a series of events, in eleven books, from the marriage of Peleus and Thetis to the opening of the Iliad; he relates that the birth of Helen was resolved on in a great council of the gods, who knew that she would occasion a destructive war between Europe and Asia, but considered it necessary to quiet the complaints of the earth, on account of the superabundant population. *Augias*, author of the Νόστοι, or returns of the Grecian chiefs from Troy. *Pisander*, author of the *Heracleid*, to whom the Alexandrians assigned the first rank among heroic poets after Homer and Hesiod. Subsequently to these, the names of *Archilochus*, *Terpander*, *Alcman*, *Alcæus*, and *Sappho*, are con-

spicuous; and in the times of the Pisistratidæ, *Stesichorus*, *Ibycus*, *Tyrtæus*, *Anacreon*, and *Simonides.*

29. Cause of so many productions being attributed to Homer, of which he was not the author? His great reputation induced the bards of the day, and the Ionian rhapsodists particularly, through hope of gain and the improbability of detection, to pass off their own compositions under the sanction of so great a name; with the view, perhaps, of facilitating these impositions, they assumed the name of *Homeridæ*, representing themselves as the descendants of Homer.

30. Name the other productions attributed to Homer? The *Margites*, a satire, (containing Iambic lines, of which only three are extant,) which Callimachus admired, and Zeno considered to be Homer's first production, but others attributed it to *Pigres*; the *Batrachomyomachia*, a juvenile production of Homer, by some also attributed to *Pigres*, who was brother to Artemisia of Halicarnassus, who commanded in the Persian fleet under Xerxes; *the hymns*, including the hymn to *Ceres*, and the fragment to *Bacchus*, discovered in the last century at Moscow, thirty-three in number; but with the exception of those to Apollo, Venus, Mercury, and Ceres, so short as to consist of only about three hundred and fifty lines in all. Herman alone, of modern critics, contends that they are Homer's; the Scholiast assigns them to Cynæthus. That to Venus seems the most ancient. They are more recent than the Iliad, as appears from several internal marks; for instance, the word τύχη, which is found in the hymn to Minerva, does not occur in the Iliad or Odyssey. Several *epigrams* are attributed to Homer in the life by Herodotus; also lines from his *contest with Hesiod.* In that work there is also mention of his *Phocæis*,

Eiresione, and some of his *Gnomæ*. Suidas speaks of his *Epithalamia*, *Amazonia*, *Cyclus*, *Geranomachia*, *Arachnomachia*, and *Psaromachia*. Herodotus also mentions the *Epigoni*, on the subject of the second Theban war. We have also an account of the *Cecropes*; the capture of *Oechalia* by *Hercules*; the Αἲξ Ἑπταπεκτὸς, a humourous poem in Iambic verse; the *Epiciclides*, and the *Thebais*, in seven books, considered by *Pausanias* inferior only to the Iliad and Odyssey; *Capra*; *Ilias minor*, *&c.* and the other works of the cyclic poets mentioned in art. 28.

31. The first who introduced the Homeric poems into Western Greece? *Lycurgus*, on the authority of *Heraclides Ponticus*, who says he procured them from the descendants of Creophylus, who had been Homer's host in Samos, and to whom is attributed by some the Οἰχαλίας ἅλωσις, the plan of the work being given him by Homer; probably these descendants of Creophylus were the ἀοιδοὶ, ῥαψωδοὶ above mentioned. *Œlian* says he brought them in a mass into Greece, and *Plutarch* says (adding, as usual, to the story) that he *wrote* them out in Asia and brought them into Greece, to assist in establishing the form of government and laws which he introduced.

32. To whom is the next improvement in the Homeric poems attributed? To *Solon*, who first effected a ῥαφὴ or εἱρμος—*i. e.* an arrangement of the rhapsodies in something of an epic order—and introduced a continuous recitation of them, instead of that desultory and unconnected one which had formerly been in use. The great merit attributed to Solon for this proves that he and the rhapsodes had no common written copy of the poems.

33. The views of Solon in introducing the Homeric poems into Greece were patriotic or political, and legislative. First, foreseeing the

danger arising to his country from the subjugation of the Grecian Colonies in Asia Minor to the Lydian power, and its proximity to and probable reduction by the Persian monarchy, he at the court of Crœsus, the actual theatre of the danger impending, planned the fittest means of arresting its progress, and this he conceived to be the introduction of the Homeric Poems, a masculine and martial body of literature, presenting to the view of the Grecian youth, the congregated array of their fellow-countrymen, bursting on and conquering the dominions of an Asiatic prince, impelled by a sense of wrong sustained, and animated with undaunted resolution in the assertion of their rights; thus a feeling of pride, a consciousness of hereditary superiority, and a recollection of former injuries were excited in their minds. The passage in the third book of the Iliad, in Agamemnon's speech, in which he speaks of the τιμὴ, or indemnification, which should demonstrate to after ages the principle on which the war was conducted, and the tenacity with which the point of honour was adhered to, is one of many which confirm this idea. Consistently with this idea, also Æschylus, a participator in those glorious scenes, in his Agamemnon, giving in his first chorus an account of the preparations of the Atreidæ for their expedition, calls him who had sustained the immediate injury in his *feelings*, (for it was an affair of honour or principle), an ἀντίδικος, a *legal adversary*, a *plaintiff*, seeking the redress of his wrongs from the only competent tribunal of those times. The probability of this opinion is much enhanced by the consideration, that the most effectual resistance to the Persian arms was given by that state and on that ground where the Homeric poetry was chiefly cultivated. Second, the Homeric poems must also have materially aided Solon's legislative views;

the form of government in Homer was monarchical, but very limited, and in this respect was similar to that of Athens, where the principal men had much power; the βουλὴ, or council of chiefs, where subjects were discussed, before they were laid before the people, was analogous to the senate of four hundred, as the ἀγορὴ, or assembly of soldiers, corresponded with the popular assembly in Athens, for there also subjects must be discussed in the senate before they were proposed to the people; the chiefs presided in the Iliad at the military tribunals, each in his respective quarter of the camp, as at Athens the magistrates were elected from the more opulent classes.

34. The effect of Solon's labours on Homer on the literature of his country? They gave an impulse to the intellectual tastes of the Athenians, and through them, to those of the rest of Greece, and thus were the precursor of that astonishing development of the powers of mind, which took place during that period, which was graced by the names of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, in tragedy; of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Zenophon, in history; of Plato, in philosophy; and of Demosthenes in eloquence.

35. A cloud of authorities testify that the first construction, or re-construction, or complete edition of the Iliad and Odyssey is due to Pisistratus. *Cicero*—(disposuisse sic ut nunc habemus libros antea confusos dicitur Pisistratus.) *Pausanias*, (ἠθροίζετο;) *Josephus*, (συντεθῆναι;) *Œlian*, (ἀπὲφηνε;) *Libanius*, (συλλογὴ;) *Suidas*, (συνετέθη καὶ συνετάχθη;) *Eustathius*, (οἱ συνθέμενοι, under Pisistratus.) *Leo Allatius* quotes an epigram, inscribed on a statue of Pisistratus, containing those words, ὃς τὸν Ὅμηρον ἤθροισα.

36. The poets who assisted Pisistratus in compiling the Homeric poems? Orpheus of Crotona,

(author of the Argonautics), Onomacritus, Simonides, and Anacreon.

37. In the dialogue called Hipparchus, attributed to Plato, Hipparchus is said (*τά Ὁμήρου πρῶτος κόμισαι εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτηνί*), to have compelled the Rhapsodes to recite them in order at the Panathenaic festival every fifth year, hence we may conclude that the collection and arrangement of the poems were commenced by Solon, chiefly executed by Pisistratus, and completed by his son Hipparchus; this period will embrace about eighty years from the date of Solon's law, B.C. 594, to the death of Hipparchus, B.C. 513.

38. The Pisistratidæ, as they first committed the Homeric poems to writing, must have improved the text, altered the orthography, and adapted the language of the Homeric poems to the style and taste of their own age.

39. Though this was perhaps necessary, yet some evils have attended it; the principal one is, the virtual loss of the ancient language, by the refinement of its orthography, and frequently of its philological character; had not this been the case, we should have been spared much that is conjectural in *grammatical criticism*, much that reposes on the basis merely of a fanciful analogy, and *many speculations* on the radical forms and inflexions of the language; the Homeric language would have been, what it is now but partially, a connecting link between the classical dialect of Athens, and the primitive speech of Ionia; the laws of Homeric *versification* would have been amply elucidated by the existence of a settled standard of orthography, and we should not have had so many discussions about the duplication of consonants; the digamma, (supported by Bentley), and the metrical ictus (by Dunbar.)

40. The process of re-uniting the scattered mate-

rials of the Homeric poems, led to a more accurate conception of the legitimate epopœia, and produced that element of composition, viz. *unity*, which eminently characterizes the Greek classics ; to this we are to trace the admirable simplicity of argument and construction which pervades the writings of the *dramatic* authors, the close adherence to their subject of the *orators*, and the epic style of the *historians*. Herodotus is termed the Homer of history, and the production of Thucydides has been termed an historical epopœia.

41. Meaning of the terms διασκευαςτὴς, διορθωτὴς, κριτικὸς, γραμματιστὴς, γραμματικὸς? The διασκευαστῆσ, *recasted* the original work, and improved it by changes, *additions*, *omissions*, and more elaborate polishing; (many passages of Homer are condemned by the *critics*, as interpolations of the diasceuasts ;) there is a fable of a septuagint of diasceuasts set in motion by Pisistratus, in whose time they existed. The διορθωτὴς of the Alexandrian school corresponded to the critical editor of our own times. The κριτικὸς inquired into the genuineness of the text, assigned to each ancient author what properly belonged to him, and pronounced to the audience in the school what parts were, and what were not agreeable to the fixed laws of just composition ; (this κρίσις τῶν λόγων, or judgment of literary works, Longinus declares to be the last result from much experience, πυλλῆς πεἰρας τελευτᾶιον επιγέννημα). The γραμματιστὴς divided works into convenient parts, drew up summaries or arguments, compared manuscripts, removed clerical errors, and corrected the punctuation and accentual marks. The γραμματικὸς was the interpreter of the meaning of words and sentences, the commentator, as we should call him.

42. The text remained very unsettled for ages after Pisistratus ; thus the words Τρώεσσι δὲ κήδε

ἐφῆπται, second book of Iliad, fifteenth verse, were inserted after the time of Plato and Aristotle, who read instead, δίδομεν δέ οἱ εὖχος ἀρέσθαι, by which words Jupiter was rendered guilty of falsehood. From the story of Alcibiades and the schoolmaster it appears, that written copies of at least *parts* of the Iliad (βιβλίον Ὁμηρικὸν) were common in schools in the age of the Peloponnesian war.

43. The recital of the Homeric poems at the Panathenaean festival, by incorporating them with the religious ordinances of the state, gave them a character of sanctity most favourable to their influence on taste, as well as to the preservation of their integrity.

44. The prize for the best recital of the Homeric poems was a lamb; hence, the name ἀρνωδοὶ was given to those who competed at these contests.

45. The critical science commenced with the existence of manuscripts; the first mode of interpretation was that styled πραγματικὴ—viz. an endeavour by the philosophers to deprive the Homeric poems of their injurious tendency to physical and moral science, by accommodating them to the conceptions of their age, and tracing in their narratives the outlines of the most recondite doctrines.

46. Other philosophers denounced them as impious, and unworthy of admission into any well-constituted state, as Pythagoras, Xenophanes, Heraclitus, Socrates, and Plato.

47. Why Plato rejected Homer and the tragic poets, his imitators, from his republic? He considered poetry, especially dramatic, as in the class of μιμήσεις, ; he considered μιμήσεις as fleeting and unstable, (stability and truth being conceded by him to ideas only;) and hence poetry, as vain and contemptible, and an erring guide of life.

48. The πραγματικὴ was followed by the *allego-*

rical interpretation, which consisted in suggesting and resolving difficulties in the *theology*, *morals*, *manners*, or *philosophy* of the poet; this mode was adopted by the Stoics, particularly by Prodicus, Protagoras, and Hippias, the Elean, whose *προβλὴματα*, *ζητήματα*, *ἀπορίαι*, and *λύσεις*, led the way to technical criticism. These critics introduced several interpolations, which are proved to be such by, first, palpable violations of the Homeric metre; second, by peculiarities of construction unknown to the poet's age; third, by unobservance of his orthography; fourth, by allusions to Mythi, which were originated by subsequent authors.

49. The fruits of the labours of the school of criticism prior to Zenodotus, reached the Alexandrians in eight copies, or *διόρθωσεις*, viz. that of *Antimachus*, of Colophon, contemporary with Socrates, the first after the Pisistratidæ, who prepared a complete copy of the Homeric poems; and that of *Aristotle*, revised by Alexander and Callisthenes, and called *ἡ ἐκ τõυ νάρθηκος*; these two were called *αἱ κατ' ἄνδρα*, the other six were called *αἱ πολιτικαὶ*, or *αἱ κατὰ πόλεις*, or *αἱ ἐκ πόλεων*, and were the Marseilles, the Chian, Argive, Sinopic, Cyprian, and Cretan copies; the origin of those titles was probably this, that they were thus entered in the catalogues of the library of Alexandria.

50. *διόρθωσις* signifies a recension; *παράδοσις*, the text; *ἔκδοσις*, an edition; *ἡ προέκδοσις*, that of Aristarchus published in his lifetime; *ἡ ἐπέκδοσις*, that after his death.

51. The face of Greek literature and politics gradually changed after the Macedonian supremacy; Alexandria, the seat of government, became the resort of learned men. Libraries and museums succeeded to theatres, forums, and festivals; the spirit of liberty departed; the independent efforts of genius, drawing from its own resources, ceased,

and the age of criticism, the offspring of intellectual decay, commenced; not even the inventive genius of Theocritus, as displayed in his Idylls, rescued this age from the reproach of numbering amongst its events, the decline of the higher orders of literature.

52. The four great critics on Homer, were Zenodotus, Aristophanes, Aristarchus, and Crates.

53. Zenodotus of Ephesus, pupil of Philetas, lived at Alexandria, under Ptolemy the second, Philadelphus, about B.C. 284, his merits as an editor of Homer have been handed down in a very conflicting manner; he seems to have taken very great liberties with the text, not only branding, but omitting a number of passages now amongst the most admirable of the poems; this may have arisen from the varieties of different copies, which he had collected, and the many conflicting texts they contained. The charges of levity and trifling brought against him, are rather to be attributed to the low state of philological knowledge of his age, than to any deficiency of judgment in himself. The Zenodotean recension exhibiting not merely the fruits of his own researches, but the aggregate of those of the *διορθωταὶ* who preceded him, are valuable as giving us a representation of the more ancient form of the Homeric text.

54. Aristophanes of Byzantium, pupil of Zenodotus, lived in the reigns of Ptolemy the Fourth, Philopater, and Ptolemy the Fifth, Epiphanes; he invented the accentual marks, and also those of punctuation, or *τόνοι* and *στιγμαὶ*; he was the first to investigate the grammatical principles, and to trace the analogies of his language; he directed his attention to the genuineness of the old poetry, and was the first to brand as spurious the conclusion of the Odyssey from verse 297 of 23rd book, and also the Hesiodic shield of Hercules; he com-

mented on Hesiod, Alcæus, Plato, Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, &c. He took less liberty than Zenodotus in omitting verses, but letting them stand, he marked such as he thought spurious; such verses were ἠθετημένοι, the branding itself an ἀθέτησις. To Aristophanes, the celebrated Alexandrian canon, or classification of the Greek writers, is also due; he was the preceptor of Aristarchus.

55. Aristarchus, prince of critics, a native of Samothrace, flourished in the reign of Ptolemy the Sixth, Philometor, B.C. 180, to whose children he was preceptor; in the latter part of his life was banished to Cyprus by the cruel Euergetes the Second; his sayings were regarded as oracular by succeeding critics, his name became proverbial, "fiet Aristarchus," Hor. He composed upwards of eight hundred critical commentaries, and illustrated Homer, Anacreon, Æschylus, Sophocles, Ion, Pindar, Aristophanes, &c.; being asked why he did not compose a poem on the true principles of criticism, he modestly replied, "he could not write as he would, nor would he write as he could." Two editions by Aristarchus, ἡ προέκδοσις, (in which the Iliad and Odyssey were for the first time divided into twenty-four books, denominated by the letters of the alphabet,) and ἡ ἐπέκδοσις, a posthumous edition; he was more moderate than Zenodotus in expunging passages; those he considered suspicious he marked with an obelus (†) or spit, hence the term ὀβελίζειν, to obelize, to condemn, is derived; his παράδοσις or text finally prevailed as *Homer* among the ancients, especially the Romans; the greater part of the *Scholia* are compiled from his critical annotations; they may be seen in the Venetian Scholia, by Villoison; he opposed the allegorical system of interpretation of the Stoics, which was defended by Crates; he erred

(as the others) in accommodating his critical research to a false standard; viz. his own idea of perfection, or of what was worthy of Homer, (and to this he and they were led by that taste for *a priori* investigation which prevailed in the schools of the philosophers,) rather than to a judicious comparison of existing materials.

56. Crates of Malles, opponent of Aristarchus, opened a school of criticism at Pergamus, under Attalus II., by whom he was sent on an embassy to Rome, B.C. 167. He was the first introducer of the Greek language and literature into Rome; he embraced all the physical interpretations of the old Stoics; which would make Homer not only the best poem, but also the best treatise on astronomy, medicine, geography, &c. &c.

57. The Alexandrian critics did not take liberties with the text of those poets who committed their works to writing, but only with the remains of the old ἀοιδοὶ, or minstrel bards.

58. In the third or fourth century after the Christian æra, another recension of the Homeric text took place, when the edition of Aristarchus was corrected according to the subsequent authorities, and it is from this edition that all the MSS. of original authority are supposed to be derived.

CHAPTER II.

VICO. THIRD BOOK OF HIS SCIENZA NUOVA.

Chapter 1. *On the philosophic meaning attributed to Homer.*

1. Plato, followed by Plutarch, pretends that Homer possessed all the recondite knowledge of a civilized age.

2. Arguments against this opinion. Granting that Homer must have followed the common feelings and manners of his yet barbarous contemporaries; and, therefore, passing over the fact of his representing force as the measure of the greatness of the gods, (viz. Jupiter's chain); the incidents of Diomede wounding Venus and Mars, and Minerva rifling Venus, and hurling a stone at Mars; the use of poisoned arrows, as is proved by Ulysses going to Ephyre to find poisonous herbs for the purpose, (though there is no instance in the Iliad or Odyssey of a wound caused by a poisoned arrow,) and the custom of not burying the bodies of their enemies slain in battle; yet, first, it was not the part of a wise man to inspire admiration for feelings and customs so barbarous, and amuse a coarse nation with the coarseness of its gods and heroes. Thus, Mars calls Minerva κυνόμυια, dog-fly; Minerva gives Diana a blow with her fist; Achilles and Agamemnon call each other "dog." Second, a philosopher would not represent Agamemnon so unwise as to allow the Greeks to perish rather than restore Chryseis, or so unjust as

to deprive Achilles of Briseis; his most sublime characters are inconsistent with a civilized age, though being appropriate to the savage and heroic. Third, a philosopher would not represent his heroes as addicted to wine. Fourth, his similies, though incomparable in themselves, yet being taken from the savage images of a savage nature, do not indicate a spirit softened by philosophy. Fifth, a philosopher would not so indulge in bloody details of wounds. Sixth, would not represent his heroes of such fickle tempers, passing suddenly from sorrow to joy, as Ulysses at the feast of Alcinous; or irritated at a single expression, as Achilles with Priam. Seventh, a philosopher would not devise the old woman's tales with which the Odyssey is full.

Chapter 2. *On the Country of Homer.*

A remarkable passage proves that the author of the Odyssey was born in the south-western parts of Greece. Alcinous, king of Corcyra, observes to Ulysses, that his people were so skilful in naval affairs, that they could conduct him even to Eubœa if necessary; looking on Eubœa (which is very near Troy), as the ultima thule of the Greek world: each state claimed him, because it recognised in his Poems, its own language, phrases, dialects, &c.

Chapter 3. *On the Age of Homer.*

1. Vico places Homer about four centuries and a half after the Trojan war, making him contempo-

rary with Numa; to this conclusion he is led from the following circumstances, chiefly taken from the Odyssey:—

First, at the funeral of Patroclus, Achilles celebrates almost all the games in subsequent use at Olympia in the most refined period. Second, the arts of casting in low relief, and of engraving on metals had been invented, (as appears from the shield of Achilles), but painting is not mentioned either by Homer or Moses; the stained vessels and dyed caparison of the Carian woman (Iliad 4. 141.) probably led the way to it. Third, the delicious gardens of Alcinous, and the sumptuousness of his table and palace. Fourth, the Phœnicians had already introduced ivory, purple, incense from Arabia; byssus or fine linen, and rich robes, as the mantle presented to Penelope by her suitors. Fifth, the carriage in which Priam goes to Achilles is made of cedar, and the grotto of Calypso is fragrant with it. Sixth, the voluptuous baths of Circe. Seventh, the young slaves of the suitors, described as beautiful, graceful, and fairhaired. Eighth, men dress their hair as carefully as women. Ninth, the Homeric heroes eat nothing but roast meat, on brasiers, afterwards spits were invented; thus Achilles roasts the lamb for Priam, (for the feast was a sacrifice, at which the hero officiated as priest), and Agamemnon slays the two lambs, whose blood was to sanction the treaty. Afterwards boiled meat came into use, it requiring, besides fire, water, a caldron and a tripod, (which two articles, however, are common in the Iliad.) Virgil gives his heroes boiled meat, and uses spits for roasting; the most delicate morsel mentioned, is a cake made of flour, cheese, and honey; in two of his similes he mentions fish. Tenth, Homer seems to have lived in an age when the strict heroic or feudal right had fallen into disuse in

Greece, and popular liberty had begun to appear, for his heroes contract marriage with foreign women, and bastards succeed to their father's throne.

2. From his speaking of Egypt, he might be placed lower than Numa, for Psammeticus, who reigned after Numa, was the first king of Egypt, who opened it to the Greeks, unless that Homer gained his knowledge of Egypt and other countries from the Phenicians.

3. From the mixture of luxury with the barbarous manners of his heroes in the Iliad, Vico is tempted to believe that the two Poems were composed by several authors during many successive ages.

Chapter 4. *On the incomparable genius of Homer for heroic poetry.*

1. Horace recommends all tragic poets to borrow their characters ready made from Homer, for tragedy brings on the stage the hatred, fury, vengeance of heroes, all passions of sublime natures, and these passionate pictures were never realized with more effect than by and in the Greeks of the heroic age, at the end of which Homer came. The characters of the new comedy, on the contrary, (for those of the old were living), were all conceived by the contemporary poets, who were enlightened by the moral maxims of the philosophers, who had studied the manners of that civilized age on the Socratic plan.

Chapter 5. *Some Philosophical Observations.*

1. Men being naturally inclined to consecrate the memory of the laws and institutions of their

own states, history first arose, and then poetry, and thus all primary history was poetical: fables were in their origin, true narratives; reflection, not applied to its natural purposes, becomes the mother of fiction; barbarians have no reflection, and therefore the first heroic poets (and even among the Romans) celebrated actual events; thus also Dante, in his divine comedy, represented real persons and facts. The Greeks and Latins never took an imaginary character for the subject of a tragedy; the old comedy brought real characters on the stage, as also satire; the new comedy (when the Greeks were more capable of reflection) dealt in characters of pure fiction. Longinus says, the Iliad is entirely dramatic; the Odyssey exclusively narrative; the ancient poets possessed memory in an extraordinary degree (when there was no writing), hence, memory in Latin is synonymous with imagination; thus comminisci is to invent, *memory* recalls the objects, *imagination* imitates and alters their real form, *genius*, or the faculty of invention, throws them into novel groups—thus memory is called the mother of the Muses. It is impossible to be at once a sublime poet and a metaphysician, for metaphysics detach the mind from the senses; the poetic faculty buries it in them; the first rises to the general, the last descends to the particular. Horace and Aristotle say that Homer's characters are inimitable; the indecorums and quaintnesses in Homer were the result of the poverty of the language then in use. Greek then consisted entirely of images and comparisons; there were no abstract terms to denote classes of things.

Chapter 6. *Some Philological Observations*

1. The etymology of ῥαψῳδὸς is appropriate to Vico's Homer, who bound together and arranged the poetical fables; the Pisistratidæ arranged them, before but a confused mass of legends, they were expelled a short time before the Tarquins, so that from Numa to the Tarquins, a long time, they were preserved in the memories of the rhapsodes. The variety of the dialects was the idiom of the different tribes of Greece. Longinus says, that Homer composed the Iliad in his youth, that must mean in the infancy of Greece, when she would admire Achilles, the hero of force, and the Odyssey in his old age, that is, in a more advanced period of Greece; when she would admire Ulysses, the hero of wisdom. The diversity of manners is so great in the Iliad and Odyssey, that they cannot be referred to the same age, and is so striking, that Plato imagines that Homer predicted the effeminate and corrupt manners of the Odyssey. Tradition says that Homer was blind and poor, and (he represents as blind the poets who sung at the tables of the great, as at the feasts of Alcinous and the suitors of Penelope), this was the blindness and poverty of the rhapsodes. Several states claimed Homer, because they were themselves Homer. The imperfections of Homer, as the lowness of the thoughts, grossness of the manners, barbarism of the comparisons, idioms, poetic licences, discrepancy of dialects, making gods men and men gods, correspond to so many diversities of character among the Greeks themselves. The excellencies of Homer, as his eloquence in his savage similes, in his pictures of the dying and dead, in his sublime drawing of the passions, in his brilliant and picturesque style, belong to the heroic age of Greece. It was the

genius of that age that made Homer an unrivalled poet. In times when the memory, imagination, and power of invention were strong, Homer could not be a philosopher; and neither philosophy nor criticism which arose subsequently, could ever create a poet, who even approached to Homer. Hence, Vico concludes, that the Iliad long preceded the Odyssey; that the former was the production of several authors, living in the north-east of Greece; and the latter, of several living in the south-west of Greece. On these principles he says, Homer is assured of those three immortal titles which have been given him, and which cannot belong to him on the popular system, viz.—the founder of the civilization of Greece, the father of all the other poets, and the source of the different philosophies of his country. The first cannot, because from the epoch of Deucalion and Pyrrha, that civilization had been initiated by the institution of marriage. The second cannot, because before him flourished the theological poets, Orpheus, Amphion, Linus, and Musæus; and the heroic poets, Philammon, Thamyris, Demodocus, Epimenides, Aristeas, &c. The third cannot, for the philosophers did not find their doctrines in the Homeric fables, but grafted them thereon. To these three titles may be added, the most ancient historian of Paganism; his poems preserve the manners and history of the first ages of Greece; but the lot of the Homeric Poems was similar to that of the twelve tables; they were ascribed to one individual, viz.—the Athenian legislator, whereas they were but the common law of the heroic tribes of Latium, and so the Homeric Poems have been ascribed to the rare genius of one individual, whereas they were but the common poetry of the heroic people of Greece.

