To Mr. Kurth
from
Sincerely Mr. Jones
AN ENQUIRY INTO THE LIFE and WRITINGS OF HOMER.

LONDON: PRINTED in the YEAR MDCCXXXV.
to

The Right Honourable

Mr Lord ****.
ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Notes are intended only as Proofs; and are long in some places where an Induction of Facts was necessary. The Translations from ancient Authors, being designed for the same purpose, are almost literal; which is the Reason why they are not taken from more poetical Versions.
It is the good-natured Advice of an admired Ancient, To think over the several Virtues and Excellencies of our Acquaintance, when we have a mind to indulge ourselves, and be cheerful. His Friends, it wou'd seem, were sincere and constant, or found it their Interest to appear so; else the Remembrance of good or great Qualities, never to be employed in his Service, cou'd not have proved so entertaining.

'Tis however certain, That the Pleasures of Friendship and mutual Confidence, are pursued in one shape or other by Men of all Characters: Neither Business, nor Diversions, nor Learning.
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Learning, can exempt us from the Power of this agreeable Passion. Even a fancied Presence affects our Minds, and raises our Spirits both in Thought and Action. The Moralist's Direction extends its Influence to every part of Life; and at this moment I put it in practice, while I endeavour to enliven a few Thoughts, upon no mean Subject, by addressing them to your Lordship.

It is Homer, My Lord, and the Question which you looked upon as hitherto unresolved:

"By what Fate or Disposition of things it has happened, that None have equalled him in "Epic-Poetry for two thousand seven hun-
"dred Years, the Time since he wrote; Nor "any, that we know, ever surpassed him be-
"fore." For this is the Man, whose Works for many Ages, were the Delight of Princes a, and the Support of Priests, as well as the Wonder of the Learned, which they still continue to be.

However unsafe it might be, to have said so of old at Smyrna b, where Homer was deified, or at Chios among his Posterity c, I believe

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a Πτελεμαος ος φιλοσάτως, κατασκευάσας Ομήχος Νέον, ἀντοῦ ῥό κάλως ἱκάδως κυκλῳ το τις πολῆς ἀείγησι τὸ ἀγάλματος ἐτῶς ἀνίκητα τῷ ‘Ομήρῳ. "Αιλιως.

b Strabo, speaking of Smyrna, says, 'Ες ἤ ὑ βεβιλιθάκης, ἵ τῇ ὁ Ομήρῳ το τετραγωνοῦ ἱχασάντο Νέον Ὀμῆρα ἵ τῇ ξένῳ οὔτε ποιήσαντε τῇ ὁ ἄντιποιάντα τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ διαφέροντος ἔρχοντας Ποιήτου. Καὶ ἵ τῇ ὁ Νόμος ἀεί κυκλῳ παρ' ἀντιφαίρεσι τῷ ἀντίποιαν λεγόνται. Στραβ. βιδ. ιδ. This Structure was built by Lyssmachus, one of Alexander's Successors.

c Ἀμφίφθωντες δὲ τῷ Ὀμῆρῷ Χίοι, μαρτύρον ῥό τῷ Ἀμηριδαζ καθάρσις, ἵ τῇ ἰκόνος γένους προχειριζομένου. Στραβ. βιδ. ιδ.
lieve it would be difficult to persuade your Lordship, That there was a *Miracle* in the Case. *That*, indeed, would quickly put an end to the Question: For were we really of the same Opinion, as the Ancients, that *Homer* was inspired from *Heaven*; that he sung, and wrote as the *Prophet* and *Interpreter* of the Gods⁴, we should hardly be apt to wonder: Nor would it surprize us much, to find a Book of an heavenly Origin without an Equal among human Compositions: to find the Subject of it equally useful and great, the Stile just, and yet sublime, the Order both simple and exquisite, to find the Sentiments natural without lowness, the Manners real, and withal so extensive, as to include even the Varieties of the chief Characters of Mankind; We shou'd expect no less, considering whence it came: And *That* I take to have been the Reason, why none of the Ancients have attempted to account for this Prodigy. They acquiesced, it is probable, in the Pretensions, which the Poet constantly makes to celestial Instruction, and seem to have been of *Tacitus's* Opinion, "That it is more pious and respectful to believe, than to enquire into "the Works of the Gods b".

B u t, *My Lord*, the happy Change that has been since wrought upon the face of religious Affairs, gives us liberty to be of the contrary Opinion:

⁴ *Διόνυσιν ὑπό Θεοῦ, ἐ στὶν ἔργον Προφήτης. Πλατων. Αλκιβιάδ. ἡ.*

b *De Moribus Germanorum.*
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Opinion: Tho' in ancient times it might have gone near to banish us from Smyrna or Colophon, yet at present it is become perfectly harmless; and we may anywhere assert, "That Homer's Poems " are of Human Composition; inspired by no " other Power than his own natural Faculties, " and the Chances of his Education: In a " word, That a Concourse of natural Causes, " conspired to produce and cultivate that " mighty Genius, and gave him the noblest " Field to exercise it in, that ever fell to the " share of a Poet."

Here, My Lord, there seems to be occasion for a little Philosophy, to put us, if possible, upon the Track of this singular Phænomenon: It has shone for upwards of two thousand Years in the Poetick World; and so dazzled Men's Eyes, that they have hitherto been more employed in gazing at it, than in inquiring What formed it, or How it came there? And very fortunately, the Author of all Antiquity, who seems to have made the happiest union of the Courtier and the Scholar, has determined a Point that might have given us some trouble. He has laid it down as a Principle, " That " the greatest Genius cannot excel without " Culture; Nor the finest Education produce " any thing Noble without Natural Endow- " ments." Taking this for granted, We may assure ourselves that Homer hath been happy in them both; and must now follow the dark Hints

* Horat. De Arte Poet.
Hints afforded us by Antiquity, to find out How a blind strolling Bard could come by them. I do not choose to entertain your Lordship with the Accidents about his Birth; tho' some Naturalists would reckon them the Beginnings of his good Fortune. I incline rather to observe, That he is generally reputed to have been a Native of Asia the less; a Tract of Ground that for the Temperature of the Climate, and Qualities of the Soil, may vye with any in Europe. It is not so fat and fruitful as the Plains of Babylon or Banks of the Nile, to effeminate the Inhabitants, and beget Laziness and Inactivity: But the Purity and Benignity of the Air, the Varieties of the Fruits and Fields, the Beauty and Number of the Rivers, and the constant Gales from the happy Isles of the Western Sea, all conspire to bring its Productions of every kind to the highest Perfection: They inspire that Mildness of Temper, and Flow of Fancy, which favour the most extensive Views, and give the finest Conceptions of Nature and Truth.

In the Division commonly made of Climates, the Rough and Cold are observed to
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produce the strongest Bodies, and most martial Spirits; the hotter, lazy Bodies with cunning and obstinate Passions; but the temperate Regions, lying under the benign Influences of a genial Sky, have the best Chance for a fine Perception, and a proportioned Eloquence a. Good Sense is indeed said to be the Product of every Country, and I believe it is; but the richest Growths, and fairest Shoots of it, spring, like other

a Left it be thought that these Consequences are straining, it may be worth while to let down the Opinion at length of the Great Hippocrates, in his Treatise of Air, Water and Situation: "Believe me, by the Sun, by the Air, by the Ground, and by the Water, that the growth of Virtue is proportioned to all the four Elements: the Sun is the cause of Life, the Air is the cause of Motion, the Ground is the cause of Stability, and the Water is the cause of Preservation. Thus do the Elements cause the growth of Virtue, as they cause the growth of Trees and Plants."

To the fame Purpuse the Philosopher, Η Θεός (Ἄθεα) προσερχθή ὡς κατάκτην, ἐκλαθημένην ὅ τότον εἰ ἡ γενέσθαι τὴν Ἐλκουσίαν. Το οὖν ἐν αὐτῷ κατίσκωσθα, ὃτι ΠΡΟΝΙΜΟΤΑΤΟΥΣ ἄνδρας ἔιστε.
other Plants, from the happiest Exposition and most friendly Soil 

The pursuing a Thought thro' its remotest Consequences, is so familiar to your Lordship, that I need hardly mention the later History of this Tract. It has never failed to shew its Virtue, when Accidents from abroad did not stand in the way. In the early Times of Liberty, the first, and greatest Number of Philosophers, Historians, and

* Ingenia Hominum ubique locorum situs format. Q. Curtius, Lib. 8. The Proof of this Assertion is attempted in form in a Treatise of Galen's; That the Manners of Mankind depend upon the Constitution of their Bodies.

Thales of Miletus, contemporary with Cyrus: Anaximander, Anaximenes, his Scholars, of the same Place. Pythagoras of Samos. Heracitus of Ephesus; and Hermagoras, who was banished that City for his too great Sobriety. Chrysippus was of Solis, Zeno of Cyprus, Anaxagoras of Clazomene. Xenophanes, the Naturalist, was of Colophon. Cleantbe, the Stoick, of Assus, where Aristo- late stay'd for many Years. Metrodorus, the great Friend of Epico- curus, was of Lampacus; where this Philosopher too dwelt so long that he may almost pass for a Native. Theophrastus, and his Companion Phancias, were of Eretria, and his Successor Neles, the Heir of Aristotle's Library, was of Scepsis. Thaës, and Xenocrates the Platonick, Arcesilas the Academick, Protarchus the Epicurean, and Eudoxus the Mathematician, Plato's Friend (all great Names in Philosophy) drew their first Breath on the same Coast: As did likewise Hippocrates, Simus, Erafistratus, Achelides, Apollonius, the greatest Masters of Medicine. It is also observable, that of the seven early Sages, called the wise Men of Greece, four belonged to this Climate: Pittacus of Mitylene, Bias of Priene, Cleobulus the Lidian, and the abovementioned Milesian Thales.

Hecataeus and Pherecydes, the two oldest Historians the Greeks had, was the one of Miletus, and the other of the little Island Syros. Hellanicus was of Lesbos, Theopompus of Chios: The old Scalax was of Caryanda. Ephorus, the great Historian, was of Cumæ; Ctesias, Physician to Artaxerxes King of Persia, and a great Writer of Wonders, was of Gnidus: To whom if you join the inimitable Herodotus, you will have the Names of the chief Historians among the Greeks, excepting the two Athenians, Thucy- dides and Xenophon.
and **Poets** h, were Natives of the Asiatick Coast, and adjacent Islands. And after an Interval of Slavery, when the Influences of the Roman Freedom, and of their mild Government, had reached that happy Country, it repaid them, not only with the Delicacies of their Fields and Gardens, but with the more valuable Productions of Men of Virtue and Learning; and in such Numbers, as to fill their Schools,

h Hesiod, near Homer’s own Days, was of Cumae; Mimnermus of Colophon, Archilochus of Paros, Tyrtaeus of Miletus; Thales, the Poet and Law-giver, and Epimenides, the Charmer, were of Crete. Aracreon was a Teian, Simonides a Cean, Arion and Terpander were Lesbians: And not to mention the particular Places of every one’s Birth, The admired Sappho, her Lover Alcaeus, Bacchylides, Charillus (not Alexander’s), Phoebylides, Bias, Sianmiss, Philetas, Ion the Tragedian, Philemon Menander’s Rival, Hegemon Epaminondas’s Panegyrist, and the Astronomic Poet Aratus, were all born in this Poetical Region. It had also the Honour of producing the Erythraean Sibyl, and another inspired Lady, Athenaïs, under Alexander. But what is by far the most remarkable upon this Article is, That the famous Five, who distinguished themselves in Epic-Poetry, were all Natives of this very Climate. Hear the Testimony of the learned Tzetzes: ἡ γ ναζοὶ ὅταν ἄνοιγον τὸ Ποιήτων ('Ἐπικέα') ὑμῖν ἐν διαφόροις πάντες ὑμᾶς ὁ ποιητής, Ἀντίμαχος ἢ Ἐρατοσθένης ὁ Καλοπονός ὁ Παυσανίας ὁ Πίθαγος ὁ Καρπάθιος, κ. ὡς ὁ Πισίνας ὁ Ἰόλος. Tzetzes says of him, Σαῦδας γὰς τῆς Ποιητικῆς ἐπαναγμένης. Pindar was of Rhodes, and of great Reputation. Ἡ πόλις ὁ διαναρέταις Ποιήτης Καρπάτιος ἢ Στρατός, ἢ Πόλης. Antimachus wrote the Theban War; and Panyassis the Labours of Hercules: He was of Halicarnassus. Suidas says of him, Σωτήρ τῆς Ποιητικῆς ἐπαναγμένης.

"Panaceus, Stratocrates, Andronicus the Peripatetic, Leonidas the Stoick, and before them Praxiphanes, Eudemus, and Hieronymus, were all of Rhodes. Pheidonius was of Apamea in Syria, but lived, governed and taught in the same Island. Charon the Historian, Adeimantus, and Anaximenes the Rhetor, were of Lampsiacus. Agatharchides the Aristotelick, of Gnidus. Erasmus and Caryæus, of the Socrates School, were Natives of Scepsi near Troy. That little Place was formerly famous for the Birth of Demetrius, the celebrated Critick, contemporary with Aristarchus; and of Metrodorus, a Man of high Spirit and Eloquence, the unhappy Favourite of the great
Schools, and the Houses of the Great; to be Companions for their Princes, and to leave some noble Monuments for Posterity.

It will probably be thought too great a Refinement to observe, that Homer must have been
great Mithridates. Hesychius, Xenocrates, and Menippus, were the Authors and greatest Ornaments of the Afsatic Eloquence: And in general, the Teachers of Oratory and Philosophy came from the same Coasts: Diogenes; Potamon and Lebocles, great Men and Rivals, from Mitylene; Crinagoras, Dionysius Atticus, Diodorus Sardianus, Diotrephes, Alexander llamned Lycobus, Dionyfocles, and Damasus called Scombrus; Apollonius Nyfes, Menecrates, Apollonius Malacus, Nicias of Cos, who grew Ambitious and turned Tyrant; Theodorus Cronus the Dialectick, Archidamus, Antipater, Nestor, Stoicks; with many others, whom fee in Seneca the Father, his Conrader. & Suafor. where he relates the Sentences of the Grecian Malters.

Theophras the Historian, Pompey’s great Friend and Counsellor, was of Mitylene: His Son was afterwards Prefect of Asia. Aristodemus of Nysa had been Pompey's Master; and his Cousin-German of the same Name, was entrusted with the Education of the Children of that great Man. His younger Son Sextus Pompey, when he was Lord of the Seas, had Dionysius the Halicarnassian among his Friends, the celebrated Historian and Critick. Theopompus of Gnids, and his Son, were both Favourites of Julius Ceasar; and the Father had a great hand in his short Administration. Apollonius Molos was Ciceron's Master. Pompey going to his Eastern Expedition, paid Posidonus a Visit in his School at Rhodes, and humbled his Fathers at the Gate as they used to do to a Superior: When he was about to take leave, Pompey asked his Commands, and this courtly Philosopher bid him, in a line of Homer, 'Αμέτομα ουκ ἀναλεῖφθαι τῷ παιδί; Always excel and shine above the rest; the thing in the World he most wanted to do. Hymen the finest Speaker in his time, was in high Favour with Marc Antony; and the Care of Augustus’s Manners was committed by Ceasar his Uncle, to Apollodorus the Pergamian. The elder Athenodorus needs no other Proof of his Virtue and Merit, than that he lived and died with Marcus Cato. The younger held a high Place in Augustus’s Favour, grew dearer to him the longer he lived, got great Honour; and when weary of the Court, returned with absolute Power from the Senate to reform and govern his native City. He was succeeded in Favour and Honour by Nestor the Academick, who was charged with the Education of the noble Marcellus, Octavia’s Son, and apparent Heir of the Empire.
been the first or second Generation, after the Transplantation or rather the final Settlement of this Colony, from the rocky Morea to these happy Lands: A Situation, in which Nature is observed to make the most vigorous Efforts, and to be most profuse of her genial Treasure. The Curious in Horses, are concerned to have a mixed Breed, a Remove or two from the foreign Parent; and what Influence it might have here, will belong to the Curious in Mankind to determine.

If Homer then, came into the World, in such a Country, and under so propitious an Aspect of Nature, we must next enquire, what Reception he met with upon his Arrival; in what Condition he found things, and what Dispositions they must produce in an exalted Genius, and comprehensive Mind. This is a difficult Speculation, and I should be under no small Apprehensions how to get thro' it, if I did not know that Men moving, like your Lordship, in the higher Spheres of Life, are well acquainted with the Effects of Culture and Education. They know the Changes they are able to produce; and are not surprized to find them, as it were, new-moulding human Creatures, and transforming them more than Urganda or Circe. The Influence of Example and Discipline is, in effect, so extensive, that some very acute Writers have mistaken it for the only Source
Source of our Morals: tho' their Root lies deeper, and is more interwoven with our Original Frame. However, as we have at present only to do with Homer, in his Poetical Capacity, we need give ourselves no further Trouble in considering the Tenour of his Life, than as it served to raise him to be the Prince of his Profession.

In this Search, we must remember that young Minds are apt to receive such strong Impressions from the Circumstances of the Country where they are born and bred, that they contract a mutual kind of Likeness to those Circumstances, and bear the Marks of the Course of Life thro' which they have passed. A Man who has had great Misfortunes, is easily distinguished from one who has lived all his Days in high Prosperity; and a Person bred to Business, has a very different Appearance from another brought up in Sloth and Pleasure: Both our Understanding and Behaviour receive a Stamp from our Station and Adventures; and as a liberal Education forms a Gentleman, and the contrary a Clown, in the same manner, if we take things a little deeper, are our Thoughts and Manners influenced by the Strain of our Lives. In this view, the Circumstances that may be reasonably thought to have the greatest Effect upon us, may perhaps be reduced to these following: First, The State of the Country where a Person

1 Mons. Mathe le Vayer, &c.
son is born and bred; in which I include the common Manners of the Inhabitants, their Constitution civil and religious, with its Causes and Consequences: Their Manners are seen in the Ordinary way of living, as it happens to be polite or barbarous, luxurious or simple. Next, the Manners of the Times, or the prevalent Humours and Professions in vogue: These two are publick, and have a common effect on the whole Generation. Of a more confined Nature is, first, Private Education; and after that, the particular way of Life we choose and pursue, with our Fortunes in it.

From these Accidents, My Lord, Men in every Country may be justly said to draw their Character, and derive their Manners. They make us what we are, in so far as they reach our Sentiments, and give us a peculiar Turn and Appearance: A Change in any one of them makes an Alteration upon Us; and taken together, we must consider them as the Moulds that form us into those Habits and Dispositions, which sway our Conduct and distinguish our Actions.
THERE is, My Lord, a thing, which, tho' it has happened in all Ages and Nations, is yet very hard to describe. Few People are capable of observing it, and therefore Terms have not been contrived to express a Perception that is taken from the widest Views of Human Affairs. It may be called a Progression of Manners; and depends for the most part upon our Fortunes: As they flourish or decline, so we live and are affected; and the greatest Revolutions in them produce the most conspicuous Alterations in the other: For the Manners of a
People seldom stand still, but are either polishing or spoiling. In Nations, where for many Years no considerable Changes of Fortune happen, the various Rises and Falls in their moral Character are the less observed: But when by an Invasion and Conquest the Face of things is wholly changed; or when the original Planters of a Country, from a State of Ignorance and Barbarity, advance by Policy and Order, to Wealth and Power, it is then, that the Steps of the Progression become observable: We can see every thing on the growing Hand, and the very Soul and Genius of the People rising to higher Attempts, and a more liberal Manner.

From the Accounts left us of the State of ancient Greece, by the most accurate of their Historians, we may perceive three Periods in their Affairs. The first, from the dark Ages, of which they had little or no Knowledge, to the time of the Trojan War. The second, from the taking of Troy, to the Persian Invasion under Xerxes. The third, from that time, to the loss of their Liberty, first by the Macedonians, and then by the Romans. Greece was peopled in the First; she grew, and the Constitution was settled in the Second; she enjoyed it in the Third, and was in all her Glory. From the two

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a Thucydides, Lib. i.
first Periods, Homer drew his Imagery and Manners, learned his Language, and took his Subject, which makes it necessary for us to review them.

What is properly called Greece, is but a rough Country: It boasts indeed, as well it may in such an Extent, many a fine Vale, and delicious Field; but taking it together, the Soil is not rich or inviting. It was ancienfly but thinly inhabited, and these Inhabitants were exposed to the greatest Hardships: They had no constant nor fixed Possessions; but there were frequent Removes, one Nation or Tribe expelling another, and possessing themselves of their Seats: This was then look'd upon to be a Calamity, but not near so grievous as we imagine it now, or indeed as they themselves thought it afterwards: For there being no Traffick among them, or secure Intercourse, they had but the bare Necessaries of Life: They planted no Lands, acquired no Superfluities, and built only Shelters from the Weather: Experience made them sensible of the Uncertainty of

\[ \text{\textit{Exsas est pulchra bella dicemb, etiam metanaiosos te proptere.}} \]

\[ \text{\textit{Nec robustus erat curvi Moderator Aratri Quisquam; nec scibat ferro mollirier Arva; Nec nova defodere in terram Virgulta; nec altis Arboribus, veteres decidere falcibu' ramos. Quod Sol atque Imbres dederant, quod Terra crearat Sponte fuâ, fatis id placabat Pectora donum: Clandiferas inter curabant Corpora Quercus.}} \]

T. Lucret. Lib. 5º.
of their Possessions; and as they knew not how soon a superior Force might spoil them of their Lands, so they were sure of finding in any Country such a scanty Subsistance as they then enjoyed; and therefore, without much Opposition, they quitted their sorry Dwellings, and made room for an Invader.

Of a piece with this way of living at Land, was their Manner at Sea, as soon as they began to build Ships, and ventured to visit foreign Coasts: They turned themselves wholly to Piracy; and were so far from thinking it base, that the living by Plunder gave a Reputation for Spirit and Bravery. This Practice continued long in Greece, not among the meaner sort of People only; but the most powerful of the Tribe failed out with those under their Command, took what Ships they met, and if they thought their Numbers sufficient, they often fell upon the Villages along the Coast, killed the Men, and carried the Women and Goods to their Ship. Thucydides says, that even in his time there were several uncivilized Countries in Greece, that lived both by Sea and Land after the old barbarous manner.

These


* Thucydides, Lib. 1. Καὶ μείζον τὸν πειναὶ ἐκλαῖον τῷ παλαιῷ τρὶς τῶν νεκρῶν, τοῖς τὸν Λάκρας τοὺς Ὀλίους, μείζον τὸς Αἰγύπτων, τῷ τῶι ταῦται Ἠριδον. See also Plutarch, in the Life of T. Q. Flaminius.
These, My Lord, were the Manners in Homer's Days, and such we find them in his Writings. Ulysses returning in disguise to his own Country, was received by his Servant Eumæus, as a poor old Man, into his Cottage; and being questioned who and whence he was, tells this plausible Tale; "That he was of Crete, a natural Son of the renowned Castor, and much beloved by his Father while he lived; but at his Death, his Brothers drove him out of the House, and defrauded him of his share of the Patrimony: That however, his Worth and Bravery had procured him a rich and honourable Match:” Then he bids him judge of the Ear by the Stalk; expatiates a little upon his own martial Character, and adds,

ΤΟΙΟΣ Ε’ ΕΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΔΕ ΜΟΙ ΟΥ ΦΙΑΟΝ ΕΞΚΕΝ.

Such in the War; I scorned Country Toils And Household Cares, and bringing up of Children: 
But Ships with Sails and Oars rejoic'd my Soul; Battles, and burnish’d Arms, and glitt'ring Spears, Things that to others Terror bring, and Dread, Were my Delights; so God had form’d my Heart.