CHAPTER III.

GREEK ALPHABET, AND MATERIALS FOR WRITING.

1. According to Herodotus, the Greeks had no written forms of letters before the arrival of the Phenician Cadmus.

2. Newton places Cadmus, B.C. 1045; the common system, B.C. 1493; others, as M. Schoell, B.C. 1550.

3. The Phenician alphabet, thus introduced, is said to have consisted of eleven consonants and four aspirates, A. E. I. O. to which afterwards Υ was added, having at first the sound of V, as on some medals the Ionian colony of Velia in Lucania, is written Υελη. The eight letters wanting, were the three doubles, the three aspirates, and the two long vowels.

4. The Phenician alphabet, like the Hebrew, had no character to express vowel sounds; Λ. E. I. O. they used as signs of different breathings, which however, the Greeks soon converted into vowels; the Υ was soon softened down to a vowel sound.

5. The next accession from the east was that of the three letters, Z. H. Θ. and these nineteen characters are all which the Greeks are said to have borrowed from the Phenicians, the other five being attributed to themselves.

6. H at first simply expressed the aspirate breathing; it is thus found in the celebrated Sigean inscription of the sixth century, B.C. in the

word Hερμοκρατος, and this power it carried with it into the Latin, and thence into the English, and other modern languages; it was first used to express the long E. or η, by Simonides the Younger.

7. To this Simonides are attributed the three letters, Ξ, Ψ, Ω; he lived a little before the Persian wars.

8. To Epicharmus, who lived before Simonides, the two letters Φ and X are attributed by Aristotle; others assign them to Palamedes, while others (as Euripides) give the whole alphabet to Palamedes.

9. In the interval between Simonides and Aristophanes of Byzantium, the rough breathing was not indicated in writing. Aristophanes divided the H, and made one half of it ⊢, the mark of the aspirate, and the other ⊣, that of the soft; by degrees these marks became ∟ and ⅃, and hence in the cursive character, ʻ and ʼ.

10. The complete alphabet of twenty-four letters was first adopted by the people of Samos, then by the Ionian colonies in general, was introduced into Athens by Callistratus of Samos, but was not employed in any public inscriptions till the archonship of Euclides, B.C. 403. It was called the alphabet of Simonides, also Ἰωνικὰ γράμματα, to distinguish it from the old Cadmeian letters, the figures of some of which were considerably rounded, also ἡ μετ' Εὐκλείδην γραμματική, to distinguish it from the alphabet of twenty-one letters, which was called Ἀττικὰ γράμματα.

11. Æschylus assigns the introduction of letters to Prometheus.

12. That the Greek alphabet is essentially of Phenician or oriental origin appears from this, that the oriental custom of writing from right to left, originally prevailed in Greece, especially in inscriptions of a single line; of this Coleridge

mentions two instances, viz.—the Inscriptio Burgoniana, on an amphora, communicated by Mr. Burgon of Smyrna to Dr. Clarke. It is, in common characters and order, τον Αθενεον αθλον εμι ;* the other was found by Colonel Leake, on an iron helmet at Olympia; it is Κοιος μαποεσεν,† the κ in this is represented by the Hebrew koph or koppa, which from its similarity is supposed to be the Latin Q. The mode of writing from left to right was adopted about the time of the Persian invasion.

13. The mode of writing the alternate lines from right to left was afterwards introduced, it was called Βουστροφηδὸν γράφειν, from oxen in ploughing. The laws of Solon (B.C. 562), and the Sigean inscription probably later, were thus written.

14. Sometimes the words were placed in a perpendicular line, one over the other, in the form of a column, and this mode of writing was called κιονηδὸν γράφειν, from κίων a column.

15. The first materials on which the Greeks wrote were *stone*, *wood*, *lead*, or *iron*, (the letters being engraved by a stylus of gold or iron, called γλύφιον), then *leaves*, particularly of the palm tree; hence, according to some, letters were called φοινικὰ γράμματα, not as Phenician, but as marked on the φοίνιξ ; then the *bark* of trees, (particularly of the lime tree) ; hence, the origin of the Latin *folia* and *liber* ; then skins, διφθέραι, prepared by the Ionians ; and then almost universally, the βύβλος or papyrus, an Egyptian plant.

16. The papyrus is now to be found in Egypt, only near Damietta and the lake Menzaleh. Two hundred years ago it was very common there, it grows abundantly in Syracuse, where it was sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus, as a present to Hiero.

* Τῶν Ἀθηνείων ἆθλον εἰμί. † Κοῖος μ' ἐποίησεν.

The stem of the papyrus was separated into thin pellicles, which were extended across each other at right angles, wetted with the water of the Nile, then put into a press, and finally exposed to the sun.

17. About the middle of the second century before Christ, the Greek kings of Egypt, envying the increasing fame of the library at Pergamus, founded by the princes of the house of Attalus, prohibited the exportation of papyrus; hence, the king of Pergamus encouraged the careful preparation of *διφθέραι*, and his subjects succeeded in manufacturing parchment—Pergamena charta.

18. The Arabians make Joseph the first inventor of paper, and yet Mohammed's secretaries, in the seventh century after Christ, were obliged to write the Koran on palm leaves and mutton bones.

19. The liquor used for ink was the bile of the sepia, or cuttle fish, called by Cicero, atramentum, and sometimes a preparation of minium or cinnabar was used, especially for writing rubrics.

CHAPTER IV.

LIFE OF HOMER.

1. Tatian informs us that the life of Homer was written by several persons; of these biographics none now remain but those ascribed to Herodotus and Plutarch.

2. They are both considered to be spurious; that of Herodotus, on account of its minute and fabulous details—the lowness of the circumstances recorded—its being conducted by the spirit of a grammarian, and containing nothing in it above the life which a grammarian might lead—the extempore verses contained in it—its counterfeit Ionic, and especially a contradiction which it gives to a statement of Herodotus himself in his history, viz.—that Homer lived four hundred years before his own time, whereas, in the life it is asserted, that he lived six hundred and twenty-two years before Xerxes' invasion of Greece.

3. Wood contends for the genuineness of this life; he allows that the events are unsupported, and often trivial and minute; still he thinks they were the most probable collection which Herodotus, who was born in the poet's neighbourhood, could make from tradition—that they have very little the appearance of fiction—that the objection from the lowness of the circumstances, is suggested by modern distinctions of rank—that the character of

grammarian was unknown to Homer and Herodotus, and when it did appear, was much more respectable than of late date—that the extempore verses are a genuine mark of the age to which it pretends, being quotations from the period when writing was unknown, and all composition was in metre, and being frequently interspersed in Herodotus and other old authors.

4. That ascribed to Plutarch appears to be more ancient than its supposed author, as it was known to Quinctilian and Seneca, who both lived before Plutarch.

5. Ephorus says, that there were three brothers, natives of Cumæ, Atelles, Mæon, and Dius; Dius migrated to Ascra in Bœotia, where he became father of Hesiod, by his wife Pycimede; Atelles died in Cumæ, leaving his daughter Critheis under the care of her uncle Mæon, by whom becoming pregnant, she was given in marriage to Phemius, a schoolmaster of Smyrna, and near the baths on the river Meles gave birth to a child, from hence called Melesigenes. Aristotle says, that Critheis was a native of Ios; that being with child by a demon or genius, she fled to the coast, where she was carried off by pirates, and presented to Mæon, king of the Lydians, who reigned at Smyrna; that he married her, and on her death brought up the son (Melesigenes) she had shortly after her marriage, as his own; hence the origin of the epithets, Melesigenes and Mæonides.

6. Derivations of his name—ὁμηρεύω to follow, because blind men follow a guide; or because he said he would ὁμηρεῖν, or follow the Lydians, who pressed by the Æolians were abandoning Smyrna; or ὁ μὴ ὁρῶν, one not seeing; or ὁ μῆρος, because he had some mark on his thigh to denote his illegitimacy; or ὅμηρος, a pledge or hostage, because he was given up as a hostage by the peo-

ple of Smyrna to Chios; or ὁμοῦ εἴρειν, concinere, to sing in concert, (which etymology favours Wolf's theory;) or ὁμηρεῖν, to assemble together; or ὁμοῦ ἄρειν, to connect together; or ὁμοῦ εἴρειν, to speak in council, because he urged the inhabitants of Smyrna to make war on Colophon.

7. According to Herodotus, Melanopus, a settler in Cuma, was married to the daughter of Omyres; their child was Crytheis; on their death she was confided to Cleanax, and subsequently was brought under the care of Ismenias to Smyrna, where she married Phemius; before her marriage she supported herself by spinning.

8. Homer received his education under an eminent teacher named Pronepides; succeeded Phemius in his school, and remained at Smyrna, until Mentes, a Leucadian merchant, persuaded him to travel; that he travelled extensively is unquestionable, and the accuracy with which he described the manners, customs, and peculiarities of the different nations, must have been the result of personal acquaintance and attentive observation. Besides the accurate knowledge of continental Greece Proper, displayed in the catalogue, it is clear that he was acquainted with the islands both in the Ægean and Ionian seas, Crete, Cyprus, and the coasts of Asia Minor from the Hellespont indefinitely southward, Phrygia, Caria, Pisidia, and Phœnicia; also with Ægypt, Lybia, and Æthiopia. Amongst the Trojan allies, he mentions the Paphlagonians, from the river Parthenius (the modern Bartan), also Cytorum, and the river Thermodon (now the Termeh), are mentioned. If the Chalybes are meant in the expression τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης; this would be the farthest point eastward mentioned in the poems, the Chalybes being in the longitude of Aleppo. In Ithaca he was left by Mentes, and was there detained some time by

a defluxion in his eyes, which afterwards at Colophon terminated in blindness ; in Ithaca he was furnished by Mentor with the materials for the composition of the odyssey.

9. His blindness was by some attributed to a more dignified cause. Being desirous of obtaining an adequate conception of his hero, he visited his tomb at the Sigean Promontory, and besought the mighty shade to appear for one moment in all his former glory ; Achilles rose into sight, in armour of such intense brightness, that the astonished bard became blind in the act of devout contemplation.

10. From Ithaca he is said to have visited Italy and Spain, but there is no sign in his poems of any *distinct* knowledge of countries west of the Ionian Sea, though Sicily is twice mentioned in the odyssey under the name of Thrinakia, and the Siculi are once mentioned as barbarians, to whose brutality the suitors threaten to commit Telemachus. The general ignorance in his time regarding the lands beyond the Ionian Sea, is shown by his selecting them as the scenes for the *speciosa miracula* of the odyssey.

11. From the Phenicians, whom he represents as a sea-faring people, he probably derived his extensive information with regard to early naval affairs, and in Egypt, (Herodotus tells us) he was furnished with the outlines of his system of mythology, which became the basis of the religion of Greece.

12. From the striking similarity between manners and opinions, as they are exhibited in his works and the sacred writings (which we shall consider hereafter), it has been inferred, that he became acquainted in Egypt with the Old Testament. It would be more to the point, if Mr. Wood's supposition were well-founded, viz. that he

visited Judea, but the main authority for this opinion is derived from a conjectural emendation of a line, cited by Strabo from the Iliad, but found in none of the MSS. of Homer; the line in Strabo is, χωρῷ ἐνὶ δρυόεντι Ὕδης ἐν πίονι δημῷ, corrected by Dr. Taylor, χωρῷ ενὶ δρυόεντ' Ἰούδης ἐν πίονι δημῷ; but the similarity is sufficiently explained by referring the ideas and expressions to the same patriarchal origin, and to countries situated at no remote distance from each other.

13. In the hymn to Apollo, (if it be genuine, as Thucydides thinks), Homer, like Milton, tells us of his blindness, τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἐνὶ παιπαλοέσσῃ. That he was not born blind, appears from his accurate and extensive knowledge of men and countries; his exquisite perception of natural objects; his picturesque delineation of scenery; and from its not being mentioned (with this exception) in his many writings.

14. At Cumæ he is said to have requested an allowance from the public treasury, which was refused, and he left Cumæ for Phocæa, expressing a wish that the town might never be immortalized as the birth-place of a poet.

15. His verses were admired every where except at Smyrna, his native country. At Phocæa, Thestorides, a schoolmaster, obtained a copy of his verses, and then sailed to Chios, where he recited them as his own; Homer followed, was rescued by Glaucus, a goatherd from the attack of his dogs, (which suggested the account of Ulysses being attacked by dogs at the porch of the house of Eumæus), introduced by him to his master, with whom he lived for some time at Bolissus, and educated his children: (Thestorides fled at his arrival); here he amassed wealth, married, had two daughters, one of whom died young, and the other married the person whose children he educated.

According to Herodotus, he died at Ios on his way to Athens ; Proclus says, in consequence of falling over a stone ; Plutarch says, from vexation at not being able to solve the fishermen's riddle (at Ios, on his way to a musical festival at Thebes) ; ὅσσ' ἕλομεν, λιπόμεσθα, ὅσ' οὐχ ἕλομεν, φερόμεσθα, against whom he had been warned by the oracle.

16. Seven cities contended for the honour of his birth-place—Smyrna, Chios, Colophon, Salamis, Rhodos, Argos, Athenæ. Orbis de patria certat, Homere, tua. To these may be added, Egypt and Ithaca.

17. Of these, Smyrna and Chios have the best pretensions to the honour. If Smyrna be his birth-place, it is remarkable that he never once mentioned it in his writings ; this may have occurred from their neglect of him during his life ; after his death, they struck medals in honour of him, (in one of which he is represented as reading, a proof that he was not born blind) ; dedicated a temple to him, and burned Zoilus in effigy, who abused him.

18. Leo Allatius, a native of Chios, warmly advocates the claims of Chios, but the lines he quotes from the hymn to Apollo, only proves that he *lived* there. Homer himself no where intimates that he was *born* there ; he was mistaken in supposing the Homeridæ of Chios to be his descendants, when they were but reciters of his poems, especially at the quinquennial games the Chians had instituted in honour of him. Strabo thinks he was a Chian, from his knowledge of the Icarian Sea, but he knew other seas equally well.

19. The only ground of Colophon's claim, is that he taught a school there ; and of Ios's, his tomb on the sea shore,

20. That the Homer of the Iliad was an Asiatic Greek is evident. First, Il. 2nd. the Locrians

are said to live πέρην Εὐβοίης, beyond Eubœa. Second, the Echinades are said to be πέρην ἁλὸς, Ἤλιδος ἄντα, appropriately with the situation of a resident in Asia. Third, Odys. 15th. Eumæus describes to Ulysses the Island of Syros, it is said by him to be Ὀρτυγίης καθύπερθεν, above or beyond Ortygia, quite inconsistent with the relative position of Ithaca, where the description is given; (Syros being nearer to Ithaca than Ortygia is). But the inconsistency may be removed, by supposing that Homer forgot that it was in Ithaca the conversation took place, and used language which suited only his own position on the eastern side of the Ægean. Fourth, the west or north-west wind (Ζέφυρος) is always represented in the Iliad as cold and stormy, and very often as blowing from Thrace; (succeeding poets describe all the winds as dwelling in a cave in Thrace, but Homer affirms this only of Zephyrus and Boreas; and when on one occasion he assembles them all there, it is at the house of Zephyrus, the rest being visiters) the point of view is evidently from the Asiatic side of the Ægean. Virgil always gives a different character of Zephyrus, and one suitable to that wind in his own country. Fifth, the order in which Otus and Ephialtes in the odyssey pile the mountains, is true to the eye of a person approaching from the east. Olympus is the base, then Ossa, and Pelion on the top. Virgil reverses the order, placing Pelion as the base, and Olympus as the summit. Twice only in the odyssey is Zephyrus invested with the gentle character given him by the latin poets, and these instances are in the descriptions of the gardens of Alcinous and of the Elysian plain, both of them scenes of fancy. Sixth, he always treats countries in proportion to their distance from Ionia, with that reverence and curiosity which distance is apt to raise (as Italy

and Sicily), whilst the neighbourhood of the scenes of action seems to be too familiar for description, and is introduced only from its connection with the facts, yet always is so exactly described as shows a perfect knowledge of the ground; whilst his scenery is more Ionian, his customs, particularly those relating to sacrifices, are Æolian. It seems impossible to decide between the pretensions of Ionia and Æolia, still less between Chios and Smyrna; Wood inclines to Chios.

21. Bryant's theory—that Homer was a native of Ithaca, but descended from an Ionian or Milesian family, settled in Egypt; that his name was Melasigenes, a native or son of a native of the banks of the Nile, which was formerly called Melas or black; that the change to Melesigenes was made by the Smyrneans, who wished to have him for their countryman. He quotes the answer of the Pythia to the Emperor Adrian, (preserved in the "contention of Homer and Hesiod)," which declared the poet to have been born at Ithaca, and to have been the son of Telemachus, and Epicaste or Policaste, the daughter of Nestor; and he suggests that the odyssey contains an account of the life and adventures of Homer himself, and of the fidelity of his own wife in the character of Penelope. Bryant's arguments merely prove that Homer was well acquainted with Ithaca; it is, however, generally believed that he has transplanted many events of his own life into those of his heroes, and that in many of his characters the names of persons are preserved, with whom he had been connected in life by the ties of friendship or hospitality; for instance, that of Tychius the leather-dresser. Il. vii. 220, and of Mentor in the odyssey.

22. Koliades, a native of Ithaca, thinks that Ulysses himself was the author of the Iliad and Odyssey. He and Bryant agree in not separating

the authorship of the poems: M. Le Chevalier agrees with Koliades. Knight separates the poems by a hundred years, Milman by a less period; he supposes the author of the Iliad to be an Asiatic Greek of Thessalian or Æolic origin, and the author of the Odyssey a Peloponessian.

23. Sir William Gell and Koliades think that the present Ithaca or Thiaki perfectly corresponds with the ancient Ithaca; against this opinion there are two geographical difficulties put forward by Volcker, viz.—the disappearance of Dulichium, and the north-eastern position of Thiaki, whereas Ithaca is placed by Homer to the west of all the other islands. The answers attempted to be given to these difficulties, are—First, Dulichium may have been attached to the Continent by the depositions of the river, or may have sunk in the sea, or may have been only a part of Cephalonia, and that Homer was mistaken in supposing it a separate island; but then what becomes of his boasted familiarity with the localities of the main scene of his poem? It may be remarked, that the subjects of Ulysses are all called in the catalogue, Cepalonians, Κεφαλλῆνες, whilst the troops from Dulichium were under the command of Meges. Second, Ithaca, says Homer, εὶν ἁλὶ κεῖται πρὸς ζόφον, αἱ δέ τ' ἄνευθε πρὸς ἠῶ τ', ἠέλιόν τε, it is contended that ζόφος means the north, not the west; but the antithesis in this line, and the constant use of Homer, prove ζόφος to mean the west. Volcker's own view is, that Cephalonia was the Homeric Ithaca and Thiaki the ancient Same.

24. Schubarth, an opponent of Wolf, thinks that Homer was a Trojan poet, living under the descendants of Æneas in Ilium; that he represents the Trojans as more civilized and refined than the Greeks; that many of the Grecian heroes, as Phoenix, Patroclus, Tlepolemus, had been forced

to fly from their country for deeds of violence; that the Greeks were under the patronage of violent and warlike deities, as Juno, Neptune, Pallas; the Trojans under peaceful, as Apollo, Venus, and Jupiter; that Priam is superior to Agamemnon, and Hector to Achilles; and that in the Odyssey, he details with vindictive delight, the misfortunes of the invaders of his country.

25. Thiersch agrees with Wolf, but maintains that the Peloponnesus was the native country both of the Iliad and Odyssey; that the bards wandered with the Ionians, first to Attica, thence to Asia, and after the Doric invasion, returned as strangers to European Greece. The accuracy with which the interior of the Peloponnesus is described in the Odyssey, proves that it belongs to the Peloponnesus; but Milman remarks, there are scenes in the Iliad which point out the knowledge of an eye-witness, as the simile of the soaring and settling of the birds on the meadows of the Cayster.

Macineca thinks that Homer was a native of Cumæ in Italy, and Barnes, that he was Solomon; that by reading Omeros backward in the Hebrew manner, we come to Soremo, same as Solemo, Solomo. q. e. d.

26. Age of Homer. The Arundel marble places Homer B.C. 907; (if we take this as the æra of his birth, it will approximate to the date of Mitford, Wood, &c. 850 B.C.) the Ionian migration, B.C. 1044; the return of the Heracleidæ, B.C. 1104; and the capture of Troy, B.C. 1184. Heyne approves this calculation, but it is at variance with Newton's, who fixes the capture of Troy, B.C. 904, and Homer, B.C. 870. Herodotus says, that Homer and Hesiod were senior to himself by four hundred years, and he lived 444 B.C. Thucydides says that Homer was born long after the Trojan

war. Lycurgus is placed about three hundred years after the Trojan war, or according to the common date, 884 B.C.; and he must have lived after Homer, though Strabo mentions an interview he had with Homer, for the purpose of settling the constitution of Sparta, but this seems fabulous,* and the age of Lycurgus himself is much disputed; the earliest date of the kings of Sparta, which can be fixed with accuracy is that of Anaxandrides and Ariston, 560 B.C. Theopompus, indeed, may with some probability be placed about 750 B.C. Cicero indefinitely asserts, that he lived many years before the foundation of Rome; and Vico thinks that he was contemporary with Numa.

27. Wakefield deduces his age from his use of the digamma: the time at which Homer lived seems fixed (he remarks), within a determinate æra by that peculiarity of the Æolic dialect, which uniformly employed the digamma as a distinct character before certain words and between certain syllables, and of which no regular traces are discoverable but in him and Hesiod, (it is not uniformly used in Homer), an æra more or less contemporary with that age, in which various parts of Italy were colonized by different emigrations of Æolian Greeks, who communicated this criterion of their dialect to the Roman language.

28. The evidence of the poems themselves is of two kinds, positive and negative, arising from what they mention and what they omit; too much confidence, however, may be placed in the latter, for, as Heyne justly remarks, "perperam ponitur poetam omnia ignorasse quæ non apposuit in carmine.

29. Several incidental circumstances favour the

* Strabo does not consider that such a poet and such a legislator do not properly belong to the same state of manners. (Wood).

opinion of an early date, for instance, though works in ivory were of very remote antiquity, yet the elephant itself was known only to the Indians, until the Macedonians passed into Asia, and accordingly we meet with no mention of this animal in Homer, though he repeatedly speaks of the use of ivory in ornamental workmanship. In the Odyssey, the Nile is spoken of as the Ægyptus, or river of Egypt, by which name it passed in the time of Moses and Joshua—Ody. Γ. 300, Δ. 355, Gen. xv. 18, Ex. viii. 6, and in the Iliad he calls it ὠκεανὸς; so that in Homer's time, it had not received its more recent appellation of Νεῖλος. From Hesiod's use of this word, and from his shortening the first syllable of καλὸς, which is always lengthened in Homer, it may be inferred, that Hesiod was more recent than Homer, though it is generally believed they were contemporaries, (as appears from the poem called "the contest between Homer and Hesiod), and the period of Hesiod is probably determined (from Il. 174, Oper. and Dies.) to the age succeeding the Trojan war. There is no mention of the Amphictyonic council in the writings of Homer, which would scarcely have been the case, had it acquired that importance to which it attained even in the early times of ancient Greece. Had Homer lived after the æra of the Olympiads (B.C. 776), the public annals would have recorded his birth.

29, The limits of the period comprehended by the subjects, or allusion of the poems, are six generations before and four after the Trojan war. The genealogy of the royal family of Troy gives the limits, ascending from Priam through Laomedon, Ilus, Tros, and Ericthonius, to Dardanus, the son of Jupiter; the lowest point of descent is marked by Il. 20, 307.* (Neptune's prophecy.)

* These words occur also in the hymn to Venus, v. 197, 198;

Νῦν δε δὴ Αἰνείαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει. Καὶ παίδων παίδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται. Here he mentions, as the latest event, the grandchildren of Æneas as reigning in Troy; whence we may infer, that the Iliad was finished about half a century after Troy was taken. Second, in Il. Δ. 51, 54, in a speech of Juno's, he seems to intimate the insecure state of the chief existing dynasties of the race of Pelops, sciz. Argos, Sparta, and Mycenæ. Third, in Odyssey (i. 351.) it is remarked, that those subjects are preferred for poetry, in which through the recency of the transactions, the hearers have a nearer interest; this would stand contradicted by his own practice, if the events which he celebrates happened five, four, three, two, or even one century before he wrote. Fourth, in Odyssey viii. 578, concerning subjects of poetry it is said, that the gods wrought the fate of Troy, that there might be subjects of poetry to future generations; had he lived after the return of the Heraclidæ, that revolution would have furnished subjects far more nearly interesting than the fall of Troy. Fifth, in Il. ii. 486, he says, "I have these things only by report, and not of my own knowledge;" this proves that he was not an eye-witness; at the same time it would be superfluous information to his auditors, if he did not live so near those times, that in his elderhood it might be doubted if his early youth had not been passed in them. Sixth,

they destroy the foundation of the Roman claim to Trojan descent, through Æneas. Virgil reads πάντεσσι for τρώεσσι, and writes, Nunc domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris, et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis, καὶ παίδων παίδες. Wood thinks that as Homer is so minute and circumstantial, the generation here spoken of, is that with which he himself lived and conversed; the Æolian migration would probably disturb that very generation in their possessions, which therefore the poet did not live to see. It would have been difficult and useless for him to have forged this account of the family of Æneas.

he is always remarkably disposed to extol the family of Æneas, and careful to avoid what might give them offence; hence it is inferred, that the posterity of that chief existed, and were powerful in the poet's age.