Here is plainly a Man who professes Piracy; and accordingly he tells, that in nine several Courses he gained so much Wealth, that he was
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was held in great Esteem among his Countrymen, — ἈΠΑ Δ’ ΟΙΚΟΣ ΟΦΕΛΑΕΤΟ, &c.

My House was soon advanced; and afterward I Reverence had and Awe among the Cretans.

And when Ulysses, in his turn, comes to enquire into the Fortunes of Eumæus, he chooses this Supposition, as the most natural he could make:

But come, and tell me truly what I ask; Whether the spacious Town was pillaged, In which thy Father, and thy Mother liv’d? Or whether Men came unawares upon thee, Left single with the Oxen, or the Sheep, And dragging thee aboard, sailed over hither To this Man’s Dwelling? —

These being the Manners of the Times, we need not wonder at Homer’s representing the good Nestor, as entertaining Telemachus and his Company very honourably in his House, and after the Repast, asking them, Whether they were Merchants — Ἡ ΜΑΥΙΛΙΩΣ ΑΛΑΛΗΣΘΕ, ΟΙΑ ΤΕ ΔΗΙΣΤΗΡΕΣ?

— Or do you rove uncertain, As being Robbers? —

Nor was Homer’s own Country behind-hand with the rest of the Greeks. We learn from Hero-
Herodotus, that Latona's Oracle in Boutoo had assured Pfammetichus (one of the twelve Kings, when Egypt was broken into petty Governments) That brazen Men would come to his Assistance: They were no other, says the Historian, than Ιώνες τε καὶ Κᾶρας ἀνδρεῖς κατὰ λιθω ἐκκυκλώσαντες, Ionian and Carian Crews, who had failed out on Piracy, and were forced by Storm to land in Egypt.

But as every Misfortune forces Men to think of a Remedy, the Calamities, to which this barbarous Way of living was exposed, taught the Greeks, in process of time, the Necessity of walling their Towns; which, in its turn, procured them Security and Wealth, and first enriched the Cities upon the Sea: These who lay most exposed to Insults before, were now most open to Trade; and the Phœnician and Egyptian Merchants quickly taught them the Methods of Gain: By this means Chalcis, Corinth, and Mycenæ were the first opulent Cities after the Isles. Riches soon produced Sub-ordination; the less powerful being contented with the Protection of the Rich and Brave; and these, on the other hand, glad of Numbers for carrying on their Affairs.

Condere ceperunt tum Urbeis, Arcemque locare
Præsidium Reges ipfi sibi, perfugiumque;
Et Pecudes & Agros divisère; atque dedère
Prò facie ejusque, & viribus, ingenioque.

T. Lucret. Lib. 5.
Poverty was still prevalent in the Country, when Pelops came from Asia with a Flood of Wealth, till then unknown to Greece; and by that and his Skill in the necessary Arts of Life, he gained such Power among the rude Inhabitants, that he gave his Name to a great Part of the Country. His Descendants Atreus and Thyestes added to their hereditary Dominions; and Fortune made a Present of a new Kingdom to the elder Brother. Eurystheus his Nephew, King of Mycenæ, of the Line of Perseus, going against the Heraclides, or Posterity of Hercules, entrusted him with the Government during his Absence. The Expedition proved fatal to Eurystheus; and the Inhabitants of Mycenæ being afraid of a victorious Tribe, and having proof of the Ability of their Governor Atreus, unanimously offer’d him the Kingdom. Thus the Family of Pelops got the possession of two Kingdoms, and became superior in Wealth and Power to the Perseids their Rivals. This Atreus seems to have been the first, who after the Days of Minos, had fitted out a Fleet; for besides a large and flourishing Kingdom on the Continent, he left to Agamemnon the Sovereignty of many of the Islands, which cou’d never be held in Subjection without a naval Force. They had been, as hath been above observed, early enriched by Commerce with Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt, the first civilized Countries.
Agamemnon possessed of this wide Dominion and great Wealth, as things then went, was more in a Condition, than by the Oaths sworn to Tyndarus, to redress his Brother's Wrongs, and to put himself at the Head of the first Expedition which Greece made in common against a foreign Enemy. But the length of the War, and the Misfortunes the Greeks met with in their Return, brought new Disorders upon the victorious Nation. Many of the Princes being killed, and some of them lost by the way, Parties started up in the Cities, and the Greeks fell to their old Trade of one Tribe's expelling another, as formerly. But now the Contentions were longer and more obstinate, and more Blood was spilt before either Side would submit. Their Cities were better worth fighting for, and were not easily given up by People grown expert in War. Nor did the Tribe that was worsted wander up and down as before, to seek new distant Habitations; but they fortified their Cities, to secure themselves and their Posterity against the like Calamities. Thus for some Ages after the taking of Troy, Greece was indeed increasing in Cities and Wealth, but was continually engaged in Wars; Taking of Towns, Battles of Tribes, Piracy,

1 Προ το τρωίζαν ἐδώρ φανταζεῖται πρότεινον καὶ ἐγνωσμένον ἐν Εὐρώπῃ. Ὁμνιδ. ᾦ.

m Τῶν ἅγιομένων ὁ Βασιλεὺς ἐς Τρωίαν ἅγιον μέν Οὐίτζεριν ὡν ὡν ὅ Λυκίς ὁ. Παυσ. Βασιλ. Μέντο.
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Piracy, and Incursions, were common Adventures. In the second or third Age of this Period was Homer born; that is, at a Time when he might, as he grew up, be a Spectator of all the various Situations of human Race; might observe them in great Calamities, and in high Felicity; but more generally they were increasing in Wealth and Discipline. For, My Lord, I cannot help observing, that from these hard Beginnings, and jarring Interests, the Greeks became early Masters of the military Art, and, by degrees, of all others that tend to enrich or adorn a City, and raise a Commonwealth: Shipping and Commerce, domestic Order, and foreign Influence, with every subservient Art of Policy and Government, were invented, or improved; and some of them brought to a very great degree of Perfection.

And truly it could not be otherwise, while each City was independent, rivalling its Neighbour, and trying its Genius in Peace, and its Strength in War. Upon good or bad Success, the Citizens, all concerned in the Administration, made a careful Enquiry into the Cause of it; What...
What Fault in their Conduct had procured the one, or what Excellency in their Constitution the other? This Liberty produced Hardiness and Discipline; which at length arose to that height, that ten thousand Greeks were an Overmatch for the Persian Monarch, with all the Power of the Asiatick Plains.

This, My Lord, happened long after; but the Struggle was fresh in Homer's Days: Arms were in Repute, and Force decided Possession. He saw Towns taken and plundered, the Men put to the Sword, and the Women made Slaves: He beheld their despairing Faces, and suppliant Postures; heard their Moanings o'er their murdered Husbands, and Prayers for their Infants to the Victor. On the other hand, he might view Cities blessed with Peace, spirited by Liberty, flourishing in Trade, and increasing in Wealth. He was not engaged in Affairs himself, to draw off his Attention; but he wander'd thro' the various Scenes, and observed them at leisure. Nor was it the least instructive Sight, to see a Colony led out, a City founded, the Foundations of Order and Policy laid, with all the Provisions for the Security of the People; Such Scenes afford extended Views, and natural ones too, as they are the immediate Effect of the great

P Homer says of Antigone,

Καὶ ρ' ἔτεκεν ὁ δίδαξ παιδ', Ἀμφῖοια τε Ζηθίν τε;
'Οι πρῶτοι Θεῶν Ἐδώιν ἀκτίσαν ἐπτυπώθειος;
Ποργόναν τ' ἐπὶ καὶ μὴ ἄποφασον τ' ἐδωμαίτο
Ναίμυς ἑνέχρειν Θεῶι, κεφασώ περί ἐκτι.

'Οδ. Β' 172. In the Νικολομαντία.
great Parent of Invention, *Necessity*, in its young and untaught Essays.

The Importance of this good Fortune will best appear, if your Lordship reflects on the Pleasure which we receive from a Representation of *natural* and *simple* Manners: It is irresistible and enchanting; they best shew human Wants and Feelings; they give us back the Emotions of an *artless* Mind, and the plain Methods we fall upon to indulge them: Goodness and Honesty have their Share in the Delight; for we begin to like the Men, and wou'd rather have to do with them, than with more refined but *double* Characters. Thus the various Works necessary for building a House, or a Ship; for planting a Field, or forging a Weapon, if described with an Eye to the Sentiments and Attention of the Man so employed, give us great Pleasure, *because we feel the same*. Innocence, we say, is beautiful; and the Sketches of it, wherever they are truly hit off, never fail to charm: Witness the few Strokes of that Nature in Mr. *Dryden's Conquest of Mexico*, and the *Inchanted Island*.

Accordingly, *My Lord*, we find *Homer* describing very minutely the Houses, Tables, and Way of living of the Ancients; and we read these Descriptions with pleasure. But on the contrary, when we consider our own Customs, we find that our first Business, when we sit down to poetize in the higher Strains, is to
and Writings of Homer.

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to unlearn our daily way of Life; to forget our manner of Sleeping, Eating and Diversions: We are obliged to adopt a Set of more natural Manners, which however are foreign to us; and must be like Plants raised up in Hot-Beds or Green-Houses, in comparison of those which grow in Soils fitted by Nature for such Productions. Nay, so far are we from enriching Poetry with new Images drawn from Nature, that we find it difficult to understand the old. We live within Doors, cover'd, as it were, from Nature's Face; and passing our Days supinely ignorant of her Beauties, we are apt to think the Similies taken from her low, and the ancient Manners mean, or absurd. But let us be ingenuous, My Lord, and confess, that while the Moderns admire nothing but Pomp, and can think nothing Great or Beautiful, but what is the Produce of Wealth, they exclude themselves from the pleasantest and most natural Images that adorned the old Poetry. State and Form disguise Man; and Wealth and Luxury disguise Nature. Their Effects in Writing are answerable: A Lord-Mayor's Show, or grand Procession of any kind, is not very delicious Reading, if described minutely, and at length; and great Ceremony is at least equally tiresome in a Poem, as in ordinary Conversation.

It has been an old Complaint, that we love to disguise every thing, and most Ourselves. All our Titles and Distinctions have been represented
as Coverings, and Additions of Grandeur to what Nature gave us: Happy indeed for the best of Ends, I mean the publick Tranquillity and good Order; but incapable of giving delight in Fiction or Poetry.

By this time your Lordship sees I am in the case of a noble Historian, who having related the constant Superiority his Greeks had over the Inhabitants of the Assyrian Vales, concludes "That it has not been given by the Gods, to one and the same Country, to produce rich Crops and warlike Men;" Neither indeed does it seem to be given to one and the same Kingdom, to be thoroughly civilized, and afford proper Subjects for Poetry. The Marvellous and Wonderful is the Nerve of the Epic Strain: But what marvellous Things happen in a well-ordered State? We can hardly be surprized; We know the Springs and Method of acting; Every thing happens in Order, and according to Custom or Law. But in a wide Country, not under a regular Government, or split into many, whose Inhabitants live scattered, and ignorant of Laws and Discipline; In such a Country, the Manners are simple, and Accidents

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9 Quel fuon falséfo e vano,
Quel inutil Sogetto
Di Lusínghe, di Titole e d’ Inganno;
Ch’ Honor dal volgo infano
Indegnanmente è detto,
Non era ancor’ degli Animi Tiranno.

Pastor Fido, Choro dell’ Atto 4.

* Herodotus.
Accidents will happen every Day: Exposition and loss of Infants, Encounters, Escapes, Rescues, and every other thing that can inflame the human Passions while acting, or awake them when described, and recalled by Imitation. These are not to be found in a well-governed State, except it be in a Civil War; which, with all the Disorder and Misery that attends it, is a fitter Subject for an Epic Poem, than the most glorious Campaign that ever was made in Flanders. Even the Things that give the greatest Lustre in a regular Government; the greatest Honours and highest Trusts, will scarcely bear Poetry: The Muse refuses to bestow her Embellishments on a Duke's Patent, or a General's Commission. They can neither raise our Wonder, nor gain our Heart: For Peace, Harmony and good Order, which make the happiness of a People, are the Bane of a Poem that subsists by Wonder and Surprise.

To be convinced of this, we need only suppose that the Greeks, at the time of the Trojan War, had been a Nation eminent for Loyalty and Discipline: that Commissions in due Form had been issued out, Regiments raised, Arms and Horses bought up, and a compleat Army set on Foot. Let us suppose that all Success had attended them in their Expedition; that every Officer had vied with another in Bravery against the Foe, and in Submission to his General. That
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in consequence of these Preparations, and of this good Order, they had at first Onset routed the Trojans, and driven them into the Town: Suppose this, and think, What will become of the glorious Iliad? The Wrath of Achilles, the Wisdom of Nestor, the Bravery of Diomedes, and the Craft of Ulysses will vanish in a moment. But Matters are managed quite otherwise;

Seditione, Dolis, Scelere atque Libidine & Ira, Iliacos intra Muros peccatur, & extrà.

It is thus that a Peoples Felicity clips the Wings of their Verse: It affords few Materials for Admiration or Pity; and tho' the Pleasure arising from a Taste of the sublimer kinds of Writing, may make your Lordship regret the Silence of the Muses, yet I am persuaded you will join in the Wish, That we may never be a proper Subject of an Heroic Poem.

But now that I have ventured so far, I begin to apprehend, My Lord, that I shall be deserted. The Habit of reconciling Extremes when a publick Concern calls for Attention, is become so natural to your Lordship, that it must incline you to wish our Epic Affairs not so desperate; and your Knowledge of the Poetical Privilege, will immediately suggest, "That Our "private Manners,"tis possible,admit not such "Representation; nor will our mercenary "Wars,
"Wars, and State Intrigues, receive the Stamp of Simplicity and Heroism: "But why may not a Poet feign? Can't he counterfeit Manners, and contrive Accidents as he sees good? Is he not intituled to shift Scenes, and introduce Persons and Characters at pleasure? Let him but exercise his Prerogative, and all will be well: Our Manners need be no Impediment; he may give his new-raised Generation what Turn and Cast he pleases.

Tho' this seems to promise fair, yet in the end, I am afraid, it will not hold good. Your Lordship will judge whether my Fears are just, when relying on that Penetration which attends your Opinions, I venture to affirm, "That a Poet describes nothing so happily, as what he has seen; nor talks masterly, but in his native Language, and proper Idiom; nor mimicks truly other Manners, than those whose Originals he has practisef and known*.

This Maxim will, no doubt, appear severe; and yet, I believe, it will hold true in fact. If we cast an Eye backward upon Antiquity, it will be found that none of the great original Writers have excelled, but where they spoke of the Things they were most conversant with, and in the Language and Dialect they constantly used. The satyrical buffoonish Temper of Archilochus

* See the Note, pag. 33.

* As for the Poets in particular, says Cervantes, En resolucion, todos los Poetas antiguos escribieron en la Lengua que mamaron en la Leche; y no fueron a buscar las estrangeras para declarar la alteza de sus Conceptos. Don Quixote, Parte II. lib. 5. c. 16.
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Archilochus is well known; nor is it a Secret, that he indulged his Passions, which were neither weak nor few. The Sententious Writings of Euripides, and Menander's polite Pictures of Life, represented their daily Conversation. Plato's admired Dialogues are but corrected Transcripts of what passed in the Academy: And Lucilius, preferred by some Romans to all that ever wrote, wrote himself just as he spoke. Herodotus's History shows the Traveller, Thucydides's the Politician, Dionysius's the Scholar, Xenophon's the Captain and the Philosopher, as truly as they acted these Characters in their Lives: Nor cou'd those Heroes have excelled each in his different Way, had they done otherwise.

But the Truth of this Maxim will best appear, if we observe its Influence in Conversation and Behaviour. The Man who affects no other than his natural Manners, has a better chance to excel, than if he shou'd attempt to copy another Man's Way, tho' perhaps preferable both in Language and Gesture to his own. It is a small Circle of Acquaintance, which does not afford some diverting Proofs of this common Mistake: And if it was not a disagreeable Occupation, to blame and find fault, 'twere easy to produce many Instances of the same miscarriage in Writing. I will only put your Lordship in mind of two great

v Lucilius quoddam ita deditos fibi habet Amatores, ut eum omnibus Poetis præferre non dubitent. Quintil. de Satyr.
and Writings of Homer. 31

great Men, who with every thing besides to recommend them, have split upon this single Rock; and for that reason, as well as their being dead near two hundred Years ago, they may be mentioned with less Reluctancy. The Persons I mean, are both Italians, who had the happiness to see the golden Age of Learning in that Country, the Pontificat of Leo X.

Pietro Bembo was of a noble Family in Venice; his early Merit recommended him to Leo, who filled his Court with learned Men, and had a true Judgment in such things himself. Bembo was made Secretary for the Apostolick Briefs; and, after two Successions to the Pontificat, was raised to the Dignity of the Purple, chiefly for his Reputation in Literature: And indeed his Learning and Abilities are unquestionable. But at the same time, this great Man admiring only the Roman Eloquence and Manners, wrote a History of his own Country, so much upon the Model of a Latin Annual, that not only the Cast of the Work is servilely copied, but the Peculiarities of their Style, their Computation of Miles and Time, and the Forms of their Religion and Government, are with infinite labour wrought into a Venetian Story. The effect of it is, to enervate and deaden his Work, which a Writer of half his Knowledge and Accomplishments, would have told better without his Affectation.
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A little younger than the Cardinal was Giovanni Giorgio Trissino, a Native of Vicenza. He was look’d upon as one of the greatest Masters of ancient Learning, both Greek and Roman, of his Age; and, which rarely happens, was blest at the same time with a Flow of Tuscan Eloquence. A Man so qualified, easily saw the Faults of his contemporary Writers; and thought it not impossible, with his Talents and Judgment, To produce such a Poem in Italian, as Homer had done in Greek.

He set about it, and placed this great Model before his Eyes: He abandoned the use of Rhyme, followed the natural Run of Speech in his Verse; and endeavoured to adapt his Inventions to the State and Temper of his Age and Nation. He took Italy for the Subject of his Poem, as Homer had Greece: He has Champions of the same Country, as Homer has Grecian Heroes: He uses Angels for his Divinities, and supplies the ancient Furies with modern Devils: In his Geography, as Homer described Greece, and chiefly Thessaly; Trissino describes Italy, and dwells on Lombardy. He has even attempted Fable, and interwoven allegorical Stories of Life and Morals, with the Body of the Narration. But after all, the native Italian Manners are lost; and the high Spirit and secret Force which bewitches a Reader, and dazzles his Eyes, that he can see no Faults in Dante and Ariosto, is here crush’d by Imitation. Its Fate has been answerable: The Italia liberata.
berata (for so he called his Poem) being no more read or known, than Chapelain's Pucelle would be without Boileau, or Sir R's A**d without the D **. Trissino owes his Fame to his Tragedy of Sophonisha, and to his Miscellaneies; and the Cardinal is preserved from Oblivion by his Letters and Love-Verses; and there too, the same Inclination to copy has made him check his natural Fire, that he might attain Cicero's Elegance in the one, and Petrarcha's Purity and Softness in the other.

To confess the Truth, My Lord, we are born but with narrow Capacities; we seem not able to master two Sets of Manners, or comprehend with facility different ways of Life. Our Company, Education and Circumstances make deep Impressions, and form us into a Character, of which we can hardly divest ourselves afterwards. The Manners not only of the Age in which we live, but of our City and Family, stick closely to us, and betray us at every turn, when we try to dissemble, and would pass for Foreigners. These we understand, and can paint to Perfection; and there is no one so undiscerning, as not to see, that we have wonderfully succeeded in describing those Parts of modern Life we have undertaken. Was there ever a more natural Picture than the Way of the World?

Or

* Καὶ ἐὰν νῦν σὺ τοὺς χαίνης μοι, ἵνα μικρότερο καλλιεργήσομαι, οὐ ἀντιρέσεις φῶςι, ἀλλὰ ἐάν οὖσα εἰναι πολλὰ καλὸν φαινεῖται; ὥστε ἐκ νυμμία πραγματίκα, ὅτι δὲ τὰ μύθωμα ἐστὶ ἀκορονίσματα.  

Πλάτων. Αἰσθ. Πολιτ. 7.
Or can any thing in its kind surpass the Rape of the Lock? The Authors, doubtless, perfectly knew the Life and Manners they were painting, and have succeeded accordingly.

Here then was Homer's first Happiness; He took his plain natural Images from Life: He saw Warriors, and Shepherds, and Peasants, such as he drew; and was daily conversant among such People as he intended to represent: The Manners used in the Trojan Times were not disused in his own: The same way of living in private, and the same Pursuits in publick were still prevalent, and gave him a Model for his Design, which wou'd not allow him to exceed the Truth in his Draught. By frequently and freely looking it over, he cou'd discern what Parts of it were fit to be represented, and what to be passed over.

For so unaffected and simple were the Manners of those Times, that the Folds and Windings of the human Breast lay open to the Eye; nor were People ashamed to avow Passions and Inclinations, which were entirely void of Art and Design. This was Homer's Happiness, with respect to Mankind, and the living Part of his Poetry; as for the other Parts, and what a Painter

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Et qua
Desperat tractata nitescere posse, relinquit. Horat.

* Bold Homer durst not so great Virtue feign
In his best Pattern: Of Patroclus slain,
With such Amazement as weak Mothers use,
And frantick Gesture, he receives the News. Waller.
and Writings of Homer.

Painter would call Still-life, he could have little Advantage: For we are not to imagine, that he could discover the entertaining Prospects, or rare Productions of a Country better than we can. That is a Subject still remaining to us, if we will quit our Towns, and look upon it: We find it accordingly, nobly executed by many of the Moderns, and the most illustrious Instance of it, within these few Years, doing Honour to the British Poetry.*

In short, it may be said of Homer, and of every Poet who has wrote well, That what he felt and saw, that he described; and that Homer had the good Fortune to see and learn the Grecian Manners, at their true Pitch and happiest Temper for Verse: Had he been born much sooner, he would have seen nothing but Nakedness and Barbarity: Had he come much later, he had fallen in the Times either of wide Policy and Peace, or of General Wars, when private Passions are buried in the common Order, and established Discipline.

* The Seasons, by Mr. Thomson.
WHOEVER reflects upon the Rise and Fall of States, will find, that along with their Manners, their Language too accompanies them both in their Growth and Decay. Language is the Conveyance of our Thoughts; and as they are noble, free and undisturbed, our Discourse will keep pace with them both in its Cast and Materials. By this Means a Convention of Men of Spirit and Understanding, who have the Business of a City or State to manage (if they have not their Orders to receive in silence from a Superior) will naturally produce
duce Speakers and Eloquence. The same Men, if they quit their Town and look abroad, will speak of the Objects presented to them by Nature’s Face, with the same Freedom and Happiness of Expression: And if, in a wide Country, there are many such Societies, speaking the same Tongue, but in different Dialects; the Language will reap the Benefit, and be enriched with new Words, Phrases, and Metaphors, according to the Temper and Genius of the several People: While each approve their own, because it is used by their Governors in their own independent State.

YOUR LORDSHIP very well knows, what a despicable Figure the Beginnings of the human Race make in the Pictures drawn of them by the Ancients:

*Cum prorepserunt, primis Animalia Terris, Mutum & turpe Pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter Unguis & Pugnis, dein Fugibus, atque ita porro Pugnabant Armis, qua poti fabricaverat usus; Donec Verba, quibus voces sensusq; notarent, Nominaque invenere.* —

They thought, it shou’d seem, that Language was the first Tamer of Men, and its Origin to have been

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*a Horat. Sat. 3. Lib. 1.*

*b Elginburgh sive, Αυτός ἐν Πρωτοτείχῳ ἄμαχος, ηγον άπο το ρήμα της τελείας αυτώς ῥέει ἐν ὑπερβολής, ή μόνον τῇ ὘ΗΡΙΩΔΕΣ ΖΗΝ ἄητη αὐτή. γηρό; άκατα ή συνελθείος πάλις ἀκάνθωρ, ή τόμως εἴθεμα, ή τίχας εἰρήμην; ής άπειθεὶς ἀπαθὰ τα ὧν έμών μεγηθυνάμεθα ΛΟΓΟΣ ἕμων ἐσιν ὥ πολλάπλονατς.*
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been certain rude accidental Sounds, which that naked Company of scrambling Mortals emitted by Chance.

Upon this Supposition, it will follow, that at first they uttered these Sounds in a much higher Note than we do our Words now; occasioned, perhaps, by their falling on them under some Passion, Fear, Wonder or Pain; and then using the same Sound, either when the Object or Accident recurred, or when they wanted to describe it by what they felt: Neither the Syllables, nor the Tone could be ascertained; but when they put several of these vocal Marks together, they would seem to sing. Hence ΑΤΔΑΕΙΝ signified at first simply to speak or utter the Voice, which now, with a small Abbreviation (ΑΔΕΙΝ) signifies to sing: And hence came the ancient Opinion, "That Poetry was before Prose."

The Geographer Strabo, a wise Man, and well acquainted with Antiquity, tells us, that Cadmus, Pherecydes, and Hecataeus first took the Numbers, and the Measure from Speech, and reduced that to Prose which had always been

58

The Geographer Strabo, a wise Man, and well acquainted with Antiquity, tells us, that Cadmus, Pherecydes, and Hecataeus first took the Numbers, and the Measure from Speech, and reduced that to Prose which had always been
been Poetry before: And the admired Judge of
the Sublime, in the Fragment of a Treatise we
have unhappily lost, has this remarkable Sen-
tence.

"Measure, says he, belongs properly to Po-
etry, as it personates the various Passions
and their Language; uses Fiction and Fables,
which naturally produce Numbers and
Harmony: 'Twas for this reason, that the
Ancients in their ordinary Discourse de-
liberated themselves rather in Verse than
Prose.".

Had I to do with some others, I should be
at the Pains to shew the Connexion of the first
and last Part of this Opinion; but your Lord-
ship will easily see, That he thought the Life of
the Ancients was more exposed to Accidents and
Dangers, than when Cities were built, and Men
were protected by Society and a Publick; and of
consequence their Discourse was more passion-
ate and metaphorical. Give me leave only to
add, that the Composition of the Names of
Tragedy and Comedy, which were Representa-
tions of ancient Life (Τραγῳδία, Κωμῳδία) undoubtedely prove that they were originally sung when acted, and not repeated as they are
now. Nor do I in the least question, but that
the first things which were committed to Wri-

ging

"Μάκαρον δ' εἴπετοι τῷ μέτρῳ τῷ ποιητικῷ, πάθεις πλείστοις
χρωμασι τῇ λίγοις; Καὶ δ' εὐθείᾳ μοῦ μέθοδοις πλάσματι, δεί ὡς ἀμοιβια
κατακεκαθισται. Ταῦτ' ἀρά κυριαὶ Παλαιοὶ ἑμμίτεροι μᾶκαρ τοῖς
ὅκισι, ἔπειτ' ἄλογος ἡ πεῖρας. Δογμᾶς αὐξὶ ΜΕΤΡΟΙ, ἀποτελο-

ματο.
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ting in Greece, as Oracles, Laws, Spells, Prophecies, were in Verse; and yet they got the simple Name of "Epex, Words or Sayings. But however these things be, it is certain, that the primitive Parts of the Languages reputed Original, are many of them rough, undecorated, impersonal Monosyllables; expressive commonly of the highest Passions, and most striking Objects that present themselves in solitary savage Life.

FROM

Some Vestiges of this Poetic Turn remain in the Pictures of Eastern Manners, that are preserved in the oldest Accounts of the Moors and Spaniards; where the Romanzes occur every other Page, and the Conversations upon passionate Subjects run into a loose kind of Verse: For Example,

Abenamar! Abenamar!
Moro de la Moreira!
El día que tu naciste,
Grandes Señales avía:
Eftava la Mar en Calma,
La Luna eftava crecida;
Moro que en tal Signo nace
No deve dezir Mentira.

And in the same Spirit,

Reduan! Si fe te acuerda
que me difle la Palabra,
Que me darías a Jaén
en una noche ganada:
Reduan! Si tu lo cumples
darete paga doblada:
Y si tu no lo cumplieres
destarraste hé de Granada.

Histórie de las Guerras Civiles de Granada.

These Romanzes are so old, that they are brought by the Arabs as the Proofs of their Histories.

As this way of tracing a Language places it in an uncommon Light, it will be proper to illustrate it by a few such Examples, as are most connected with ordinary Life. The two usual Words in Hebrew for Meat and Food, Lechom, and Tereph, signify at the same
From this Deduction, it is plain that any Language, formed as above described, must be full of Metaphor; and that Metaphor of the boldest, daring, and most natural kind: For Words taken wholly from rough Nature, and invented under some Passion, as Terror, Rage or Want (which readily extort Sounds from Men) would be expressive of that Fanaticism and Dread, which is incident to Creatures living wild

fame time, the one Fighting, and the other Rapine or Plunder. Gur signifies to go abroad, to travel; and the Adjunct of it to dread, to be in fear: And Ger or Gur, a Stranger and a young Lion. The old Word for Wealth in Greek, λαός, means nothing originally but Spoil, the Product of War or Piracy; and comes from λάος ἄβγο, whence the Word in use ἄβγω, forms its Tenses: And the great variety of Words they have to signify Good and Better, take their Origin from Strength and Violence. This Collusion of different significations to the same Word, which is observable throughout the original Languages, must be very convincing to such as are acquainted with their Idiom and Propriety. The constant Reason of them is, the Connexion which these various Meanings had in the Manners then prevalent. Some of these Connexions are vanished in a civilized Life and Change of Manners: Others of them still remain; such as Zonab, Caupona, Hopitsa and Zonab Scor-tum, Meretrix. Ἡθαδις, to grow rich; and Ἡθαφ, to receive Tithes, to be a Priest; with a hundred more of the same kind. But it gives us an Idea of a dismal Way of Living, to find the Word Karab, that signifies to draw near to one, to approach, signifying at the same time, to fight, to make War; and thence the Word Karab, a Battle. It puts me in mind of the horrible Image given us by Orpheus.

Father Ricci in his Christian Expedition to China, says expressly, That their Language consists wholly in Monosyllables: The same seems to have been the Case of the ancient Egyptian; and, as we may observe ourselves, of the greatest Part of the Northern Tongues.

Lucret,
wild and defenceless: We must imagine their Speech to be broken, unequal and boisterous; one Word or Sound, according to its Analogy to different Ideas, would stand for them all; a Quality we often mistake for Strength and Expression, while it is a real Defect.

But let us take another Step, and suppose the Affairs of the rude Community to be a little advanced; that they begin to understand their own Gibberish, live in tolerable Security, and are at liberty to look about them: In that case, Admiration and Wonder will succeed. Wonder is the proper Passion of raw and unexperienced Mortals when rid of Fear. The great Critick among the Ancients has assigned it to young Men: A witty Modern of the last Age gives it to the Ladies; and one of the finest Pieces written in our Language confines it to Fools.

'Tis certain, that in the Infancy of States, the Men generally resemble the publick Constitution: They have only that Turn which the rough Culture of Accidents, perhaps dismal enough, thro' which they have passed, cou'd give them: They are ignorant and undesigning,

1 Nam fuit quoddam tempus, cum in agris Homines passim Bestiarum more vagabantur, & fi bi viù serino Vitam propagabant: Nec ratione Animi quicquam, sed pleraque Viribus Corporis administrabant. Nondum divinae Religionis, non humani Officiij ratio colebatur: Nemo legimus viderat Nuptias; non certos quifquam inepexerat Liberos: Non jus æquabile, quid utilissimis habet, acciperat. Ita propter errorem atque infexitiam, caecà ac temeraria dominatrix Animi Cupiditas, ad se explendam viribus Corporis abutebatur, perniciosissimis Satellitibus.

M. T. Cicerns de inventione Lib. 1.
governed by Fear, and Superstition its Companion: There is a vast Void in their Minds; they know not what will happen, nor according to what Tenour things will take their Course; Every new Object finds them unprepared; they gaze and stare, like Infants taking in their first Ideas of Light: Their Words express these Feelings; And as there is a mighty Distance from this Starting-place of Ignorance and Wonder, to the Condition of a wise experienced Man, whom few things surprize; who is acquainted with the Fates of Nations, and the Laws and Limits of our Situation, the Language is tainted in proportion, and bears the Marks of the intermediate Stages.

It were easy, My Lord, to prove these Assertions by abundance of Grammatical Examples, but they can only be understood by Men who, like your Lordship, have it in their Power to recollect them at pleasure. I will only observe, that the Turks, Arabs, Indians, and in general most of the Inhabitants of the East, are a solitary kind of People: They speak but seldom, and never long without Emotion: But when, in their own Phrase, they open their Mouth, and give a loose to a fiery Imagination, they are poetical, and full of Metaphor. Speaking, among such People, is a matter of some Moment, as we may gather from their usual Introductions; for before they begin to deliver their
their Thoughts, they give notice, that they will open their Mouth; that they will unloose their Tongue; that they will utter their Voice, and pronounce with their Lips. These Preambles bear a great Resemblance to the old Forms of Introduction in Homer, Hesiod, and Orpheus, in which they are sometimes followed by Virgil.

If there is then an inviolable and necessary Connexion between the Dispositions of a Nation and their Speech, we must believe that there will be an Alloy of Simplicity and Wonder in the Beginnings of every Language; and likewise that the Dialect will improve with the Affairs and Genius of the People. Upon a nearer View of that which Homer spoke, we find it not original, but derived from others more ancient: Yet it seems to have begun upon a very small Stock which the Pelasgi spoke, and the old Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Greece. The greater Part of its Acquisitions it drew from Asia, Phenicia and Egypt, by the Way of Cyprus and Crete. These, with the other Islands, were first peopled and instructed in the Arts of Life: They lie most conveniently for Merchants sailing from the above-named Countries; and it was either trading People, or Persons who were forced to travel abroad for some bold Actions at Home, that were

1 See the Arabian Nights Entertainments; a Translation from the Arabian.

m (Κερατάσιο) ποταπίτωτας θεία θείον ἐλαίηνον ἔχει τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπιθείναιν, Ἀμαρότης. Πολίτις. &c.

n Danaus, Cadmus, &c. See the Marmor, Arundel, Epoch. 9, concerning the Πελασγόνιον.
were the first Instructors of the ancient Greeks.

These Adventurers came to a Climate which inclines not Men to Solitude, and forbids Idleness: The Necessity of Labour and Contrivance; a growing Commerce, and more than any thing besides, the Number of free Cities and independent Governments, soon raised a nobler Language than either of the Originals. It was at first simple, unconfined, and free, as was their Life: The Politick Stile grew with their Constitution; and was at its height when they had most Affairs of that kind, and of the greatest Consequence to manage: And when a rough warlike People had stripp’d them of their Liberty, they had recourse to Philosophy and Learning. The Councils of a free State are managed by Speaking, which quickly introduces Eloquence, and the Arts of Persuasion: When these turn useles, or dangerous in Publick, Men betake themselves to less obnoxious Subjects.

These were the Stages thro’ which the Greek Language passed. It went thro’ them slowly, and had time to receive the Impression of each: It lasted long, and far out-lived the Latin, as it had begun before: The reason was, that
that amidst all the Broils of Greece, they had still Liberty and Employment enough, either in Business or Literature, to keep alive something of their Spirit and Language: That will always follow our Fortunes, and be fitted to our Affairs and Condition. For, in fact, what else do we talk of? For this reason, a flourishing, happy Nation, not over-disciplined at the Beginning, that after a long Struggle, and much Trial, comes to excel in every Art of Peace and War; such a Nation must speak the noblest Language; which, in its turn, because of the Instability of human Affairs, has no Security for its Duration.

After such a Deduction, your Lordship is no doubt in Expectation, what is at length to be made of it? It is this, My Lord, “That when by the Progression above-mentioned, “the Greek Language was brought to express “all the best and bravest of the human Feelings, “and retained a sufficient Quantity of its Original, amazing, metaphorick Tincture; at “that Point of Time did Homer write.”

I know no Reflection more proper to convince us of this, than the Consideration of the Machines which he employs: The greater Part of them are natural; and except the Egyptian and Orphick Allegories (which he usually puts in the Mouths of his Gods) they are told in the pre-

Format enim Natura prius nos intus ad omnem
Fortunaram Habitum——— Horat. ad Pison.

When the Poet mentions them in his own Person, he commonly introduces them with Φαο, They say.
prevailing Language of the Country. It is
given as a Rule in Poetry, "To strip the com-
mon Accidents of Life of their plain Dres,
and in order to keep up their Dignity, as-
cribe them to some superior Power; and for
inanimate things, to give them Life, cloath
them with a Person, and proper Attributes;"
But few People imagine that the ordinary Lan-
guage wore this metaphorical Habit at that time.
Yet it wou'd be inexcusable else, to put Poetical
Expressions in the Mouth of any other than the
Poet himself: 'Twou'd be really false Writing,
and is a common Fault in many excellent Per-
formances. Homer's grand Copier, who has
wrought one wonderful Poem out of the other's
two, seems to a very candid Judge, to have come
short of his Original in this particular: It is the
ingenious Monf. De la Motte I speak of, who
thinks Eneas by far too great a Poet; and
owns, that he could not help feeling that Im-
propriety thro' the whole of the second and
third Books of the Eneid; where the Hero is
not less florid and figurative in his Narration, than
Virgil the Poet in the rest.
His writing so long after Eneas's Expedition,
and in a Language too refin'd for the Manners
then in use, makes this Incongruity the more
perceptible: But in the Trojan Times, their
Speech, as well as their Manners retained much

x See Bailleau's Art of Poetry.
An Enquiry into the Life of the Eastern Caff; their Theology was a Fable, and their moral Instructions an allegorical Tale. Achilles comforts Priam, when he came to beg the Body of his slaughter’d Son, with a parabolical Story concerning the two Vessels, out of which Jupiter dispenses to every Man his Proportion of Good and Evil; and Glaucus tells Diomedes, "That like the Leaves of the Trees, first spreading, and then decaying, so are the Generations of mortal Men."

* Iliad a.  
* Iliad c. 

Gravelot inv.  
M. Quadt. Soc.
SECT. IV.

NEXT to the Originals from which a Language is derived, and the critical Period of its Duration, it is chiefly affected by the Religion of a Country, and the Manners of the Times. These might have been included under the Common Manners of the Nation; but their Influence is great enough to deserve a particular Consideration.

I SHALL soon have occasion to make a stricter Enquiry into the Origin both of the Grecian Religion and Learning. At present it is sufficient to say, that they came from the great Pa-
rent of sacred and civil Institutions, the Kingdom of Egypt. That wise People seem to have early observed the Curbs of the human Passions, and the Methods of governing a large Society. They saw the general Bent of Mankind, to admire what they do not understand, and to stand in awe of unknown Powers, which they fancy capable to do them great good or ill: They adapted their religious Belief and solemn Ceremonies, to this Disposition; made their Rites mysterious, and delivered their allegorical Doctrines under great Ties of profound and pious Secrecy.

Ω ΤΕΚΝΟΝ! ΣΥ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΣΙ ΝΟΟΙΣΙ ΠΕΛΑΞΕΩ, ΓΑΩΣΕΝ ΣΥ ΜΑΛ' ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΕΩΝ. ΣΤΕΡΝΟΙΣΙ Δ' ΕΝΘΟΕ ΦΗΜΗΝ.

Now, thou my Son! approach with Mind intent, And careful keep thy Tongue: But in thy Breast Revolve these awful Sounds.—

Hence the Number of monstrous Stories concerning their Gods, which the first Græcian Sages that travell'd into Egypt certainly understood, and explained to their Adepts, among whom, after some Descents, I reckon Hesiod and Homer: But falling afterwards into the Hands of Men of

a 'Ορφικός θεὸς Μουσίαν. In Fragment. 'Ορφικὸν Ἐποίησεν.

b Diodorus the Sicilian, after having explained the natural Signification of the Allegory of Bacchus's being the Son of Jupiter and Ceres, or Wine's being the Production of the Earth and Moisture, adds these remarkable Words, σῶμα δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνδρῶν, διὰ τοῦ Ὀρφικῶν Ποιημάτων, ἔτει παρασαγόμενο ἐνα κατὰ τὰς τελείας, ἐξί ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐναὶ τὰ κατὰ ρίκα. θ. λ. ν. Which plainly shews the Nature and Tendency of the Orphick Rites.
of warm Fancies, who thought they might invent as well as their Masters, there were many traditional Stories tacked to the former; sometimes untowardly enough, and sometimes so as to make a tolerable Piece of the literal Relation, but confounding when applied to the Allegory. These are all the ΙΡΟΙΑΟΓΟΙ (Sacred Traditions) mentioned so often by Herodotus; with a Declaration that he will not publish them; and of the same kind is the ΘΕΙΟΣΑΟΓΟΣ (the divine Tradition) recommended by Orpheus to his favourite Scholar, and quoted by a primitive Father for another purpose.

This Allegorical Religion having been transplanted into Greece, found it a very proper Soil for such a Plantation. It took deep root in the Minds of the Greeks, who were grossly ignorant, and prepossessed with no rival Opinions: They made Additions to it of their own, and in a few Ages it was incorporated with their Manners, mixed itself with their Language, and gained universal Belief. Such was its Condition when Homer made his Appearance in the World: It had attained its Vigour, and had not lost the Grace of Novelty and Youth. This is the Crisis, when every body affects to talk in the prevailing Stile; which joined with the early metaphorical Cast of the Language, is
one great Reason of the constant Allegory in the ancient Writings.

We have frequent Examples, how much the firm Belief of any Sect makes Men speak and write in the approved Idiom: They introduce it into their Business, allude to it in their Pleasures, and abstain from it in no Part of Life; especially while the Doctrine flourisheth, and appears in Bloom: For your Lordship knows, that these things, among the Ancients, had their Spring and Summer as well as natural Growths; and after a certain time, like a superannuated Plant, they turned scrubby and lifeless, were disregarded by degrees, and at last vanished.

What further Advantages Poetry might reap from a Religion so framed, will appear afterwards: Let us now consider the Manners of the Times; by which I mean the Professions and Studies that are in vogue, and bring most Honour to those that possess them in an eminent degree.

They likewise follow the Fortunes of a Nation: In the Progression abovementioned, the Arts of the greatest Use in Life, I mean those that supply our natural Wants, and secure our Persons and Properties, are the first that ennoble their Inventors; and in process of time, when Wealth has made its Entrance, the Refiners of Pleasure, and Contrivers of Magnificence draw our Attention.
and Writings of Homer. 53

From the Accounts already given of the State of Greece, it is easy to conclude, that the first must be still prevalent when Homer lived; a piece of good Fortune that exempted him from the two Vices, to whose charge the admired Longinus lays the Fall of Poetry: An insatiable Desire of Riches, and what he calls a mean dispiriting Passion, (ἀλήθειας Παῦλος) the Love of Pleasure.

In effect, Arms at that time was the honoured Profession, and a publick Spirit the courted Character: There was a Necessity for them both. The Man who had bravely defended his City, enlarged its Dominion, or died in its Cause, was revered like a God: Love of Liberty, Contempt of Death, Honour, Probity and Temperance, were Realities. There was, as I said, a Necessity for those Virtues: No Safety to Life or Fortune without them; while every State, that is to say, almost every City was necessitated either to defend itself against its warlike Neighbour, or shamefully submit to Oppression and Slavery. And no wonder if the Man who learns
these Virtues from Necessity, and the Things themselves, knows them better than Schools and Systems can instruct him; and that the Representations of such genuine Characters bear the Marks of Truth, and far outshine those taken from counterfeit Worth, or fainter Patterns.

Thus your Lordship sees, that the Fortunes, the Manners, and the Language of a People are all linked together, and necessarily influence one another. Men take their Sentiments from their Fortunes; if they are low, it is their constant Concern how to mend them; if they are easy, how to enjoy them: And according to this Bent they turn both their Conduct, and their Conversation; and assume the Language, Air, and Garb peculiar to the Manner of the different Characters. In most of the Greek Cities, Policy and Laws were but just a forming, when Homer came into the World. The first Sketches of them were extremely simple; generally Prohibitions from Violence, or such Regulations of Manners as we should think unnecessary or barbarous. The Tribes were but beginning to live secure within the Walls of their new-fenced Towns, and had as yet neither

\[1\] They had no well digested Body of Laws, or Plan of a Civil Constitution, before Onomacritus. So Arisotle, Ονομακρίτου γνωρίζεται κράτος πρώτος δίνης καὶ Νομοθετίαν. Polit. a.

\[2\] Γιὰ τον ἀρχαίον Νόμους λίναν ἀταλάς ἐναι νῦν βασιλικάς. 'Εσπεροφεύτητο ὄντες Ἑρμήν, ἄταλν ὡς γυναῖκας ἰκναύτη παρὰ ἄρχοντα. Ὁσα τε λοιπὸ ἀρχαῖων ἔτη πολλὰ, ἔνθη πάμματα ἔτη.

Αχιστ. Πολιτ. β.
and Writings of Homer.

neither Time nor Skill to frame a Domestick Policy, or Municipal Laws; and far less to think of publick Methods of training up their Citizens: They lived naturally, and were governed by the natural Poise of the Passions, as it is settled in every human Breast. This made them speak and act, without other Restraint than their own native Apprehensions of Good and Evil, Just and Unjust, each as he was prompted from within. These Manners afford the most natural Pictures, and proper Words to paint them.

They have a peculiar Effect upon the Language, not only as they are natural, but as they are ingenuous and good. While a Nation continues simple and sincere, whatever they say has a Weight from Truth: Their Sentiments are strong and honest; which always produce fit Words to express them. Their Passions are found and genuine, not adulterated or disguised, and break out in their own artless Phrase and unaffected Stile. They are not accustomed to the Prattle, and little pretty Forms that enervate a polished Speech; nor over-run with Quibble and Sheer-Wit, which makes its Appearance late, and in Greece came long after the Trojan Times. And this I take to be the Reason, "Why most Nations are so delighted with"

E 4 "their

Quin ipse (Tiberius) compositus aliis, & velut elucentantium Verborum, solutus promptissisque eloquebatur quotiens subveniret. Tacitus,
An Enquiry into the Life, &c.

“their ancient Poets.” Before they are polished into Flattery and Falsehood, we feel the Force of their Words, and the Truth of their Thoughts.

In common Life, no doubt, the witty facetious Man is now the preferable Character: But he is only a middling Person, and no Hero; bearing a Personage for which there is hardly an Inch of room in an Epic Poem. To be witty in a Matter of Consequence, where the Riske is high, and the Execution requires Caution or Boldness, is Impertinence and Buffoonry.

Virgil knew well the Importance of this Imitation of ancient Manners; and borrowed from Ennius his antiquated Terms, and the strong obsolete Turn of his Sentences. Nay, he has adopted as many of the old Forms used at Sacrifices, Games, Consecrations, and even Forms of Law, as the Emergencies of his admired Poem would permit.

Græcorum sunt antiquissima quæque
Scripta vel Optima.


Bellus Homo, & Magnus vis idem, Cotta, videri:
Sed qui bellus Homo est, Cotta, pusillus Homo est.