30. This theory of Wood and Mitford does not well accord with such language as *οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν*, Il. v. 304; to this it is answered that Nestor asserts the superiority of those who flourished in his youth, to Diomede, or any others, the contemporaries of his old age. But such eulogies of the heroes of former days suit old age, and with similar propriety the youthful Sthenelus indignantly exclaims, *ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείμονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι*: from either his or Nestor's assertions, nothing more should be inferred, than that the poet accommodated the language to his characters, but when he speaks in his own person, exaggeration is culpable misrepresentation, unless the subject is magnified by the distance. This theory also opposes the received opinion that Homer was an Ionian poet, as it places him before the period of the Ionian migration. To this Wood replies, that there were Ionians in Asia, before a colony of that name was brought thither; that there is no allusion in the Iliad or Odyssey to this migration; and we may as well derive the name of Ionian, as we find it written in Homer, from Javeon, the son of Japhet, as from Ion, the son of Xuthus. The perfection also of the Homeric language seems to be inconsistent with so early a date.

31. Of the negative evidence, the most important is the omission of any notice of the return of the Heraclidæ (eighty years after the Trojan war). It is highly improbable that Homer should take no notice of so remarkable a revolution, involving a new partition of the country, and the ruin of the noblest families mentioned in his poems, and the

substitution of the republican for the kingly form of government through Greece, had he lived after the period in which it took place. To this Heyne answers, that it was not in the province of the poet, but of the historian, to mention such particulars; that it was in no respect connected with the object of his poem; that it would be inconsistent to notice the overthrow of the descendants of Pelops, whose praises he sung; and that he does not mention the Ionian migration, though an Asiatic Ionian; and in the same way he may have been silent on the subject of the return of the Heraclidæ, by which that migration was caused.

32. Mitford completes the evidence which the poet himself furnishes concerning the time in which he lived, by adding—First, his ignorance of idolatry. Second, of hero worship. Third, of republics. Fourth, of tyrannies. Fifth, of the division of the Greek nation into Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian. And sixth, of a general name for the whole. We must add, seventh, the form of worship which he describes without temples, as without images. Eighth, the little fame of oracles. Ninth, his familiar knowledge of Sidon, and his silence concerning Tyre. And tenth, the loss of his works in Peloponnesus, whose new inhabitants had comparatively little interest in them, and their preservation among the colonists in Asia, who reckoned his principal heroes among their ancestors. All these circumstances together appear to prove that Homer lived before the return of the Heraclidæ. It may be added, that the catalogue of ships, which exhibits a correct account of the Peloponnesus, before the Dorian conquest, does not contain a single reference to any political change which took place therein subsequent to that event; and though there are several references to Hercules, there is

* We may also add, his silence concerning the council of the Amphictyons.

not one respecting his descendants. If his allusion to the destruction of Argos, Sparta, and Mycenæ, be not a prediction, or casually thrown out, he must have lived after that event, which followed the return of the Heraclidæ; but it would seem to be either one or other. Wood adds, that his picture of society agrees best with the early stage of it, and that his account of persons and facts could not have passed through many hands; for his manner, not only of describing actions and characters, but of drawing portraits, looks very much as if he had been either present, or at least had taken his information from eye-witnesses.

33. From the collection of his poems by the Pisistradidæ down to the Christian fathers, the reputation of Homer constantly increased, till even games were instituted, statues and temples erected, and sacrifices offered to him as to a divinity; there were such temples at Smyrna, Chios, and Alexandria, and the Argives sacrificed to Apollo and Homer together.

34. This unrivalled popularity was founded on the excellence of his poetry, on the national sympathies of the Greeks, and on the ardent expressions of respect which all their great men used when speaking of his poems, viz.—the *poets*, Pindar, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; the *masters of history, philosophy, and oratory*—Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, Demosthenes; *the physical philosophers*, Democritus, Anaxagoras, Xeno, Chrysippus. To all these, Homer was what Moses was to the ancient Hebrew of genius, to the Davids and Isaiahs, and the Iliad and Odyssey were to the Greeks, what the Pentateuch was to the Children of Israel. But the authority, criticism, sanction, and edition of Aristotle, especially contributed to establish the authority of Homer on a permanent basis; he mainly helped to preserve his poems from destruction, and

his authority prevailed with a long series of disciples of the Peripatetic school, to study Homer with the continually increasing resources of philosophy and grammar. The Alexandrian critics followed, and after them Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Strabo, were the most effective promoters of Homer's fame; the former in exhibiting the metrical skill and the rhetorical artifice of the poet, the latter, in elevating him into an invaluable treasure of the ancient geography, and a perfect rule of poetical decorum. Demetrius Phalereus, and Plutarch also, were the authors of treatises now lost on the style, invention, morals, and philosophy of Homer.

35. The Latin writers from Cicero and Lucretius down to Quinctilian and Ausonius, agreed with that sentiment of Propertius, "Nescio quid majus nascitur Iliade;" and even the Roman lawyers cited him as authority in matters of jurisprudence, and he is called "pater omnis virtutis," in the Pandects of Justinian, A.D. 534.

36. Among the ancient Greeks and Romans, some of the warmest admirers of his poetry censured particular defects in his poems, sciz. alleged abuses in his representation of the gods, particularly the battle of the gods. It was on account of the primeval, authoritative, biblical character of the Homeric poetry, that Heraclitus, Plato, and Xenophanes did this, for these same complained not of the sarcasms of Æschylus, or the free-thinking of Euripides. Plato thought so highly of his poetry, that he burned his own verses in despair of rivalling those glorious hexameters which describe the conflict of the Nile and the Sea, Od. iv. 149; whilst Cicero calls him the Homer of Philosophers, and Themistius says he retained his exact likeness.

37. Zoilus, a Macedonian, who is said to have

visited Alexandria, B.C. 278, wrote nine books against Homer, entitled *ψόγος*, or censure of Homer; he was despised by all; at the Olympic games he attempted to recite his attack, and was thrown from the Scironian rocks; burned in effigy in Egypt, at a festival in honour of Homer, and burned in reality at Smyrna, his pyre being composed in part of a collection of copies of his *ψόγος*.

38. Zoilus's six objections are sufficiently absurd. First, Homer is ridiculous in making Apollo employ himself in killing dogs and mules. Second, in describing Diomede's armour as blazing about him, for then why was he not burned by it. Third, in making Idæus leave his chariot, he should have fled in it. Fourth, he wanted manners in making Achilles turn Priam out of his tent. Fifth, he says that Ulysses lost an equal number of men out of each ship, which is impossible. Sixth, he is ridiculous, in turning his men into pigs. The names of two other Zoilists have been preserved, Daphidas and Parthenius, "ex Homero nomen habent."

39. About the beginning of the second century of the Christian æra, the tide of admiration began to turn. The Christian fathers accused him of framing his fables on the works of Moses, as the rebellion of the giants from the building of Babel, and the casting of Ate out of heaven from the fall of Lucifer; also for wounding Venus, imprisoning Mars, Jupiter, &c. and Plato, who expelled him from his commonwealth, was most admired by the fathers.

40. From this until the twelfth century he was nearly forgotten, when Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, composed his commentary on Homer, entitled Παρεκβολαὶ, and consisting chiefly of extracts of older scholiasts, as Apion, Porphyry, &c.

41. Homer escaped being included in that so-

lemn bonfire of the Greek comic, lyric, and elegiac poets, viz.—Menander, Diphilus, Apollodorus, Philemon, Alexes, Sappho, Anacreon, Bion, Alcman, Alcæus, which took place at Constantinople in the tenth or eleventh century, and from which Aristophanes was saved by Chrysostom.

42. A.D. 1309. Robert, king of Naples, was an effective patron of Greek, and his exertions were seconded by Bernard Barlaam the monk. Barlaam was sent from Constantinople to Italy, to propose an union between the Greek and Latin churches; he met Petrarch at Avignon and Boccaccio at Naples, whom he instructed in Greek. One of his most distinguished pupils was Leontius Pilatus, for whom Boccaccio procured a professorship at Florence, where Leontius lectured on Homer, and published the first complete Latin version of Homer, the ancient ones of Livius Andronicus in Iambics, of Accius Labeo in Hexameters, and of Cnæus Matius having perished. The version of Leontius was lost, and the earliest Latin translation now extant, is that by Laurentius Valla, printed at Brescia, 1474, fourteen years before the first printed edition of all the Homeric poems, which was published at Florence, 1488, by the Nerli, and was prepared by Chalcondylas, who then occupied the Florentine chair.

43. The first thorough Zoilist after the revival of Greek literature, was the elder Scaliger (Julius Cæsar), who preferred Virgil to Homer; he also preferred the tragedies of Seneca to those of Euripides. Though a profound Latin scholar, he was incompetently versed in Greek.

44. Almost every man of poetic genius in Italy has been an admirer of Homer. Tasso said, that no poetry came nearer to eternity than Homer's. Tassoni is the only exception, and he admits that the beauty of the style and versification, like the

Arabic of the Koran, nearly conceals the numberless absurdities of the poetry itself.

45. The Zoilists of France, at the period of the famous dispute at the end of the seventeenth century, were La Mothe, St. Evremond, Fontenelle, St. Hyacinth, Terasson, Perrault, who commenced the war, and Cesarotti (an Italian by birth), who in his vast edition of Homer contains the essence of the opinions of these writers, as also of Voltaire, D'Alembert, Marmontel, &c. on this subject. Their opponents were Boileau, Gacon, Madame Dacier, Fraguier, Fenelon, &c. Both parties were in the wrong. Throughout the whole controversy there is not a glimpse of the true principles of judgment; they defended and assailed the Iliad and Odyssey upon grounds and for qualities which neither do nor could exist. Thus, the Iliad was defended on the authority and model of the Æneid, and even of the Jerusalem delivered by Tasso, or the Henriade of Voltaire.

46. Instances of objections to Homer by the French Zoilists. First, his languid and uniform manner of introducing speeches, as—"Such a one said, such a one answered." Second, his repetition of long epithets, having no relation to the present action. Third, his slowness, which causes his heroes never to be in a hurry, even in moments of the greatest impetus. Fourth, the tears of Achilles, inconsistent both with his personal character, and the occasion of his shedding them. Fifth, Jupiter causing Olympus to tremble by his nod, when he wished to be secret. Sixth, after three divinities had been laid under contribution to form the portrait of Agamemnon, who could have imagined that a bull would make his appearance to finish it? Il. ii. 480. Seventh, his always calling the ships black, and his expression, "cheeks of a ship." Il. ii. 637. They considered not the anti-

quity and peculiarity of the Homeric poems, they bring them to the bar of Latin, Italian, and French epic poems, and pronounce every thing that would be incongruous in these, a fault in Homer.

CHAPTER V.

THE TROJAN CONTROVERSY.

1. The controversy as to the historical character of the war, and the existence and precise situation of Troy, is not of so modern a date as is generally supposed. *Stesichorus*, a native of Himera in Sicily, born B.C. 632, in his Palinodia to Helen, states that she never eloped to Troy, but that the Trojans carried off a mere counterfeit image of the heroine. *Euripides*, in his Electra and Helena, embraces the same opinion: the latter play is entirely founded on it. *Herodotus* seriously opposes Homer's account, he says that Paris having carried off Helen, was driven by a tempest to the Canopic mouth of the Nile, where Thonis was governor; that his slaves flying to the temple of Hercules, accused their master of his crime; that Thonis sent Paris to Memphis, to Proteus the king, with Helen and all his treasures; that on the conviction of Paris, Proteus ordered him to leave Egypt in three days, and detained Helen and the treasure until Menelaus should claim them; that the Trojans had always denied the possession of Helen, but the Greeks disbelieved them, and took their city, when discovering the truth, they sent Menelaus to Egypt; that Proteus restored his wife and property, but Menelaus committing some outrages on the coast, was obliged to fly as well as he

could, He thinks this account was known to Homer, but did not suit his purpose. His proofs of this supposition are, a passage in the Iliad (Z. vi. 289), in which Paris is said to have touched at Sidon on his way back to Troy, and the passages in the Odyssey (Δ. iv. 227—351), in which Helen is mentioned to have received drugs from the wife of Thonis, and Menelaus speaks of his own detention in Egypt; and hence he argues that the Cypriac verses could not be Homer's, because they state that Paris brought Helen from Sparta to Troy in three days. As an argument for the truth of his own account, he says it is not probable that Priam would have risked the destruction of his kingdom, merely to gratify Paris, had it been in his power to have restored Helen. *Theocritus*, in his *Epithalamium*, (which bears marks of an acquaintance with the Song of Solomon), maintains the chastity of Helen. *Isocrates* does the same in his *Encomium*; and *Dion Chrysostom*, at the end of the first century, maintains that Troy was never taken by the Greeks, and that Helen was lawfully married to Paris with the consent of her father. *Metrodorus*, a native of Lampsacus, and *Anaxagoras*, the preceptor of Socrates, denied all authority to the common story of the war; and even *Thucydides*, whose quotations have imparted more historical weight to Homer than any other circumstance, guards his allegations of his authority with most cautious phrases, as "if any one will take him for a witness," &c.

2. Bryant has gone further than any preceding writer in his theory on this subject. He maintained that the Troy secretly intended was a town of that name on the right bank of the Nile opposite Memphis, and that Homer being of Egyptian extraction, had transferred the locality of a war which had actually taken place at the Egyptian Troy to the shores of the Ægean, and had arrayed

it in Grecian costume and circumstance, for the purpose of flattering his countrymen.

3. His arguments are the following :—First, Helen's age ; she must have been one hundred and four years old in the last year of the war : her twin brothers were in full manhood at the Argonautic expedition, say twenty-five, and it took place seventy-nine years before the capture of Troy. Telemachus sees her ten years afterwards at Sparta as beautiful as ever. Even according to Homer she must have been old, as she was a mother when she left Sparta with Paris, say 20, from that to the last year of the war was twenty years, Il. xxiv. 768 ; and Telemachus sees her ten years afterwards, beautiful at the age of fifty. But Bryant forgot her divine origin and her peculiar destiny : his second argument is taken from the disproportion between the number of ships and men, with the greatest efforts of the nation in more civilized times. The catalogue reckons 100,000 soldiers ; at Marathon there were but 10,000, at Platæa 72,500. In the catalogue there are 1200 ships ; at Artemisium 271, and at Salamis 378. His third argument is taken from the inconsistency of the supposed site of Troy, with its present distance from the sea-coast. The *eminence* behind Bunarbachi (the spring head), the site of Troy, according to Le Chevalier, Colonel Leake, &c. is now eleven or twelve miles from the coast, and on the day in which Patroclus was killed, the Greeks march twice to the walls of Troy, and are twice beaten back, a space of near fifty miles. He also cites the lines in the twentieth book of the Iliad, to show that Troy was not built on an eminence, Ἴλιος ἱρὴ εν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, v. 216. The plain eastward or within the Sigæum, is generally supposed and truly, to be the intended Troad or scene of the Iliad, though as to the site of the poetical city of Troy nothing can be made out. Bryant

thinks that the true Troad is south of the Sigæum, from Virgil's authority, "Est in conspectu Tenedos," which can be seen distinctly from the plain south, but not from that east of the Sigæum. The increased distance of Troy from the coast may be accounted for by the accretion of land caused by the mud, &c. carried down by the Scamander, though to this opinion the rapid current of the Hellespont, which would prevent it, is opposed. But all these objections taken from the site of Troy are easily overturned by this consideration, that in a *poem* it is not at all necessary that the description should minutely correspond with the actual localities. Is not the poet allowed to add extent to his plain, and magnificence to his town? Does any one endeavour to identify all Tasso's descriptions with the topography of the Holy Land? But to those who fancy they perceive the operations of more hands than one in the poem, these petty discrepancies of place and quality, as the city in the plain and the city on the hill, the river clear and the river turbid, seem a natural consequence and a probable proof of their theory. A fourth argument is drawn from the epithet πλατὺς, applied to the Hellespont; but Homer evidently treated it as a river running into the Ægean; to this supposition the epithet ἀγάῤῥοος, vehemently flowing, corresponds;* Virgil's "Sigæa igni freta *lata* relucent," may be compared: the motion that πλατὺς is used in this place for *salt*, is absurd. Kennedy thinks that Homer took in with the Hellespont a portion of the Ægean.

From Wood on the Troade.

4. A straight line drawn from the Caicus to the Æsopus, would nearly describe the eastern and

* Herodotus actually calls it a river, and Orpheus also calls it πλατὺς.

inland boundary of Priam's dominion; its circumference includes about 500 English miles. of which above 200 afford a maritime coast washed by the Propontis, Hellespont, and Ægean Seas. Few spots of the same extent enjoy more natural advantages.

5. Though well adapted for trade and navigation, it was a principle of their civil and religious constitution to discourage both, and to favour a taste for agriculture. They had an old prophetic admonition amongst them against the dangers of commerce, and their laws treated with peculiar severity those who were convicted of stealing an ox or ploughshare, or any implement of husbandry. Navigation and piracy being then synonymous, it was natural for a people abounding with flocks, corn, wine, oil, and all the comforts of life, to avoid an intercourse by which they might gain little and lose much. Their fate justified their fears, for they were thrice conquered and plundered before the time of Homer, their riches being the temptation, which also was probably the motive of the Æolic migration.

6. Cape Janissari, the ancient Sigæum, divides the Ægean Sea from the Hellespont; from this Cape the flat marshy shore retires, forming a beautiful curved plane, which is terminated eastward by Cape Barbieri, the ancient Rhæteum; through this plain the Scamander discharges itself into the sea, and Dardanium must have been near this spot, as the strait is still called Dardanelles.

7. The Ægean and Hellespont are always kept distinct in Homer, different epithets being applied to each. Thus, first book, Chryses returns along the *boisterous* sea; the situation of Chrysa shows it is the Ægean, and the epithet corresponds. The term would be as applicable to the Danube as to the Hellespont; it has not breadth enough to be boisterous. So *insaniens* applied to the Bosphorus

in Horace, does not mean boisterous, but happily describes the contrariety of currents, for which it is remarkable. Again in first book, Achilles retires to indulge his resentment to the *frothy beach*, and looks over the *dusky main;* the epithets correspond with the Ægean, near to which he was stationed. The Hellespont also is distinguished by epithets adapted to that straight only, or pointed out by the circumstances of the camp and fleet in its vicinity.

8. The description given by Homer of Mount Ida corresponds with its present state. Its *many summits* are still covered with *pines*, and it abounds with *fountains*; of these pines Paris and Æneas built their fleets, and Æneas could not have chosen a spot more proper for the purpose, than Antandros at the foot of Ida; the road to it was the most secure, and the place itself the safest from the Grecian fleet, of any on the coast. There are, however, two anachronisms in Virgil's account:—"Classemque sub ipso." "Antandro, ac Phrygiæ molimur montibus Idæ." For Antandros was not yet built, nor was the region of Troas then called Phrygia.

9. Pliny observes, that the rivers mentioned by Homer did not answer to the appearances exhibited in his time. This change of situation may have been occasioned by the earthquakes to which the country was subject; their present situation corresponds with that by Strabo; the hot spring, according to Homer, was one of the sources of the Scamander; it is now much lower than the present source, which is a rock about twenty-three miles from its mouth in a straight line, but far more, if the many windings of the river be taken into account. The fountains, whence the river took its rise, were, according to Homer, close to the walls of the city, but the ground near the present source

is much too steep and rugged for the situation of a city, and could not accord with the pursuit of Hector and other incidents in the poem, and also is too distant from the Hellespont to admit of the actions of the day, (though the city must have been some distance from the shore, for, as the Grecian camp and ships could not be seen from it, it was necessary to send Polites to the tomb of Æsyetes, to reconnoitre the enemy). From its fountain head to Chiflik, it rather tumbles than flows through a rocky channel; from thence to the ruined bridge, it glides through a rich plain to Ene, a considerable village, where there is a wooden bridge over it; here it receives the Simois; and from thence to Bornabaschi, their united course is through a rocky mountainous country. Bornabaschi, where there is a fine rivulet, signifies the fountain head, and seems to be the site of Troy. At Bornabaschi commences the plain which reaches to the Hellespont; of this a great part has been produced since Homer's time, by the accretion of soil and mud lodged at the mouth of the Scamander, as Egypt has been enlarged by the Nile, and the regions near the Mæander and Cayster by those rivers. The Scamander is very low in the dry season, and swollen greatly in the rainy season, as appears by the breadth of its channel, and the length of its three bridges. A less army than that of Xerxes might exhaust it in the dry season. These opposite states of the Scamander are noticed by Homer—in the former state a fallen tree is described as reaching from one of its banks to the other; in the latter it is employed as an effectual power for the total demolition of the Greek entrenchment.

10. The Grecian camp occupied the whole of the sea-coast before the city. This appears from the number of the forces—100,000 men, many

women, many children, horses and chariots; the ships which were drawn up, and secured on the land among the tents; the great entrenchment in front of the camp, and a space between the camp and the sea, sufficient for assembling the principal officers on matter of moment; one extremity reached to the Sigean promontory, where Achilles was stationed; the other to the Rhætean, where Ajax had pitched his tent, Ulysses being in the centre, as being the most convenient place for consultation. In his ship Agamemnon assembled the chiefs, that his voice might be heard at either extremity, *a distance of six miles.*

11. To supply themselves with provisions, the Greeks were obliged to send a part of their army to cultivate the Thracian Chersonese; this decrease of their forces protracted the siege. In the interval they plundered various towns; Achilles plundered twelve maritime and eleven inland towns.

CHAPTER VI.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ILIAD.

1. The Iliad, with the exception of the Pentateuch, and some other books of the Old Testament, is the most ancient composition known. There is good proof that it is older than the Odyssey, than Hesiod, and than those poems ascribed by the ancients to Orpheus and Musæus, but which were probably, for the most part, produced during the interval between the Homeric age and the dynasty of Pisistratus.

2. A book so ancient should be read with patience, a simple mind, and something of the kind of reverence which we yield to the Hebrew Genesis; it may be considered as the secular bible of mankind.

Manners and Morals.

3. The manners of the Iliad are the manners of the patriarchal and early ages of the East. The chief differences arise from a different religion and a more maritime situation. The hero and patriarch are substantially coeval, but the first wanders in twilight, the last stands in the eye of heaven.

4. Instances. First, Abraham's hospitality to the angels (Gen. xviii. 1), is similar to Achilles's, to

Ajax, Ulysses, and Phœnix, (Il. ix. 193.) Second, Achilles sits down to eat, (ix. 218), and the sons of Jacob sat before Joseph, (Gen. xliii. 33), the practice of reclining being as yet unknown. Third, the husband gave the marriage portion, and not the wife (which afterwards was the custom), thus Agamemnon offers one of his daughters to Achilles without exacting a dowry from him, (ix. 146), and Abraham's servant gave presents to Rebekah, (Gen. xxiv. 22), Shechem offered a dowry to Jacob for Dinah, (Gen. xxxiv. 12), and Saul said he did not desire any dowry from David for Michal, (1 Sam. xviii. 25.) Fourth, Rachel, the daughter of Laban, a great man, kept her father's sheep, (Gen. xxix. 6), the seven daughters of Reuel, the priest of Midian, watered their father's flock, (Ex. ii. 16), Saul was coming after the herd, when they told him the tidings of the men of Jabesh, (1 Sam. xi. 5), so Bucolion, the son of Laomedon, was a shepherd, (vi. 25), also Antiphus, son of Priam, (xi. 106), and Æneas himself, (xx. 91.) Fifth, to sacrifice with unwashed hands is unlawful, (vi. 265, and Ex. xxi. 20.) Sixth, manslaughter is redeemable by exile and a fine, (ix. 628, and Num. xxxv. 6.) Seventh, in computing time, the third or any future day is always reckoned inclusively, (ix. 363, and Lev. xii. 3.) Eighth, a newborn child is said to fall between the feet of its mother, (xix. 110, and Deut. xxviii. 57.) Ninth, Hector sacrificed to Jupiter on the summit of Ida, (xxii. 170, and Deut. xii. 2.) Tenth, stoning was the Trojan punishment for adultery, (iii. 57, and John viii. 5.) Eleventh, oxen are used to tread out corn, (xx. 495, and Deut. xxv. 4.) Twelfth, female captives are the peculiar prizes of the generals and chiefs, (i. 118, and Judges v. 30.) Thirteenth, to lie without burial was the worst aggravation of defeat and death, (i. 4, and Deut. xxviii. 26.) Thus the

Old Testament and the Iliad reflect light mutually on each other.

5. The Iliad and Odyssey represent the age of chivalry of the Greeks, but it is a chivalry with little reverence for women, and no point of honour: analogous only, and not like in itself to modern chivalry.

6. The morals and manners of the Homeric heroes belong to the second stage of a people working out its own civilization under very favourable conditions of time, place, and physical temperament. First, the age of brutal violence has passed or is passing away, and a deep sense of the power and providence of the gods has become universal. The δεισιδαιμονία, or attribution of every great event to an agency more than human, is a primary characteristic of such an age.* Second, veracity in the Homeric scheme, is rather a token of power and boldness than a moral duty; ends, and not means, being the standards to which Homeric manners and morals are to be referred. To gain their point was the grand consideration with heroes and deities, honour was out of the question, and so close was the overruling agency of the gods, that success alone qualified the event and justified the means. Thus, the reading in second book, which makes Jupiter promise victory to Agamemnon, is the geuuine one, though censured by Plato; the *οὖλος ὄνειρος* being a lying spirit, which Jupiter commissioned to work out his own will. The *κεῖνος*, in the 308 and 309 lines of Il. ix. may be taken generally, as Achilles, the hero of force, could afford to speak his mind on most occasions; but it may mean Agamemnon, and the

* This was liable to be overborne by blind appetite or violent emotion, as in the case of Ajax in the temple of Minerva, and Hector's disregard for Auguries, *εἷς οἰωνὸς*, &c.

lines convey an insinuation, that all his fine offers and speeches were insincere. Third, though the marriage of one man to one woman was firmly established, concubinage was without shame, and the tenderest language of respect might be applied to a mistress; the wife was left at home, and the mistress was a companion on the expedition, where she acted partly as a servant. This corresponds with Abraham having Sarah and Hagar, and Jacob having Leah, Rachel, and their handmaids; so even Nestor and Ulysses had mistresses. Fourth, robbing and plundering were not only practised, but even held in honour.

7. The present manners of the Arabs are very similar to those of the patriarchal day, and of the Homeric age. The stability of manners in Arabia has arisen from the nature of the country, consisting of extensive deserts, where neither commerce nor strangers would be introduced. The only exception that ever occurred to this, was the magnificent city of Palmyra: its origin and increase arose from the possession of a fountain, which afforded a resting-place in the desert between the Euphrates and the cultivated parts of Syria on the sea-coast; it thus commanded the passage of the desert, and held the balance of commerce and power between the eastern and western worlds; it is now in ruins, and the manners of the Arabs are still unchanged; they despise architecture and agriculture, and lead a rambling pastoral life, breeding cattle, and robbery being their profession, (Gen. xvi. 12.)

8. The conformity of style and sentiment between Homer and the early sacred writers, may be accounted for from the proximity of time and country, and it is not necessary to suppose with some, that Homer acquired a knowledge of the Jewish learning through the Egyptian priests.

9. Wood reduces the points of resemblance between the ancient Greek and Jewish, and the present Arabian manners, to six. First, dissimulation and diffidence prevail much. Second, cruelty, violence, and injustice prevail. Third, a general spirit of hospitality prevails. Fourth, female society is wanting, and a disgusting and licentious style of pleasantry takes its place. Fifth, the lowest domestic duties are performed by persons of the highest rank. Sixth, the general turn of wit and humour is either insipid or indelicate. This similarity of manners may arise either from the nature of soil and climate, or from defective eastern legislation. First, all public confidence is destroyed by the despotism of the east: Ulysses would form a perfect model for those who wish to make their way in it securely; but instances of private friendship abound, not inferior to those of Pylades and Orestes, Achilles and Patroclus, David and Jonathan. Second, the natural result of defective government. In Homer the murderer endeavours to escape, not public justice, but the revenge of the relatives of the deceased. Third, from the same cause, it is the happy substitution of positive law, and supplies the place of justice. Fourth, female subordination is strongly marked in the Iliad and Odyssey; the only instance of pure and delicate love is that of Hector and Andromache, yet Hector's answer, ἦ καὶ ἐμοὶ τάδε πάντα μέλει, γύναι, and ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα is rough and indelicate. And the whole behaviour of Telemachus to Penelope reminds us of the Athenian law, which constituted the son the guardian of the mother. Virgil's Dido is very superior to Homer's Calypso in tenderness and delicacy of sentiment; this arose from the different manners of the times, and not from any insufficiency in Homer.

Mythology.

10. A very important point in Homeric mythology is, that the will of Jupiter appears to be absolute. No distinct empire is assigned to fate or fortune. That dark and vindictive destiny, which in various degrees, overshadows the plots of the three tragic poets, forms no part of the mythology of the Iliad; the word *τύχη* does not occur once in the whole poem, and the phrases *μοῖρα κραταιὴ*, *ὑπὲρ μὸρον*, *πεπρωμένον αἴσῃ*, perhaps mean no more than the fate or issue decreed by Jupiter to individuals and things, and refer not to a predestination independent of his will. In the passage, Il. vi. 434, where Jupiter laments to Juno the approaching death of Sarpedon, it is clear from both speakers, that though Sarpedon is said to be fated to die, Jupiter might still, if he pleased, save him, and should he not, that Jupiter *himself* would destroy him by the hands of another. A similar scene, in almost the same words, occurs on the occasion of Hector's death, Il. xxii. 168. And in like manner, the oracular response, which Eustathius quotes from Ælian, expressly identifies Μοῖρα with the Διὸς βουλὴ, Il. vi. 487; though this opinion is disputed, and though we may admit in Homer a fate connected with men and things in a subordinate sense, and that fate to proceed from a source distinct from the will of Jove, still no one will deny, that the supremacy of Jupiter in the Iliad is more strongly marked than in the later poets of Greece. This appears from the tone of the celebrated address in the beginning of the eighth book. Still the supremacy of Jupiter comes far short of almighty power. Achilles intimates that he owed his liberty on one occasion to Briareus,

i. 396, though he himself asserts his own omnipotence very confidently, viii. 5, and defies all opposition, even if strengthened by the force of the subdued and exiled Titans, viii. 478: there is much imperfection in the representation of his character; on the whole, he seems to be the supreme and despotic chief of an aristocracy of weaker divinities.

11. Herodotus says, that the Greek Theogony was the invention of Homer and Hesiod; it is more probable that they adopted a received mythology, enlarged, adorned, and systematized it.

12. The rudiments of the Homeric mythology came originally from the east, through the channels of Egypt and Phenicia, the mothers of science and superstition, and they were constructed on the obvious principle of separating the attributes of the supreme deity, and assigning to each a name and a personal divinity. Idolatry was unknown in Homer's time. Though the temple of Minerva at Athens, and of Apollo at Delphi (then called Pytho) existed, yet sacrifices, in which the sum of religion consisted, were performed on altars raised in the open air. The Fates were the only deities supposed incapable of doing wrong.

13. From the superstitious credulity and imperfect civilization of the times, on the score of probability alone, the intervention of the supernatural was required for the allowance and conduct of so fateful an event as the fall of Troy; hence, the gods in the Iliad are never "Dii ex machinis," they are providential and governing, they prepare the conflict, mature the crisis, and strike with or even anticipate the blow of the hero. The heroes, however, are not dwarfed by their protectors, they are rather by the association raised to demigods, they are not so much helped by the gods as fight in their company. The difference even in the

Odyssey is discernible, in the Æneid the mythology is little else than ornamental, and in the Pharsalia there is none at all.

14. Many ancient and modern writers have supposed that the whole supernatural machinery of the Iliad is allegorical and figurative, and had no real existence in the intention of the poet. This supposition is inconsistent with the popular belief in the actual being of the divinities introduced, and with the graphic spirit of the poem. The body, colour, locality, and motion of Homer's deities demand a temporary faith in their personal agencies, and there are passages which cannot bear an allegorical interpretation; in some instances, however, the representation is allegorical. The celebrated description of λιταὶ, prayers, ix. 491, of Ἄτη, strife, and the mention of sleep and death as twins, xvi. 672, are surely allegories, a personification very different from the ordinary presentment of Pallas and Mars. In the fight of the gods, where Neptune is opposed to Apollo, Minerva to Mars, Juno to Diana, Vulcan to Scamander, the respective attributes are clearly put forward in an unusual manner, and the mythology is reduced to its first elements. On the whole, a continued allegorical interpretation is unreasonable, but in particular instances certain characteristic qualities seem to be simply personified for the purposes of poetry.

15. The question of allegorical intention in the Iliad has given rise to much discussion and dispute; this might have been avoided, had the distinction been observed between the origin of the Greek mythi and the use made of them by the poets: the origin was allegorical, the use by no means.

16. The opinions expressed to the contrary by several eminent writers, from Plato down to the commencement of the Christian æra, are the result

of philosophical zeal ; the Stoics and Pythagoreans being determined that the old heroic poetry should teach physics and the divine government of the world, the Epicureans showing better taste in leaving the Olympian deities to themselves.

17. The elaborate systems of interpretation of Iamblichus and Porphyry were directed to the single object of defending the old Paganism against the attacks of the Christian writers. The Christian fathers, particulary Origen and Clement of Alexandria, admitted the allegorical origin of the mythi, but said that the mass of mankind took them in their immediate sense; and even if the system were still understood as allegorical, it was indefensible after the light of Christianity had dawned upon the world.

18. The origin of the Greek mythology was therefore figurative; its foundation was partly physical, partly historical; the physical part was earlier, preceding the usurpation of Jupiter, and was properly a cosmogony, or history of the creation of the material universe, in which the parts and powers of nature were personified. In the historical interpretation the earliest Greek history is shadowed forth. Uranus or Heaven, reigned in Thessaly, he was expelled by Saturn and the Titans; he swallowed his children, but Jupiter, Pluto and Neptune, releasing the three imprisoned Titans, Cottus, Gyges, and Briarcus, dethroned Saturn. Jupiter became master of Olympus and Thessaly, Pluto of Epirus, a tract rich in mines, Neptune of the sea and islands. The three dynasties of Uranus, Saturn, and Jupiter, are twice distinctly marked by Æschylus, Prom. Vinc. 964, Agam. 176.

19. The historical mode of interpretation corresponds with the system of Euhemerus; he was a philosopher sent by Cassander, king of Macedon

to make a voyage of discovery in the Eastern Ocean, on his return he published a book called ἱερὰ ἀναγραφὴ, Sacred History. He said he touched at an island called Panchaia, in the capital of which, Panara, he found in a temple of Jupiter, a register of the births and deaths of many of the Olympian deities, incribed on a golden column placed there by Jupiter himself. His system was, that the popular deities, Saturn, Jupiter, &c. were mere mortal men, raised to the rank of gods on account of the benefits they had conferred on, or the power they had acquired amongst, mankind. Virgil alludes to this, "Totaque thuriferis Panchaia pinguis arenis."

20. The deities of Jupiter's race are chiefly moral figures. Jupiter married Metis, counsel, and then devoured her, and brought forth himself Minerva, practical wisdom; then he married Themis, justice, and by her had Eunomia, Dice, and Irene, good order, right, and peace; then he married Mnemosyne, memory, and had the muses.

21. The mysterious knowledge which Homer is supposed to conceal under allegory, has been traced to his Egyptian education, but Egypt appears (though civilized before Greece) never to have risen above mediocrity in the arts of war or peace. The Egyptians have left no literary works, though papyrus was the produce of their country; their hieroglyphics were the production of an infant state of society, not yet acquainted with alphabetical writing, and have been preserved by the dryness of the atmosphere, whilst those of other nations have perished. In architecture, sculpture, and painting, the Greeks were original, and took their ideas from nature. The pyramids, obelisks, &c. of Egypt were unmeaning, inelegant, and useless. Pythagoras and Thales studied mathematics in Egypt, and yet the knowledge they acquired

there could not have been great, as appears from their joy in discovering the 47th Prop. of the 1st book of Euclid, and how to inscribe a right angled triangle in a circle. Though they were enabled to place the pyramids so as to correspond with the four cardinal points of the compass, yet it was Thales who taught them to measure their height by their shadow. Homer was studied more in Egypt than in any other country, but it was by Greeks; its temperature, climate, fertility of soil, and situation in the tract of the East India trade, whilst they account for its antiquity, population, and wealth, are not favourable to genius, to great efforts, and happy exertions of mind or body.

22. Homer derived his system of theology and mythology from an accurate observation of nature, under the direction of a fine imagination and a sound understanding.

23. He believed in the unity, supremacy, omnipotence, and omniscience of the Creator; his power, wisdom, justice, mercy, aud truth are inculcated in various places; the immortality of the soul, a future state, of rewards and punishments, &c. are to be found in the Iliad. When he dishonoured his deities with the weakness and passions of human nature, he was submitting to the opinions and superstitions of the vulgar, whom he was obliged to conciliate. Plato censures him for this.

24. When his personages are most ideal, his scenery is real Grecian, and the Ionian point of view predominates, the laws of time and place are observed, and this gives an air of probability to the wildest excursions of fancy. Thus the journies of Neptune and Juno to assist the Trojans, may be traced along the map. Whilst Jupiter is on Gargara, the summit of Ida, looking toward Mysia, away from the scene of war, Neptune goes from Samothrace to Ægos for his armour, and

then puts up his chariot and horses between Imbros and Tenedos. Juno goes from Olympus to Athos, thence to Lemnos, where she engages in her interest the god of sleep; thence to Imbros, thence to Lectum, a promontory of Ida, then leaving the sea, to Gargara; all these places can be taken in from Ida and other situations in Asia Minor, but not from any situation in European Greece—an argument for the Asiatic origin of the poem.

25. The picturesque wildness which appears to a spectator in Asia Minor, when the sun sets behind the cloud-capped mountains of Macedonia and Thessaly, may have suggested the idea of the war of the Titans with the gods. Homer places the mountains correctly, not so Virgil, who probably never saw them.

Ὄσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὄσσῃ,
Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἵν' οὐρανὸς ἄμβατος εἴη.
Odys. xi. 314.

Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam,
Scilicet, atque Ossæ frondosum involvere Olympum. Georg. i. 281.

Homer's order is Olympus, Ossa, Pelion; Virgil's, Pelion, Ossa, Olympus.

26. The geographical disposition of Latium was not so favourable to fabulous adventures as that of Greece, where a most pleasing mixture of land and water gave a wonderful succession of scenery. When Homer would surprise his audience with something strange, he carried them to the unfrequented coast of Italy; this in Virgil's time was too well known to be the scene of fable. Circe's Island was in his neighbourhood, and the country of the Læstrygones among the gardens of the Roman nobility.

On the plan or primary argument of the Iliad.

27. Many critics discover an exquisiteness of artifice in the plan of the poem, which probably was never suspected by the author. In an age, when the only mode of publication was by reciting at feasts, it is difficult to conceive an adequate motive for the minstrel bards constructing a poem of 15,000 lines, (of which only a very small portion could be recited at once), with such minute care for a beginning, middle, and end, as is said to be apparent in the Iliad.

28. The division of the poem into twenty-four books, corresponding with the letters of the alphabet, (which however was the work of Aristarchus, and effected in a very arbitrary manner ;) and the fact of Aristotle's deducing his rules for the epic poem from the Iliad and Odyssey, and proposing them as complete and perfect models, have given rise to and confirmed this opinion of the critics.

29. Seneca says, that Apion, a grammarian of the age of Caligula, maintained that Homer himself made this division, and in proof of it, relied upon the first word of the Iliad, Μῆνιν, the first two letters of which signify forty-eight, the number of the books of the Iliad and Odyssey. He adds, "Talia sciat oportet, qui multa vult scire."

30. Some inconsistencies appear throughout the work. Thus Pylæmenes, chief of the Paphlagonians, is killed by Menelaus and Antilochus, v. 576 ; and in xiii. 650, Harpalion, his son, is killed by Meriones, and Pylæmenes, in propria persona, accompanies the body of his son, shedding tears of sorrow. In x. 447, Diomede and Ulysses meet a man in the dark, whom they address by name, without his having mentioned it ; it may, however be replied, that Dolon being son of a herald, and

himself a wealthy man, was previously known to them. In xviii. 192, Achilles says that the armour of none of the chiefs will suit him except the shield of Ajax, and yet the armour of Patroclus should have fitted him, as his did Patroclus.

31. The objection to the generally received opinion of the subject of the poem, which seems to be proposed by the poet himself, and which Coleridge adopts, and which is "the anger of Achilles," is, that on this hypothesis the poem should terminate on the reconciliation of Achilles and Agamemnon; and thus, all that exceeds the beginning of the eighteenth book, is redundant. The German critics adopting this argument, and finding this redundancy, rejected it as spurious; and the work of rejection commenced, book after book was pronounced an interpolation, until the whole work was divided between several authors, all equally unknown.

32. Coleridge answers this objection, by saying that the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon will legitimately include the act of reconciliation between them, and all its immediate consequences. The importance of the quarrel as a subject of a poem, consisted in its disastrous results; it was therefore no more than right, to show that the quarrel had caused the evils, by showing that the reconciliation had cured them.

33. He thinks also that the presumption of the necessity of a preconceived plan, exactly commensurate with the extent of the poem, is founded on a thorough misconception of the history and character of early heroic poetry; and is deduced from an analogy with the artificial contexture of the drama in its finished state: impassioned and varied narration, together with a certain consistency of character, being the paramount requisite in the first essays of national poetry. The intricacy of

the modern epics would be useless, as fragments only were presented at a time to the audience. From the first to the last line of the poem, the whole is *narratio directa*,* a straight and onward tale; the speeches of Nestor and Phœnix, shield of Achilles, &c. not being parentheses, as they are commonly called, but parts and acts of the story itself.

34. Penn makes the primary argument of the Iliad to be the Διὸς βουλὴ, or will of Jove, in working the death and burial of Hector, by the instrumentality of Achilles, (notwithstanding his opposition), as an immediate preliminary to the destruction of Troy. By removing the parenthesis in which the words Διὸς δὲ τελείετο βουλὴ, are usually inclosed, he says that the proem or introduction embraces two distinct propositions, connected by the adversative particle δὲ; that the μῆνις 'Αχιλῆος in the first clause is opposed by the Διὸς βουλὴ in the second, and in such a manner as to denote the superiority of the latter. The will of Achilles would seem frequently to oppose the will of Jupiter, but is always forced to yield. Thus the argument of the Iliad is intended to display "the irresistible power of the divine will over the most determined will of man," as that of the Odyssey, the power of man's will over every opposing difficulty.

35. On this hypothesis the Iliad corresponds with Aristotle's rules, and also with his judgment concerning the poem: it is engaged with one action, it is in itself a one, entire, and perfect whole, possessing those essential qualities of unity and entireness, a beginning, a middle, and an end. The anger of Achilles and its effects are the 'Αρχὴ,

* The poem of the Cid, the most ancient monument of Castilian poetry, is also mere history or chronicle.

or beginning; the death of Patroclus, where the will of Jupiter first shows its superiority over the will of man, is the *μέσον*, or middle; and the death of Hector and his funeral, in which the *Διὸς βουλὴ* is accomplished, is the end. The main action of the Iliad is single and simple, *μία καὶ ἁπλοῦς*, always directed to one point, viz. the bringing an honourable death and burial on Hector by the instrumentality of Achilles. That of the Odyssey is complicated, tending not only to the prosperity of Ulysses, but also to the destruction of the suitors; and the argument of the Iliad is exactly co-extensive with the length of the poem.

36. Coleridge objects to this hypothesis—that it takes the two last lines and a half of the prœmium out of the invocation, and makes them a mere assertion of the poet's; that the interpretation it proposes of the passage is harsh and foreign to the obvious construction; that it is a singular instance of involution and obscurity in a writer so plain and simple; that though the interpretation it proposes be true, still the subject of the song should seem to be that which the muse is invoked to sing, viz. the anger of Achilles.

Character of the Poetry.

37. The characteristics of the poem are truth, good sense, rapidity, and variety, bodied forth into shape by a vivid imagination, and borne on the wings of an inimitable versification. The phrase, "forceful liveliness," will express the excellence of the Homeric poetry as well as any other. There are not many passages in the Iliad, which can be properly called sublime; the grandest of those few is the description of the universal horror and

tumult attending on the battle of the gods, xx. 47. It is superior to the Titanian battle in the Theogonia.

38. The Homeric shield of Achilles, the Hesiodic (not Hesiod's) shield of Hercules, and Virgil's shield of Æneas, (which is little more than an epitome of Roman history in compliment to Augustus), are the three most famous shields ever forged by the armourers of Parnassus.

39. Flaxman and Pitts have proved the possibility of representing in metal, within the circumference of a shield, all the images in the Homeric description. The shield of Achilles contained a picture of the *social* and *material* world; on the boss were the sun, moon, and stars; on the circumference the ocean, the intermediate circle divided into compartments, in which peace and war were represented in various aspects; first, a city at peace, containing a bridal procession, then a trial in the forum, next a city beleagured, then the various scenes of agricultural life follow; first, the ploughman, then the reapers, then the vintage, then a picture of pasture, lastly, the Pyrrhic dance. In the centre of the Hesiodic shield was a serpent, on the rim, the ocean with swans and fishes; in the intermediate circle, first, a fight of lions and boars, then the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, then Apollo playing on his lyre among the gods, then an arm of the sea, with dolphins and a fisherman, then Perseus, a detached figure, with Medusa's head at his back, followed by the other Gorgons, then a besieged city, with Clotho, Lachesis, Atropos, and Achlys, the dimness of death, then a city at peace, full of festivals, then reaping, vintaging, boxing, hare-hunting, and the chariot race. The imagery is similar in both, but the images succeed each other in consecutive order in the Homeric. The Hesiodic images are huddled

together without connection or congruity. In the description of scenes of rustic peace, the superiority of Homer is decisive. In those of war and tumult, the Hesiodic poet has more than once the advantage. A taste of unerring purity reigns through the Homeric description, the same cannot be said of the other.

40. The work entitled the contest of Homer and Hesiod, Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἀγών, was written about the first half of the second century, as Adrian, who reigned from A.D. 117 to 138, is mentioned in it by name. It says that the judge Panoides awarded the prize to Hesiod, contrary to the voice of the whole assembly, because Hesiod exhorted men to peace and Homer to war; hence, the expression Πανοίδου ψῆφος, became proverbial for an absurd judgment.

41. One of the most beautiful passages in the Iliad, is that which describes Minerva arming herself for battle, v. 733, &c. Eustathius says the ancient critics marked it with an asterisk, to denote its beauty. The announcement by Antilochus to Achilles of the death of Patroclus, has been pointed out by Quinctilian as an instance of the perfection of energetic brevity, xviii. 20. The scene between Achilles and Priam, xxiv. 486, is the most profoundly skilful, and yet the simplest and most affecting passage in the Iliad.

Characters of the Poem.

42. The characters of the Iliad are admirable for their *variety* and *distinctness*; they are not so fully developed, or contrasted with each other, as in the drama, but they serve for conducting and animating the action of the poem. It would be

inconsistent with the plan of a modern epic, as the Æneid or Jerusalem delivered, to introduce so many warriors nearly equal in personal prowess, but in the Iliad they all move at large, and play the hero in turn, their distinct characters being always observed. The passion and ferocity of Achilles, the modesty and constancy of Diomede, the animal courage of Ajax, the courtliness of Ulysses, the generosity, kindness, and rashness of Hector, and the gentlemanly gallantry of Sarpedon, are very remarkable. The epithet *μεσαιπόλιος* (half grey), distinguishes Idomeneus, who in other respects is the least prominent among the chiefs; and Phœnix differs from Nestor, as an old man in private life from a veteran statesman. It is interesting to observe, how the same hand that has given us the fury and inconsistency of Achilles, gives us also the consummate elegance and tenderness of Helen; she is always the genuine lady, graceful in motion and speech, noble in her associations, full of remorse for a fault for which higher powers seem responsible, yet grateful and affectionate towards those with whom that fault had connected her. The lines, (xxiv. 762,) in which she laments Hector, and hints at her own invidious and unprotected situation in Troy, are perhaps the sweetest passage in the poem—a striking instance of that refinement of feeling and softness of tone, which so generally distinguish the last book of the Iliad from the rest. The tragedians have greatly debased the Homeric characters; on the stage they may be Athenians, but are no longer heroes. The Agamemnon of Æschylus, and the Ajax of Sophocles are exceptions, though these are rather equal than similar. Ulysses and Menelaus were the worst treated.

Similes.

43. The similes form a peculiar feature of the Iliad. There are more than two hundred of them in the Iliad, though not one in the first book. The Homeric simile has always a point of similitude, but beyond that one point, the degrees of resemblance vary infinitely. Almost each simile is a complete picture in itself; and often it is not easy to catch at a glance the middle point on which it is raised; for though many of them are very minute in their correspondence with the circumstances of the action, many more of them take, as it were, a hint from the occasion, and the poet goes on to finish the details of the image, which has been accidentally suggested to him. Thus, in the simile, Il. xii. 278, a beautiful and exact picture is given of the snow falling long and heavily by the sea-side on a quiet winter day; but the similitude consists merely in the frequent snow flakes, and the frequent missiles. Another simile of the same kind occurs in Il. x. 5, where Agamemnon is described as lying awake in anxious meditation; the point of comparison here also is between the quick succession of the drops of rain, or hailstones, or snow flakes, and the frequency of the groans of the hero. On the other hand, the simile in xiii. 137, where Hector rushing from the top of the Grecian wall into the intervening plain, till he comes close on the phalanx of the Ajaces, and then stopping, is compared to a piece of rock, loosened by a flood, and rushing from a mountain-top to the plain, where it stops, presents a likeness in each of its particulars. So also, the beautiful simile, xi. 473, where the wounded Ulysses keeps the Trojans at bay till Ajax comes to rescue him, is exquisitely picturesque, and with the exception

of the fate of Ulysses, minutely accurate. Homer, in his similes, discovers an accurate observation of the habits and appearances of animated nature. In the strict and proper sense of the word picturesque, viz. the mere description of the inanimate imagery of nature, few of the Homeric similes, (as Bishop Copleston remarks in his Prælectiones Academicæ) are pictures in themselves; though in one sense of the word, he is a picturesque writer, inasmuch as he brings before the mind's eye the doings of man or beast, so that you see them in a picture, and do not merely read of them. Nine-tenths indeed of his similes are taken from the motions and appearances of the animal creation—the lion, the bull, the boar, the eagle, the serpent, &c. are repeatedly introduced in varied aspects of action and repose; and the narrative of the two poems naturally led to this selection, on this principle, that we look to life for external motion and conflict, and to inanimate nature, for representations of mere station, form, and colour. Yet even in those similes he takes in an accompaniment of objects, marking the locality and the season with great clearness and harmony, as in the first simile in the Iliad ii. 87—of the bees; the hollow rock, the everlasting coming and going, the grapelike cluster, the spring flowers, and the mode of flight and motion, all evidence the poet's full sense of the picturesque. Neither of Virgil's parallelisms, Æneid i. 430, and vi. 707, can be compared to it. The Homeric similes taken from inanimate nature are few, but their fidelity is perfect, and the point of view and the colouring, prove the eye and the hand of a master genius. The second and third similes in the Iliad are of this class, Il. ii. 144, and also that in Iliad viii. 551, is remarkable for its beauty and truth; in the two former two distinct movements are illustrated (according to his custom), by two distinct and suc-

cessive similes. The French critics think (without reason), he ought to have devised one simile for both movements. Those who have come nearest to Homer, have been the earliest poets of their several countries, as Lucretius, Dante, and Chaucer, who have painted nature with rival, but original hands. In the strict sense of the word, Pindar is the most picturesque of the Greeks, and Dante of all the moderns.