By tracing the Causes that have the greatest Influence upon a Language, we are led to a Thought that must give Pleasure to the truly Good. We find that without Virtue there can be no true Poetry: It depends upon the Manners of a Nation, which form their Characters, and animate their Language: If their Manners are sound and entire, their Speech will accompany and do them Justice: And if we rise higher, and suppose them not only found, but Noble and Heroick (as we must do, when speaking of Manners fit for Poetry) What is
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is this but Virtue's Self in all her Lustre and Dignity? Your Lordship must have viewed her at times in this glorious Dress, and will forgive me if I am inquisitive upon so amiable a Subject. Is what we call Heroism indeed any thing else, than a disinterested Love of Mankind and our Country, unawed by Dangers, and unwearied by Toils? If it is not, the social Passions, and noblest Affections must prevail in an Epic-Poem. They may vary indeed, and shew themselves very differently in different Characters: They may likewise have their own Shades, and must be sometimes drawn upon dark Grounds, to raise and give them a Relief; but still they must be the principal Figures in the Piece, if it is meant to give real and lasting Pleasure.

But, My Lord, there is another Conclusion offers itself, and appears so odd, that one does not know what to make of it: For does it not sound something like Treason in Apollo's Court, to say that a polished Language is not fit for a great Poet? And yet, if the Maxim be true, "That no Man describes well but what he has seen, nor talks with Ease and Mastery, "but in the Language and Idiom he has been "used to," I apprehend we must assent to it. Your Lordship is so well acquainted with what passes for Politeness of Stile, that I need be at no pains to make out the Consequence. Let me only observe, that what we call Polishing dimi-
and Writings of Homer. 59
diminishes a Language; it makes many Words obsolete; it coops a Man up in a Corner, allows him but one Set of Phrases, and deprives him of many significant Terms, and strong beautiful Expressions, which he must venture upon, like Virgil, at the hazard of appearing antiquated and homely.

A Language thoroughly polished in the modern Sense, will not descend to the Simplicity of Manners absolutely necessary in Epic-Poetry: And if we feign the Manners, we must likewise endeavour to imitate the Stile. I have already shewn how little Success we can expect in the Attempt; and 'twere easy to give Proof in Fact, that no Learning or Genius is sufficient to secure us from a Miscarriage in this Particular. But the Task is unpleasant: Let us therefore choose an Example where we may rather praise than blame.

The Name of Fenelon calls up the Image of a Man distinguished by every amiable Quality: Like some powerful Charm, it makes real Virtue, princely Science, and Sweetness of Manners, rise to our Imagination. His perfect Knowledge of Antiquity, and flowing Fancy, seemed to qualify him to write the Sequel of the instructive and simple Odyssey. And yet your Lordship knows, his enchanting Work has not escaped Criticism; and that only such

Parts

a Critique des Avantures de Télémaque. A Piece equally cruel and unjust; without other Handle in fact, than what arises from the Glow of an elevated Fancy, and the Incompatibility of Manners.
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Parts of it lie exposed, as attempt a Mixture of ancient and modern Manners; that is, when he wou'd reconcile old Heroism with Politicks, and make Poetry preach Reasons of State.

It may be thought superfluous after this to observe, That an absolute Court must have a pernicious Influence both on the Variety of Characters in a Nation, and the Extent of their Dialect: We need but look around us to see many of the finest Countries in Europe, groaning under baffled Laws and an arbitrary Sway, and giving dismal Proofs of the Truth of this Remark. In such Governments not only Matters of Consequence are over-ruled at pleasure, but in the most indifferent Circumstances of Life, all must conform to the Court-Model. Example hath the Force of Command; and no suspicious Word is allowed to reach the Ears of the mistaken Great. By this means, many things must lose their Names, and be softened into insignificant Appellations; and where these cannot be had, Circumlocutions are called in, to witness our Dread of offending by speaking plain Truth.

Besides,

* * *

When the Cardinal Richelieu had obliged the French Academy to censure the Cid, a Piece of the celebrated Corneille's, the Author wrote a Letter to the Cardinal's Favourite M. de BoisRobert, where he tells him, "J'attends avec beaucoup d'Impatience les Sentiments de l'Academie, afin d'apprendre ce que donefianat je dois suivre: Jusques là, je ne puis travailler qu'avec defiance, & n'ofe employer un Mot en feureté.

Besides, it is odds but that in such a Country, there are formal Restraints upon Writing, which must have yet a worse Effect. What a lamentable Sight are those Countries at this day, which were formerly the Parents of Learning and Ingenuity? While with Joy we may view our native Isle, the happy Instance of the Connexion between Liberty and Learning. We find our Language masculine and noble; of vast Extent, and capable of greater Variety of Stile and Character than any modern Tongue. We see our Arts improving, our Sciences advancing, Life understood, and the whole animated with a Spirit so generous and free, as gives the truest Proof of the Happiness of our Constitution.

Forgive me, My Lord, if a Thought so pleasant, and which You have so great a Hand in making such, has drawn me from a melancholy Subject. One cannot, without Compassion, think of a poor Poet writing under the Terror of the Inquisition. He knows not but such a Verse may give umbrage to a Right Reverend Father Inquisitor; another to a Reverend Father Prior Inspector; this Simile may startle the Father Deputy Revisor, and that Allusion seem dangerous to the Vicar himself.

Nowonder if the frightened Author, haunted with such fable Spectres instead of Muses, is delivered of a distorted Production. Their Ghostly
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Ghastly Appearance must damp every liberal Thought. The Mind dares not exert itself, but crouches under the Panick of a Censuren, backed with the Secular Arm to enforce it. And can we expect any Grace or Spirit in a Work that is conceived and fashioned in such piteous Circumstances? No surely, nor in a little time any Works at all: For the Fathers generally obtain their End; and in a Nation where they are too much encouraged, in a little time for order Matters, that scarce any one writes but themselves c. But these things have been the Subject of many a Treatise: I only mention them, to point out the Reason of the Antipathy between them and the sublimer Kinds of Writing. To expatiate upon the baneful Influences of Tyranny, would be needless, when the best regulated Government moulds a Man too much to its Manners, to let him excel in that original and unlimited Draught of Mankind, Epic-Poetry.

c A Book in Spain must pass through six Courts before it is published. I. It is examined by the Examinador Synodal of the Archbishoprick, commissioned by the Vicario. II. It goes to the Recorder of the Kingdom where it is to be published, Chronias de Castilla, Aragon, Valencia, &c. III. If approved by them, it is licensed by the Vicario himself, attested by a Notario. IV. The Privilege must be had from his Majesty; and a Secretary countersigns. V. After it is printed, it goes to the Corrector General por su Magestad, who compares it with the licensed Copy, lest any thing be inferred or altered. And VI. The Lords of the Council tax it at so much a Sheet. In Portugal, a Book has seven Reviews to pass before Publication. I have smiled at some of their Title-Pages, bearing for the greater Security of the Buyer, Com todas as licencias necessarias.
In Opposition to these Opinions, it may be advanced by such as are acquainted with the Progress and Periods of Literature, That the Interval between the high Liberty and Enslavement of a State, has been observed to shew the World some noble Productions. The Fact is unquestionable; and to discover the Causes of it, we need only consider the Steps by which a Government falls from its Rights, to be at the Mercy of a single Person. In general this Disaster is laid to the Door of Corruption, and very justly: Ambition and Luxury seldom fail, when they have attained their full Growth, to throw a State into Convulsions, and make it ripe for a Master. They dispose Men to give and take, upon certain Considerations, which in time grow weighty enough to affect the Publick: But at the same time there is no Season on Earth when Men are so thoroughly known. When the Offers are tempting, and Bribes run high, it is then that Men discover what they

1 Biduo, per unum servum, & curn ex gladiatorio ludo, con-fecit totum negotium: Acceraviit ad se, promisit, intercessit, dedit. Jam vero, O Di boni Rem perditum! etiam Naozes certarum Mulierum, atque Adolescentulorum nobilium Introduc-tiones, nonnullis Judicibus pro mercedis cumulo fuerunt.


Curio's Bribe to change Sides, and betray his Country, was Centes. H-S, or 80,729 l. 3 s. 4 d. He wanted this and five times more to free him of Incumbrances; for he had a Debt of Sex-
centes, H-S. 484,375 l.
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they are worth, or what they will sell themselves for. The Man of real Virtue appears with double Lustre after the Refusal; and he who has withstood one Temptation, when his Foible is found out, and rightly applied to, gives way upon the second, and fixes his Price. Mankind in this respect are like certain Indian Feathers; they do not shew to Advantage in one Light only, but the Disorder and Dangers frequent at such Junctures, set all their Passions a going, and turn them into every Shape they are capable of: And these Attitudes, when well observed, and justly copied, give us the excellent Pieces above-mentioned.

Besides, the Times of such Struggles have a kind of Liberty peculiar to themselves: They raise a free and active Spirit, which overspreads the Country: Every Man finds himself on such Occasions his own Master, and that he may be whatever he can make himself: He knows not how high he may rise, and is unwed by Laws, which are then of no Force. He finds his own Weight, tries his own Strength, and if there is any hidden Worth, or curbed Mettle in him, certainly shews and gives it vent. Accordingly we see, that the Genius's produced at these Times, give great Proofs of Reach and Capacity, especially in politick Managements and civil Affairs, in the
the largest Sense. The abstract Sciences are generally the Product of Leisure and Quiet; but those that have respect to Man, and take their Aim from the human Heart, are best learned in Employment and Agitation.

It was when Greece was ill-settled, when Violence prevailed in many Places, amidst the Confusion of the wandering Tribes, that Homer produced his immortal Poem: And it was when Italy was torn in Pieces, when the little States were leagued against each other; in a word, in the Heat of the Struggle and Bloodshed of the Guelfe and Ghibelline Parties, that Dante withdrew from his Country, and made the strongest Draught of Men and their Passions, that stands in the Records of modern Poetry. The Author of the Eneid lived in a Time of Disorder and publick Ruin: He saw the Mistress of the World become twice a Prey to lawless Power; her Constitution destroyed, and Prices set upon the Heads of her bravest Sons for opposing a Tyranny. And still, My Lord, it was when unhappy Britain was plunged in all the Calamities of

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Thucydides, Aristotle and Demosthenes among the Greeks, and Cicero, Virgil and Horace among the Romans, were Witnesses to Civil Wars, or Attempts made upon the Publick Liberty. Some of them survived it, and some fell in its Defence.
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Civil Rage, that our high-spirited Poem took its Birth. It is true, the Plan of Paradise Lost, has little to do with our present Manners; It treats of a sublimer Theme, and refuses the Measure of Human Actions: Yet it everywhere bears some Analogy to the Affairs of Mankind; and the Author (who had viewed the Progress of our Misery) has embellished it with all the proper Images his Travelling, Learning and Experience could afford him.

But as few of the Changes which Letters have undergone, pass unobserved by so quick an Eye, your Lordship will probably ask; "Since a polished Language, and the "Deference paid to an absolute Court, are "incompatible with the nobler kinds of "Poetry, how came the new Comedy "to excel the old, which had all liberty of "Language and Manners, while the other "grew up under the Influence of Luxury, "and the Awe of the Macedonian Power? A learned and sententious Writer will not allow this to be true: "The Old Comedy, according to him, was employed in the Re- "formation of Manners, in recommending "Virtue, and pointing out the Abuses of the "State; whereas the New was contented to "trifle with Punks and Pandars; the old "Chuff, the Davus, or Knave of the Fa- "mily, and his young Master: The Scene, "he
"he says, is always at Athens, and all the
"Pother is some little jilting Story, or kna-
"vish Prank; proposing only some trifling
"Mirth or silly Pastime!

But admitting the Supposition; the
different Nature of the Writing accounts for
it. Nothing can be more opposite than the
Stile, the Language, the Manners of Comedy
to Epic: The fittest for the one seem the
most improper for the other; and the most
uncomick Character on Earth is a Great and Ge-
nerous Man. 'Tis true indeed, that in such
a thorough Democracy, as Athens was, the
Limits of Comedy and Tragedy cou'd not be well
ascertained or kept asunder. Tragedy being
a Representation of the high Characters in Life;
and Comedy of the lower, they were in re-
ality jumbled together in this State, where
the vilest and meanest Creature, might speak
as scurrilously of the Person and Conduct of
the first Citizens, as his Education and Temper
cou'd prompt him. Here lay the Strength of
the old Comedy, which cou'd not subsist but in
such a State; and which no doubt must have
the Preference, if immoderate Laughter, if Li-
berty to talk at random, and banter the highest

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Digni-
Dignities, and best Men of the Nation, are advantageous to that kind of Writing. But if that Liberty was often abused, and if the Drama is capable of a nobler Turn, and of giving a more refined Pleasure; if more Truth can be brought into the Manners, and Men and their Natures more generally represented, in that case it must give way to the new.

I must however own, that while the high Democracy prevailed at Athens, and the Commonalty were possessed of that uncontrolled Power which Pericles had put in their hands, and Cleon exercised, during that time, Aristophanes and his Fellows had Originals to draw from; and in that respect their Wit and Writings, which appear to us theatrical and false, are natural and true. But that wild licentious Government was no sooner check'd by Fears from abroad, (which always produce Regulations at Home) than the καλοὶ κακοὶ, the Men of Capacity and Worth, began to distinguish themselves and appear eminent; A Secretion was made; Manners were formed, and Characters observed and valued. Here was the Rise of the new Comedy; Ribaldry was banished, and Menander wrote. That is, at a Season when Liberty was not lost, but the Excrecencies of it lopp'd off; when the Humour of that witty People was not qualified but regulated: So true it is, That every kind of Writing, but especially the Poetick, depends upon
upon the Manners of the Age when it is produced. The best Poets copy from Nature, and give it us such as they find it. When once they lose Sight of this, they write false, be their natural Talents ever so great. Let Torquato Tasso witness the Truth of this, and the rapid Ariosto; each endowed with a fertile Genius, and a happy Expression; but who quitting Life, betook themselves to Aerial Beings and Utopian Characters, and filled their Works with Charms and Visions, the modern Supplements of the Marvelous and Sublime.
WHEN I reflect, My Lord, upon this way of reasoning, from the Influence that publick Manners have upon Writing, I make no doubt but the Question will recur; Since it is absolutely the Conjunction, and Manners of the Times that produce Poets, "How have we but one Homer? Could a Space of two or three hundred Years, when Greece, and the Coast of Asia, was in a proper Temperament for such Formations, bring forth but one?"
The Answer is obvious; That tho' it be absolutely necessary, yet it is not the only Condition: There are many required besides; too many to be here enumerated; there is an universal and elevated Genius; a Quality so rare, that an excellent Author of our Nation seems to think, "That of all the Numbers of Mankind, that live within the Compass of a thousand Years, for one Man that is born capable of making a great Poet, there may be a thousand born capable of making as great Generals, or Ministers of State, as the most renowned in Story." But tho' this were exaggerated, there are many subsequent Circumstances of Life, many Advantages of Education, and Opportunities of knowing Mankind in general, and seeing particular Subjects fit for Poesy, which can hardly meet in one and the same Person.

To instance in one Particular, from which we may judge of the Import of the rest; much Travelling, and wide personal Observation, has been the Lot of the greatest Epic Poets. In this way of Life they had frequent Opportunities to acquaint themselves with the Originals of their Draughts and Fictions, whose great Excellency, whether material or moral, is their Likeness to Nature.

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ture and Truth. But your Lordship knows, that this happens to few Men, especially of a Poetick Turn: They are commonly none of the healthiest People, and too delicate to endure the Hardships, or face the Dangers that are inevitable in long Voyages. And yet, My Lord, with all these Chances, the Period I have mentioned, when the Manners, the Religion and Language of Greece were at their proper Pitch for Poetry; to that Period, I say, the World stands indebted for Linus, Orpheus, Olympus, Musauns and Amphion; Men who are handed down to us as the Masters of Verse, by the greatest of their Successors b. Their Songs it is true, are long since perished; but the wise and peaceful Hesiod, whose Compositions in part have reached us, and command our Admiration, owes his Birth to the same Period.

Nor can there be a greater Proof of the Power that Manners, and the Publick Character have over Poetry, than the surprising Resemblance of the oldest Writings. Two things cannot be liker one another, than the old Oracles, the Fragments of Orpheus so called, and the ancient Hymns, are to Hesiod's and Homer's Verses. Not to say in general, that they have the same Turn; but the same Epithets of Gods and Men, the same Sentiments.

ments and Allusions, the same Cadence and Structure; nay, sometimes the very same Expressions and Phrases are to be met with in them all. Numberless are the συνεμπλογμένα, or Coincidencies observed by the Criticks; and in short, the Collusion of their Metaphor and Imagery is so palpable, that many have attributed the Effects of their being formed upon the same Models, their Writing from the same Originals, and in the same plain Dialect, to downright Copying or Plagiarism.

But Your Lordship sees there is no need to go so far: The Causes assigned are sufficient to produce all this Likeness; if we remember too, that they commonly make Writers exercise themselves upon the same Subjects, which is also a Part of their Influence. A certain kind of Science is peculiar to every Age, and a particular way of treating it. They are both the Effect of the Conjuncture so often mentioned. And while I am upon this Subject, I cannot pass over one Consequence, which has been long a Problem among the Learned. It is elegantly proposed by a Roman, who, if his Honesty had been equal to his Understanding, might have stood in the first rank of their Historians.

"Tho'

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"Tho' I have little room for it, says he, "yet I cannot help mentioning a thing which "I have often revolved in my Mind, and "cannot satisfy my Self about the Cause of "it: For is it not exceeding strange, that "the great Masters in every Profession and "Science, always appear in the same Period "of Time, and are of the same Cast and "Model?— One Age, and that at no great "distance of Years, produced Eschylus, "Sophocles and Euripides, Men of a di- "vine Genius, who brought Tragedy to its "Height. In another, the old Comedy flou- "rished under Eupolis, Cratinus and Ari- "stophanes; and the new was invented and "perfected by Menander and his Cotem- "poraries, Diphilus and Philemon, without "leaving hopes of Imitation.

"In like manner, the Philosophical "Sages of the Socratic School, how short "did they last after Plato and Aristotle's "Death? As to Oratory, who can be said "to have excelled in it before Isocrates, or "after the second Descent of his Scholars? "They came all so close together, that no "one great Man can be seen at any distance "of Time from another." Then the Histori- rian proceeds to shew, that the same thing had happened among the Romans; and, with great Reason, extends his Observation not only to the sublimer Sciences, but also to Gram- marians,
marians, Painters, Statuaries, Sculptors, Founders, and to all the subservient Arts. The same Event might be shewn to have fallen out in any Nation, where Learning ever flourished, and whose History is known.

Wonderful, My Lord, have been the Conjectures about this puzzling Appearance; and many a curious Speculation has been employed to solve it: It has been doubted, "Whether any Influence of Stars, any Power of Planets, or kindly Aspect of the Heavenly Bodies, might not at times reach our Globe, and impregnate some favourite Race with a celestial Spirit." Supernatural Conceptions, and miraculous Nursings,

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\[d\] See Discours Physique sur les Influences des Astro, where the Planetary Powers are reduced to Des Cartes' Principles, and accounted for by the Materia Subtilis. 12mo Paris chez Coignard.


\[f\] Sydæ te excipiant, modo primos incipientem
Edere Vagitus, & adhuc a Matre rubentem
Ventidius quid enim? Quid Tullius? Anne aliud qu'am
Sydus, & occulti miranda Potentia fati?

Juvenal.

\[g\] Hercules, Alexander and Scipio*, were said to be in reality Jupiter's Sons, tho' they passed for Amphitrion's, Philip's and Pub. Scipio's. Demaratus belonged to the Hero Asirhacius †: and Orpheus, Homer and Plato, according to ancient Tradition, had only Mothers of the Human Race. Pindar was fed with Honey by the Bees themselves: Achilles was nourfed with the Fat of Lions, and Marrow of Deer; and the Founders of Rome were suckled by a Wolf, tho' the Founder of the Persian Empire had only a Bitch to perform that Duty for him ‡.

sings, have been contrived as a Salvo for our Belief, when the Hero or Sage achieves things which we fancy above the Reach of Men. But our Court-Historian understands better; and tho' he talks a little strangely in the End, yet he seems to lay the Stress of the Matter upon a surer Bottom. The way he accounts for it is by Emulation, which certainly contributes to the Perfection of every Art and Science; and was strong among the ἈOIDΩΙ, or Bards, whose appearing in a Cluster gave rise to the Question: But this Principle is far from giving compleat Satisfaction, which indeed Velleius does not affirm.

I will not repeat what I have said; for I am sure your Lordship has prevented me, and already made the Application. It is the different Periods, naturally succeeding in the Progression of Manners, that can only account for the Succession of Wit and Literature.

I HAVE

h Naturāque quod summo studio petitum est, ascendit in summum, difficilissime in perfecto mora est, naturaliterque, quod procedere non potest recedit.

Velle. P. Hist. R. Lib 1.

i In Ἡσσόδ's Days, who, if not Contemporary, lived at no great Distance of Times from Homer, a Poet, or ἈΟΙΔΟΣ, was as common a Calling as a Potter or a Joiner, and as liable to Emulation and Envy.

Καὶ Κηρυκός Κηρυκός κοτίδ, κῇ Τίκτων Τίκτων;
Καὶ Πυθίς Πυθίς φθοίς, κῇ ΑΟΙΔΟΣ ΑΟΙΔΩ.

'Hesiod. 'Erp. Ἡσσόδ.
I have marked out those of Greece in the History of the Language; they correspond with admirable Niceness to the successive Sets of Poets, Orators and Philosophers enumerated by the Roman Historian. For they are settled and uniform Causes, and never fail to work their Effect, unless when external Violence hinders their Operation.

In the early Ages of the Grecian State, the wild and barbarous Inhabitants wanted the Assistance of the Muses to soften and tame them. They stood in need of being impressed with an Awe of superior and irresistible Powers, and a liking to social Life. They wanted a Mythology to lead them by Fear and Dread (the only Holds to be taken of a rude Multitude) into a Feeling of Natural Causes, and their Influences upon our Lives and Actions. The Wise and Good among them saw this Necessity, and supplied it: The most ancient of the inspired Train were the

*Pii Vates & Phæbo digna locuti*;  

They had Religion for their Theme, and the Service of Mankind for the End of their Song. How unlike in this to some late Authors of our own Growth! who, I hardly know for what End, have written against the Religion of their Country; and without pretending to substitute any thing better, or more practicable, in

*See Page 45 & 46.*  

1 Virgil *Æneid.* 6.
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its place, wou'd deprive us of our happy Establishment, meerly as 'twou'd seem, for the Pleasure of pulling down, and doing Mischief.

But the first Men of Science in Greece, better instructed in Human Nature, and knowing the Advantages of national Rites, wrote in a different Strain: The Formation of Things, the Birth of the Gods, their Properties and Exploits, first informed their Numbers: Next were celebrated the Heroes, who had extirpated Tyrants, destroyed Monsters, and subdued Robbers. They sung the Flood of Deucalion, and Reparation of Mankind; the Wars of the Centaurs, and the Fate of the Giants.

Et sevos Lapithas, & nimium Mero
Hylæum, domitosque Herculeà manu
Telluris Juvenes, unde Periculum
Fulgens contremuit Domus
Saturni veteris.— m

These, My Lord, were their Subjects: They are some of the BRỌTỌN ΘẸΛΚΤΗΡΙΑ, as Penelope calls them n; the

ΕΓΓ' ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΤΕ ΘΕΩΝ ΤΕ, ΤΑΤΕ ΚΛΕΙΟΥΣΙ ΑΟΙΔΟΙ.

Doings of Gods and Men, which Poets use To celebrate.— o. They

m Horat. Carm. Lib. 2. Od. 12.

n Songs to sooth Mankind. Odvs. u.

o Ibid.
They are as old as our Knowledge reaches in the Grecian Antiquity, and the ΑΟΙΔΟΙ that made and sung them, are among the earliest Characters.

This appears from the Accounts given of them by Homer himself: particularly when he relates, that the greatest Prince of the Confederated Greeks put his beautiful Wife under the Tuition of a Bard; and takes care to let us know, that the Lady was inaccessible, until that faithful Guardian was removed.