Knowledge of the Arts.

44. Quinctilian says that the elements of all the arts are found in Homer. and what is so introduced bespeaks the accuracy of personal knowledge.

45. His geography of Greece and the coasts of Asia Minor, is remarkably exact. His descriptions of the Troade, though correct, seem to be incidentally introduced, as being quite familiar. His acquaintance with Ægypt and Phœnicia is obvious, though probably founded on relation only. Strabo has left us a judicious commentary on the geographical part of the Iliad and Odyssey. The authority of the catalogue was so highly respected, that in some cities it was by law enacted, that the youth should learn it by heart; and Solon appealed to it in justification of the Athenian claim to Salamis against the pretensions of the Megareans; and the five Spartan judges, admitting the nature of the evidence, decided in favour of the Athenians. Three other litigated cases are said to have been determined by reference to this chart. Pope, for the purposes of his metre, has introduced several epithets, and thus produced several inconsistencies and contradictions which are not in the original.

Navigation.

46. He describes the wind, waves, foam, motion, and tackle of the ship, with the familiarity and fondness of a frequent navigator. The ships of that period were galleys, with a single bench of oars, and one moveable mast. Thucydides says they had no deck, though the vessel built by Ulysses in the Odyssey seems to have been half-decked at least. The rudder was protected from the violence of the waves by a frame of wickerwork. No metal bolts, nothing but wooden fastenings. The saw is not mentioned among the tools furnished by Calypso. The trees selected by Ulysses, are the alder, poplar, and fir, the very materials of which the Turkish and other Levantine ships are now constructed. Sounding is not mentioned. The anchor, properly so called, was unknown. The prow of the vessel was tied by ropes to the shore; if the stay was temporary, the stern of the vessel was steadied by letting down heavy stones into the water; these were metaphorically called εὐναὶ, beds; but when the voyage was over, the vessel was drawn up on the shore, with the stern towards the land, and supported in an upright position by props, or a cradle running lengthwise. A naval engagement does not appear to have been known. The Bœotian vessels, which carried 120 men, were the largest; those of Philoctetes, carrying 50, the smallest; the average would be 85. They were rowed and navigated by the troops themselves. If the number of ships, according to Thucydides, be 1,200, (there are but 1,186 in the catalogue), the army would amount on the foregoing average to 102,000 men. The Homeric vessel seems very similar to the Indian or African war canoe. Few

countries, of the same extent, have so much sea-coast as Greece; the intercourse of its inhabitants was mostly kept up by water. There is no land journey regularly described in the Iliad or Odyssey, except that short one of Telemachus from Pylos to Sparta, and even there Nestor submits to his guest the alternative of going by sea, though much the longest way. The progress of the different states, as maritime powers, did not correspond with the account of their shipping, as stated by Homer. Thus, Corinth is barely mentioned in the catalogue, without any distinction to point out the eminence, which, from her situation, she afterwards acquired in maritime affairs. When Achilles or Ulysses talk of destroying cities with a fleet, the allusion is to the numbers, which they carried to act on shore; they confined themselves to timid coasting navigation, keeping as little as possible out of sight of land. Thus we find Nestor, Diomede, and Menelaus, consulting at Lesbos, whether, in returning to Greece, they should keep the Asiatic coast, till they passed Chios, which was the most secure, but the most tedious way, or venture directly across the open sea, which was the shortest, but the most dangerous. (The latter would now be the safest;) they chose the latter, and Diomede arrived at Argos, on the fourth day from his departure from Troy. Though Homer is supposed to be indebted to the Phenicians for his information with regard to distant voyages, he might have derived it from his countrymen, the Ionians, who, particularly the Phocœans, (the discoverers of Adria, Iberia, and Tuscany), and the Milesians, (who had founded seventy cities in different countries, before the Persian invasion), were amongst the earliest navigators. He mentions Arabia, Lybia, and Æthiopia, and perhaps was acquainted with Judæa. The story of Typhon,

who was vanquished by Jupiter's thunder, and buried in fire and sulphur, is familiar in Greek and Roman fable. The poets differ as to the place where he was defeated. Wood thinks it was the plain of Sodom. The similitude between the Greek and Jewish account of the impiety which drew down the vengeance, is striking, and Homer and Hesiod place the scene of the fable, ἐν Ἄρικοις. Josephus, Strabo, and others, make the Ἄρικοι the same as the Syrians. There is also a line belonging to this passage in Homer, not found in the MSS. but preserved by Strabo, and corrected by Dr. Taylor, which fixes the bed of Typhon in Judæa, Χῶρῳ ἐνὶ δρυόεντ' Ἰούδης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ. This is a slight evidence for Homer's acquaintance with Judæa. Virgil carries the scene of the fable to the vicinity of Naples, and out of Homer's ἐν Ἀρικοις, forms Inarima, a name which was afterwards affixed to the little island, before called Pithecusa. That Homer was acquainted with the Euxine, is evident from his description of the Hippomolgians, and other nations in its neighbourhood. There is no trace of the Adriatic in either of his poems, and though in the Batrachomyomachia the Eridanus is mentioned, it was another river, as the Padus had not acquired its Greek name so early. Phœacia or Corfu seems to have been the remotest land Homer knew towards the west, as he calls it, ἔσχαται. Even Herodotus seems unacquainted with the Adriatic.

Military Art.

47. Personal prowess decided every thing. The night attack and the ambuscade, though much esteemed, were never on a large scale. The chiefs

fight in advance, and enact almost as much as true knights of romance. There was no ditch or other work round the town, and the wall was accessible without a ladder; it was probably a vast mound of earth with a declivity outwards. Patroclus thrice mounts it in armour. The Trojans are in no respect blockaded, and receive assistance from their allies to the very end. The Homeric sword had an edge only, and no point; the ἄκων, or javelin, was a missile; the δορὺ or spear was hurled, or used as a pike, according to circumstances; the shield was not borne on the left arm, but hung like a breastplate close to the body. The Carians introduced the modern practice of bearing the shield separately. There was no cavalry, though horsemanship was not unknown. The chariot was like a truck, open behind, and so light that it might be carried on a man's back; thus Diomede* thinks of carrying off the chariot of Rhesus. No standards are mentioned, nor are trumpets used in the Homeric action itself, though the trumpet is introduced for the purpose of illustration, as employed in war, Il. xviii. 219, and xxi. 388; hence arose the value of a loud voice in a commander, and βοὴν ἀγαθὸς, was neither an inexpressive, nor a trivial title of a superior chieftain. The only machine mentioned is the wooden horse. Homer is silent as to the use of watchwords, and from the night adventure of Diomede, Ulysses, and Dolon, it seems clear that the Trojans had no sentinels. In the use of these, and in the silence and order with which the Greeks advance to action, the only superiority of the military discipline of the Greeks consist. Vico concludes from a passage in the Odyssey, i. 260, that poisoned arrows were

* Diomede, and on this occasion, is the only person mentioned in Homer as riding on horseback.

employed in war; the passage affords no proof as to common practice, and there is no allusion to that barbarous practice in the Iliad.

48. In surgery, agriculture, architecture, fortification, smith's and carpenter's work, the attainments of the age are accurately displayed, and yet with an ease and simplicity which indicate complete knowledge and long use. In that early age the poet must have possessed all the knowledge of men and things then attainable, for his character was pre-eminently that of a teacher, and no ignorance would have been excusable in one of his pretensions; he could not derive his information second-hand from books, there being none, and it was this necessity of learning every thing practically, by seeing and hearing, that induced the clearness and force of description so peculiar to Homer.

Language.

49. It is an error of the ancient grammarians to suppose the Homeric language consisted of a diversity of dialects; such a position is absurd if the Iliad be the work of a single author, and groundless even on the hypothesis of Heyne. The Iliad was written before the distinction of dialects existed. From the amalgamation of the Pelasgic and Hellenic, two shoots of the great Japetic or western form of speech, resulted a common language which, whether it be called Achæan, Danaic, or Doric, must be considered as the immediate basis of Homeric Greek. It is not probable that any very definite sub-division existed in the mother tongue previously to the colonization of the coasts of Asia Minor, first by emigrants from the Pelo-

ponessus, who were called Æolians, and subsequently by emigrants from Attica, who were called Ionians; and it may be presumed, that the distinctions of Doric, Æolic, and Ionic, denoted, previously to the emigrations to Asia, nothing more than the different settlements of the same family or tribe of Hellen. Hellen, (son of Deucalion,) from whom the Greeks received their name, had three sons, Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus; Æolus and Dorus having fixed on settlements apart, and intermarrying with different houses, formed distinct tribes or clans; Xuthus passed into Attica, and married a daughter of Erectheus, by whom he had two sons, Achæus and Ion; Achæus retired into Laconia, and gave his name to that country, whilst the Athenians adopted that of Ion, and from him were called, in Homer's time, Ἰάονες, Il. xiii. 685, and their language Ionian. Neleus, son of Codrus, led a colony of these Ionians into Asia Minor, who carried their language with them. These having been only Attics by residence and Ionians by blood, were thenceforth styled Ionians, whilst those who remained at Attica assumed the name of Attics or Athenians. Before this migration, the Hellenes being, on the return of the Heraclidæ, expelled from their settlements, fled to Achæa, and forced its inhabitants into Attica, these were afterwards called Attic-Ionians, to distinguish them from those who remained in the Peloponessus, called Ægialean Ionians. Thus a double alliance took place between the ancient Ionic and Æolic, one antecedent, the other subsequent to the Asiatic migration. The Ionians were the first who refined their native tongue, in consequence of their commerce with, and proximity to, civilized Asia, and the richness of their soil; the Æolians also improved theirs, but retained many usages omitted by the Ionians.

The birth and growth of the Attic were later, and founded on a much more general adoption of the idioms of foreign nations; the Doric of Laconia and Messenia may be considered as remaining the spring of the whole, much refined in course of time, but still preeminently the mother tongue of Greece. A colony of Æolians also settled in Sicily, and another being driven from Arcadia by the Hellenes, emigrated to Latium, where they introduced the original Pelasgic language and characters; hence the similarity of the Latin and Æolic dialects. The Iliad is written in the softest and most improved Greek of the time, sciz. the Ionian. Those words which have been called instances of other dialects, are really legitimate parts of the ancient common speech, and only became peculiar when dialects subsequently arose, retaining idioms which, though rejected by others, were equally the genuine offspring of the old and fundamental language. If the Heraclidæ returned to the Peloponnese, B.C. 1044, and were finally settled there 984 B.C. and if the Ionic migration took place sixty years afterwards, B.C. 924, and if Homer lived 907 B.C. according to the Arundelian Marbles, or 884, according to Herodotus, he must have lived shortly after the Ionic migration. Knight supposes he was one of the original settlers. He greatly improved the language. Greek is said to have sprang completely formed from his mouth, as Minerva from Jupiter's head; certainly, as in the cases of Dante and Chaucer, a very remarkable refinement is to be dated from the composition of the Iliad. Bentley gives the Homeric language the title of Æolico-Ionic. The Greek of the Iliad, though not equal to express metaphysic abstractions, is to express strong and distinct feeling, and is much more precise than that of Nonnus, Quintus, and other imitators in the decline of

Greek literature, who almost entirely omit the numerous particles which so finely articulate the pulses of emotion in the Iliad. The strict rules of grammatical concord and analogy are not more frequently violated in Homer than in Thucydides; these seeming violations being perhaps owing to our ignorance of the genius and full powers of the language. The Ionic was particularly adapted to the hexameter, which was carried to its highest perfection by the poets of Ionia. The Attic was essentially contracted Ionic. The Ionics availed themselves of an artifice called μεταπλασμὸς κλίσεως, or transposition of the declension, which consisted in the assumption of a different nominative from that in ordinary use as the basis of inflection. Thus, ἀλκί, λιτί, as from ἄλς. λίς, instead of ἀλκὴ. λιτὴ, &c. The augment seems to have been unknown to, or found place but very seldom in, the primitive language. The Ionic fluctuated in its use; from certain compounds it constantly excludes it, in others it invariably retains it, in others it was used or dispensed with according to the exigencies of the rhythm. It is not found in the tenses of περιβαίνω and περιβάλλω, it is always in those of ἀμφικαλύπτω and ἀμφιπένομαι. The Attic writers invariably made use of the augment in prose, but allowed themselves some latitude in verse, which approached more nearly to the standard of the ancient language; the Attic tragic authors, however, invariably used the augment. Homer wrote in old Ionic, Herodotus in new—the principal points of difference are the following five—1. The Ionic of Herodotus presents far more numerous instances of the use of the augment than that of Homer; a proof of the extreme rareness of its use in the primitive dialect. 2. The later Ionic omitted the ephelcustic ν, even in cases where the following word began with a vowel

or diphthong, an hiatus inadmissible in Homer. 3. The change of the soft into aspirate mutes before aspirated vowels, which regularly takes place in Homer, occurs not in Herodotus. 4. The dative singular of the third declension is expressed in Homer with the diæresis, in Herodotus never, he uses πόλι, δύναμι, &c. 5. In the particles πώ, πώς, ἐίπως, &c. the later Ionics changed π into κ. The writers in the old Attic are Thucydides and the tragic poets—in the middle, Aristophanes, Lysias, Plato—in the new, Æschines, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Menander, Xenophon. In the old Doric, Epicharmus, Sophron, and the writers of the original songs to Bacchus, which were succeeded by the chorusses in tragedy. In new Doric, Bion, Callimachus, Moschus, Pindar, Theocritus. In Ionic, Anacreon, Arrian, Herodotus, Hippocrates, Pythagoras. In Æolic, Alcæus, Sappho. The language of Troy was that of Greece, particularly of Thrace, and the earliest Greek poets were from the neighbourhood of the Troade; thus Orpheus, Musæus, Eumolpus, Thamyris, were of Thrace. The rival patronage of so many separate and independent states contributed greatly to the improvement of the Greek language.

Digamma.

50. The old dialects of Greece admitted few or no aspirates. The digamma was calculated to prevent the hiatus, which the concurrence of vowels would produce; this letter or mark was common to the Ionians, Æolians, Dorians, Laconians, and Bœotians. Aspirates were afterwards introduced into all the dialects except the Æolic, which ad-

hered longer than the others to the digamma, hence it has preserved the name of the Æolic digamma. The form of this character was at first a gamma reversed, then a gamma, then a double gamma F, whence it derives its name; hence it has sometimes been written Γαβιοι for Fαβιοι. The Emperor Claudian ordered that it should be written Ⅎ or F reversed, but probably that form ended with the inscription on his tomb. The character itself is not found in any manuscripts of ancient poets, but it is distinctly written on the Delian marble discovered by Montfaucon in 1708; on some coins of the Greek town of Velia, in Italy; and on the inscription discovered by Gell, in 1813, near Olympia, in Elis, which is in the Æolic dialect, and is supposed to be dated about 615 B.C. This is the most ancient prose extant, and yet is more modern than Homer's language, particularly in the application of the article to proper names, the general omission of which is a strong proof of the antiquity of the Iliad and Odyssey. It cannot be ascertained what was the pronunciation of the digamma. In its origin it was a soft, guttural sound, like gh in cough; from a guttural, the transition was natural to the sound of our W. In this state it passed into Italy, under the form of V, the sound of which it had in the Æolic dialect and in Latin. The Lacedæmonian dialect, a branch of the Æolic, pronounced and wrote it like B, a letter which, in modern Greece, has the sound of V. That the same similarity existed in Latin appears by the deduction of ferbui from ferveo, &c. (Thus the Latin V. was frequently expressed in Greek by B, as Βάῤῥων from Varro, and the Greek B was changed in Latin into V, as βαδω, vado.) Dionysius of Halicarnassus compares its sound with that of the diphthong ου in Ουέλια, Velia. So Virgilius was written by the Greek writers in the

F

reign of the Cæsars Ουιργίλιος. This opinion Dunbar adopts. It is possible that the digamma final, or before a consonant, was pronounced like our F, and before a vowel like our V. (The Ionic Vαυ or Bαῦ seems to have been the same as the Æolic digamma.) Thus οἶνος vinum, οἶκος vicus, ἦρ, ver. ἴς. vis. ὄϊς. ovis. αἰὼν ævum, ὕλη, sylva. From the last instance it appears that the aspirate breathing in our language is often represented by S in another. So ἕξ sex. ὑπὲρ super. ὗς, sus. It would appear that the digamma was at first a rough breathing, that several words were aspirated in the early ages, which were pronounced with the soft breathing after the Persian wars; and that the ancient Greek aspiration was much rougher than that preserved by the literary part of the nation afterwards, for we find the aspirate is strong enough in Homer to prevent the collision of concurring vowels, which it is unable to do in the Tragedians—so in English, a hero, a hand, the hill, &c. The use of the digamma having been insensibly abolished by the introduction of aspirates, the transcribers of Homer neglected to mark it, and at length the vestiges of its existence were confined to a few ancient inscriptions. To remove the hiatus, his commentators interposed ν, or the particles γ', δ', τ'; (but these couldnot suit every passage,) or doubled consonants, &c. Bentley was the great restorer of the digamma. He supposed the character as well as the power to have existed in Homer's time, and proposed an edition of the Iliad with the digamma prefixed—since executed by Knight. Dawes supposed the power to have existed in Homer's time, the character to be of subsequent creation. If there were any charaters in Homer's time, probably the digamma existed, but was omitted on the revival of the poems under Pisistratus, its power having then become obsolete. The difficulty

in the application of the digamma is that there is not one digammated word in Homer, with regard to which the use of the digamma is constant; ἅλις. εἴδω. οἶκος. οἶνος. are the most frequently digammated. Yet to them there are exceptions. To solve this difficulty it is supposed that the Homeric poems were composed at a period when the use of it was still general, but yet beginning to be laid aside, and that the application or non-application of it had become the subject of poetical license, in some words its use, in others its omission, being the more common. Augments often retain the digamma of the verb, as ἔολπα from ἔλπω. Many words take a double digamma; one before the augment, the other before the verb, as νυκτὶ FεFοικως. In many compounded words the digamma is placed in the middle, as προFείδω. It is inserted in several simple words, as ὄFις, ὕλFη. ι and υ were substituted for the digamma. Hence to 'ΑτρέFδης succeeded 'Ατρείδης. The Latin dialect naturally adopted the Æolic digamma, which is generally expressed by V, as ἑστία Vesta, &c.—(Vide Valpy's grammar). Sometimes by B, as δύω, dubium, μόρος, morbus, by C, as ἕτερα, cetera, F, as ὅμιλος, famulus, R, as ἵλαος, hilaris. In English the digamma has become W, νέος, new, vermis, worm, fistula, whistle. The digamma was a principal agent in the formation of tenses in Latin; thus from amo, amai, was formed amavi, deleo, delei, delevi.

The Attics endeavoured to avoid the hiatus more than the other Greeks, and amongst the Attics the poets more than the prose writers. They employed three modes to avoid it. The ν ἐφελκύστικον, apostrophe, and contraction, The Ionians used these means very seldom (not being offended at the concourse of vowels), and only in poetry. The hiatus is frequent in Herodotus. The digamma is

supposed to have occupied the sixth place in the original Pelasgic alphabet of ancient Greece. The principles on which Bentley proceeded, in his discovery of the digamma, rested on the observation that there were certain words in Homer beginning with a vowel, which were never preceded by a consonant, and others of which the two first syllables were short, which were never preceded by a double consonant, except in cases of clear corruption and easy correction, (Dawes found this the case in all the places in the Iliad where ἄναξ and ἔπος occur) ; hence he concluded that the digamma must have formed a constituent part of these and similar words, to prevent the metre being violated; there are, however, places where its use is irreconcileable. Matthiæ disputes, sec. 41, its existence, and Dunbar thinks it necessary only in οἶνος and εἴδω. Dawes differs from Bentley in two points: 1st—he calls it the Ionic bau, and gives it the power of W. Knight supports Dawes; Bishop Marsh opposes him, and gives it the power of F. 2d—Bentley thought both character and power were known to Homer; Dawes only the character. It would seem to be known to Homer from its being found on monuments; but was omitted from his poems by the grammarians under Pisistratus. Heyne has followed up Dawes' principles. There are several words digammated by the ancient grammarians which do not admit the digamma in Homer. For list of digammated words, vide Trollope, Coleridge, and Thiersch. Thiersch proves the existence of the digamma in Homer—1st, by words which still retain it in the text, as γέννοι for ἕλον, γέντο for ἕλετο—2d, by its necessity to account for the metre, hiatus, &c. &c., before words from which it has disappeared in the text. No word had it so frequently as the pronoun of the third person, ἕο, ἕθεν, οἷ, ἕ. That it existed in thi

and other words is thus manifested. When short vowels suffer no elision before them, as Il. *a*. 4, 7, when in composition neither elision nor crasis takes place, as ἀπόειπε, ἄεργος, when verbs, which should take the temporal augment take the syllabic, ἔαξε, or have the digamma converted into υ still remaining, as εὔαδεν. Thiersch accounts for the inconsistent use of the digamma in Homer, partly from the ignorance of grammarians and transcribers—partly from the fact or general rule, that after apostrophe the digamma is thrown away, as Il. γ. 103—ζ. 474—and partly as is the case with other consonants, from the necessities of the versification. Thus γαῖα, αἶα. Il. Β. 95, and Γ. 243, διώκω, ἰωκή—κιών, ἰών—λείβω, εἴβω—σῦς, ὗς, &c. &c. Since these words, according to the exigencies of the metre, retain or reject the consonant, digammated words on the same principle, sometimes throw away the digamma; and this supposition is confirmed by the mutability of the letter, its suppression after apostrophe, and its entire extinction in later times.

Apostrophe injures the forms of words, by making them similar to one another, and thus undistinguishable; placed after consonants, however, it allows the syllables to be discriminated through the pronunciation; on the other hand, it is impossible to make elision sensibly heard between vowels, as κύψει' ὁ γέρων. Here apostrophe is merely a mark for the eye. Since, therefore, the Homeric poems were immediately intended for the ear, it is proper, according to Herman, to remove apostrophe, even after consonants, where this can be effected by the insertion of other forms, as in the above example, by κύψαι ὁ γέρων.

Versification.

51. The metre of the Iliad is the best, and its rhythm the least, understood of any in use amongst the ancients. The trimeter Iambic was written with almost equal success by numberless Greek poets, because the technical rules of the Senarius would, if closely followed, in all competent hands, produce nearly the same effect—whereas no one ever maintained for twenty lines together the Homeric modulation of the hexameter, on account of the endless variety of its rhythm, The specific excellence of the Homeric rhythm, is its endless variety. Quintus Smyrnæus is the best imitator of the manner of the Iliad. The last line of the Iliad is admired by Cowper for its beauty and simplicity—(the conclusion of the Paradise Lost is not unlike)—but if the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad be not Homer's, Cowper's admiration must be groundless.

There is nothing in Homer more deserving of admiration than the expressive simplicity, and the harmonious cadence, of his versification. The majestic force of compound epithets; the harmonious pauses; the easy flow of the numbers; and the unvaried adaptation of the sound to the sense, are appreciated by every reader.

52. In the Homeric hexameter the principal cæsura is the penthemimeral, or the division of the verse at the end of a word, in the middle of the third foot, where the voice naturally pauses in reading it. Of this there are two species, the syllabic, as in the first line, and the trochaic, as in the second; they occur nearly equally, though in the first book there are 315 lines having the trochaic, and only 290 lines having the syllabic—there being only six lines having no cæsura, viz.—145, 218, 307, 400, 466, 584. Of these verses

the greater proportion divide themselves into three distinct syzygies, or pairs of feet, many of them consisting entirely of proper names. A division of the verse also frequently occurs in the middle of the fourth foot, which is called the hephthemimeral cæsura. There are very few verses, however, containing this, in which the other is not also found. The following are nearly all the examples in the Iliad of the hephthemimeral cæsura only: Γ. 71; Δ. 124, 329, 451; Θ. 346; I. 186; K. 502; Λ. 494; N. 715; O. 368; Σ. 567; T. 38; Φ. 292; X. 258; Ψ. 362.

53. It is a well-known property of the cæsura, that if the vowel on which it falls be the last of a word, and short, such vowel is consequently lengthened; in addition to this, however, there are continual instances in Homer of the lengthening of short syllables, both at the *beginning* and *end* of words, provided that such syllables be the first of the foot. The principle on which this proceeds is similar to that of the cæsura, and arises from the swell of the voice on the first syllable of every foot, which was considered necessary to the proper reading of the verse. The increase of time, which this rising inflection of the voice, called the *arsis*, required, to elevate it above the ordinary tone, was considered a sufficient cause for lengthening the syllable on which it fell. For example, see Iliad A. 36; Δ. 135; I. 313; T. 5 43, 367, 390, 400. In order to lengthen a syllable in the middle of a word, it was usual to double the succeeding consonant, or to substitute, instead of the vowel, the corresponding diphthong—as, ἔδδεισε, τελείετο. Dunbar, however, accounts for the production of the syllable on the same principle as in other cases, and employs only the single consonant or vowel. In A. 342; X. 5; the adjective ὀλοὸς seeming to be an exception, as it occurs with the

penultima long, the only apparent reason for which is derived from the arsis—the readings ὀλωῆσι and ὀλωῇ, ὀλοιῆσι, and ὀλοιῇ having no authority. In the compounds ἀποειπὼν T. 35, ἀποέρσῃ, Φ. 283, and the like, the verb and the preposition must be considered as distinct.

There are some instances also of the lengthening of short syllables at the end of a foot, (*i. e.* in the thesis, or fall of the voice,) before a liquid; hence these letters are supposed to have possessed a certain property of doubling themselves in the pronunciation, by which means the preceding vowel becomes long—thus, E. 358. This vis ἐκτατικὴ, as it is called, unquestionable belonged to the initial ρ. The case is different in A. 193—ἕως ὁ ταῦθ'—here the pronoun is emphatic, and the stress of the voice, which in consequence rested on it, had the effect of lengthening the syllable. Compare K. 507; O. 539; P. 106; Σ. 15; Φ. 602; in all these cases Bentley proposes to read ἕως ὅγε.

Of the shortening of long vowels or diphthongs.

54. It may be observed as a general rule, that a long vowel or diphthong at the *end* of a word, before another vowel or diphthong, is always made short, except in the arsis; but in the beginning or middle of a word it generally remains long, under the same circumstances. The only exception to the former part of the rule is B. 144, where Dunbar, to whom the canon is due, would read πόντου τ' Ἰκαρίοιο, observing, that πόντος is usually applied to this sea by Homer, and θάλασσα to the Ægean; so that two seas are intended, and not one only, by means of apposition. With regard to long vowels or diphthongs remaining so in the beginning or middle of words, exceptions are chiefly confined

to the word ἐπειὴ, as in A. 169 and elsewhere; which Thiersch explains, by supposing that ἐπειὴ was originally read ἐπεὶ ἦ. In B. 415, and other passages, when the word δήϊος occurs with the first syllable short, the ι may be subscribed; and in Λ 380, the true reading is probably βέβλεαι, the 2d sing. pres. pass. of βέβλημι. With respect to the Correptiones Atticæ, as they are called, (*i. e.* the shortening of vowels before words beginning with a double consonant, or a mute and a liquid,) it is a peculiarity of Homer that he seldom adopts them, unless in those words, chiefly proper names, which could not otherwise have place in a hexameter. Thus the words βραχίων, δράκων, κραδαίνω, and the genitive plural of βροτὸς, must have been entirely excluded from the Iliad, without a partial admission of this license. Compare M. 389; B. 308; N. 504; H. 446. The same observation applies to the words Σκάμανδρος, B. 465; Ζάκυνθον, B. 634; Ζέλειαν, B. 824, &c. In Γ, 414, the word σχετλίη occurs with the first syllable short, which, unless it be corrupt, cannot be excused on the plea of necessity; neither can the shortening of δὲ before δράγματα, in Λ. 69, and before χρεῖον, in Ψ 186. Such instances, however, are very rare—if frequent, they would injure the melody.

Of Elision or Apostrophe, and Crasis

55. All the short and doubtful vowels are elided by Homer (except Υ), together with the diphthong Αι, and sometimes, though rarely, Οι. The latter usage has indeed been doubted altogether; but there are some unquestionable examples in the Iliad—as N. 481. Compare Iliad Z. 165; I. 673; K. 544; Π. 207. This elision, however, seems to

be confined to *μοι* and *τοι*; of the elision of *αι* before a short vowel, the instances are numerous. With respect to vowels, the only observation of importance relates to the final *ι* of the dative singular, of which the elision is extremely rare. In E. 5, we have *ἀστέρ ὀπωρινῷ*. Compare Π. 385; Δ. 259; Λ. 588; M. 88; N. 289; Ω. 26. The most usual *crases* in Homer are those of *η* with the diphthong *ου*—as in E. 349, *ἤ οὐχ ἅλις*; and with *ει*—as in E. 466, *ἤ εἰσόκε*. The particle *δὴ* also, sometimes forms a crasis with the initial vowel of the following word—as in Υ. 220, *ὃς δὴ ἀφνειότατος*. A crasis of a somewhat remarkable nature is constructed between the diphthongs *ει* and *ου* in N. 777. Compare Odyssey Δ. 352; Λ. 1.

Of Synizesis.

56. This figure is nearly allied to crasis, and consists in the extrusion of a short vowel before a long one or a diphthong, by which means two syllables coalesce into one. This is particularly the case with the vowels *εω*—as in A. I, *Πηληϊάδεω*; and *εα*—as in the accusative singular of nouns in *ευς*. The two last syllables, however, do not necessarily coalesce in these accusatives, as some suppose—since the final *α*, though generally long, is not necessarily so—and the few deviations from the rule which are to be found in Attic poets, have most probably arisen out of the sanction which the Ionic dialect affords.

57. The Greek language was probably a good deal cultivated before Homer's time; for though it may be doubted that Olen, Orpheus, Musæus, and Eumolpus preceded him, there can be no

doubt about Thamyris, whom he represents in B. 595, as having contended with the muses. No art was cultivated so early as poetry. The praises of the gods and heroes were celebrated in verse; the laws, maxims of morality, and the history of events were recorded in poetry. Great facility also was afforded for this cultivation by the nature of the Greek language; its expressive sounds, its varieties of flexion, its wonderful aptness for combination, and singular felicity for characterising every object of nature rendered it peculiarly susceptible of improvement. Consequently Homer found the poetical style in a high state of improvement, retaining, however, in a few instances, vestiges from the rude state from which it had sprung, such as the terminations *φι*, *θα*, *θε*, *θεν* and *δε*. The Ionic dialect, which he chiefly used, had been refined as much as possible by the elision of consonants, and the bringing together as many vowels as were consistent with the structure of the component parts of words and the harmony of sound.

58. Three things must be proved before it is admitted that Homer used the Æolic digamma—1st, that he chiefly used the Æolic dialect—2dly, that the digamma was not a vowel sound, but always possessed the power of a consonant—3dly, that it is essentially necessary for his versification. (1.) Homer wrote in the Ionic, not in the Æolic, dialect; for though some peculiarities of the Æolic dialect are found in Homer, the same may be said of the Attic and others, and yet he did not write in those dialects. (2.) Though it may be said that the Ionians use the Ionic vau, with the power of a consonant instead of the digamma, yet Dunbar thinks that both were merely rough breathings, which at first were wholly guttural, but afterwards softened to the breathing of

the letter H, and lastly to the spiritus asper. (in the Sigæan inscription, and others, H is used as an aspirate) ; the H was abbreviated into the form of F (the digamma) for the sake of despatch; it afterwards assumed a crescent shape ϵ, and lastly that of the spiritus asper. ʽ. Even though the digamma or Ionic vau had been used by the early Greeks as a consonant it must have disappeared before Homer's time, for his language has every mark of high cultivation and of a systematic endeavour to exclude a multiplicity of consonants. Then to introduce the digamma as a consonant, with the power of F. or V, would be to rebarbarize the language. The supporters of the digamma should shew what was its particular character among the Æolians; but in this they are not agreed, some giving it the sound of ου, others of f or v, and unless it can be shewn that Homer used the Æolic dialect alone, it may be asserted with equal confidence that he used B, which was employed by the Lacedæmonians instead of the digamma, or π and φ, which were used by others. Knight makes the digamma a simple aspirate rather than an aspirated consonant, differing from the common note of aspiration in the impulse being given from the throat rather than from the tongue and palate. Dr. Burgess makes the digamma long υ or double υ ; that thus it was opposed to upsilon, as omicron to omega. He considered it a vowel, and that though it resembles a double gamma it was in fact a double vau, and that it was called vau (from the Hebrew) before it was called digamma. V and υ also in Latin were nearly convertible sounds, with this difference, that the v was always pronounced before a vowel, with the sound of the Greek ου or English oo, as in good, and with a slight aspiration; the υ always before a consonant without the least aspiration, and with a more

open sound. The argument has little weight that rests on the Latin V being used for the digamma in several words derived from Greek, for there is no evidence that the Æolians ever sent colonies to Italy. These colonies rather seem to have been wandering tribes of the ancient Pelasgi, who carried with them their barbarous pronunciation, and retained it after the language of the mother country was improved and refined, before and at Homer's time. If the digamma had ever been used as a consonant before particular words, it is fair to conclude that it would always have continued so, and not occasionally; it would also have remained a fixed letter in the language, like any other consonant, neither of which has happened. Whereas, supposing it to have had the sound of a vowel, or a rough breathing, it might be considered only as an organic peculiarity in pronunciation, and would be changed, like all other peculiarities of the same kind, when the language became more improved—nor, in the third place, is it necessary to sustain the metre, or prevent the hiatus of vowels; it will be evident, from Dunbar's rules, that the metre does not require its interposition, except in two words at most, οἶνος and εἴδω, which, however, either by a different collocation, or a partial change, may be rendered independent of it. To prevent the hiatus in several places the ν is added*, as was done by later poets. Had the digamma been originally employed for this purpose it is not likely that so useful a letter would have entirely disappeared, as it did in the time of Herodotus, who quotes a line Il. z. 289, in which the insertion of the digamma as a consonant would ruin the metre. Its supporters always prefix it to

Probably by Homer; more probably by the Alexandrian grammarians, from the practice of the Attic poets.

ὃς his.; but in Σ. 5 the digamma as a consonant would ruin the metre. Had the digamma been used as it is asserted, it would have been preserved with as much care as those remains of the ancient language, θα, θεν, δε, φι, &c. Hermann thinks that an hiatus takes place in hexameters only when the last syllable of the word ending in the vowel, before the word beginning with a vowel, is not in the arsis. Heyne thinks that the hiatus takes place when a vowel at the end of a word goes before a word beginning with a vowel, and is not elided. Dunbar does not approve of either. On the latter hypothesis the hiatus would take place in many instances, where no digamma was ever thought of, as A. 333, B. 87, E 568, K. 93; it is therefore fair to conclude that the digamma was not judged necessary to prevent the hiatus of vowels, since if it was not employed universally for that purpose, we can have no evidence that it was used partially. In many instances the digamma, if inserted with those words which have a claim to it, would injure the metre, Z. 886; A. 437; P. 260; Σ. 5, 274, &c. The digamma also would introduce two aspirates in two successive syllables, which the Attics always avoided, as in Ody. 1, 279, Λ. 296.

The following are the laws, on which, from a most copious induction of particulars, Dunbar conceives the structure of Homer's verse to be chiefly founded—

1. A long vowel or diphthong at the end of a word, before another vowel or dipthong, is always short, except in cæsural syllables, which must be uniformly long.

2. A long vowel or diphthong, in the beginning or middle of a word, before another vowel or diphthong, is always long.

3. A long vowel or diphthong, preceding a short vowel in the end of a word, elided in consequence

of the next word beginning with a vowel, remains long before that vowel.

4. A vowel naturally short frequently forms the first syllable of a foot, whether at the beginning of a verse or in the middle of a word, in consequence of the ictus metricus, or lengthened tone of the voice upon that syllable.

5. A syllable, naturally short, when it happens to be the cæsura, is for the same reason made long.

6. The conjunction καὶ ought never to be the first syllable of a foot, before a word beginning either with a vowel or a diphthong.

60. These rules do away with the necessity of doubling consonants, or introducing a new one, as the digamma. He was led to make these deductions in consequence of some ingenious critics having imagined that the long vowels, being composed of double letters, were divided in pronunciation, in those cases in which the metre requires them to be short, and that the former retained the vowel sound, with its original time, while the latter was made to coalesce with the succeeding vowel.—Whether this ever took place with the long vowels may be considered doubtful. It is more probable that the diphthongs, which are also compounds, were pronounced in some such way, the præpositive vowel being sounded by itself, with its usual quantity, except when it formed the cæsural syllable, and the subjunctive being transferred, as a consonant, to the succeeding vowel. In Iambic, and sometimes in Trochaic and Anapæstic verse this takes place in the middle of a word, but never in Hexameter, except at the end. Thus in Oedip. Ty. 140, κᾶμ ἄν, τοιαύτη χειρὶ τιμωρεῖν, θέλοι. In the Il. i. 33, ought probably to be read in this manner—
Λἰδεῖς|θαι θ' ἱε|ρῆα, κα|y ἀγλαὰ|δέχθα y ἄ|ποινα.

61. The first rule holds no less than 210 times

in the 1st bk., with only five or six exceptions, which may be considered as errors capable of emendation. The cæsural syllables of long vowels and diphthongs occur in the same bk. upwards of 60 times; the following are examples—A 30, 98, 119, 132, 321; the correction of 145 was given before. The genitive Πάνθου 17, 9, and 23, 40, and 3, 146, which violates this rule, should be read Πανθόου, for the patronymic is Πανθοΐδης, which could not have been formed from Πάνθος. Patronymics formed from proper names in ος have ιδης if the preceding syllable is short, as Αἰακίδης from Αἴακος, ιαδης or ειδης, if it is long, as Πηληϊάδης or Πηλείδης; besides, the derivation is πᾶν and θοὸς, celer.

62. The deviations from the 2d rule in the 1st book are only two or three (156 and 169), chiefly in the word ἐπειὴ, in which ει is made short before η. Dunbar thinks the word ἐπειὴ a creation of some ignorant critic, and that Homer wrote ἐπεὶ. He corrects both the lines by restoring the elided vowel; δήϊος also offends against this rule, but it may be amended by subscribing the iota, or making it, with η, an improper diphthong, or perhaps the adjective should be δάϊος, in which α is always short. βέβληαι never violates the rule, except in one place, Λ 380; but the true reading has been preserved in the Cod. Venet. βέβλεαι. 2d sing. pres. pass. from βέβλημι. To these may be added ληΐστη I. 408; but the true reading, as in the Cod. Venet. is λεΐστη, which also should be the reading in verse 406; also οἶοσ N. 275, the reading should be ὡς ἐστὶ for οἶος ἐσσἶ.

63. There are a few deviations from the 3d rule, particularly when the conjunction ἠ̑ occurs. Thus in A. 145, the ἠ̑ before Ἰδομενεὺς should be short. By first rule the ἠ̑ should be read ἤ', the ε being elided before the vowel.

64. Fourth Rule. In the different feet used by

the poets, there is always the ictus metricus, or stress of the voice, upon one particular syllable of each foot, according to the nature of the verse. This ictus has been called the arsis, or rising inflection of the voice upon that syllable, while the other syllable or syllables have the thesis, or falling inflection. In Iambic verse the ictus or arsis is upon the second syllable of an Iambus, the second of a spondee, the last of an anapæst, and the first of a dactyl—in Trochaic verse, on the first of a trochee, spondee, and dactyl, and last of an anapæst—in Anapæstic verse, on the last of an anapæst, and on the first of a spondee and dactyl. The tribrach, consisting of three short syllables, can have no ictus on any one of them, nor can a dactyl or anapæst have the ictus on any of their short syllables. In Hexameter verse the ictus is always on the first syllable of the foot. The use of the ictus is to preserve the harmonious rhythm of the verse.

65. One of the causes assigned by Clarke for lengthening short cæsural syllables is, the following word having the aspirate, which, he says, was often pronounced as a consonant, or as the digamma. Heyne echoes nearly the same sentiments. But if the aspirate had such a power, we might reasonably suppose that in those Latin words formed from the Greek, which substitute an h for the aspirate, that letter would have the power of a consonant in supporting short vowels. It is, however, merely a vowel-sound, and never sustains a vowel or short syllable. The true cause is, the ictus metricus, in consequence of which the first syllable of a foot, whether in the end, beginning, or middle of a word, must be pronounced equal in length to a syllable naturally long, to preserve the harmony of the verse. On this principle depends the lengthening of all cæsural syllables, as well vowels and diphthongs as short syllables; also the lengthening of many

short syllables, both in the beginning and middle of words.

66. The ancients, probably, in pronunciation ran the words more into each other than we are accustomed to do, and marked more correctly the different feet, and the length of each syllable in every foot. Former critics, to account for the lengthening of syllables naturally short, have either doubled the succeeding consonant, or transformed the vowel into its own diphthong; and when these could not be done, the syllable was considered long by poetic license. But why would Homer double consonants at one time, and at another leave the vowels unsupported by any such props? The true explanation is the Ictus—of this the following are examples:—Iliad, A. 14, 21, 36, and 43, 64, 72, &c.: Iliad, E. 455; Δ. 388 (the consonant was supposed never to be doubled in a proper name); E. 61, the *ι* in this verb, whether it be the imperfect middle of *φίλημι*, or first aort. for *ἐφιλήσατο*, is always short, except when it forms, as here, the first syllable of the foot. The *ι*, of *φίλος*, in Attic Greek is short, and is frequently lengthened in Homer by the ictus. *ἀθάνατος, ἀκάματὸς, ἀπονέεσθαι, ἀποδίωμαι, Πριαμίδης*; the first syllables in these words, naturally short, are lengthened by the ictus. The *ι* in *δια* for the same reason is lengthened—Γ. 357; Δ. 135; the *ε* in *ἐπειδὴ*; K. 379, and Ψ. 2; the *α* in *ἄορι*; Λ. 240; K. 484, *ἀνὴρ*; B. 1, 553, 701, long; O. 487; A. 287, short; B. 805; the *υ* in *ὓδωρ*, B. 755, long; H. 425, short; *θυγάτηρ*, Φ. 504, Φ. 85; the *α* in *ἀεὶδω* is long in *ἀείδει δεδαὼς*, &c., Odyssey, P. 519; short in *τοῦ δ' ἄμοτον μεμάασιν ἀκουέμεν, ὁπότ' ἀείδῃ*; *Ἄϊδος* Γ. 322, long; Odyssey, K. 502, short; *ἱερὸς* Θ. 66, K. 56, *ἴομεν* B. 440, Ξ. 526—*τίω* 1, 238, Δ. 257. Examples of syllables, naturally short, being lengthened by the ictus in the middle of words—*κονίῃ*, Iliad, B.

150; E. 75—Ζευγνυμεν, Iliad, O. 120; Π. 145; the ι in ἠΐα esca long, when first syllable of foot, short when second or third—Iliad, N. 103. Odyssey, Δ. 363, Κρονίων; A. 397; Δ. 249—μεμάοτε, N. 46; N. 197, &c.

67. Being ignorant of this principle, critics and commentators have lengthened short syllables by doubling consonants, when the short vowel preceded one, or by changing the vowel into its diphthong, when it preceded a vowel. This is evident, inasmuch as the change is seldom or never made except in the first syllables of dactyls or spondees. Thus Ὄλυμπος is made Οὔλυμπος: A. 420, 425, (probably neither the long vowels nor diphthongs were in existence in Homer's time); so also πουλυβοτείρῃ, νοῦσος, οὐλομένην. The doubling of consonants chiefly took place in the dative plural of nouns and some tenses of verbs. Thus κύνεσσιν, A. 4; so A. 33, 42, 54, 70, 71, 83, 100; B. 86, 125; Δ. 142, &c. The σ in ἔπεσιν is most commonly doubled; but in A. 150 double σ is inadmissible. So ἔμεναι, Π. 493; in the first syllable μ is always doubled, the ν in ἀνὴρ might be doubled with as much propriety when ἀν is the first syllable of the foot.

68. It is very doubtful whether the short vowel was pronounced by itself with the time of a long vowel, or whether it was made to rest on the consonant. It is probable that the latter mode of pronunciation was common, when the vowel and consonant happened to come together in the same word—and hence the practice, when the true principle was lost, of doubling these consonants.

69. The common form of the infinitive εἶναι, abbreviated from ἔμεναι, the original form, proves that only one μ was used at first—thus ἔμεναι, by the elision of μ became ἔεναι and then ἐ̂ιναι. So also the mode of formation of futures shows that

there could be no doubling of the σ in the future or aorist; ἔσω the future of ἔω, the Ionic form of εἰμὶ, was joined to certain words, such as φαν, σπερ, τεμ, and thus came the forms φαν-έσω, σπερ-έσω, τεμ-έσω, abbreviated by Ionic writers into φαν-έω, σπερ-έω, and contracted by Attic writers into φανῶ, σπερῶ, &c. From these examples, and such verbs as form their futures in έσω, as τελέω-έσω, &c., it would appear also that pure verbs had originally the penult of the future short.

It may be remarked that cæsural syllables naturally short occur less frequently in Hesiod than in Homer.

70. From the foregoing examples it appears that the principle of the ictus holds in the four following cases:—

1st. In cæsural syllables, ending with a long vowel or a diphthong, before another vowel or diphthong, which in other cases is *uniformly short*.—2. In cæsural syllables, naturally short, which are in consequence made long.—3. In a short syllable at the beginning of a word, when it is also made the first of a foot.—4. In a short syllable in the middle of a word, when it also is made the first of a foot.

71. The same rule holds in Latin hexameter, where we find syllables naturally short, and unsupported by any consonants, made long by forming the first of a foot. That they do not occur so often in Latin as in Greek is owing to the greater number of consonants in the former. Examples—

Omnia vincit amōr, et nos cedamus amori.—Virg. Ecl. 10, 69.

Confisus periīt, admirandisque lacertis.—Juvl. 10, 11.

Alta tepēfaciet permixta, flumina cæde.—Catul. 64.

Omentum in flamma pingue liquēfaciens.—Catul. 361.

72. It is scarcely necessary to produce examples in confirmation of the 5th rule, as they occur so frequently. E. 343 and Z. 76 are sufficient. The deviations from the 6th rule are so few that it is unnecessary to produce examples.

73. Olen, the Lycian, is said to be the inventor of Grecian hexameter verse.

74. Thiersch explains the principles of Homeric versification in the following manner:—

(1.) The Homeric verse arises out of the following series or combination of syllables: – ⏑ ⏑ – or – – – as in ᾱντῐθἔω̄, Ἑ̄ρμε̄ιᾱν.

(2.) In the first place of these series, αντ, Ἑρμ, the tone is raised; hence here is the arsis, which may be marked by an oblique stroke, ό̄υλὄμἔνη̄ν, ἥ̄ρω̄ω̄ν.

(3.) After this rise the tone sinks again in the two short syllables, or the long one answering to them, and this part of the series is therefore called the thesis.

(4.) In this thesis the tone fluctuates without finding a point of rest:

ό̄ύλὔμἔ...ἥρω̄...in order to attain a point of rest it must light upon a second long syllable, by which the series of syllables may be closed, and made a whole, with beginning, middle, and end: οὐλομενην (–́ ⏑ ⏑ –́) ἡρωων (–́ – – –́)

(5.) The conclusion may serve again as the arsis of a new series: –́ ⏑⏑ –́ ⏑⏑ –́ as ᾱ́λλ' ὃ μἔν Ἀῑθῐὄπᾱς, τῑσε̄ιᾱν Δᾰνᾰὄι, or it terminates the series; and then in order to moderate the vehement flow of the syllables a single syllable may be placed after it, which may, therefore, be called the catalexis (the leaving off, κατάληξις –́ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ or –́ ⏑ ⏑ – – Ηἔλῐοῑὄ, πήματα πάσχει.

(6.) For the construction of the Homeric verse it is necessary—

(A.) That the series –́ ⏔ –́ ⏔ –, in which, by the renewed arsis, measure and counter-measure are produced, be repeated : –́ ⏔ –́ ⏔ –́ | –́ ⏔ –́ ⏔ –

(B.) That both these series, which, as two wholes, again appear as measure and counter-measure, have the catalexis : –́ ⏔ –́ ⏔ –́ ⏓ –́ ⏔ –́ ⏔ –̀ ⏓

(C) That both series, which thus stand without close coherence (ἀσυνάρτητοι) combine into a whole, which is effected by raising the catalexis in the middle (⏓) to a thesis (⏔), and thus the complete series attains the following form : –́ ⏔ –́ ⏔ –́ ⏔ –́ ⏔ –́ ⏔ –́ ⏓

(7.) The measure of epic verse, constituted as above described, runs through six similar metres, which are made up of the words united into a verse.

(8.) The conclusion of every word makes an incision (τομή, cæsura) in the verse ; that is to say, the series of metres is broken by the portion of time which intervenes between the pronunciation of two words, as Il. a. 3, πολλάς | δ' ἰφθίμουσ | Ψυχάσ | Ἄϊδι | προΐαψεν | which verse, by the cæsuras, is divided into the following five series: | –́ – | –́ – –́ | – –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑ | .

(9.) When the cæsura falls upon the arsis it is called masculine, when after the first short of the metre (–́ ⏑ | . . .) feminine or trochaic, after the second (–́ ⏑ ⏑ | . . .) dactylic, after the second long (–́ – | . . .) spondaic. So in the line above quoted, the second, third, and fourth cæsuras are masculine ; the first is spondaic ; in verse 5,

οἰωνοῖσί τε | *πᾶσι* | *Διὸς* | *δ' ἐτελείετο* | *βουλή.* The second is feminine or trochaic, the fourth dactylic, and so also the first, since by enclisis *τε* so connects itself with the foregoing word that both words may be considered rhythmically as one, *οἰωνοῖσιτε.* The dactylic cæsura in the fourth metre is named Bucolic, on account of its frequent use with the Bucolic poets.