Many of them lived contemporary with Homer: No Prince's Court seems to have been without one or more of them; and they resorted to all the great Feasts and high Solemnities, to assist at the Sacrifices, and entertain the People. We know some of their Names, who tuned their Lyres to the foregoing Subjects; but their Songs are lost, and with them many a Strain of true Poetry and Imitation.
Hitherto, My Lord, we have viewed Homer's publick Advantages, and have found that they afforded him the fittest Manners for Poetical Compositions, and the noblest Language to express them. We have viewed these in their own Beauties, and tried them both by the Foils of their Contraries, and Strength of their Consequences. His Personal Good-fortune is now before us; I mean, "What effect, his private Education, his Way of Life, and Success in it, must have upon him as a Poet."
The Tradition concerning his Education is very lame. Plutarch having related his Mother's Adventures about the time of his Birth, passes over the first part of his Life in silence. But if the Relation of it ascribed to Herodotus be true, he was educated in the only way that Learning was to be had at that time. Letters were then but little known, and it seems strange, that in such a Place as Smyrna, where according to the cruel Practice of these Ages, the Lydians had been just expelled by another Tribe, there should be any Body who understood or taught them.

But the low Circumstances of Homer's Family, carried him and his Mother to Phemius's House, and left him his Successor in the School. I take Phemius to have been one of the ΑΟΙΔΟΙ, or Bards, who might, when at home, instruct Youth in Letters: For I suppose Learning was not then common enough to make a Profession by itself. If there was any Knowledge in the Country, it must be in such a Man's Hands. And this, My Lord, is indeed the important part of the Question, What Learning was then in Being, and what kind of

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a Τίν δ' ΦΗΜΙΟΝ, η παλαια ιστορία, διδάσκαλον γυναὶκά λέγει τῇ Ποσείδῃ, ἀνὴρ σοφόν, καὶ μάθησις κάτοχος—φιλόσοφος ἢ ὁ Φήμιος, καθα χα τῆς ἈΟΙΔΟΣ.

Εὐφαθ. τίς τὴν α'? Ῥαψωδ. Ὑδος.

He is said to have written a Poem, ΝΟΣΤΟΝ ἢ Χαί Τριάς μου, Ἀγαμήμονος ὁ Ἀνακριμοῦντος.

Ἡμικλ. παρά Πλάταξι, πις Μαυρίκιος.
of Knowledge it was possible, in that Age, for a Man to acquire?

One of the most learned and laborious of the Roman Writers, after great Searches into Antiquity, has left it doubtful when or where Poems were first produced: But adds, "It is certain they were before the Trojan War." As this was the Form in which Learning first appeared in Greece, it wou’d have been highly entertaining to have known the Opinion of that great Scholar concerning these early Productions; not only what they were; but whether the Poems still extant in his Days, were the genuine Works of those whose Names they bore? For it was, My Lord, the Practice of the ancient Poets, and particularly the Epic or Rhapsodists, to conceal their Names, which indeed the Nature of their Work did not invite them to mention. We have a convincing Proof of this in the Κύπρια ἐπή, a Poem of the Wars of Cyprus, believed by People in after Times, to be the Work of no less a Man than Homer himself. It appears that this Opinion was still entertained in the Days of Herodotus, who confutes it by comparing a Passage in that Poem, with another in the Iliad. For want of such a Guide to point out the Species of Learning that prevailed in Homer’s Time, we must try to find out


c Herodot. Euterpe, Lib. 2.
out the Rise of the National Opinions of his Countrymen; and in order to judge what kind of Knowledge they had among them, we must search for it at the Fountain.

While the Policies of Greece were yet but forming, Assyria, Phœnicia and Egypt were mighty Kingdoms, flourishing under regular Governments, and happy in the Richness of their Soil, and their Methods of improving it. In a course of Years, the long Peace they enjoyed, and the Arts which such Times produce, having brought a great part of the Administration into the hands of the Sacred Order, they took all possible Methods to keep up their Authority, and aimed at nothing more than the raising their Reputation for Wisdom and Knowledge. This render’d them first envious of their Discoveries, and then at pains to find out Methods, “How to transmit them to their Descendants, without imparting them to the Vulgar.” Here was the Origin of Allegory and Parable; and the Foundation of the received Saying among the Ancients, Ἀλληγορεῖν δόρμης ἡ Ἁιτερίαν. To allegorize is an Egyptian Invention.

The way I would understand this Maxim is, Since it is natural to all Nations to employ Allusions, and speak in Similitudes, the Egyptian Priests have built upon it, settled the Tropes and Metaphors, and improved it into an Art. Nor did they stop here; but, as...
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a second Wrapper, and a Remedy against the growing Knowledge of the Country, they invented, or borrow'd, a new Character for writing these Allegories. They called it ΕΙΡΑ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ, or Holy Letters, because they must be known by none but the Priests, nor used by them but in divine Matters.

Your Lordship will remember that Danaus\(^d\) the Egyptian, Cadmus the Phanician, of Egyptian Extract, and the Phrygian Pelops, were the first Planters, or Improvers of Greece. But besides the deep Impression of Asiatick and Egyptian Manners, which these Founders of Cities and Kingdoms must give their new Subjects\(^e\), it is agreed on all hands, that the first Sages among the Greeks, drew their Science from these Countries, and their Theology in particular from Egypt\(^f\).

'Tis true, there was as yet no Separation of Wisdom: The Philosopher and the Divine, the Legislator and the Poet, were all united in the same Person\(^g\). Such was Orpheus, and

\(^d\) 'Αι ΔΑΝΑΟΥ Συγγένεις ἦσαν, καὶ τὴν πελατὴν ταύτην (τὴν Σατροφεφεῖν Δήμητρα) ἦσαν Ἀιγυπτίων ἔγνωσιν, καὶ Λακονίκη πᾶς Πιλαγγιατικὸς γεγονάκει Ἡρόδ. Εὐστρ. Εὐστρ.

\(^e\) Ἀλλεὶ μὲν (Μυστοειδεῖς) ἦσαν Μάγοις γεγόνωσιν (to wit in Assyria or Babylon) ὡς εἰς παρα προφανεία, καὶ ἂν παρὰ Ἀιγυπτίων.

\(^f\) Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάλιν ἐν θείῳ μοναχῷ Πάτρι τινὶ ἦσαν Ἀιγυπτίων ἐθέλει ἐν τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

\(^g\) See Page 98.
and his Scholar Musæus; Onomacritus too, and Thales; and in general, all the ancient Lawgivers employed the Muses to dispense their divine Instructions, and recommend their Morals. The great Men who came after them, and were bred in this ancient School of Religion and Politics, finding the Governments of Greece already settled, kept to Philosophy; as Democritus, Pythagoras, and the Milesian Thales. These, besides their Travels into Egypt, wandered over the greatest Part of the East. Democritus and Thales falling in Times of less disguise, plainly published their Opinions; but Orpheus, Musæus, Onomacritus, and even Pythagoras himself, drank deep of the close reserved Manner of their Masters. They taught in Allegory, and affected a Mysticism in their commonest Actions. Pythagoras, tho' he lived latest, seems to have aimed at establishing a Sect, or rather a Semblance of a Commonwealth; which made him take particular ways to raise Admiration: And indeed with them all, Silence and Superstition made a necessary Part of their Institutions. But happily for Greece, tho' they cou'd wrap up their Doctrines in Fable,

Strabo, Lib. 10. Lycurgus, they say in his Travels, found Thales in Crete, and sent him to Lacedemon.

Plutarch. Οἱ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Δημοκρίτης αμβοῦ, περαγράφων Περσίδας, Αἰθιοπίας, Αραβίας, Αἰγυπτίου Μαγίς.

Plin. Lib. 25. cap. 2.
Fable, they had not an unknown Character to write in; so that their Precepts and Opinions came to appear, when their Verses were published, and their Manner was known.

LINUS is said to have written, in the old Pelasgick Letters, the Expedition of the first Bacchus; and to have left Relations of other Transactions of the fabulous Ages. He wrote of the Generation of the World and Rise of Things, the common Foundation of the Egyptian, and thence of the Grecian Theology. As he is reckoned the Parent of their Poetry, so in the Egyptian Records, kept by their Priests, he stands at the Head of the Worthies who came to that Country in quest of Knowledge. Laertius has preserved the first Line of his Poem of the Creation,

"Hv ποτε χρύφοι τω, έν ἡ ἀμα πάντα ἐπηφύκει.

It contains an Idea of the ancient Chaos, or that primigenial State of Nature, when the Elements lay blended together, and Confusion and Darkness exercised an uncontrooled Dominion. The same Author adds, That Anaxagoras was thought to have taken occasion from thence to advance his celebrated Position, "That originally, all things lay jumbled together in one jarring and disorderly Mass, "but

k Diodorus Sicul. Biblioth. Lib. 3.
1 Ibid.
2 In Proœmio.
“but that a Mind came and put them in "Order.

COEVAL with Linus was ANTHES of Anthedon, a Town in Bœotia. He wrote HYMNS, celebrating the Gods; that is, the Powers and Productions of Nature; whose stronger Aspects, and striking Sensations, seem to have been the Origin of Rapture and Verse. Feasts and Sacrifices would help forward the Transport, and are finely fitted to this Situation of the human Mind. Horace makes the Harvest-home of the old Italians to be the Beginning of their Satyr, and the very Invention of Heroick Measure is ascribed to a Female, PHEMONE the first Priestess of Apollo.

PAMPHO a Native of Attica, and Disciple of Linus, first sung of the Graces, without defining their Number, or giving their Names. He bewailed his Master’s Death in a Dirge called OITOALINOS: He sung the Rape of Proserpine by the Infernal God, and wrote Hymns to Jupiter, Diana and Ceres. Philostratus says, that Homer copied

\[\text{Raw Text} \]

\[\text{Footnotes:}\]

\[\text{n Pausianias, Bœot. Lib. 9.}\]
\[\text{o Plutarch. De Musica.}\]
\[\text{q ἕκαστῶν κατὰ ψυχήν λειταί τις ΦΗΜΟΝΟΝ γυνὴ, προ- \}
\[\text{φητὶς Ἀπόλλων.} \]
\[\text{Ἑνυτάς Προοίμ. πρὸς Ὀμήρου.} \]
\[\text{And Strabo, Πνεύμα δὲ ΦΗΜΟΝΟΝ γυναὶ γυνίδων.} \]
\[\text{Πυθιας.} \]
\[\text{Lib. 9.}\]
\[\text{s Pausianias Bœot.}\]
copied the *Hymn to Jupiter*, and changed it much for the better.

**But ORPHEUS**, that Great Name in Poetry, has eclipsed the Fame of all the rest: He likewise is said to have been one of Linus Scholars; tho' Plutarch expressly affirms, that he imitated no Man in his Poetry or Musick, but was himself an *Original*. It is however certain, that he made the same Voyage as his supposed *Master* had done, into *Egypt*; where he stayed long, and was let into the Secrets of their Philosophy and Religion. At his *Return* he did greater Services to his Country; or rather to the People he chose to live with, for he is thought to have been originally from *Thrace*. His Actions are themselves involved in *Allegory*, and related in the same kind of Fable as he was wont to employ about his *Gods* and *Heroes*. Whether he left any thing of his own *in Writing* is to me a great Doubt. I find no reason to conclude he did not. But the Fame of his Knowledge was so high, that we have from *Suidas*, the *Titles* of sixteen or seventeen Poems written under his Name, chiefly by the *Pythagoreans*, who embraced

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*Pampho had said, Ζεύς μονός, μέγιστος Ζεύς, οἰλομένεις κόσμῳ,
Μελέτης τε, καὶ ἵππης, καὶ ἐμφανής.*

Instead of which, with more dignity *Homer* has turned it,

Ζέω κὺδίστη, μέγιστη, καλιστείς, ἀμφίπολοι. *Filosofal. Ηρωικά.*

*Ο οὖς Ὀρφέως ὀνάσει φαντασμένη μεταμφιστή.*

Περὶ Μυσικῆς. *In Orphee.*
braced his Doctrine; and from others, we may reckon up twice the number. They are philosophical, prophetical, and religious; and were believed to contain his real Opinions and the genuine Strain of his Verse.

He begun his Song with ancient Chaos, its Transformations and Changes, and continued it thro' the various Steps of Creation: The Offspring of Saturn, or Time, the Aether, Love and Night; the Birth and Progeny of the Giants; and ended in the Formation of Man. He directed these his mystical Lessons to raise an Awe of the Gods in the Breasts of his Hearers, that he might restrain them from Barbarity and Bloodshed, and charm them into Humanity and Social Manners. Aristophanes when he would give the Sum of his Services, says,

**Orpheus, our Prayers prescribed, and holy Rites, And Abstinence from Murder.**

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xAefung, Ἄρχαῖον μδ' πρῶτον Ἑλληνες Ἀρχαῖον Ἐτείκατον Ἐτείκατον, Και Κρόνος, ὡς τ' ἔλασιον ἐπιθέλοντοι ψυχ' ἄλκοις Αἰθέρα; δή δειμὴ προκειμένα κυλοῦν γρωτά, Νύκτος Ἀργείας Πατέρα φιλοτρόπον; ὡν μα Φάνῆτα Ὀπλητής καλέσα τροτοῦ, τριατά ὁ ἐφάνη. Βριμοῖς τ' ἐνυστατοι γενέσθαι, μηδ' ἐργί ἀδηλαία Γιγαντών; ὃι λυγροὶ ἄπτο μαθαίνων Στράτων γονίων το περίθρον; ὡν γενέθλιο ἐκείνου Θείων, ὃι κατὰ γαῖαν ἐπερθών ἄθλοι ἔργοι.

0 Horat, ad Pison.

2 Batrach.
A s h i s Name for many ages was the first in Greece for Sanctity and Wisdom, his Doctrines, if they were not by himself committed to Writing, must be current by Tradition. The Prince of the Philosophers quotes two Lines from his Theogony without insinuating any Suspic- on of their not being genuine; as Aristotle, the grand Critick, does both from him, and from his Successor. Nay so late as the Reign of Augustus Caesar, Diodorus the Sicilian mentions the Poem of Orpheus as a Piece then held in great Admiration. And truly I cannot doubt but that the Writings that passed under his Name, whether written by Musaeus or Onomacritus contained his genuine Dog- 

MUSÆUS was Orpheus' famed Scholar, or perhaps his Son. Virgil speaks of him as the greatest of Poets. He seems to have med- dled less in the governing or reforming Man- kind than his Master; deterred perhaps by the unhappy End of the Theological Hero. Yet he composed Prophecies and Hymns, and wrote sacred Instructions which he addressed to his Son.

2 OKEANOS περιτο καβιρρόν ἔξε γύμων; Κελτικ.  
2 'Aistotel. 'Oxxoηρικαν α  
Φιλι πην ὡς ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ εἰμι,—Βεσείς ἱδίγον ἀειδ' ει. Αἰσθ. Πολιτ. Ἐ.  
Καὶ ὁ Πάνακα συνετάξε τῇ Θανυμαζηδέων ἡ κατὰ τὴν ὅπιν ἐμ- μειλῆς διαφόρων. Διοδ. Σικελ, βιολ. ιδ.  
They were called the OΡΦΙΚΑ ΕΠΗ: εν τοι, 'Οφικοίς καὶ  

Αριστοτ. ἂν ἐτε' ψυχῆς α.
Son. He prescribed *Purifications* and *Atonements*, sung the Wars of the *Titans*, and left something upon *Astronomy*. But his great Work, and what brought most Honour in those days, was a *Theogony* or History of the *Creation* e. *Pausanias* is of opinion that an *Hymn to Ceres* is the only genuine Remain of this philosophical Poet f. He had a Son and Daughter, *Eumolpus* and *Helene*, both touched from *Helicon*. The Son wrote of the *Mysteries of Ceres* and Rites of *Bacchus*, and the Lady is reported to have sung the *Trojan War* g.

**Contemporary** with these was *Syagrus*, whose Character is still more confined to the Province of a Poet. h *Elian* says he too sung of the War at *Troy*, and was "the first who gave "a loose to his Muse upon that noble Subject."

**D. Laertius** calls him *Sagaris*, and brings him down to *Homer’s own Days*; whose Rival and Enemy he says he was while alive, as *Xenophanes* proved after he was dead i.

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c *Diog. Laertius in Proem* : Where he gives a Principle of *Museus’ Philosophy*.

d 'Εξ ἐνότα τα πάντα γίνομαι, κα κατ’ αυτόν ἔμαθος.

f *Atticis & Messeniacis*.

*Hephaestio apud Photium Codice CXE. Saidas in Eu-

molpho*.

h ὅσι τις Ἐλιαν ὅτι γένεσθαι Παντρεία μετ᾽ Ορφεία καὶ Μεσιλείαν, ἢς λιγνατικὰ τὸν ΤΡΩΙΚΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ πέτων ὀσσεῖ; μεγίστης ἐτῶν ψυχής παλάμηδος ὀφθάλμων, ἢς ἐπιτολμήτως ταύτην.

*’Αλιαν. Ποικιλ. Ίσον, βιβλ. ιδ. κατ. α. i In Proemio, And in *Xenophanes*’ Life, γεγαφε δ᾽ ἡ ἐν Ἐλέ-

νηλείας, ἢς ἑαυτοὶς καὶ ἩΣΙΟΔΟΥ ὑreffοι, ἐπισκέπτων ἑαυτῶν τα καὶ θεῖα κηρεύεια.
We can tell with more certainty, that Amythaon's Son, the prophetick Melampus, brought the Mysteries of Proserpine from Egypt into Greece. He taught them the Story of the Titans, and according to Diodorus, τὸ σύνολον, τὸν ἄρα τῷ Παλέων ἰτείμαν, "The whole History of the Transactions and Disasters of the Gods." He is celebrated by Homer himself, who without all doubt was acquainted with his Mythology.

About the Age of Linus came Olen from Lycia, and composed the first Hymns that were sung in Delos at their Solemnities, which were among the oldest in Greece. Homer himself frequented these Feasts, to celebrate the fair Offspring of Latona, and sing to the Ionians that repaired to Delos in vast Numbers upon these Occasions. He glories in being ΗΔΙΣΤΟΣ ΑΟΙΔΩΝ, the sweetest of the Singers that came there.

THY-


1 'Οδος Ραψωδ. λ. and again, Ραψωδ. o.

m Ουτός ἐσεὶ ΟΛΗΝ ἦς τῆς ἀλλας τῆς ταλαιάς ὑμνίσις ἰτείμας εἰς Λυκής ἐλθὼν τῆς ἀφθορίας σὺ Δίλῳ.— Ἡροδ. Μελπομ. βιο. o.

n Δικός ἔσεὶ ΩΛΗΝ ἦς τῆς ὑμνίσις τῶν ἐν οἰκειοτάταις ἐπόνων "Ελληνικῶν.

Plutarch upon the Authority of Anticles and Istrus, two ancient Authors, says, that the Statue of Apollo in Delos had a Bow in one Hand, and with the other supported the three Graces who held each an Instrument of Musick; one a Lyre, another a Flute, and the third a Syrinx, or Pipe. As to the Antiquity of it, they said, ὅτως ἔσεὶ ταλαιά ἐστὶ τὸ ἀφθορία τῷ, ὅσε τῶς ἐν γοὺς ἀφθορίας ἐστὶ, καὶ καθ' Ἡρακλῆς μεσίπων φανὼν εἴναι. Πείλ Μεσίπως.

o See below, Page 107.
and Writings of Homer. 93

THY MOETES, Laomedon's Grandson, and Orpheus's Cotemporary, is spoke of as the greatest of the early Travellers. Besides the Countries then known, to wit Asia and Egypt, which he visited, he is said to have passed thro' Africk to the Western Region: There he saw the Island in which the ancient Inhabitants affirm that Bacchus was nursed; and having learned from the Nysians, the Exploits of the God, at his Return he composed in the old Dialect, and wrote in the old Letters, the Piece called the Phrygian Poems.

It was indeed from the lesser Asia that the Greeks got their Regular Musick. The Fortifier of Thebes, the famous Amphion, is called the Inventor of Musick, I suppose in Greece: He is allowed the Honour of first framing a Lyre, and certainly employed both his Melody and persuasive Strains, to induce the wild Inhabitants to wall their Town, and live orderly: But with what Propriety he is called the Inventor of the Lydian Measure I hardly understand.

THE

p Diodor. Biblioth. Lib. 3.
q Plato speaking of the Invention of Arts, says, Τὼ μὴ διὰ ΑΙΔΑΛΩ καταφεύγει γένεσιν ταῦτα ὨΦΕΙ, ταῦτα ΠΑΛΑΜΗΔΕΙ; τὰ δὲ τῶν Μυσίων ΜΑΡΣΥΑ ὡς ΟΛΥΜΠΟ, πεζό λόγον δὲ ΑΜΦΙΟΝ;

R Musicae invenit Amphion; Fistulam & Monaulum (M Ν ΑΥΛΩΝ) Pau Mercurii; Obliquam Tibiam Midas in Phrygia; Geminas Tibias Marfyas in eadem gente. Lydios Modulos, Amphion; Dorios, Thamyras Thrax; Phrygios, Marfyas Phryx: Citharam, Amphion; ut alii Orpheus; ut alii Linus; Septem Chordis additis Terpander; octavam Simonides addit; nonam Timotheus. Citharâ fine voce, cecinit Thamyras primus, cum Cantû, Amphion; ut alii Linus. Citharœdica Carmina compositae Terpander; Cum Tibiiis canere voce, Trazeniens Dardanus instituuit.

Plinii Histor. Nat. Lib. 7. § 56.
THE Phrygian MARSTAS claims the Invention of the Double Flute, and of the Measure that bears the Name of his Country. He was in high esteem with the Ancients, and seems to have been but too sensible of his Vein and Accomplishments, as appears from the Story of his Contest with Apollo. Some believe the Foundation of that Fable to have been the fatal End of the Musician, who went mad, and threw himself into the River that bears his Name t.

His Scholar, OLYMPUS shares with him the Glory of the Invention of the Phrygian Measure, and pretends to be the first himself, who sung a Nænia or funeral Song. He is said on the Death of Python, "To have play'd a funeral Tune upon the Flute in the Lydian Strain." His Compositions are selected by Arisotle as the most rapturous, and the aptest to inspire Passion and Enthusiasm into the minds of the Hearers. And he hath the Testimony of the knowing Plutarch, as having greatly advanced his Art, by introducing

s Suidas in Marsias.

Xenophon, 'Anabasis, Bk. I, a.

Nómων ὑ ὈΛΥΜΠΟΥ κ' ΜΑΡΣΥΟΥ φέροι κ' λῦοις; Ἡ'Ολύμπιος Εἰσίτουμειος. Πολυδίωξ. Ομορασικόν.

w Πλύταρχ. εἰς Μυσικής. He says there were two of that Name.

x Ὁλύμπιος μελή, ὡσολογεῖτας ποιεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς ἑιδοσιασικὰς. Πολιτικ. δ. And a little afterwards, speaking of the different Harmonies and their Effects, he says, Ἐιδοσιασικῶς δ' ἕμας ποιεῖ κ' φύσει (ἀφυσία) ; So that Olympus has been the Author.
incuing some kinds of Musick 'till then unknown to the World, and of being the Prince and In-
venter of the beautiful Grecian Manner.

The Muses Lover in more Senses than one, the Thracian THAMTRAS first
played upon a Lyre without singing. This he
did to show the Variety of his Genius, for at
the same time he composed Hymns, the pi-
ous Exercise of the ancient Poets. He like-
wise sung the Wars of the Titans, and wrote
a Poem of three thousand Verses upon the
great Foundation of their Religion and Mo-
rals, the KOΣMOΓΟΝΙΑ, or Generation of the
World, or the ΘΕΟΓΟΝΙΑ, which is an equi-
valent Expression.