(10.) Compound words also produce a cæsura, when the last syllable of their first word falls upon the arsis, as *Μοῦσα πολΰτροπον.*

(11.) Over many cæsuras the pronunciation glides along without their becoming very perceptible, as *ἄνδρα μοι* | *ἔννεπε* | *Μοῦσα.* On the other hand, some are more marked by a longer interruption to the flow of the verse, especially when long syllables follow the masculine cæsura, or when the cæsura coincides with punctuation, which breaks or concludes the thought, as *Μῆνιν, ἄειδε, θεά* || *Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆοσ.*

(12.) The chief thing required in the hexameter is, that it should unite the several series, of which it is constructed, into a whole, without losing variety, and thus attain variety in unity: the verse wants unity, when the cæsuras of the words coincide with the terminations of the metres. Thus *Οἴσετε* | *Μοῦσαι* | *ἡμῖν* | *ὕμνων* | *ἀγλαὰ* | *δῶρα*— Unity prevails when the cæsuras do not coincide with the ends of the metres, and thus the voice slides to the latter over the former, or at least over the most of them, as if the foregoing verse ran: *Οἴσετ' ἀοιδάων Μοῦσαι δόσιν ἀγλαοφώνων* – ⏑̤ ⏑, – –, –̤ –, –̤ ⏑ ⏑̤, – ⏑ ⏑, – –, where the ends of the metres are marked by commas, and the cæsuras by double points. Hence the use of the dactylic and spondaic cæsuras, strengthed by the sense and punctuation, is very much limited; they occur generally in the first metre—as in Iliad, *β.* 826;

ω. 501. Those lines which have the bucolic cæsura are, through the abruptness of their sound, capable of great strength, where force is to be expressed—e. g: of a billow in a storm—Iliad, δ. 424, &c.

(13.) The masculine cæsura occurs in all places of the arsis, from the first to the very last—as, Iliad, α. 51; Odyssey, ε, 294. The feminine cæsura also may occur in every metre; in the fourth, however, it weakens the flow of the verse, when it is not strengthened by either the position or punctuation of the words—as, Iliad, ι. 394; Odyssey, η. 192.

(14.) Almost universal is the audible cæsura, masculine or feminine, in the third metre or foot, where it divides the verse into two unequal portions. So that, for example, in the first book of the Iliad, of 611 verses only seven are without this cæsura, either masculine or feminine, in the third foot—where the third foot is altogether without a cæsura, we sometimes find it included in a proper name of at least three syllables—as, Iliad, β. 494, 714. And as, by cæsura in the third foot, the verse is divided into two portions, so here, by the cæsuras in the second and fourth feet, it is divided into three portions—as, Iliad, α. 145, ἤ Αἴας || ἤ Ἰδομενεύς || ἤ δῖος Ὀδοσσεύς.

(15.) As the several portions of a verse are combined into a whole, by the blending together of the feet and cæsuras, and thus the unity of the verse is attained; so, in the junction of several hexameters, variety is attained, when the combination in the several verses takes place in different modes. The combination of several hexameters, to the end of a proposition, is called a hexametrical or epic period. The epic period is divided into different series by the close of the verses, and by those cæsuras which coincide with the punctuation. The beauty of the epic period depends on this rule, that

not only the feet should be varied as dactyls and spondees, but that also the different sorts of cæsuras, both generally, and especially when they terminate series, should vary in position; *i. e.* should occur in different places of the verse. The accumulation and rapid succession of different cæsuras produces a vigorous and manly flow of the verse, which is thus divided, now into long, now into short portions—is at one time bold and impetuous, at another soft and tranquil—as a model of a bold and free-flowing period. Odyssey, ε, 299, &c, may be cited; as an example of a softer evolution of the series, with chiefly feminine transitions, compare Odyssey, τ, 204, &c.

(16.) The combination of a mute with the liquid ρ or λ, produces for the most part a long syllable of no great force; hence before βρ, the letter μ is sometimes inserted to strengthen the sound, as, ἄμβροτος. Yet this position generally stands without any such aid, and rejects even the support of the paragogic N; but if the beginning of the word which commences with ρ or λ after a mute be iambic (⏑ –), so that, without the rejection of position, it could not come into epic verse, then the position may be rejected. A vowel is never short before βρ, γρ, φρ, θρ—the other combinations of the nine mutes, and ρ and λ, allow a violation of position in the case above specified, 1st, in proper names, as, Iliad, β, 504; 2nd, in other words, which, without a short syllable preceding, cannot stand in the verse, as, Iliad, β, 493. This violation of position is also extended from the necessary to the convenient, as, Iliad, δ, 329. The few instances in which position was violated before κν, γν, have been properly corrected in the text, ἔγναμψαν, Iliad, ω, 274, is now read ἔκαμψαν. The law of position is violated also in

several words, especially in proper names, before Z; *i. e.* ΣΔ, and ΣΚ, Iliad, β, 634, 465.

(17.) The arsis lengthens a syllable either at the beginning or end of words; generally, however, he production of a final vowel is followed by one of the semivowels λ, μ, ν, ρ, σ, the sound of which easily doubles itself, and thus strengthens the foregoing syllable; the production is also favoured by punctuation, or a monosyllable following. When a short final syllable is lengthened by arsis, it stands, 1, between two long; 2, as first or last of three short; 3, as the middle of five short; 4, as third and sixth in a series of eight short. Of two short neither can be lengthened by arsis, since the other would then stand alone in the thesis, and thus form a trochee. Four short syllables do not stand in one series, but frequently five, when the middle is lengthened, as, σμερδᾰλέᾱ ῐᾰχων. Six and seven short syllables do not follow in a series, but eight, when the third and sixth are lengthened, as, Iliad, θ, 389. It is remarked by Hermann that the names 'Ατρείδης, Πηλείδης, Εὐρυσθέυς, and the like, never have the arsis in their middle syllable, always ‗ ‗ ‗́, never ‗́ ‗́ ‗

(18.) Even in the thesis a short syllable occasionally stands between two long; in this case, we cannot suppose a production of the syllable, there being no grounds for such a license, but merely a want of the second syllable in thesis, which is partly concealed by the long syllable preceding and following. This takes place in the middle of a word, chiefly when the vowel is iota, as ὑποδεξίη, Iliad, I, 73. Short syllables, terminating a word, are so used at the end of the fourth foot, Iliad, λ, 36-

(19.) As in the above cited instances both arsis and thesis were deficient in a time, so, on the other

hand, there is sometimes a redundance in the one or the other; and, hence, to preserve the measure of the verse, two syllables must be set together, (συνιζάνουσι, συνίζησις), or pronounced together (συνεκφωνοῦνται, συνεκφώνησις.)

a. The arsis in two syllables of two or three times.

b. The thesis in two syllables, or in three of three or four times, both cases having a short vowel followed by another short, a long, or a diphthong.

Synizesis is most frequent in the case of ε, thus,

a. With α, εᾳ, εα, εαι, εας: θεοειδέα, Iliad, γ, 27. γνώσεαι, Iliad, β, 367, &c.

b. With ο, εο, εος, εου, εοι, εοις, εοιτ, ἐδεύεο, Iliad, ρ, 142; Iliad, η, 310; α, 18, &c.

c. With ω in εω, εῳ, εων, εωμ, εως, εωτ, εῳτ: as Iliad, α, 1; κ, 95; λ. 348, &c.

Examples are not wanting in which a long vowel or diphthong, with the vowels following, is treated as one long syllable—as, Iliad, η, 166; β, 415; ν, 275, &c.

Finally, short or long is combined with long as one arsis, or thesis, when they follow one another in two separate verses, in the case of ἐπεί, ἤ, ἦ, δή, μή, and of terminations in η, ω, as, Iliad, ν, 777; ε, 349; ε, 466; ε, 5, &c.

(20.) Hiatus occurs, when of two concurring words the former ends with a vowel and the latter begins with one, without the verse permitting the first to be elided. The hiatus does no injury to epic verse, when the first vowel is a long or a diphthong, this is then used as a short, except in the arsis. Short syllables of this description too are sometimes found in the thesis—Thus, in the first and second feet, Iliad, β, 209; α, 145. In

the third foot this hiatus occurs in the case of ἤ, which, as the word of separation, concentrates the tone in itself, and is thus strengthened—Iliad, *α*, 27: Once in the case of *καί*—Iliad, *γ*, 392. It is more common in the fourth thesis—Iliad, *β*, 231. In the case of *αι* it is common only where this is separated by punctuation from the following word, and thus supported against hiatus—Iliad, *ε*, 685. Besides the hiatus of long vowels—that of short vowels occurs to an equal extent—sometimes in the arsis, as, Iliad, *β*, 832. The place of this hiatus is also common in the thesis, as well in feminine as in dactylic cæsuras. The hiatus of a short vowel is not offensive, if the short vowel be such that it does not permit elision; e. g. if it be iota of the dative singular, third declension, or *υ*—Iliad, *β*, 6: or, if the two words be divided by punctuation, by which elision is prevented, as, Iliad, *α*, 565; or, in the feminine cæsura of the third foot, since by this the verse is divided into two halves, and thus a closer combination of the words, which apostrophe would produce, is hindered—as, Iliad, *β*, 697. All these limits are, however, often trangressed by the hiatus of short vowels—and, were the hiatus universal, we might recognize it as a peculiarity of epic verse, and so let the matter rest;—but since it is as often removed by apostrophe, we can only explain its existence, by supposing that the words, before which it occurs, had the digamma originally.

CHAPTER VII.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ODYSSEY.

1. The Iliad and Odyssey were generally considered to be the compositions of the same author. This opinion was grounded on the prevalent belief of the ancients, which appears from Pindar, Herodotus, Longinus, &c. &c., on the similarity of the style and language of the two poems, and the repetition or modification in the Odyssey of several lines which appear in the Iliad. It appears, however, from a passage in Seneca, that even at a remote period it was made a question whether they were composed by the same author, and those who thought they were not were called *οἱ χωρίζοντες*.

2. The arguments for a difference of authors, and the more modern composition of the Odyssey, are the following:—(1st.) In the Iliad, Charis, in the Odyssey, Venus, is the wife of Vulcan.—(2d.) In the Iliad, Iris, in the Odyssey, Mercury, is the messenger of the Gods. In the twenty-fourth bk. of the Iliad, Mercury, who conducts Priam to the Grecian camp, is not simply a messenger but a conductor, having something to *do*. When Virgil employs Iris as a messenger he imitates the Iliad; for in his time Mercury was the courier of Olympus, as he is in the Odyssey.—Hor. Car. 1. 10.—(3d.) In the Iliad, Crete has 100 cities, in the Odyssey, 90.—(4th.) In the Iliad, Neleus has twelve sons, in the Odyssey, three sons and one daughter.—(5.) There are about 1000 lines identical in the two poems, and from a com-

parison of the passages it is plain that the verses in the Odyssey are a modification of those in the Iliad.—(6.) Many words are changed; thus the strings of the lyre in the Iliad are made of λίνον (flax), in the Odyssey of ἐϋστρεφὲς ἔντερον οἰὸς (sheep's gut); in the Odyssey, we first hear of λέσχη, properly an open house for the reception of the indigent, and afterwards an assembly for conversation. Possessions have lost the name κτήματα, and are called χρήματα, from their use. Syllables are abbreviated, as ἀγρότης for ἀγροιώτης, θέσπις for θεσπέσιος, &c.—(7.) The decreased simplicity of the manners in the Odyssey.—(8.) The altered aspect of the mythology. (The manners and mythology we shall consider more at large.) It should be remarked that in every instance of difference, the statement in the Odyssey is invariably that which agrees with the finally prevailing habits and creed of succeeding ages.

(3.) The manners of the Odyssey rest on the same heroic base as those of the Iliad. The manners and occupation of Nausicaa, 6, 72, and many other instances, shew the continued existence of that oriental simplicity which is so characteristic of the Iliad. The difference is one of degree, not of kind, and the two poems present, respectively, pictures of the maturity and decline of that primitive system which holds the same relation to the matured civilization of ancient times that chivalry does to the manners of modern Christendom. The active or exclusive existence of either of these two systems was not very long-lived; but the impression made by each on the serious poetry of the ancients, and the sprightly poetry of the moderns, was pre-eminently enduring. The difference of manners and refinement may be remarked in the following instances:—(1.) Telemachus, the court of Alcinous, and the suitors of Penelope, seem

removed to the third and fourth generation from the God-like warriors who fought on the plain of Troy. They appear as much astonished at the strength and courage of those heroes as we ourselves.—The peremptory and harsh demeanour of Telemachus towards his mother as compared with the respectful tone of Hector, savours of that spirit of comparative neglect with which mothers, and women in general, were treated among the Greeks in subsequent ages, so evident in Euripides.—(3.) With the exception of Helen, whose character is similarly drawn as in the Iliad, the women of the Odyssey occasionally discover a modernism and want of that *heroic* simplicity so observable in the Iliad. They are still, however, very superior to the women of the Greek drama.—(4.) In the household of Penelope there is a separation and subordination of the slaves very different from the familiarity and almost equal ministry of the master and servant observable in that of Laertes, which is a representation of the elder system.—(5.) In the Iliad there is no mention of nets or other instruments for obtaining food, or for household use, that are spoken of in the Odyssey, nor are columns noticed in any descriptions of the Iliad.

4. In the mythology there is a striking change. In the Iliad the will of Jove is supreme; every thing is conducted under his immediate superintendence: in the Odyssey the action of Jupiter is faint and partial; he says little and directs less. Something of the blissful inactivity of an epicurean, heaven seems to have become the portion of the fierce and restless Deities of the Iliad. Minerva alone interferes with any effect in the conduct of the poem; but she appears more as the allegorized understanding, or reasoning faculty, than the strong and dreadful Pallas of the Iliad. In the Odyssey the system of apotheosis of acknowledged mortals

for the first time appears, there being no traces of it in the Iliad. Thus, in the latter, Castor and Pollux are mentioned in the ordinary language denoting death and burial; in the former we have the account of their alternate resuscitation. In the Necyomanteia, where Ulysses sees Hercules, the apotheosis of the hero is expressly mentioned. In the Iliad, even in the dialogue of Sarpedon and Tlepolimus, he is always mentioned as a man. In the Odyssey there is an unequivocal proof of the notoriety of the oracle of Delphi.—Od. 8, 79. It is doubtful whether the oracle existed when the Iliad was composed. The splendour and riches of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi are described as proverbial.—Il. 9, 404. And the oracle of Jupiter at Dodona is expressly mentioned.—Il. 16, 235. Throughout both Iliad and Odyssey, Phœbus is never mentioned as identical with the sun, as in the more modern mythology; the sun, Ἥλιος, is always introduced distinctly, and almost always as the natural object. In the Odyssey the sun is twice mentioned as a mythological personage—12, 133, 376. The later Greeks seem to have consolidated three Gods into one; for Παιήων, the Physician of the Gods, was originally as clearly distinguished from Apollo as Ἥλιος. The most remarkable passage in the Odyssey for the aspect which it presents of its mythology is the Necyomanteia, or intercourse of Ulysses with the shades of the dead. It would appear that no actual descent, such as that of Æneas in the Æneid, was contemplated by Homer, but that the whole ground plan is that of an act of Asiatic evocation only (as the woman of Endor is commonly understood to have evoked Samuel). Lucian, who combines the Homeric rites of evocation with an actual descent, makes the evocator a Babylonian, and disciple of Zoroaster, and lays the scene near the Euphrates.

The Necyomanteia is remarkable for the gloomy and dreary revelation it makes of the condition of the future life; it says nothing of Elysian fields for piety, or wisdom, or valour; hence it is censured by Plato. In a previous passage the Elysian plain is described in very different language—4, 563. Either the descriptions are inconsistent, or the Elysium of the Odyssey is a distinct place from the Asphodel meadow of Hades. Bochart derives Ἠλύσιον from the Phenican Elysoth, joy. All the Homeric names of places or persons westward of Greece, are Phenician in their origin. Indeed, from the Phenicians only could any Greek of the age of Homer learn any thing about them. Cadiz and the plains of Andalusia seem to have some claim to be the Phenician original of the Homeric Elysium. It is placed far in the west, and even to this day the Moors of Africa pray every Friday to be restored to the Paradise of Grenada and Malaga. A curious particular in the Necyomanteia is, that the ghosts, fleshless and boneless though they be, cannot recognise or speak to Ulysses till they have drunk of the blood in the trench.

5. The plan of the Odyssey is different from that of the Iliad, and the difference imports a great advance in the art of composition. In this poem the order of narration is no longer confined to the straightforward line of a single series of events, as in the Iliad, but we have two corresponding, though distinct parts, proceeding at first in parallel directions, but at length meeting and constituting the entire body of the story in the house of Eumæus.

Those who doubt the individual authorship of the Iliad may consistently maintain that of the Odyssey. The composition is dissimilar, and there are sufficient reasons of a moral nature in the manners of the poem for assigning a considerably later age to it. Knight thought nothing less than the lapse

of a century could account for the refinement or alteration of the manners. Milman adopts a smaller period. Coleridge inclines to the longer period; his reason for this is that the progress is generally very slow from the first feudal, or clannish period, up to the establishment of commerce and municipal institutions. After that period is attained, the development goes on at a greatly accelerated speed; but that point had not been attained when the principal parts of the Odyssey were composed, for piracy was still honourable (as appears from Nestor asking Telemachus and Pisistratus were they pirates, after he had entertained them.—3, 69.) And yet there is a great refinement and progress in the manners and civilization. It is possible that the Odyssey may have been the composition of a poet living at a time in which the facilities for writing had greatly multiplied, though many of the customs of an earlier age were still in partial force; and even on the Wolfian hypothesis the separate constituent parts of the Odyssey must be admitted to be in themselves larger and more continuous than those of the Iliad, and the whole poem, as referring to the adventures of a single person, is more linked and continuous throughout, than can be said of the vast chronicle of the heroes before Troy. Yet Coleridge, on the whole, conceives that the Odyssey, as one poem, has been constructed out of poetry not originally conceived *uno flatu*, though, no doubt, as with that of the Iliad, it was conceived *uno intuitu;* for when such considerable portions of the poem are cut away as spurious (portions which formed part of the Odyssey known to Herodotus and Plato) by those who contend for the individual authorship of what they leave, what reliance can any longer be put in the ancient tradition and belief of the total unity? These passages are rejected, because of certain verbal or

metrical peculiarities, which indicate a later age; but other passages may be rejected, with greater reason, on account of the contrast of luxury and refinement they present to the ignorance and grossness of other passages. According to Wolf, you can no more call this or that passage spurious, because it was contributed at a later period than any other part before the age of Pisistratus, than you could so brand the successive additions of an individual author in his own work. The Episode, in which Ulysses gives a narrative of his adventures, is by far the most delightful, as it is by far the most ancient of these subsequently favourite complements of the heroic poem. The Odyssey is remarkable for its perfect propriety and easy order; narrative and dialogue succeeding alternately, bestowing on it its great and peculiar charm, viz: its uncommon air of truth and reality. It is, indeed, as a book of adventures, possessing the same interest, but superior in purpose and morality, to Robinson Crusoe, or Sinbad the Sailor, that the Odyssey is presented to us in its proper and most pleasing light; whilst in the Iliad we are, for the most part, sensible of the prominence of the *poetry*, as *such*, in the Odyssey we are more certainly attracted by the linked sweetness and interest of the story itself.

6. The air of reality in the Odyssey, particularly in that passage in which Ulysses is lodged in the house of the faithful Eumæus, is such that we cannot doubt that the picture he presents is a mere stamp or reflection of contemporary society. The Iliad, the Odyssey, and the poem of the Cid, are the only heroic poems in which the manners are the genuine manners of the poet's own time. When a system of manners (not the moral qualities, the passions and sentiments, which are in substance the same in every age and place, but the courtesies,

habits, domestic relations, the tone between husband and wife, master and servant, &c.) is to be adapted to the story of a former age and former nation, the utmost that can be done is to avoid anachronisms or improbabilities, whilst the ease, the life, the force with which the poet can paint the habits and manners of his own contemporaries must be wanting. This facility and freedom from constraint, the life and force, the effect of contemporary existence, is more conspicuous in the Odyssey than in the Iliad; because the picture of rural and domestic life presented in the former has not been so frequently copied as the battles and speeches of the latter, inasmuch as it did not suit the plans of more recent poets, and so it remains in all its freshness to the present day. The Odyssey, as a poem, is absolutely unique, for though Virgil and Tasso have borrowed particular passages from it more largely than from the Iliad, the character and scope of their poems are quite dissimilar to those of the Odyssey, which consist in detailing the changing fortunes of a single man, not as a general warring with armies against a city, but as an exile, compassing, by his skill, courage, and patience, his return to his own home. It is in the combination of hair-breadth escapes and moving accidents with the high moral purpose of Ulysses, in the contrast of the determined will of man triumphant over the transient and vain bafflings of winds and waves, gods and monsters, that the secret and spring of the universal charm of the Odyssey lie concealed.

7. The prominent characters of the Odyssey are less numerous than those of the Iliad.—With the exception of the exquisite sketches of Helen, Nausicaa, daughter of Alcinous, and Euryclea, the nurse, Ulysses, Penelope, Telemachus and Eumæus, are the only figures that stand in relief during the greater portion of the poem.

Ulysses is rather equal to than like the Ulysses of the Iliad, and seems to be more in his element in the midst of adventures and tempests, and disguise, than when openly counselling and fighting on the Plain of Troy. In his speeches, conduct, and the sway he acquires over all around him, we perceive the man of genius as well as the hero, and Horace justly remarks that Homer "utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulyssem," of what courage, talent and perseverance are capable of effecting—in thought, manner, word, and deed, the exact opposite of the knight-errant. It is worthy of notice that in no instance have the authors of the Iliad and Odyssey drawn, what is called, a perfect character. We meet with no paragons of virtue or vice. Man is represented as he is—full of inconsistencies, the effects of the flooding and ebbing of the passions. The natural Greek, in Homer's days, looked on no means as base to escape danger—the haughty Roman scorned to owe his life to any thing but his virtue and fortitude.

One marked difference between the Iliad and Odyssey consists in this—that in the former poem there is no hero, in the modern sense of the term; no one person whose actions and words, whose danger and success, constitute the substance and the object of the poem. The impression of Achilles is very faint upon nearly one-half of the Iliad. The poem is not an Achilleid, but an Iliad, as it was very rightly named by antiquity; but the Odyssey, or Ulysseid, is a story exclusively concerning and devoted to the honour of the one man, Ulysses; he is ever before the eyes in some shape or other. The Iliad may be compared to one of the historical plays of Shakspeare, in which a Henry, a Harry, a Hotspur, a Glendower, or a Douglas, are so many centres, to each of which our affections are

attracted in turn. The Odyssey, to one of those plays in which one individual, as Hamlet, or Macbeth, or Othello, or Lear, absorbs all the attention.

The character of Ulysses is, in itself, the perfect idea of an accomplished man of the world after the manner of the ancient Paganism. It fills and satisfies the mind. Not one of the characters in the Iliad, with, perhaps, the exception of Hector, satisfies the mind in and by itself. Every one of them is regarded collaterally with, or in contrast to, another of them; and the pleasure we receive is the mixed result of the action of all. But Ulysses is his own parallel; others are referred to him, but he to himself. With the exception of the great intellectual creations of Shakspeare, the Ulysses of the Odyssey is the most perfect, the most entire conception of character to be found any where in mere human literature. A thoroughly great man of the world rather dazzles the imagination than touches the heart. To engage our affections some passion is required. Ulysses has a passion—he is home-sick—he longs for Ithaca and his own fireside. This brings him at once in contact with the common feeling of every man in the world. This is beautifully expressed in 5, 151, 204.

Penelope does not interest us in an equal degree with her husband. She is chaste and prudent; yet she goes a considerable length in the way of coquetry with her suitors.—2, 91. She permits the spoil of her husband's substance, and the life of her son to be endangered by the violence of the men whom she had the means of leading in another direction. Yet the general coldness and dryness of the character of Penelope may make us feel, with a livelier sympathy, the beautifully imagined scene of her recognition of Ulysses—the joy, the intervening

doubt, the slow conviction, and the final burst of tenderness and love—23. 205. In this exquisite passage we again perceive an equal mastery with that which drew the domestic fondness of Andromache, and the matronly elegance of Helen, and has left all three as convincing proofs that matchless delicacy, and gentleness, and truth, were placed by poets in the bosom of women, in an age in which the refinements and graces of modern society were utterly unknown.

Telemachus is very skilfully drawn, so as to be always subordinate to his father, and yet sufficiently full of promise and opening prowess to justify his heroic blood. Thus—21. 128—he is on the point of bending the bow, which the suitors were unable to achieve. Yet he is not a pleasing character on the whole. His demeanour towards his mother is generally unaffectionate, and his disposition is rather interested. The strength, however, of his character opens as the action of the poem advances; and in the latter books, after he is entrusted with the secret of the hero's return, he seems to have a dignity and energy imparted to him beyond his natural powers.

Eumæus is a character less within the reach of modern imitation than any other in the Odyssey. He is a genuine country gentleman of the age of Homer. His character is a very complete conception and interesting specimen of rural life and its habits in Homer's days. The easy and genuine manners of old Euryclea, the nurse, are well set forth—1st bk., 434.

8. The story of the adventures of Ulysses and his companions with Circe, is not only picturesque and dramatic, but also contains a most striking and complete allegory. Though, perhaps, Lord Bacon is right in thinking that there was but little of such inwardness in the poet's own meaning, every

part of the tale (Od. 10, 414) illustrates the use and abuse of worldly pleasure. It is imitated by Milton in his Comus, in which, however, the spiritual and intellectual, rather than the moral or prudential nature, is exhibited as in danger from, and triumphing over, the charms of worldly pleasure.

The story of the Sirens also embodies the same moral truth, that no man can listen without destruction to the enchanting voice of worldly pleasure, unless he bind himself hand and foot by the strong fetters of duty and self-controul; and even then the best safety consists in physical inability to comply and a rapid removal from the scene of temptation.

Bochart derives Circe from the Phenician, Kirkar, to destroy; Siren (tuneful) from Sir, to sing; Scylla from Scol, destruction: Charybdis from Chorobdan, the chasm of ruin.

9. In frequency, length, and picturesqueness of similes, the Odyssey is very far behind the Iliad; instead of more than 200, there are less than 50, and these, with a few exceptions, are short and imitated from those of the elder poem. The most spirited of these exceptions are the two (19, 518, and 22, 401) which represent respectively Penelope in her widowed state, and Ulysses standing in the midst of the slaughtered suitors. In the first the description of the nightingale shews much accuracy of observation. In the Virgilian imitation, the vagueness of the description in no respect distinguishes the nightingale's song from that of any bird. The other simile is more in the spirit of the Iliad. Another very graphic simile describes the rousing of a wild boar by Ulysses in a recess of Parnassus (19, 439)—and ships are likened to sea-horses (4, 708)—as also in the Icelandic poetry.