The Traæzenians boast an Epic Poet, OROEBANTIVS by Name, who wrote
before Homer, I cannot tell upon what Sub-
ject: But Melesander the Milesian, sung the
Battle of the Lapithæ and the Centaurs, which
seems

y Φαίνεται δή "Ολυμπως άυτώς Μυσικήν, τό δ' αυτήν τον τι κ' 
άμεσόν μοι έκεί. έμπροσθεν εις θαλαγγίαν, κ' αύξησις γενίδο τ' έκκοιμής 
κ' καλῆς Μυσικής.

Πλατων. Νίμων η.

See the Catalogue Ιδιω. β and the Article of the Pylians under Necho, where Homer mentions Θαμύρις; as also Euflath-
ius Notes.

\[\text{Or. i. ΟΡΟΙΒΑΝΤΙΟΥ τε ρείζων ἔποι ρομύρην, ὡς \footnote{See the Catalogue Ιδιω. β and the Article of the Pylians under Necho, where Homer mentions Θαμύρις; as also Euflathius Notes.}}\]

\\[\text{Πλάτων, Νίμων η.}\\

\[\text{Πλάτων, πείρ Μυσικής.}\\

\[\text{Suidas in Θαμύρη.}\\

\[\text{"Ότι \text{Θαμύρις} ἔποι \text{Ωρόμην, ὡς \footnote{See the Catalogue Ιδιω. β and the Article of the Pylians under Necho, where Homer mentions Θαμύρις; as also Euflathius Notes.} ἐπί \text{μεγαλόρ βάσην, κ' \footnote{See the Catalogue Ιδιω. β and the Article of the Pylians under Necho, where Homer mentions Θαμύρις; as also Euflathius Notes.}} \text{κυριός} \text{θεοσ θεοσ} \text{δ' \footnote{See the Catalogue Ιδιω. β and the Article of the Pylians under Necho, where Homer mentions Θαμύρις; as also Euflathius Notes.}} \text{τού} \text{τάφων} \text{φιλία} \text{τη} \text{θεοσ κοινής} \text{δοκίμασι.} \text{"Αλιάς, Ποικιλ. Ισόρ, διο. ιε. κεφ. η.}\\

\[\text{Μελισσοῦς ο Μελισσός, ΛΑΠΙΘΩΝ κέΚΕΝΤΑΥΡΩΝ}\\

\[\text{Μάχην ἔγραψεν.}\\

\[\text{Ibid.}\\

An Enquiry into the Life

seems to have been an Action of great Fame in the early Ages, and to have afforded much Exercise to the young Muses of Greece.

The wise Palæphatus is said to be a Son of Hermes, and not long after the celebrated Phemonoë. There have been some great Men since of the Name; but this admired Ancient sung the Generation of Apollo and Diana, and the Contest of Minerva and Neptune. He wrote a Poem upon Latona's Locks, (Ἀντῶς πλοκαμα) and another of an uncommon nature, "The Voice and Speech " of Venus and Love." He likewise composed a Κοσμοποιία, or History of the Creation of the World, in five thousand Verses.

These, My Lord, are some of the Men in whose Hands the ancient Mythology and Poetry grew together. When I review them I think it happy that Hesiod's noble Work has reached our Times. We should scarcely know else what to make of so many Θεογονία's, Κοσμοποιία's, and Κοσμογονία's as we have enumerated; But from it we know, that the Birth of the Gods, the Rise of Things, and the Creation of the World are but reciprocal Terms, and in the ancient Stile stand for just the same thing. They were the common Theme of the first Poets and Lawgivers, who by their several Improvements and Additions enabled

1 Suidas in Παλαιφατος.
2 Φινεύς κοι λόγους Αφραδίτις κοι Ευρωτος. Id. ibid.
enabled Hesiod and Homer, their Successors, to give their Theology a Body, and reduce it to a Standard that flourished while Greece was a free Country, and lasted some time after their Liberty was gone.

And now I would willingly spare your Lordship the trouble of hearing any more concerning the Books that might be in Phemius' or his Scholar's Library, was there not a Presumption "That these Writings I have named, are later than our Poet?" And of this Opinion is that great Historian, and Antiquary of Greece Herodotus the Halicarnassian. As for the Gods, says he, "Whence each of them was descended, or whether they were always in being, and under what Shape or Form they were, the Greeks knew nothing 'till very lately. Hesiod and Homer were, I believe, about four hundred Years older than my self, and no more: And these are the Men who made a Theogony for the Greeks; who gave the Gods their Appellations, defined their Qualities, appointed their Honours, and described their Forms. As for the Poets that are said to have lived before these Men, I am of Opinion they came after them." So far the Historian; who no doubt means Linus, Orpheus, and their Scholars, by the Poets he does not name.

H What
What he says of Hesiod and Homer, must be true in one or other of these respects; That either they brought their entire system immediately from Egypt, and published it in Greece, till then ignorant of Religion and Rites; Or that without other assistance than their own Wits, they contrived it wholly themselves. But they are both equally incredible.

Whoever knows any thing of the nature of that kind of Writing, needs but make one Reflection, to be convinced that a Theogony is a Piece of deep Learning, and vast Labour. "It is a System of the Universe, digested "and wrought into an Allegory: It is a "Composition, made up of infinite Parts, each "of which has been a Discovery by itself; "and delivered as a Mystery to the initiated:"
The contriving and putting 'em together has been a Work of some Ages, and is a conjunct Effort of Politicks and Philosophy.

Neither, on the other hand, were Hesiod and Homer the first who learned Religion in Egypt, and brought it to Greece. A small Acquaintance with their Writings will convince any Man that they wrote from Life; and describe the Exercise of a Worship long since established in their Country. An hundred Passages in both Authors make it abundantly plain, that the Greeks knew the Names and Natures of their Gods, had Sacrifices and Ceremonies;
Temples, Priests, Prayers and Songs long before either Hesiod or Homer were born.

But, My Lord, it is to no purpose to use other Arguments than this noble Historian's own Words. In the beginning of the same Book, speaking of the Origin of the Word Ocean, he says, ὃμηρον ἰδον τὴν τινα Πρώτον την Ποιήσεως Ποιμνίον ὁμορμα ἐφούττα, ἐσ ἡ Πόιμνι ημείηκα. "Homer, I believe, "or some of the Poets that lived before him, "having invented the Word, inserted it into "their Poetry. Or if we should be so indulgent as to allow, that he spoke negligently in this place, and according to the vulgar Opinion; how shall we reconcile it, when he tells us expressly that Melampus, a Man placed by Homer himself three Generations before the Trojan War, "first taught the Greeks the "Name and Sacrifices of Bacchus? That "the Rites about Funerals called Orphick and "Bacchick, were really and originally Egyptian? And in general, that the Egyptians "were the first of Mankind who used Solemnities, made Processions, and appointed "Initiations; and that ὁμηρον ἑιλως με- "μαζικοι, from them the Grecians learned "to do the same?" For it is not an easy Con- clusion, that if Funeral Rites, Sacrifices and the Name of Bacchus are found in Homer; and the

\[\text{Ibid.}\]
An Enquiry into the Life

Historian tells us, that Melampus and Orpheus first brought them from Egypt, and taught them the Greeks. Is it not easy, I say, to conclude, "That this great Author, having his Fancy "full of the Antiquity of the Egyptian Rites, "in opposition to the upstart Religion of "Greece, has fallen unawares into an Incon- "sistency, when he says that Homer and He- "siod were the Men who made a Theogony "for the Greeks, and first informed them of "the Names and Natures of their Divinities?"

It remains then that these Fathers of our Poetry, had themselves, if not Patterns to work by, as seems to have been Hesiod's case m, at least plenty of Materials to work upon; which cou'd be no other than the Doctrines, whether traditional or in Writing, of the Men I have just now mentioned n.

And thus, My Lord, we find an Answer to the Question, What Learning was then in Being? and what kind of Knowledge it was possible in Homer's days to acquire? It was wholly

m Ἄλλα τῷ Ἔφηρ Ἑσιόδου τελεσθεντι τότε ἀνὴρ ἐγγυτες ἡμώνες, (speaking of the Nature of Saturn) τῷ ροδῷ τίνα, ὡς εἶμι, πως ἐν ἈΡΧΑΙΟΤΑΤΩΝ ἀντὶ παρικάτωρον, τῷ δὲ μονήτωρες ἀντὶ προσωπον; ὥς τρόποι καὶ ἠλέησα τεχνολογίας διεσάρει.

n Fuit hæc sapientia quondam, Publica privatis secentere, sacra profanis; Concubitu prohibere vago, dare jura maritis, Oppida moliri, leges incidere ligne; Sic honor & nomen divini Vatibus, atque Carminibus venit. POST hos insignis Homerus, &c.

Horat. ad Pisonem;
and Writings of Homer.

Wholly fabulous and allegorical. "The Powers of Nature, and Human Passions made the Subject; and they described their various Effects with some Analogy and Resemblance to Human Actions. They began with the Rise of Things, their Vicissitudes and Transformations, defined their Nature and Influence; and in their metaphorical Stile, gave to each a Person, a Speech, and Method of Operation, conformable to their fancied Qualities." Nor is there any other kind of Learning to be met with in Homer: I mean such Learning as we get from Books and Masters; for what Knowledge he acquired as a Traveller, is of another kind, and falls in more properly to be considered in another Place.
But here, begging your Lordship's Pardon, I must be permitted to think of my own good Fortune in addressing this Enquiry as I have done: Whoever has a Diffidence of his own Opinions, naturally seeks for a wiser Man than himself with whom to communicate them: And if he is conscious of any singular Humour, or Inclination to judge with a few against the Multitude; to laugh perhaps at what they highly esteem, and esteem what they think contemptible, he must then find either one of the same Sentiments with himself, or,
if he should be mistaken, one of that Candour and Knowledge of Mankind, as will make Allowances, and bear with the Infirmities of his weaker Friend. In this case, My Lord, I find myself bound to give fair Warning of the Forbearance I shall want; since I am upon the matter about to assert, "That Homer’s being born poor, and living a strolling indigent Bard, was in relation to his Poetry, the greatest Happiness that cou’d befall him."

We have already seen some of his Obligations to his Poverty. It put him in the only Road of Life in which Learning was then to be acquired, with the peculiar advantage of living in the house with his Master in the double Relation of a Scholar and a Son. Had he been the Child of a rich Father, or of one who cou’d have barely supported him, or even taught him his own Trade, he had never gone to Phemius, to be doubly instructed in Philosophy and Poetry, which at that time, as has been already observed, were not separate Studies. The same Necessity made him glad to be his Successor, and teach his School after his death; an Exercise, if not too long continued, of the highest Tendency to strengthen the Mind and correct the Fancy. But the grand Good-fortune that Homer’s Poverty procured him was this, "That it forced him to take up, and con-
continue in the Profession of an Ἀοἰδός, or Strolling Bard.

To comprehend the full Extent of this Happiness, your Lordship will be pleased to know, that this is a Grecian Character, which took its Rise in that Country, and was formed upon no borrowed Model. The Poetry and Allegory of the Egyptians, was like every thing else, bounded and prescribed by Law. Dio-
dorus tells us, that Men were forbidden the practice of Musick, as tending to effemi-
nate their Minds: And indeed the Care both of this, and of the Persian and Babylonish Governments seems to have been more em-
ployed about their History and Records, or Astronomy and Numbers, than the Encourage-
ment of the Muses.

But in Greece, where Nature was ob-
structed in none of her Operations; and no Rule or Prescription gave a check to Rapture and Enthusiasm, there soon arose a Set of Men, who distinguished themselves by Harmony and Verse. The wonderful Tales which they told, and the Melody with which they accompanied them, made them the Delight of these simple Ages; and their Knowledge of Things both natural and divine, gave them a great Ascen-
dant over the Spirit and Belief of their Co-
temporaries.

Tho'  

* See Page 140, in the Notes.
and Writings of Homer. 105

Tho' we had no remaining Testimonies of the Honours paid to this Profession by the Ancients, we might safely conclude from its Nature and Functions, that it would meet with universal Approbation. A Man who has it in his Power to charm our Ears, entertain our Fancies, and instruct us in the History of our Ancestors; who informs his wond'ring Audience of the secret Composition, and hidden Harmony of the Universe, of the Order of the Seasons, and Observation of Days, such a Man cannot miss of Esteem and Attention: But if he adds a Sanction to his Doctrine and Art; if he pretends "That he is under the Direction of the Gods; that he describes their Natures, "announces their Names, and Decrees; that "he does this by their immediate Orders, and "then leads the way himself in the new Devotion;" he must needs become the Object of their Admiration and Reverence.

That

b On the old Altar of Pan, says Sannazaro, Pendeano due grandi Tavole di Faggio, scritte di rusticane lettere, le quali contenevano le antiche Leggi, e gli Annamaltramenti della Vita pastorale. Nell' una eran notati tutti i Di dell' Anno, i Mutamenti delle stagioni e la inegualità della notte e del giorno; insieme i Pronostici delle Tempeslali, e quali giorni son della Luna fortunati, e quali infelici alle Opere de' Mortali; e che ciascuno in ciascuna bora dovesse fuggire o seguitare per non offendere le omissibili volontà de' Dio. Nell' altra fe leggeva qual Governo si convenga alle Pecore, quale dovesse offrire la bella forma della Vacca e del Toro, e le età idonee al generare, &c. And the ancient Priest of the God had perfect Knowledge of, e la Terra, e il Cielo, e il Mare; lo insatiable Sole, la crescente Luna, e tutte le Stelle di che il Cielo si adorna; e così per conseguente, i tempi del arare, del metere, di piantare le Viti e gli Olivi; di inietare gli Alberi, rendendoli di adottive fiumi.

Sannazaro Arcadia.
That this was their Conduct appears from no weaker Authority than the ingenuous Pindar's, the Prince of the Lyricks: He lets us know, that the Homeridae (a Family in Chios, thought to be descended from our Poet) followed the Occupation of their Founder, and were for the most part, what he calls Singers of flowing Verse: He tells us that it was their constant Practice in the beginning of their Song, to usher it in with a Prayer to Jupiter: A Custom of a very devout Appearance, and which they observed so strictly, as to hand it down in a religious kind of Tradition, to the Poets of after-times. Piety was indeed the chief Part of a Bard's Profession, and some of their Worthies, such as Eumolpus, Melampus and Epimenides, are reported to have done as great Feats in this Capacity, as the Law-givers did in theirs.

In other respects, we find the Testimony of the oldest Poets used by the later Writers as the Great Masters of Science; and have a noble Instance in Hecataeus the Milesean, who in the grand Assembly of the Ionians fairly distinguished himself both by his Knowledge and Capacity. The Question in agitation was of no less Importance, than "Whether they should continue in their Obe-

dience,"

"Οὖ τιν περ μ' Ομοφελος,  
Ραπτὼν ἵππαν τα πόλι Αἰανα,  
"Ἀρχοντας Δίος ἐν προσωπίζ,——  
Πιδάρης Νεμ. Εἰδος β.  

a Herodotus. Τέρψιος.
and Writings of Homer. 107

"dience, or rebel against the Great King?" so they called the Persian Monarch. Hecataeus dissuaded the War; and produced a thing 'till then rarely seen, A Map of the Persian Dominions, and from it made a Computation of their Power: But like a Master of the Argument, if on the other hand, they were resolved to try the Fortune of War, he gave them good Advice, and pointed out the only Method of carrying it on. They neglected both Parts of his Counsel, and were ruined in the Issue.

'Tis true Hecataeus lived after Homer: But we find the Character the same in his Writings both for Sanctity and Science. An Ἀοιδος or Bard, according to him, must know πολλα Θεακτηρια, many soothing Tales; their Subject must be ἔργα Ἀνδρῶν τε Θεῶν τε, The Deeds of Gods and Men; and their Occupation is

Θεοίζε τε, καὶ Ἀνδροποίζε Αειδεῖν.

To Mortals and Immortals both to sing.

That Homer himself was one of the Number, is what I can find no reason to doubt. Besides the concurring Opinion, and constant Tradition of all Antiquity, the Place where he makes the most immediate mention of himself, declares him to be an Ἀοιδος, and the foremost of the Profession. I touched upon the
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Passage before, which is wonderfully wrought, and of vast Simplicity. It is addressed to Latona, and her prophetick Offspring Apollo and Diana, whose Feast was held at Delos, and was frequented by vast Multitudes of People from Ionia, and the adjacent Islands. "Hail, Heavenly Powers, says the Bard, whose Praisies I sing; let me also hope to be remembred in the Ages to come: And when any one born of the Tribes of Men, comes hither a weary Traveller, and enquires, Who is the sweetest of the Singing Men that re- fort to your Feasts, and whom you most delight to hear? Then do you make An- swer for me; 'Tis the blind Man that dwells in Chios;— His Songs excel all that can e'er be sung."

But I must deal fairly with your Lordship, and own, that this same Hymn is by some said to be none of Homer's; but the Composition of one Cynæthus; a Chian too, and a great Rhapsodist, who has the Honour to be the first Man that sung Homer's Works in Sicily; and who is said to have been the Author of a good many of the Verses, that pass under the Poet's Name in the Iliad and Odyssey. These Poems, they tell you, Homer did not commit to Wri-
ting himself; but his Posterity in Chios, and the Rhapto- 
dists who were for ever repeating, had got them by Heart; and this Cyne-
thus, their Chief, while he preserved Homer's Verses, and put them together, did inter-
mix a good many of his own Invention. The 
Hymn to Apollo, in particular, is pointed out as one of his Compositions; so that we could 
not draw much from it relating to Homer, if 
there was sufficient Authority to support the 
Assertion.

**But there is not:** All we have for it, is the Word of a nameless Scholiaist of Pindar's, who speaks faintly of it himself; and the Men of that Class, tho' very useful in their 
way, we all know, have but small Pretensions to great Credit in Facts: Or if their Testimo-
ny was of any weight, the same Scholiaist has preserved three Lines of Hesiod's, which seem to determine the Question 
§. They assert, that this or some such Hymn was of Homer's Com-
posure, and that he was wont to make Voy-
ages to Delos on the same Errand. But there is still better ground to believe it his; I mean 
the Authority of the learned and accurate Thucydides, who quotes this very Hymn as an origi-
nal Composition of our Poets, and whose 

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* 'Εν Δίλω, τότε πετόντο ἐνω ἴπποι 'Ομης Ἀιαδίλ 
Μήλορμη, οὐ περιοίς ὑποσις πάλασαντι ἀκοῦσαν, 
Φοῖνος Ἀπίανος ἄρσιδορος, ἔν τεῖκε Δητά. 

* Lib. 1.
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Judgment is of more weight than a hundred Annotators.

It was necessary to clear so important a Point, because this is the only Piece of Homer's, which fixes the Place, if not of his Birth, at least of his Abode: It shews in what he placed his Merit, and how he wished to be talked of among Posterity: It likewise favours the received Opinion of his losing his Sight in the Decline of Life, and leaves no doubt of his Occupation. The Island of Chios was no ill-chosen Retreat: It enjoyed the diffusive Benignity of the Climate, in common with the rest of that delicious Coast; but peculiar to itself, it produced the richest Wine that Greece could boast of; and abounded in the other Ingredient of the Pleasures of the Ancients, the finest Oil. What made this so necessary, was the use of the Hot-Bath, which was an Article in their living they rated so high, as to set it upon a footing with the Joys of Wine, and the Charms of the Fair: And the three together were thought so sweet by the ancient Men of Pleasure, that Life in their Opinion was not worth keeping without them. The Inhabitants of Chios were of Opinion, that Homer was a Chian.

Aristotle was of Opinion, that Homer was a Chian.

Quo Chian pretio cadat?

OINON APIΣTON φιέγω διςαυτάν, (XιΘροί). Στρατ. β.ε. id.

Balnea, Vina, Venus, corrupvnt corpora nostra.

Sed vitam faciunt, Balnea, Vina, Venus.

Homer himself when he describes a Man newly come out of the Bath, and anointed with Oil, generally adds, that he appeared taller and larger than before, and was grown εἶκεν Αθάνατοις, something like the Immortals.
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of Chios bore an excellent Character among the other Islanders, and in particular proved excellent Seamen; insomuch that while the Power of Greece was but yet in its Infancy, they were able to fit out a powerful Fleet, and formed Designs upon the Sovereignty of the Seas: and sometime afterwards, when they were attacked by a superior Force, they shewed great Spirit in the defence of their Liberties. Our Poet therefore in this Situation was settled as it were in the middle, between Ionia and Greece. He had the advantage of going to either when he pleased; and cou'd be easily transported to Delos, which was just in his Neighbourhood, to attend the Feast of his favourite Divinity.

It is, I think, generally allowed that Homer took his Characters from Nature or real Life; and if so, the Picture of the AΩΙΔΩΞ is his own. He does indeed omit no opportunity to do honour to the Profession, nor even to mention it. He has painted every Circumstance of it, draws Similies from it, tells its effects upon the Hearers, and of all the Wooers that had been devouring Ulysses' Estate in his absence, he spares not one, save Phemius the Bard, and a Khprεξ, or Publick Servant.

Few people have conceived a just Opinion of this Profession, or entered into its Dignity. The Reason of which I take to be, That we have no modern Character like it: For

1 Strabo ibid. 2 Odor. Parv. 7. x.
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For I should be unwilling to admit the Irish or Highland Runers to a share of the Honour; tho' their Business, which is to entertain a Company with the Recital of some Adventure, resembles a part of the other. The Trovadores or Troubadours of Provence, the earliest of the Moderns that shewed any Vein for Poetry, have a better Claim. They sung their Verses to the Harp, or other Instrument they cou’d use, and attained to a just Cadence and Return of Verse in their Stanza’s; but had neither Manners nor Language for great Attempts.

This ignorance of an ancient Character has made some ingenious Men, and admirers of Homer, take pains to vindicate him from it, as a mean and contemptible Calling; or at least to dissemble and slur it over. It was indeed no Life of Wealth or Power, but of great Ease and much Honour. The Aoiai were welcome to Kings and Courts; were necessary at Feasts and Sacrifices; and were highly reverenced by the People. The Pheacian Poet is described

— Ephoron Aoiaon
ΔΗΜΟΔΟΚΟΝ, ΛΑΟΙΣΙ ΤΕΤΙΜΗΜΕΝΟΝ.

— Valde amabilem Vatem,
Demodocum, Populis honoratam.

It will easily be granted, that Men pinched in their Living, and forced to have their Thoughts ever upon the stretch for Subsistance,

* See Sperone Speroni. The Name remains still in Spain, as Todos o los mas Cavalleros andantes de la Edad pañada, eran grandes Trovadores y grandes Musicos. Parte 1. Lib. 3. de Don Quixote.
cannot have room for rapturous Views, and poetick Strains. The same Reason excludes all Men of Business, who are thoroughly so, from the Society of the Muses; not only because our Capacities are narrow, but because our Minds as well as Bodies, when once inured to a Habit, seldom or never quit their wonted Track: Or if at any time, by main force, we are beaten out of it, yet "a certain Manner of thinking and reasoning always recurs, bearing a Resemblance "to the Education and Course of Business we "have run through." In short, whoever confines his Thinking to any one Subject, who bestows all his Care and Study upon one Employment or Vocation, may excel in that; But cannot be qualified for a Province that requires the freest and widest, as well as the most simple and disinterested Views of Nature.

Now, My Lord, if we were to sit down and contrive, what kind of Life is the least obnoxious to these Inconveniencies, we shall find none so free from Care, Business or Want, as that of a Bard. It is exactly the easy, independant State, I that

P Sed Vatem egregium,——
Hunc, qualis nequeo monstrar e sentio tantum,
Anxietate carens Animus facit; omnis acribi
Impatiens, cupidus Silvarum, aptusque bibendi
Fontibus Asonium. Neque enim cantare sub Antro
Pierio, Thyrsiurem potest contingere maria
Paupertas, atque Aesis inops; quonosie dieque
Corpus eget——
Pectora nostra duas non admitentia Curas. Juv. Sat. 7;

Or the small Genius which my Youth could boast,
In Prose and Business lies extinct and lost, prior.
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that is unawed by Laws, and the Regards that molest us in Communities; that knows no Duties or Obligations but those of Hospitality and Humanity: that subjects the Mind to no Tincture of Discipline, but lays it open to all the natural Sensations, with which the various Parts of the Universe affect a sagacious, perceptive, mimicking Creature.

As this Condition is in itself of the utmost Importance to a Poet, the Consequences of it are almost equally happy: The ΑΟΙΔΟΙ, or Bards, were under a necessity of frequent Travelling, and every now and then exercising their Vein upon the greatest Subjects. In this Situation did Homer begin to wander over Greece, carrying with him those Qualities that procured him a Welcome wherever he came. I have already shewn what a noble Scene for Travelling the Grecian Cities and young Commonwealths then afforded. Homer stayed so long in each of them, as was necessary to see, but not to be moulded into their Manners. The Order of a Town, and the Forms brought into the common City-life, clude the Passions, and

7 Plato calls a Mind fit for Poetry, Ἀυτήν ἡ ἔκτορ. Θείας Τοις. 8 The Poet himself, when speaking of the People we gladly admit into our Houses, enumerates Μάντη (a Diviner) ἦ Πητήρα μακά (or a Physician) τοῦ τεῖζον δύσων (a Carpenter). 9 A Βιον ΑΟΙΔΟΝ. εἰς κεφαλής αὐτόν. 'Οδώρο. Παρασώδρο. A divine Bard, to charm us with his Song.

1 A great Man, who had reason to know it, says that he never saw the Populace in such a Fury, but the Hour of Dinner or Supper would cool them. They don't like what they call Se débneuer.

Memoir. de Ritz.
and abate their Force by turning them upon little Objects. But he neither led a Country nor a Town-Life; and was in this respect truly a Citizen of the Universe.

The next Advantage of Homer's Profession, was the Access it gave him into the Houses and Company of the Greatest Men. The Effects of it appear in every Line of his Works; not only in his Characters of them, and Accounts of their Actions; but the more familiar Part of Life; their manner of Converging and method of Entertaining, are accurately and minutely painted. He knows their Rarities and Plate, and can hold forth the Neatness and Elegancy of their Bijouterie. He has nicely inspected the Trinkets their Ladies wore; their Bracelets, Buckles and Necklaces, whose Prettiness he sometimes talks of with great Taste and Exactness. He has a delicious Pair of three-stoned Ear-rings.

— "Ερμητα δυο,
Τείπλωυ τιμαθεντα. καλες ο' απελαμπετο τολλη
don

And a curious Gold Necklace set in Amber in the form of a Sun.

— πολυβασιλειόν ωρμος
Χρυσος τη λεγεια ερημυκος, τηλυχων ως.
don

He has them too of several Sizes; for Lucina was to receive at Latona's Lying-in, from the Goddesses that were Gossips,
In a word, there is scarce a Circumstance in Oeconomy but what he has somewhere described, or made it evident that he knew.

Nor could it be otherwise, if we consider the daily Life of the Λόγοι. The Manner was, when a Bard came to a House, he was first welcomed by the Master, and after he had been entertained according to the ancient Mode; that is, after he had bathed, eaten, and drunk some χειρ-καλά σάρκα, heart-cheering Wine, he was called upon to entertain the Family in his turn: He then tuned his Lyre, and raised his Voice, and sung to the listening Crowd some Adventure of the Gods, or some Performance of Men.

Many Advantages accrue from hence to the Poet: He is under a happy Necessity of making no fanciful Conceits, or profound Verses in an uncommon Language: But, if he would succeed, he must entertain his wondering Audience in a simple, intelligible Stile. He might indeed tell wonderful Stories of strange Performances, and Places strange: but they must be plainly told, and with a constant eye to natural Manners and human Passions: He needed not keep strictly to them; that would raise no Admiration;
on; but with an Analogy or Likeness, such as
the Tenour and Circumstance of the tender or
woeful Tale wou'd bear.

Here too, My Lord, was abundance of Op-
portunities not only for judging what was amiss,
what was true or false in his Song; but for help-
ing it. While he was personating a Hero; while
his Fancy was warming, and his words flowing;
when he had fully entered into the Measure,
was struck with the Rythmus, and seized with
the Sound; like a Torrent, he wou'd fill up the
Hollows of the Work; the boldest Metaphors
and glowing Figures wou'd come rushing upon
him, and cast a Fire and Grace into the Com-
position, which no Criticism can ever supply 2.

As to the Audience, I might shew the Good-
fortune of our Poet in that particular, by re-
minding your Lordship of the Monitor of the
younger Gracchus a, or the Slave who directed
and check'd the most fluent Orator of Augustus'
Court b; but Moliere's old Woman comes near-
est our Purpose. 'Twas by her Ear and Taste that
that celebrated Comedian tried the success of
his Comic Scenes, and as they affected her more
or less, so he judged of their Force and Failures c.
Thus the most approved Writer among the
Moderns, makes choice of a Circumstance for
his Rule that Homer was obliged to regard in
every Performance.

I 3

\[ \text{See Plutarch in his Life;} \\
\text{Excerpta à Lib. 4. Controvers. Senecæ: in Poem,} \\
\text{Her Name was La Forêt.} \]
The more we consider its influence upon Poetry, the wider it appears: To this necessity of pleasing his Audience, I would ascribe that *just Measure of Probability and Wonder* which runs thro' the greatest part of his Works. The People must be entertained: that is, they must be kept at a gaze, and at the same time must comprehend the Dangers, and feel the Passions of the Description. The Adventure must be such as they can understand; and the Method it is brought about, must surprize their Imagination, draw forth their Attention, and win their Heart. This at once accounts for the Stories which Homer tells, improbable indeed in themselves, and yet bearing such a Resemblance to Nature and Truth.

For his Poems were made to be recited, or sung to a Company; and not read in private, or perused in a Book, which few were then capable of doing: and I will venture to affirm, that whoever reads not Homer in this View loses a great Part of the Delight he might receive from the Poet.

His Stile, properly so called, cannot be understood in any other light; nor can the Strain and Manner of his Work be felt and relished unless we put ourselves in the place of his Audience, and imagine it coming from the Mouth of a Rhap.
Rhapsodist: Neither, to tell the truth, is there any thing but this situation, that will fully account for all his Heroes telling miraculous Tales as well as himself, and sometimes in the Heat of a Battle. But when we remember his Profession, and his common Audience, we see the Necessity of Stories, and of such as he usually tells. He had not the Inhabitants of a great luxurious City to entertain with unnatural Flights, and lewd Fancies; but the martial Race of a wide and free Country, who listen willingly to the Prowess of their Ancestors, and Achievements of their Kings.

It would be tedious to insist upon every particular in the Life of a Rhapsodist; but there are two Advantages more that deserve our Notice. The first is the Habit which the Poet must acquire by singing extemporary Strains. We have daily proofs of the power of Practice in every Art and Employment. An Inclination indulged turns to a Habit, and that, when cultivated, rises to an Ease and Mastery in the Profession. It immediately affects our Speech and Conversation; as we daily see in Lawyers, Seamen, and most Sets of men who converse with ease and fluency in their own Stile, tho' they are often puzzled when forced to affect another. To what height such a Genius as Homer's might rise by constant Culture, is hard to tell; Eustathius says, "That he breathed nothing but "Verse,  

See Pelisson, Histoire de l'Acad. Françoise.
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"Verse, and was so possess'd with the Heroic-
"Muse, as to speak in Numbers with more
"case than others in Prose."

The second peculiarity which attends a Strolling Life is, great Returns of Mirth and Humour. After suffering Cold and Fatigue, a flood of Joy comes impetuous upon a man when he is refreshed, and begins to grow warm. His Heart dilates, his Spirits flow, and if there is any Vein of Humour or Thought within him, it will certainly break loose, and be set a running. The poetick, and most kinds of Strolers, are commonly Men of great Health; of the quickest and truest Feelings: They are obliged to no exhausting Labour, to stiffen their Bodies and depress their Minds. Their Life is the likest to the plentiful State of the Golden Age; without Care or Ambition, full of Variety and Change, and constantly giving and receiving the most natural and elegant Pleasures.

Their very strolling from one little State to another would enrich their Fancies. Solitude is a Friend to Thought; as a perpetual Circle of Pleasure and Diversions, is its greatest Enemy. When alone, we are obliged to furnish out our own Entertainment; We must recollect ourselves,

"Ome, Ome, Horatius, EVOE!"

The Poet has describ'd it himself, we may suppose from Experience,

"Otagi, malle polle, polle, polle."

Satur et sum clamat Horatum, EVOE! Juvenal. Sat. 7
selves, and look within, if there be any thing there that merits our Attention. When in Company the regard we owe to every Person in it, dissipates the Mind and hinders Reflection. The way to think little, is to hurry from one Amusement to another, that we may fly from ourselves. But the Man who lives plain, and at times steps aside from Din of Life, enjoys a more genuine Pleasure: He obtains ravishing Views of silent Nature, and undisturbed contemplates her solitary Scenes. He often turns his Attention upon himself, canvases his own Passions, and ascertains his Sentiments of Humanity.

In this Situation a Poet would find himself obliged, not only to study the Passions of his Hearers while he recited; to observe their Features, watch every Motion of their Eye and Turn of Thought; but to look around him when alone, and lay up store of such Images, as Experience told him would have the strongest Effect.

Before I leave the subject, I would observe once for all, that the Ancients believed both Homer's Poverty, and his subsisting by his Muse. A Man of great Learning and Eloquence, says, "That many thought his Life more wonderful than his Poetry; that to live poor and wandering, and earn just so much by his Poems as barely to support him, is a noble Proof of his Fortitude and Magnanimity."
nimity." This, My Lord, is spoken a little in the Spirit of an ancient Cynick or modern Capuchin; where Poverty is a Merit, and a contempt of Wealth, a title to deserve it. But Dion is not singular as to the Matter of fact. Plato is of the same Opinion: He seems to have dealt a little hardly with Homer, because his Theology and the 'Iωνικὸς βίος, the free Ionian Life which he described were not compatible with the Manners of his perfect City; but it is plain he has studied him with all the Attachment and Pleasure of a professed Admire

In the tenth Book of his Republick he gives several strokes of his Life. He there makes it a Question, "Whether Homer, who had imitated or represented Actions of all sorts, had ever "done any great thing himself?" He seems to think that he had not; and draws his Conjecture from the Poet's Friends: He mentions one Creophilus a Samian, as the chief of them; "Whose "Name, says he, however ridiculous, will be "less so than the Figure he himself makes in "Learning": and if what is told of the Poet's "Life be true, his Friends seem to have been very "care-

1 To ὅ ὑπ' τικα διαγνέχα, κ' ἡλώμερον, κ' τοσότερον ὅμως Ποιη-

m We wou'd translate it Love-meat, or Mr. Fleishly.

n He is said to have entertained Homer in his House upon Condition he wou'd give him some Work, to be published under his (Creophilus,) Name; and accordingly got a Poem upon the taking and facking of Oechalia. Καὶ ἵκε διαγιαρτον Ὀμήρου, λαδεὶν παρὰ ἀνὴρ τὸν Ἰωνίαν τὴν τ' Ὀιχαλίας ἐλεύθην. Συν. εἰ τοῦ Κρεοφίλου.
"careless about him. In this respect Homer has "not been able, like Prodicus the Cean, or "Protagoras of Abdera, to gain Admirers, or "instruct his Followers from a real Skill or "Knowledge of the things he describes; but "has only been good at mimicking and de- "scribing others: For do you imagine Glauco! "(this is Socrates' Companion in the Dia-
"logue) that Homer's Co-temporaries wou'd "ever have permitted him and Hesiod to wan-
der up and down the Country, singing and "playing the Rhapsodists, had they been able "to improve their Manners, or promote their "Affairs military or civil? Wou'd they not "have thought they had fallen upon a Treasure "when such Men came to their Town, done "them all possible Honours, and pensioned "them to stay? Or if they cou'd not fix them, "wou'd they not have followed these Po-
"ets wherever they went, until they had fully "learned the Science of so great Masters? Pro-
tagoras and Prodicus can demonstrate, that "no Family nor City ever thrives without their "Instructs, and are so reverenced by their "Disciples, that they wou'd almost bear them "upon their Heads!

This part then of Homer's Life, I mean his exerçising the Profession of an Άοιδος, may be considered at the same time as the chief Part of his Education. To it he owed many of the Specio-
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Sa Miracula, which are admired by Horace. For as he travelled over the several Provinces of Greece, he might pick up the Country Miracles: They commonly take their Rife either from the natural History of the Place, or they are Traditional Stories of their mighty Progenitors. They are always happy in some Air of Probability, and have some foundation in Nature; Something in the Mountain, Cavern or River which at first struck the gazing Mortals that approached it, and made them conceive strange notions concerning the Causes of the apparent Wonder. These, passing from hand to hand are enlarged, their Circumstances varied and refined, until they grow by degrees into an Allegory or mystick Tale.

I make little doubt but this was one great Fund of Homer's Learning; as the Necessity he lay under of a daily Practice was his best Instructor in the Art of Poetry: If your Lordship will be pleased to make the Reflection, it will be found, that in all that wide Plan of Mankind, contained in his two Poems, there is not any single Character marked out or distinguished by acquired Knowledge, as we understand the word. The Knowledge and Virtues of his Persons are all natural; such as spring up without other culture than the native Bent of their Genius, and their Converse among Mankind. Thus Ulysses grew up

* Beautiful striking Miracles.
† It is an Observation of Strabo's concerning our Poet, ἀκροβολὴ ἀγαθῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἀνάκτη τηρητολογίαν, ἐξ Ὀμηροῦ. 

Bib. a.
up a fagacious, subtle, bold, persuasive Man, without the aid of Masters of Rhetorick or Lectures of Politicks: Agamemnon was lofty, royal and ambitious; a vigilant and brave General, dreading Disgrace, and careful of his People; and all this without studying King-craft or the Art of War. It continued so until Homer's own days; there was but little Erudition in the World: and that fame was allegorical; and descended, as appears from the former Account, to the Bards from the first Lawgivers, who professed both Characters.

In this respect, the Talent of their Poets, was truly natural, and had a much better title to Inspiration than their learned Successors; I mean learned by Books; tho' I do not say that Homer or Hesiod had no Learning of this sort; But perhaps (ut vineta egomet caedam mea) the less of it the better. Certainly, My Lord, the Scholastic Turn, Technical Terms, imaginary Relations, and wire-drawn Sciences, spoil the natural Faculties, and marr the Expression. But the Ancients of early Times, as Nature gave Powers and a Genius, so they fought, or plowed, or merchandized, or fung; Wars, or Loves, or Morals, ὡς ὁ Μηναὶ ἔδεσα, just as their Muse or Genius gave Permission.

HOMER's blind Bard * sings by mere Inspiration; and of things he cou'd know no other way: which as it is the greatest Recommendation to his Trade, if at the same time, it has

* Demodocus the Pheacian.
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a foundation, and is such a Lie as he uses to make, (that is, like to Truth) it must shew "How much these ancient Songsters trusted to their "Vein; and were accordingly believed to "know something more than Men.

'TIS WORTH while to observe what a Picture the Poet gives of them himself in the Character of Phemius. He had been forced by Penelope's Woes to sing at their Feasts, and was shut up with them in the great Hall, where Ulysses had begun to take a dreadful Revenge. When the Slaughter was well over, he came out from the Hollow of a Door where he had lurked, threw down his Lute, and springing to the Hero besmeared with Blood, fell down before him with these Words:

ΤΟΝΟΝΤΜΑΙ Σ' ΟΔΗΣΕΤ.—*

Ulysses! at thy Knees I beg for Pity! 'Twill gaul thy Soul hereafter, if thou killest A Bard, who sings both to the Gods and Men: Untaught by others, in my Mind I bear, By God himself implanted, all the Strains Of Melody and Verse.—

INDEED, the Epithets he bestows, and the Insinuations he makes concerning the Characteristick of his Brethren, would make one suspect that they were frequently under the power of an Impulse. A Bard with him, is Θεῖος, Divine, Θεύκεις, Prophetick; Εριθρος, most venerable: He

* Οδός, κα.
He is the Darling of the Muses \(^4\); he sings from the Gods', and if he touches upon an improper Subject, 'tis not the Aoidos that is to be blamed, but Jupiter; who manages Mortals just as he pleases. In a word, he never begins to sing until he feel the Stirrings\(^{v}\) of his Mind, and hath the permission of his Muse.

The other Parent of our Poetry, the peaceful Hesiod, tells us, "That it is by Inspiration of the Muses, and of the far Shooting Apollo, that there are singing Men upon the Earth, and Players upon the Harp." Nor is it only the Poetick Tribe who make these Pretensions, or the credulous Multitude that believe them; but we find the Men of greatest Knowledge and severest Thought, both admitting and supporting their Claim.

It is a strange Saying to come from the Mouth of a wise Philosopher, "That God, depriving the Poets of their understanding, uses them as his Ministers, Sooth-sayers and holy Prophets, to make us, the Hearers, know..."
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"know, that it is not of themselves they say such wonderful and high things, not being in their Wits: but that it is God himself who speaks to us, and pronounces by them." For Instance, he names Tynnichus the Chalcidean, who never in his Life made a Poem worth mentioning, except the celebrated Pæan, or Hymn to Apollo, which was in every Body’s Mouth, and was perhaps the finest Poem that ever appeared. This he says he composed, "ΕΤΡΗΜΑΤΙ ΜΟΤΣΑΝ, by the Invention of the Muses.

These are high Pretensions, and shou’d be strongly supported before they are admitted: But if one uninfected with the Poetical Spirit was to search for their meaning in Profe, it wou’d seem to say, "That as there is no Poetry without Genius, so that Genius itself has its Fits and Seasons, which are provoked and indulged no where so happily as in the strolling unanxious Life of an ΑΟΙΔΟΣ, or ΒΑΡΙΟD.

To the fame Purpofe Guarini,

"Quista Parte di Noi, che intende e vede, Non è nostra virtu. ma vien dal Cielo:
Esfà la dà, come a lui piace, e toglie."
HOWEVER noble and natural the Aspects of Mankind might be, which Homer had from the young Common-Wealths that were beginning to form themselves all over Greece, yet his Views were not confined to them. The Manners of his Poems are generally of the Grecian Stamp; but he quits them at times, and by some artful Touches inserted here and there, he lets us know, that he is not ignorant of other Nations, nor unacquainted with the State of Foreign Countries. He appears, upon Occasion, a great
Genealogist, a knowing Historian, and, which is most to our purpose, a wonderful Geographer. This, no Inspiration will account for: We must therefore accompany him in the second Part of his Travels, his visiting Egypt and the East.

Among the other Stories contrived by his Admirers, there is one told by Hephæston, a that conceals a Meaning very different from its first Appearance. He says, "That a Lady of "Memphis, the Daughter of Nicarchus, by "Name Phancy, excelling in Wisdom, composed two Poems; the War of Troy, and the "Wanderings of Ulysses, and laid them up in "the Holy Place of the Temple of Vulcan at "Memphis; that Homer coming there, found "means to get Copies of them from the "Sacred Scribe, Phanites, and out of them "composed his Ilias and Odysseyy. The Sense put upon this by the Learned, is, That Homer was either an Egyptian born, (for so many have suspected) or that having his great Genius cultivated by an Egyptian Education, he was thereby enabled to compose his admired Poems.

Besides the constant Belief of his being in that Country, among the Ancients; and besides the Authority of the Egyptian Priests themselves, who affirmed it upon the Faith of their Records, b there are other Presumptions

a Apud Photium, in Biblioth. §. 190.
b Diodorus Sicul. Lib. 1. Biblioth. in fine
tions in his Works, that will probably have considerable Weight with such as can take them from the Original.

I am obliged to say so; because tho' it be very pleasant to trace the Likeness between the Customs of one Country, and those of another derived from them, to search into the Origin of the borrowed Rites, and the natural Foundation of the new Mythology; yet their Connexion is delicate, and the Perception of it generally too fine, to be turned into a direct Proof: It cannot be felt at all, without a nice Knowledge of the Mother-Country and its Manners, as well as of their moral Progeny. But such a Draught of the parallel Customs of two Countries, would, I am afraid, prove tedious. It has afforded Materials for some ingenious Books, and is of late, the Subject of the most entertaining Conversations. I will not therefore undertake to describe the Procession at the Funerals of Apis, or its Progress thro' Heliopolis, up the Nile; upon which Orpheus and Homer founded their Description of the Passage of Souls to Hell: Nor will I meddle with the Lake near Memphis, that was the Pattern of Acheron, nor the Manner of burying in the delightful Meadows around it, that gave Rise to the peopling the Elysian Fields.

K 2

Let
LET me only observe to your Lordship; That these Places were extant, and these Customs still kept up, so late as the Time of Diodorus the Sicilian; and that the Egyptian Priests affirmed to him, That from them Homer had taken his religious Doctrines. They gave Instances further, in the Temple of Darkness or Gloom, the Brazen Gates of Cocytus and Lethe, the Archetype of Charon's Boat, and the Etymology of his Name *; with many other Parts of the Grecian Creed, too many to mention here, which were Realities in Egypt: There was a real Temple, real Gates, a wooden Boat, and an honest Ferry-man, all fairly existing in this World; tho' transferred by Orpheus and Homer, and applied, perhaps typically, to that which is to come. d

But there is one Proof given by the Sacred Order, of Homer's being in their Country, much too curious to be omitted. It is taken from that Part of his Writings, where he relates, how the beauteous Helen, when she entertained Telemachus in her House, had put into the Wine a Drug of such Virtue, as to inspire Mirth and Joy, occasion a perfect Oblivion of by-past Ills, and an Insensibility of present Misery. This, says the Poet, she received as a Present from Polydamna the Wife of Thon the Egyptian: e And this say

* CHARONI in the old Egyptian, signified simply a Ferry-man.  
  Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 1.  
* Osur. 5.
say the Priests, with all its Circumstances, (the surprising Qualities of the Drug, and Names of the Persons) he could learn no where so exactly as in Egypt.

To give this Argument fair Play, we must remember, that in those rude Ages of the World, whoever discovered any Knowledge of the Customs or Inhabitants of a distant Country, was of course supposed to have been in that Country. There was no Correspondence of Letters, little Trade, and the Writing of History was a thing unknown. Knowledge therefore implied Travelling; and if it extended to Persons, and the Peculiarities of their Manners, it fixed it to the Country where those Persons lived: The Character of the Man who understood the Tempers, and knew the Mind of many People, was He, ὡς μάλα χωλλα — πλασχω, e who far had stray'd — o'er many Lands.

I must own, my Lord, this looks plausible: But there are some other Considerations that give it still a greater Air of Veracity. From the most authentick Accounts we have of Helen's Adventures, it appears, that she was for some time in the Power of this Thon, (whether a Prince of the Country, or the Governor of a Province) and consequently in Company with his Lady: For we can never suppose, that so beautiful a Creature, so discreet,
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creet, and of such high Birth, would be
treated as an ordinary Prisoner. It appears
also, that the Egyptian Ladies were much
addicted to the use of this Medicine; and if
we believe a later Historian, They were the
first People in the World who found out an
Antidote against Grief and Sorrow. The
Egyptian Complexion, which was thought-
ful and melancholy, made them fonder of an
calinving Potion, than an airy People would
have been; and the same excellent Writer,
Diodorus, who was himself in the Country,
 informs us, that the Recipe was still known
when he lived, and as much in Vogue as
ever.