Passages so distinctly grouped and pictured are

not numerous in the Odyssey, nor can we account for its inferiority to the Iliad in this respect, on the score of the difference of subject-matter and style. There is, however, a compensation for this in the vigour and liveliness of more diffused descriptions. A singularly striking effort of imagination occurs in a passage, which seems only applicable upon the Scotch doctrine of second sight.—20, 345.

10. It has been observed already that a change in the form of several words is perceptible in the Odyssey—that change is invariably shown in an abbreviation of syllables or time, as is always the case in the process of refining a language for the purposes of society. They thus indicate a date for the composition of the Odyssey subsequent to that of the Iliad. Thus ἀγρότης for ἀγροιώτης νώνυμος for νώνυμνος, θέσπις for θεσπέσιος—λέσχη and βύβλινον are only found in the Odyssey, and Μεσσήνη, of which no notice is taken in the catalogue in the Iliad. Many other instances may be found, and in every instance the usage of the Odyssey became the usage of succeeding times. However, in placing the indicative mood after ἐπὴν and other adverbs, in cases when, according to regular grammar, the subjunctive is always used, both poems agree.

11. The versification is essentially the same as that of the Iliad, though, perhaps, less dactylic, and consequently less rapid and continuous in its course; in variety, sweetness, and harmony, it is almost equally delightful and equally inimitable.

12. The Odyssey is not so high an effort of the imagination as the Iliad, but it is as pregnant with moral and prudential wisdom, as full of life and variety, and much more romantic. The Iliad excites the most admiration, the Odyssey the most interest. All the latter half is unequalled as a mere story, and it contains situations and incidents,

than which no poet ever conceived any thing more grand or spirit-stirring—as the passage (which Plato remarks) where Ulysses leaps on the threshold, discards his rags, and shews himself to the astonished suitors—and the passage preceding this, where he takes up, handles, strings, and twangs the mighty bow.—21, 404. The passage which describes the shipwreck of Ulysses after he left the Island of Calypso, is equally graphic and vigorous.—5, 291. Whilst we read these passages, or indeed almost any part of the poem, we are at a loss to discover evidence of that declining age and enfeebled imagination which are often imputed to the authors of the Odyssey. On the contrary, the fertility of invention, the range of knowledge, and the artifice of narrative displayed in it, denote as much vigour as maturity of intellect. There are, indeed, some few passages in the Odyssey which are very displeasing, as the treatment of Melanthius—22, 474—and the female servants—22, 457—than which nothing could be conceived more bloody, brutal, or disgusting. This is a blot on the otherwise grand and interesting picture of the righteous triumph of Ulysses. As to all that follows the 269th line of the 23d Bk. being rejected as spurious, it must be acknowledged that many passages in it are weak, huddled, and unnatural; on the other hand it may be said, that the speech of Agamemnon in Hades, in which he narrates the death-fight of Achilles and the funeral rites performed over his corpse—the destruction of the house and garden of Laertes, and the scene of the mutual recognition of Ulysses and his aged father, are amongst the most beautiful and interesting parts of the whole poem.

13. Taken together, the Iliad and Odyssey are assuredly two of the grandest works of the human intellect. They may be looked on in the combined spirit of heroic poetry in the abstract, rather than

as the poems of any particular poet. In them we can discover no peculiarities of thinking or feeling, no system, no caprice—all is wide, diffused, universal—like the primal light before it was gathered up and parcelled off into greater and lesser luminaries, to rule the day and the night. The difference in this respect is great between the Homeric and all the Greek poetry of the subsequent ages. It is no longer the muse speaking, but a Theban, or an Athenian, or a Sicilian poet; the individual appears; the poems are unlike each other. The same may be said of hundreds of old Spanish romances on the Cid and the heroes of Roncesvalles, and of the ancient English ballads on the Knights of the Round Table and the Morte Arthur. They are the productions of various authors; and yet no critic could class them under different heads, distinguished by any difference of thought or feeling. As the rights of citizens and the habits of civil society became more precisely defined, the poet's compositions are more or less stamped with the mark of his own character. A man who had not read a line of the works of Milton or Waller could not fail to perceive distinct authorship in any two pieces that could be selected from their poetry. So it is with the Greek poets after the Homeric age.

In the Iliad will be found the sterner lessons of public justice or public expedience, and the examples are for statesmen and generals. In the Odyssey we are taught the maxims of private prudence and individual virtue, and the instances are applicable to all mankind; in both, honesty and fortitude are commended, and set up for imitation; in both, treachery and cowardice are condemned, and exposed for our scorn and avoidance. Born, like the river of Egypt, in secret light, they yet roll on their great collateral streams, wherein a

thousand poets have bathed their sacred heads, and thence drunk beauty and truth, and all sweet and noble harmonies. Known to no man is the time or place of their gushing forth from the earth's bosom; but their course has been amongst the fields and by the dwellings of men, and our children now sport on their banks and quaff their salutary waters.

14. In the government of Phæacia, as described in the Odyssey, the mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, is not less clearly marked than in the British Constitution—one chief, twelve peers, and the assembly of the people shared the supreme authority. The undoubted prerogatives of kings were religious supremacy (hence when kings were expelled from Athens and Rome, the religious office and title of king were continued in both) and military command; they also often exercised judicial authority, but in all civil concerns their authority was limited. And though monarchies were in some degree hereditary, yet Homer admits a right in the people to interfere and direct the succession, as in the case of Telemachus. In the trial mentioned, Iliad 18, 497, no mention is made of a king—the council of elders decide the matter. And in Iliad 16, 386, where the vengeance of Jupiter is denounced against those who give unjust judgments, it is not the tribunal of kings that is spoken of, but the assembly of the people.

15. The latest event mentioned in the Odyssey, is the restoration of Orestes to his father's throne, after living seven years in exile in Athens—in the eighth he killed Ægistheus and Clytemnestra, mounted the throne of Argos, and became a powerful prince.

16. In the Odyssey Homer calls the northern division of the country Hellas, and the southern Argos, including under the two the whole of Greece.

In the thirty-seventh line of the catalogue he includes the whole nation under the two names, Panhellenes and Achaioi; the former being intended for the northern Greeks, and the latter for the southern. The appellation Danaoi, marks the southern Greeks only or chiefly.

CHAPTER VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

1. How long after the Trojan war does Mitford place Homer, and how does he argue from the silence of the poet?

2. What is the date usually assigned to the Trojan war, in reference to the first Olympiad, the building of Rome, and the Christian æra?

3. What is the last historical event alluded to by Homer? What is the date of the return of the Heraclidæ, and the Æolic, and Ionic migrations?

4. What is Wood's opinion of Homer's knowledge of alphabetic writing, and what is that of Wolf's? Whence did the Greeks receive their alphabet, and by whom is it supposed to have been completed?

5. Mention some of the other poems ascribed to Homer, besides the Iliad and Odyssey? Who were the Cyclic poets?

6. What is the opinion of more recent critics on the subject of Homer's poems? To whom do they ascribe them? Why is the Odyssey thought to be the work of a more recent age?

7. What can we learn of Homer's notions of geography? How far east does he seem to have known? How far west? What is his ὠκεανός? Where, and in what direction, did it flow? How

is it mentioned in the Iliad? What seems to have been his notion of the form of the earth?

8. What greater knowledge of the west is manifested in the Odyssey than in the Iliad? How far west does each mention?

9. State Homer's view of the state of the dead, and the residence of the disembodied spirits?

10. Who are the poets supposed to have lived before Homer? What poets are mentioned by him? What is the age of the Orphic hymns?

11. What is the earliest authenticated mention of Homer in any classic author? Is there extant any attributed to a contemporary?

12. Give the derivation of ῥαψῳδοὶ, and an account of who they were, and how they differed from ἀοιδοὶ?

13. How is the variety of dialect in Homer's poems accounted for? What are the origin and progress of the various dialects of Greece? What is the κοινὴ διάλεκτος, and when did it arise?

14. Give Thiersch's explanation of the formation of Homeric versification? Where does the metrical ictus fall in each foot? and what effect has it? Define ictus, arsis, and thesis.

15. With what moods are ὁπὸτε, ἵνα and μὴ found in Homer?

16. Give the critical history of the digamma? How is its presence in Homer proved by Bentley and others? What is its pronunciation? Is Homer consistent in his use of it?

17. What parts of the Odyssey seem intended to convey an allegorical meaning?

18. Horace's praise of Homer as a moral writer?

19. Distinguish ἴδε et, from ἴδε vide; παρα for παρεστι, from παρα apud; ὁμως tamen, from ὁμῶς simul?

20. What is the opinion of Herodotus with regard to Homer's writings?

21. How long after Homer's time, were the books of his poems collected in Greece, and reduced to their present form?

22. To whom is ascribed the honour of making Homer generally known in Greece?

23. What is the fanciful theory of Bryant concerning the birth-place and history of Homer?

24 In an ode ascribed to Homer, how does he describe himself?

25. How does it appear that he wrote before the return of the Heraclidæ?

26. What difference between his dialect and pure Ionic?

27. Difference between ἱστοδόκη and ἱστοπέδη.

28. What appears to have been the doctrine of a future state in the time of Homer?

29. Mention the peculiarities which distinguish Homer's mythology from later systems?

30. What particulars does Homer relate of the way in which Chryseis and Briseis fell into the hands of the Greeks? From what towns were they?

31. What is stated as to the number of men that each of the Greek ships carried? Of how many ships and men did the whole armament consist? By what influence were so large a number of chieftains from various parts brought to join in the expedition?

32. ΙΛ.Β. 535. Deduce from this line Homer's country?

33. ΙΛ.Β. 649. What account does Homer give elsewhere of Crete and its inhabitants?

34. Shew from first two books, what state and form of government Homer appears to describe as existing in Greece?

35. What different materials were used for writing upon in Greece in early times?

36. What does Homer say about writing, and the instrument and materials for it in his time?

37. Is it your opinion, that his poems were originally written, or not.?

38. If not, when were they probably first committed to writing?

39. What internal evidence marks the country of Homer?

40. When did Homer live, according to Herodotus?

41. What circumstances were favourable to the preservation of his poems, supposing them unwritten?

42. What share had Lycurgus, Solon, and Pisistratus, in the preservation of his poems?

43. When and by whom was the Iliad divided into twenty-four books?

44. How were the different parts quoted, before such division?

45. Does it follow that the several parts were considered as distinct poems?

46. What did Bentley mean by calling the Iliad a sequel of songs?

47. What were the subjects of the Κύπρια Ἔπη, Ἐπίγονοι, Ἰλιὰς μικρά?

48. Who were the Τρῶες, Λύκιοι, and Δάρδανοι, and their respective leaders?

49. Explain the terms, παράδοσις, ὁ διασκευαστής, οἱ χωρίζοντες?

50. What is the interval, according to the received chronology, between the fall of Troy and the æra of Homer?

51. What arguments have been brought to prove that Homer lived nearer to the time of the Trojan war, and how near?

52. What account do you give of the language of Homer, and by what name do you designate it?

53. In what particulars do the dialects of Homer and Herodotus differ?

54. Draw a map of ancient Troas, showing the courses of the Scamander and Simois, the situation of Troy, and the position of the Grecian camp?

55. Point out the principal features of the ground between the city and the fleet, as they are alluded to by Homer?

56. Cite some instances from Homer in which the sound of the verse is adapted to the sense? Have other poets imitated him in this?

57. "Neutra pluralia gaudent verbo singulari." How is this rule observed by Homer, and the Attic writers respectively? Specify some of the cases in which the latter put the verb in the plural?

58. What evidence do the Iliad and Odyssey furnish us—First, as to the probable birth-place of Homer. Second, the time in which he lived. Third, the countries he visited?

59. State the principal points of distinction, which have given rise to the opinion, that the Odyssey is more recent than the Iliad?

60. What ground does Herodotus assign for rejecting the opinion prevalent in his time, that the *κύπρια ἔπεα* were composed by Homer?

61. What degree of progress in the arts and sciences do the poems of Homer indicate?

62. Give in substance the testimony of Thucydides, as to the historical accuracy of Homer?

63. What date does Cicero give to Homer? What Strabo?

64. By whom were the rhapsodists first allowed to sing at the Panathenæa? Derivation of *ῥαψῳδοί*? First rhapsodist mentioned? How did they grow into disrepute? Prize given to them, and the name they derived from it?

65. From what peculiarities of description should

we conclude that Homer was from the coast of Asia Minor?

66. From what peculiarities in the sacrifice and language, has it been contended that he was an Æolian.

67. What honours did the Chians and Argives pay to his memory?

68. Mention the titles of some of the poems that have been ascribed to Homer, with the names of the writers to whom they have been afterwards attributed?

69. Was Helen ever at Troy? What is Herodotus' opinion?

70. What authority is there from Homer for supposing that Paris and Helen went first to Phænicia and Egypt?

71. What time appears from Homer (B. 24), to have elapsed between Helen's arriving at Troy, and the death of Hector? What time, therefore, must Agamemnon have taken in collecting the Grecian forces?

72. What were the first principal ἐκδόσεις of Homer? What was ἡ ἐκ νάρθηκος? And that of Aristarchus? When and where did Aristarchus live?

73. How often and by whom had Troy been taken before the expedition of Agamemnon?

74. Æn. ii. 504, ii. 190, iii. 27; in these passages of Virgil, how is he unfaithful to the times of Homer?

75. What time is taken up in the Iliad? Compare the Æneid and Paradise Lost with it in this respect? What is the argument of the Iliad?

76. What is Aristotle's definition of Unity of Plot? Is there any violation of the unity in continuing the poem after Hector's death? Would the same argument apply to the continuing the Æneid after the death of Turnus?

77. Distinguish between δῆμος and δημὸς, δῑον and δίον. δῑογενὴς and δῐογενὴς, θεὼ and θέω, ἔασι and ἐᾱσι, πῑω and πῐω?

78. What dates do you assign to the Trojan war, the return of the Heraclidæ, the Æolic and Ionic migrations, and the age of Homer?

79. At what period do you place the introduction of alphabetic writing among the Greeks?

80. Explain what is meant by unity of action in an epic poem, and show how it is exemplified in the Odyssey?

81. On what syllable of each foot does the metrical ictus fall in heroic verse, and what effect has it on the quantity of that syllable?

82. Trace the progress of the various dialects of Greece? Explain the nature of the digamma? What did Bentley conceive to be its proper pronunciation? On what grounds is it introduced into Homer's poems?

83. Difference of ψυχή, εἴδωλον, and φρένας, also of τέμενος, ἱερὸν, and ναὸς?

84. Is a rude or cultivated age most favourable to original poetic genius? Illustrate your opinion by reference to any ancient or modern nations?

85. What does Plato mean by calling the rhapsodi of his time ἑρμηνεών ἑρμηνεῖς, and what is the corresponding expression of Horace?

86. If any poets preceded Homer and Hesiod, what would be the probable subject of their lays. (Hor. A.P.)

87. What are the opinions respecting Homer's age, expressed by Herodotus, Thucydides, Cicero, Strabo, and Juvenal?

88. What date is assigned by the author of the life of Homer attributed to Herodotus, and what are the reasons for doubting the genuineness of that treatise?

89. Who were designed by the name Ῥαψῳδοὶ,

at different periods, from the heroic age to the time of Plato?

90. Show from their history the propriety of the term ὑποκριταὶ ἐπῶν, by which Hesychius explains Ῥαψωδοὶ?

91. They were formerly called Ἀρνωδοὶ, why?

92. Did they use an accompaniment with their recitation? (Plutarch.)

93. Show from Homer what was in his time the manner of life, office, and estimation of the bard? On what occasions, with what accompaniments, and for what rewards he exercised his art?

94. Is there any example of a similar order of persons in modern times?

95. To what period do Wood and others fix the first *familiar* use of the alphabet in Greek, and on what grounds? Whence did they receive it?

96. What are the earlist Grecian written documents of which we have historical evidence? In what manner and with what materials were they written?

97. Explain the manner of writing βουστροφηδὸν and κιονηδὸν.

98. What celebrated inscription now in this country has its letters, κιονηδόν?

99. Mention some of the occasions on which Homer would probably have made mention of writing, or some customs which would have been superseded by writing, if it had been then known and practised?

100. What were the services which entitled Ulysses to the title, πτολίπορθος?

101. Οὗτοί (Homer and Hesiod) εἴσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἕλλησι (Herods.) Is this true?

102. What traces are there in early Greek poetry, or in history, of a purer religion in Greece previous to Homer?

103. Wherein did his differ from that which prevailed in the time of Socrates?

104. What seem to have been the notions respecting fate entertained by Homer?

105. What was the nature of the regal authority in Homer's times? How did it differ in peace and war, and how was it limited?

106. How, and on what occasions, is the σκῆπτρον used by the chiefs in Homer? To what other orders of persons is it also assigned?

107. What different classes of persons are denoted by κήρυκες in Homer? How do they differ from πρεσβεῖς? What was the symbol that protected them in war?

108. Show by examples that no certain rule can be laid down for the use of the augment in Homer? To what does Heyne attribute its first introduction?

109. What reason is there for supposing it, as well as the dual number, to have been unknown to the language in its earlier state?

110. In verbs compounded with περὶ, what rule prevails as to the use of the augment, and for what obvious reason?

111. Difference of ὀμόσαι, ἐπομόσαι, and ἀπομόσαι.

112. By the un-Homeric use of what word in the Hymn to Ceres is that poem proved to be more modern than Homer? The word Ἕκηλος, which is always applied in Homer to mental tranquillity, freedom from vexation, and not to the stillness of inanimate objects, in which sense it is used in the Hymn to Ceres.

113. The word δαΐφρων has two significations, viz. warlike, from δαΐς, the fight, and prudent, from δαῆναι, to learn. In the former signification it is used in the first twenty-three books of the Iliad, in the latter in the twenty-fourth book of

the Iliad, and in the Odyssey, a proof of the different authorship of these compositions.

114. The *φάλος*, afterwards called *κῶνος*, was a curved elevation on the top and front of the helmet, in which was inserted the *λόφος*, or plume, and which, by its hardness and firmness, furnished an additional defence against the blow of an enemy; *φάλαρα* were the side coverings of the helmet, consisting of several straps covered with metal scales or plates, and fastened under the chin, similar to the cheek-piece in the armour of horses. The *φάλος* of a royal helmet extended both forwards and backwards, (hence such helmet was called *ἀμφίφαλος*,) and had four holes or hollows for so many plumes, hence the helmet was called *τετραφάληρος*. The *τρυφάλεια*, derived from *τρύω* and *φάλος*, was the helmet of a common person, bored in the *φάλος* to receive one plume.

115. Ἐνδέξια, ἐπιδέξια, (Il. *α*. 597), signify "in a direction from left to right." In the innermost part of the chamber, where they performed the sacred ceremonies, and where he who presided over them sat, stood the goblet; there began the pouring out of the wine, and thence the cup went round in a direction from left to right, the president commencing with the person on his right hand. As both religion and custom enjoined the direction from left to right, this, added to the greater readiness naturally felt to go in that direction, soon gave the person who did so the appearance of dexterity; hence, in times after the Homeric, *δεξιός* and *ἐπιδέξιος* acquired the meaning of dexterous. The Homeric expression, *κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο*, signifies no more than "they filled the cups quite full of wine, to the brim." Virgil seems to be ignorant of this meaning, and to intend an actual crowning, when, in Æn. i. 723, and iii. 525, he says, "cratera coronâ induit."

116. The αμφικύπελλον was a double cup, i. e. a cup at both ends, with a common bottom; it is an adjective, and always is joined with δέπας.

117. 'Επιτηδές is not by elision for Επιτηδέες, for elision only takes place when three vowels meet, as 'Ακλεές for 'Ακλεέες, but it is an adverb signifying, (Il. α. 142,) "as many as are proper," derived from 'επί τόδε, for that very purpose.

118. The original meaning of θοός would seem to be sharp or pointed, derived rather from θήγω than θέω, so also ταχύς, θάσσων; in this sense it is used as the proper name of the Echinades, called in the Odyssey, θοαὶ. They were islands at the mouth of the Achelous, stretching out to seaward in a number of points, hence derived from 'Εχῖνος, a hedgehog, or sea-urchin; from this original meaning of θοός it next came to signify swift, as ὀξύς signifies both sharp and swift, and then brave, or prompt in action, hence terrible, as applied to Mars. When applied to night it denotes the rapidity with which night comes on, together with the terrors and dangers by which it is accompanied.

119. The Epic language ended as a living one with Plato.

120. The radical idea of πεύκη, the fir tree, is pointedness, and not bitterness; πικρός, in its oldest sense, meant sharp, penetrating, hence, bitter—hence, pungo, in Latin; ἐχεπευκής, applied to an arrow, will thus signify pointed and not bitter; πευκάλιμος, applied to the mind, may signify sharp, penetrating.

121. 'Αήρ has three significations in Homer, differing only in degree, viz. air, fog, darkness. In the Epic or Homeric language it is used in the feminine gender, later writers use it in the masculine. Buttman thinks ἠέριος always signifies "early in the morning," even in Il. γ. 7. deriving it from ἦρι, early.

122. Buttman overturns Heyne's argument to prove that Asia was the country of Homer, viz. from the position he assigns the Locrians, *πέρην Εὐβοίης*, by showing that *πέραν* does not signify there "beyond," but "opposite." That this is the true sense is shown by the narrative; the poet is leading us from the Bœotians, through the Phocians, to the Locrians, and from them to Eubœa.

123. *ποιπνύειν*, derived from *πνέω*, before Homer's time, would appear to signify, to be out of breath; in his time it was softened down to the idea of great exertion, moving, bustling about, as Il. *α*. 600. In later writers it conveyed the idea of much less activity, hence its application in the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad to the very moderate exertion of the heroes attendant on Achilles, would argue a different author.

124. There would seem to be only two meals in Homer's time, *ἄριστον* being always applied to the first or breakfast, *δεῖπνον* and *δόρπον* being applied to both the first and second, never to a third.

125. Il. *ο*. 358, *δουρὸς ἐρωή*, is the motion of the spear; Il. *π*. 302, *πολέμου ἐρωή*, is rest or cessation from war: how reconcile these apparently opposite meanings? In the latter it signifies retiring from, withdrawing from, resting from.

126. *Νυκτὸς ἀμολγός* is the depth or dead of night, a metaphor taken from a distended udder or an udder at its full, which was said to be ἐ ἀμολγῳ; not from the milking time, which was i the evening.

127. Buttman does not think that *οὐλαί*, *οὐλοχύται* means whole, unground barley, derived from *ὅλος*; he thinks that *οὐλαί*, *ὀλαί* is the same as the Latin mola, coarsely pounded or bruised barley, and derives it from *ἀλέω*, same as *ἔλω*, to beat.

128. Difference between trans and ultra, and their corresponding words, πέραν and πέρα? When I say trans Euphraten, I imagine myself *near* that river, and speak positively of the other side, as, he is fled over the Euphrates, in which the thought is, he is now on the other side. When I say ultra Euphraten, I am at a distance from that river, and speak of the other side only in opposition to this side, as, he is fled beyond the Euphrates, in which the thought is, he is no where to be found from this place to that river.

129. 'Εθέλω implies the wish or desire for something, the execution of which is in one's own power; βούλομαι, in this sense, is applied only to the Gods; generally it signifies, to wish for something, the execution of which is not in one's power, it signifies also to prefer; ἐθέλω, not so; nearly the same difference exists between to will and to wish.

130. Some derive πελασγοί from πέλαγος, men coming over the ocean; others from πελαργοί, storks, being a migratory race; others from two Celtic words, Pel, high, and Lasg, a chain of mountains, the inhabitants of a mountainous country. The old Pelasgic tongue had an affinity with the Celtic.

131. The war of the "Septem contra Thebas" was the first instance of a league among Grecian princes. The Acarnanians were the only people of Greece who had not the honour of partaking in the Trojan war, being separated from the rest of Greece by lofty mountains.

THE END.

Talbot Macbeth
University College
Toronto

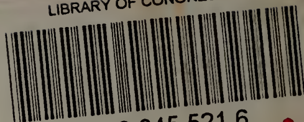
ERRATA.

Page 8, *for* δέλτοσ, *read* δέλτος.
—— 12, *for* έν, *read* ἐν.
—— 16, *for* Οίχαλίας, *read* Οἰχαλίας.
—— 16, *for* ἀοιδοὶ, ῥαψωδοὶ, *read* ἀοιδοὶ or ῥαψωδοί.
—— 17, *for* ἀντὶδικος, *read* ἀντίδικος.
—— 20, *for* διασκευαστὴσ, *read* διασκευαστής.
—— 23, *for* are valuable, *read* is valuable.
—— 24, *for* ὀβελίξειν, *read* ὀβελίζειν.
—— 34, *for* ' and ', *read* ' and '.
—— 34, *for* 'Ιωνικὰ, *read* 'Ιωνικά.
—— 37, *for* biographics, *read* biographies.
—— 39, *for* 'Αλύβης, *read* 'Αλύβης.
—— 46, *for* Macineca, *read* Maciucca.
—— 49, *for* Αίνείαο, *read* Αἰνείαο.
—— 74, *for* he swallowed, *read* Saturn swallowed.
—— 99, *for* νυκτὶ, *read* νυκτί.
—— 103, *for* seeming, *read* seems.
—— 106, *for* ἀστέρ, *read* ἀστέρ.
—— 110, *place* 59, *before* The following are the laws, &c.

The foregoing errors have arisen from the difficulty of correcting the press, at a distance from Dublin.

Deacidified using the Bookkeeper process.
Neutralizing agent: Magnesium Oxide
Treatment Date: July 2006

PreservationTechnologies
A WORLD LEADER IN PAPER PRESERVATION
111 Thomson Park Drive
Cranberry Township, PA 16066
(724) 779-2111


LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 003 045 521 6