Tho' I could take this upon the Sicilian's
Word; yet, I confess, what makes it, and
the whole Story, appear the more probable
to me, is, That I find the same Medicine still
in use in the same Country, and the Effects
of it now, exactly such as Homer ascribes to
his Heroine's Anodyne:

υπάνετος, ἀλλαβί ταῦτα, ἐπίλυσεν Σικυωνία ἐπεί σαλαλάθη.

Powerful to banish Grief, to calm our Ire,
And bring Insensibility of Ill.

It is not much above a Century and a Half,
since a young Physician, who proved after-
wards

e Her che non può di bella Donna il pianto?
Et in lingua amorosa i dolci Detti?
Ese da vaghe Labbra aurea Carena,
Che l' alme, à suo voler, prende et affrena. Tasso.

wards very eminent in his Profession, went down to Egypt with the Venetian Consul, whose usual Residence was then at Gran-Caïro. He stayed there some years, and at his Return to Italy, published the Observations he had made, in his Treatise De Medicinâ Ægyptiorum. He has a Chapter in it, of the Medicines which that People swallow for Pleasure; to elevate their Imagination, and make them fancy themselves in Groves and Gardens, and other Places of Delight. The first mentioned is the Affion, (our common Opium) Quo devorato, says the Physician, referunt, Homines hilares admodum evadere, multaque ac varia loqui, fortioresque ad quacunque obvenda munera sibi videri: Præterea subdormientes, hortos etiam et viridaria multa, arboribus, herbis ac floribus variis perbelle ornata spectare.

The first of these, my Lord! are the very Virtues of Homer's Opiate: And to shew that he knew the Place where it grew, as well as the Persons that used it, Diodorus, after he has told that Thon and Polydamna were Thebans, immediately subjoins, that the Ladies of Diospolis (the ancient Thebes) had the Honour of the Invention: And the Physician, as if he had travelled with him, adds to his former Account, "Hunc succum, quo omnes utuntur, ex locis SÆIETH, ubi olim Thebarum erat Urbs præclarissima deferunt." It is true, they use Opiates for Pleasure,
Pleasure all over the Levant; but by the best Accounts of them, they had them originally from Egypt; and this one appears plainly to be a Production of that Country, and a Custom, which your Lordship sees, can be traced from Homer to Augustus's Reign, and from thence to the Age preceding our own.

The happy Concurrence of Circumstances in this Observation, has tempted me to put them together: But any Person who reads Homer, with a tolerable Taste of ancient Manners, will find other Marks of his being in Egypt no less convincing.

No Traveller who does not describe a Country of design, has given more Hints of his knowing its Nature and Situation. He never mentions Sailing, but he names Egypt as the Place of the greatest Resort. When Ulysses appears to the Wooers, as a poor old Man, the most probable Lye he can tell of the way he was reduced to Poverty, is, That as was customary among the Greeks, he had gone a privateering into Egypt, where he was taken, and sold for a Slave. He had told

1 All over the East, they call the finest sort of their Opium, Misli, and Meseri, which is to say, Egyptian: For Egypt is called Misli, as far as the Indies. It is a Corruption of Meseri, which is plainly from Mizraim, the old Name of Egypt. See Jac. Bontius de Medicina Indorum, Lib. 3. Cap. 4.

k See Strabo. Book I.

1 "Ος (Zeus) μ' ἄλλα ληζηζείται πολυτληγοίοις ἄνλικεν AI ΤΠ ΟΝ Νίενι, οὐλοχήν ἐδεν. — 'Odous p.
told the same Tale more particularly to his Servant Eumeus before, and even specified the precise Time it takes to sail, with a favourable Gale, from Crete to the only Egyptian Port; (περί ἰαν ἱκέρα) in five Days. When Antinous, one of the Wooers, is displeased with Ulysses’s Behaviour, the first Threat that offers to him, is, to send him as a Slave to Egypt or Cyprus. And in his Hymn to Bacchus, the Poet repeats the same two Places as the Common Market for Slaves. He takes Occasion to give a nice Description of the Pirate’s Method of scouring the Coast, from the Story of their having once seized upon Bacchus, as some noble Youth, for whom they expected an immense Ransom: After they had dragged him aboard, he makes the Captain say to the Steersman, (who was beginning to suspect, that their Captive would prove troublesome, and was advising to let him go)

Mind you the Wind, and hoist aloft the Sail; Haul in your Tackle: We’ll see to the Pris’ner; He’ll visit, as I judge, Egypt or Cyprus, Or sail the Northern Seas: — Unless he tell His Name and Quality, and Friend’s Estate.*

m Begone, says he,
Μή τάχα πικρὴν ΑΙΤΙΠΤΟΝ καὶ ΚΥΠΡΟΝ ἑγκα. Ὑδάτ. p.

* Copied by Ovid, in his Metamorph. Lib. 3.
As to the Country itself, the Poet has made his Hero, Achilles, (instructed perhaps by his Father, or by the wise Chiron) give a noble Description of the Metropolis, Thebes; and in the compass of a few Lines, has shewn its Form, its Wealth, and Policy. Nor is he less acquainted with the Nature of the Egyptian Soil, and the various Productions of that Land of Wonders. He could scarcely hear of the Ethiopians in any other Place but Egypt; much less could he learn their Situation, and the Division of their Tribes; and less still, that they were among the ancientest of Nations, and the oldest and purest Votaries of the Gods.

These, my Lord, are the Presumptions for Homer's having been in Egypt, that are to be met with in his Works. They amount not perhaps to a strict Proof; but if survey'd, as they stand in the Author, they carry a high Probability, and will possibly leave

\[a\] Pellusium, oppidum nobile, quod Peleus, Achilles Patrr \textit{dicitur conditile.} \quad \text{Anniian. Marcellin. Lib. 22.}

\[b\] Iliad. i. \quad \text{P Odysse. 3.}

'\textit{Αιγυπτίων τῷ πλείζει πίστει τείδωρος ὄμηρα}
\textit{Φάρμεκοι, πολλά μὲν ἐθάλα, μεμιζέναι πολλά ὡς λυφά.}

Some of those I take to have been the \textit{Μηρόν λεόνων ἄνωτριον}
\textit{σωλήνια, so often mentioned by Hippocrates; the \textit{Σκιανῦν μύρον, in}}
the same Author: It was an Extract of Lilies used by the Ladies, and retains the Egyptian or Asiatick Name, from Sufan, a Lilly. Hippocrates likewise mentions the '\textit{Ἀμάδα ἄνωτριον, the}
\textit{Βελλών ἄνωτριόν, the Βελλώνος ἄνωτριον, the ἄνωτριον συνήρια, and}
even the \textit{ἄνωτριος ὁτίς} itself. This last is thrown out by a various Reading, or rather a Conjecture; the more improbable, that in another Place, he prescribes the '\textit{Οτό: Μηρόνος, and the}
\textit{Μηρόνιος ὁτίς.} \quad \text{Iliad, 2.} \quad \text{Ibid.}
leave but small Room for doubting, when we consider, that he failed with Mentes, a Merchant and Ship-master; and that no considerable Trade was carried on in those Days, but with Egypt, Phœnicia, or Cyprus: They furnished the Chief Commodities then known; Greece at that time labouring under a great 'Αρχαια, * as Thucydides calls it, and having no Superfluities to barter; but fetching the little Wealth they had, and the Beginnings of their Arts, from these Fountains of Science and Government. 

Now

* Want of Goods or Merchandize.

The Greek Historians have been all condemned by Bochart, a Man of very great Learning, for asserting, that the lower Egypt was a Plain made out by the continual Congestion of the Slime, which their wonderful River swept along, in its Course thro' Ethiopia and the high Country. He has likewise chastified Homer, who favours that Opinion, in his Account of the Distance of the Pharos from the Land. He founds his own Opinion upon the small Alteration which the River has made upon the Egyptian Coast, for Two thousand Years and upwards: For it is so long since Alexandria was built, which still continues a Sea-port Town: And he sees no Reason, why it should not be making constant Additions to the Land, if it had ever made any. But there is a Reason why that Effect of the River should cease. Where-ever the wide Communication of the Sea, and the Agitation that is frequent on the Main Ocean, is broken by the Intervention of Promontories, there Slime and Mud, and all the Dregs of a mighty River, fall to the Ground, and settle, being neither driven by the Stream, nor dissipated, nor tosted by the Waves; and the Slime thus settled, will receive Additions, as long as it is protected by such powerful Bulwarks, and no longer. The same River, if it find any Rocks at a small Distance from its Mouth, will heap Earth upon them, form an Island, and continue to increase it, until it leave only Space sufficient for a free Egress to itself, and the natural Play of the Waves on either Hand, as they are directed by the adjacent Shore. The Mouths of the Ganges, the Euphrates, the Danube; and, nearer Home, the Maander and the Po, are all Proofs of what is asserted above.
Now, if your Lordship will join, to so many Marks of Homer's being a Traveller, the Character given of him in two Words by a Man of the same Cast, in what he calls ΤΟ ΦΙΛΕΙΔΗΜΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΦΙΛΕΚΑΗΜΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΟΙΗΣΩ, t his Love of Knowledge and Travelling, you will both encrease the Probability of his being in Egypt, and find a Spectator worthy of so august a Scene: Here he might see, "What the utmost Stretch of Human Policy is able to perform:"

He might see Riches, Pleasures, and Magnificence, reconciled (as far as the Nature of things will allow) with Safety and good Order. Here was the noblest Contrast, and most instructive Opposition, that any Conjuncture can offer to our View: He came from a Country where Nature governed; and went to another, where from the highest Achievement to the smallest Action in Life, every thing was directed by settled Rules, and a digested Policy.

Here was a People so throughly moulded to their Government, that Education seemed to have taken the Place of Nature, and by a Depth of Thought in the

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1 Strabo, Geograph. Lib. 1st. 
2 Ου γὰρ μὲν τὰ χρηματίζειν ἡ κρίνειν ἢν καμίς ἐρειμένος; ἀλλὰ και τὲ περιπάτησαι, καὶ τὰ λουσασθαι, καὶ νημαθήκης, καὶ τὸς ἀνθρώπον χρημάτων ἢν καμίς 
καὶ καθὸς τῶν καὶ τὸν βιον πρατείουν, καὶ τὸν καθεν. 
Διδ. Σικαλ. Βικλινθ α. 

Their very Music and Sculpture was circumscribed by Law, and continued invariable, says Plato, for many Thousands of Years. Legum, Lib. 2do.
Legislature, was laid so true, and made to take such hold of the Passions, that it seem'd rather to create than direct them. This appeared long after Homer's Days, in their Tenaciousness of their own Customs, under a frequent Change of Masters, and their infecting all the Nations that learned their Religion or Politicks from them, with the same Stubbornness and Bigotry.

But when our Poet went down to Egypt, they had received no Shocks from the Persian or Macedonian Power: They were living in Peace and Splendour, flourishing in all the Arts they chose to encourage, revered for their Wisdom, and renowned in Arms. Here he could fill a capacious Mind, and satiate that Thirst of Knowledge, which is the Characteristic of the greatest Souls. In Greece he must have learned many Allegories, while he exercised his Profession; but here he would see their Source and Design: He would be instructed in the Rise and Use of those Doctrines he had imbib'd: He would gain an Easë and Exactness in applying them, and be able to raise his Moral to that stupendous Height we so justly admire. For what might we not expect from the Affluence and Fire of his Imagery, when ranged and

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and governed by a Mind now Master of the Subject?

I am very sensible, my Lord, that Homer's Mythology is little understood; or to express it better, is little felt: And for this reason, the Effects of his Egyptian Education are lost upon the greater part of his Readers. There are but few who look upon the Divine Persons he employs, otherwise than so many groundless Fictions, which he made at Pleasure, and might employ indifferently; giving to Neptune, for instance, the Work done by Apollo, and introducing Venus to perform what he now ascribes to Minerva. But it is mere want of Perception. His Gods, are all natural Feelings of the several Powers of the Universe: Or, as the Bishop of Thessalonica calls them, "Εννοιών οὐρανών σκιές, Shadowings of noble Sentiments." They are not a Bundle of extravagant Stories; but the most delicate, and, at the same time, the most majestic Method of expressing the Effects of those natural Powers, which have the greatest Influence upon our Bodies and Minds.

And the excellent Vincenzo Gravina: Perlochi gli antichi Poeti con un medesimo colore, esprimevano sentimenti teologici, filici e morali: Colle quali scienze, comprese in un solo corpo, vestito di maniere popolari, allargavano il campo ad alsi e profondi Misteri. Della Ragion Poetica, Lib. i. § 8.
There is scarcely a Page in Homer's Poems, where your Lordship will not meet with Proofs of this Assertion; and if we consider the Stroke it must have in Poetry, we shall find, That here is an Advantage for Description lost beyond retrieving: When to these natural Sensations, the Belief of Sanctity was joined, and the Apprehensions of a Divine Presence was filling the Mind, the Image would be irresistible, and raise such Affections, as best account for this Poet's being deify'd by the Ancients, and doated on by the Moderns.

It may look odd to say, that even the Ignorance of these Ages contributed not a little to the Excellency of his Poems: But it was certainly so. The Gods were not called in doubt in those Days; Philosophers, and speculative incredulous People had not sprung up, and decryed Miracles and supernatural Stories; they rather made it their Business to invent and propagate them, for the Good of Society, and the keeping Mankind in Order:

Expedit esse Deos, et ut expedit, esse putemus:
Dentur in antiquos Thura Merumque focos.*

By this means, here too, the Poet described from Realities; I mean, such things as had a double

* Ovid. de Arte Amandi, Lib. 1.

.air. 143
a double Weight, by being firmly believed, and generally received, for sacred Truths: And he must have had a good Faith, or at least a strong Feeling of them himself, to be able to tell them with such Spirit and Complacency.

One of the wildest Stories in the whole Iliad, if taken literally, is in the very Beginning of the fifteenth Book; where Jupiter reminds his Spouse, how, upon occasion of a former Quarrel, "He had fastened two Anvils to her Feet, and twisted a golden permanent Chain about her Arms, and so mounting her aloft, had hung her up between the Clouds and the Sky. And yet, my Lord, this Legend was so well believed, that we are told, a "That in the Neighbourhood of Troy, they shewed the two Lumps of Iron which had been hung about the Goddess, and which Jupiter let fall there, on purpose to give future Ages a certain Proof of that memorable Transaction."

Would not this tempt one to conclude, that the Commonality in all Ages is the same? always ready to swallow a wondrous Tale, be it ever so gross or senseless, and to believe a Metaphor in its literal Meaning. Our
Our modern Sages are indeed widely different from the ancient: They, as I observed, employed their Wit in composing sacred Allegories, and their Authority among the People in supporting them. They look'd upon them as the great Bridle of the Multitude, to whose Passions, they knew, they were obliged to speak, and could never pretend to govern them by Reason and Philosophy. But many of the Moderns, who would fain be thought wise, employ their Talents and Learning, such as they are, to very different Purposes.

But, my Lord, whatever Use be made of it, 'tis certain that Fiction and Lying are inseparable from Poerty. This was the first Profession of the Muses, as they told Hesiod one Day they appeared to him, while he fed his Lambs in a Vale of Helicon: "Shep' herd, said they,

"Id'men θεί'dex pol'la λέγειν ετ'ήμιοτι ὀμοιὰ:  
Id'men, εὖτ' ἔθελομεν, ἀληθεὰ μοιῆσαν."

'Tis ours false Tales to frame, resembling true;  
And ours t' unfold the Truth itself to Men.

L  "Then

b Plato having first mentioned what he calls his ΤΟ ΟΝ ἀνε' 

γένεσιν ὑ' ἐν ἕκεν, and Ο γεγονοῦς τὲ, καὶ ὅν, καὶ δείκτεις μόνοις, 
with great Modesty adds, Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διάμονον ἔπειν, καὶ 
γνωκεὶ τῶν γένεσιν, ΜΕΙΖΩΝ ἢ καθ' ῥῆς. Πειςον δὲ τόις ἁρω- 
νίκαις τυπροσειν ἑυγόδον μὲν θεῶν ὑπεῖ, ὡς ὑφασαν σαφῶς δὲ μὴ τίς 
τε ἀντών προγόνας ξίδος. Ἀδύνατον δὲν τοῖς Θεῶν παίσαν ἀντίγειν, 
καίτε ΑΝΕΤ τὲ, ἢκότων καὶ ἀναφειναν ἀποδείξων λέβηι, ἀλλ' ὡς 
ἐμεία ἱλακίσιν ἀπαγγέλλειν, ὙΠΟΜΕΝΟΤΕΣ ΤΩ ΝΟΜΩ, 
πισευτεῖν.
Then they gave him a fair Rod, a Shoot of verdant Laurel, breathed into him a divine Song, and made him celebrate things past, and things to come.

Another Ancient, of a lofty Strain and unbounded Flight, has made a sort of Apology for this Part of his Profession: He has founded it upon the Nature of Mankind, of which he seems to have had the strongest and most forcible Perceptions of any Poet. He is telling the Story of Pelops; 'The Love that Neptune bore him after he was taken out of the Kettle, where he had been boiled, and all the Pieces of his Body put together, without losing a Bit, save the Top of one Shoulder, which they made up with another of Ivory.' Then most naturally he adds, 'Wonders are everywhere; and still, some way, an artful Tale, dress'd up with various Lyes, beguiles the Thoughts of mortal Men, and pleases more than Truth.'

The eloquent Attick Moralist is of the same Opinion: "Those, says the Orator, who would write or paint anything agreeable to the Vulgar, should not choose the "most
most profitable, but the most fabulous Subjects. For this Reason, Homer, in his
Epick, and the Inventors of Tragedy, deserve our Admiration. They observed
this original Bias in Mankind, and have adapted their Poetry to it. Homer has
wrapt up the Wars and Conflicts of the Heroes in Fable; and the Tragedians, in
the publick Games, entertain us with the same Fables, by Gesture and Action."

It was indeed a very extraordinary Project of our ingenious Countryman, To write an Epick Poem, without mixing Fable, or allowing the smallest Fiction throughout the Composure. 'Twas like lopping off a Man's Limb, and then putting him upon running Races; tho' it must be owned, that the Performance shews with what Ability he would have acquitted himself, had he been found and entire.

But we have at present so little Fiction, and so much Poetry, that I believe your Lordship will not be displeased to know, among the rest, Seneca's Scale of the Matter. He had been often commanded in his Sleep, to apply himself to Mysick: At first, he understood the Admonition as if it related to Philosophy; That being, in his Opinion, the truest Harmony, which consisted in the Numbers and Measures of Life. But

* St. W. Davenant's Condibert.
at last, being in Prison, he bethought himself, that it was safest for him to apply to the common Poetry. Wherefore he first set about composing an Hymn to Apollo, whose Feast was then celebrating: But upon a little farther Reflection, "That a Poet, if he would be really such, must make, and feign, and not just write Discourses in Verse"; and having no Talent at Allegory himself, he took the first Fable he remembred of Esop's, and put it in Verse.

There is not, my Lord, a Circumstance of this little Story, which does not afford a Maxim to a Poet. But it seems strange, that a Man so capable and quick-sighted in Characters, and so great a Master of Irony as Socrates, should have no Genius for Musick, and be barren in Mythology. I believe he reasoned too much; was apt to canvass his Fancies, and not be indulgent enough to his Imagination, which is the prime Faculty of a Mythologist. It is this, that distinguishes the real Poet; and one Stroke of it discovers him more than the greatest Magnificence of Words, and Pomp of Description.

We are told by the Author of the beautiful Essay upon the Pleasures of the Imagination, "That Mankind receive more Delight from

* Ἐνοίκες ὅτι τὸν Ποιητὴν ἔσοι, ἀπευθέντας Ποιητὴς εἶναι, οἱ μέλλοι Ποιητὴς εἶναι, Πλάτωνες θείδων.

f Plato, Politicás f.

g Spectator, Numb. 411.
from the Fancy than from the Understanding.

Few are capable of Pleasures purely intellectual; and every Creature is capable of being pleased or disquieted in some degree by the Fancy. Hence, plain naked Truth is either not perceived, or soon disrelished. But the Man that can give his Ideas Life and Colouring, and render the subtile Relations and mutual Influences of natural Causes sensible and striking; that can bestow upon them a human Appearance, and then weave them into a strange and passionate Story; to Him we listen with Wonder, and greedily learn his soothing Tale. We find a Pleasure in comparing it with the Truth which it covers, and in considering the Resemblance it bears to the several Parts of the Allegory.

ORPHEUS had never been said to have charmed the wildest Beasts of the Woods, and to have made the rigid Oaks keep time to his Numbers, had he simply told the Import of his Song: Had he acquainted his savage Audience, "that Time and Space were the ancients of things; that they had brought forth many wild and strange Productions, arising from the jarring Natures and uncouth Combinations of the various Seeds of Being; but at length, in Time, the Heavens appeared, with the Air, the Earth, and Seas; which were the last of Things,"
Things, Time having been neither able to destroy them (as it had done its former Productions) nor to make any Addition to them, and bring forth the like." Such Doctrine as this would have found no Admission into the Minds, nor welcome from the Fancy of the uncultivated Crowd: They could receive little Pleasure from the Narration, and be impressed with no Reverence for the Subject.

But when after striking his Lyre, and softening every ruder Thought, he took up another Strain, and began to unfold the ancient Reign of hoary Saturn, the Marvels of the Golden Age, and the strange Relation of his Progeny; "How the old Monarch was married to Ops or Rhea, and had by her many Children; These the cruel Father himself devoured soon after they were born; until at length she brought forth Jupiter and Juno, Ceres and Neptune, who rebelled against their voracious Parent, made the beneficent Jupiter King, and deprived Saturn for ever, both of the Power to destroy his new Offspring, or yet to beget any more." 'Twas then that the stubborn Multitude opened their Hearts to the wondrous Tale; and with a pleasing Amazement received his Sayings: They conceived a high Reverence for their Teacher, and found them-
themselves struck with an Awe and Dread of the Deities which he sung.

I am under a Necessity of having recourse to Examples, because the Subject is of a Nature so ticklish and delicate, as not to admit of a direct Definition: For if ever the Je ne sais quoi was rightly applied, it is to the Powers of Mythology, and the Faculty that produces them. To go about to describe it, would be like attempting to define Inspiration, or that Glow of Fancy and Effusion of Soul, which a Poet feels while in his Fit; A Sensation so strong, that they express it only by Exclamations, Adjurings, and Rapture!

Auditis? An me ludit amabilis
Insania? Audire & videor pios
Errare per Lucos, amæna
Quas & Aque subeunt & Aura!

When a Favourite of the Muses is in this Condition, Nature appears in her gayest Dress; the noblest Objects come in view; They turn out their beauteous Sides; He sees their various Positions, and lays for nothing but Resemblance to join them together. The Torrent of the Poetick Passion is too rapid to suffer Consideration, and drawing of Consequences: If the Images are but strong, and have a happy Collusion, the Mind joins them together with inconceivable Avidity, and feels the
the Joy of the Discharge, like throwing off a Burthen or Deliverance from a Pressire*.

But at the same time, this Force and Collusion of Imagery is susceptible of very different Meanings, and may be viewed in various, and even opposite Lights: It often takes its Rife from a Likeness which hardly occurs to a cool Imagination; and which we are apt to take for downright Nonsense, when we are able to find no Connexion between what went before, and the strange Comparison that follows. It is in reality the next thing to Madness; Obscure and ambiguous, with intermixed Flashes of Truth, and Intervals of Sense and Design †. Lycophron’s Cassandra, an admirable Imitation of a Prophetick Fairy, is not so obscure for being a Prediction (having, like other Prophecies ‡, foretold things that had fallen out before it was wrote): But it is clouded by the dark Manner of Hinting at Men and Things, in such Refemblances and Allusions, as render it one con-

* At Phœbi nondum patiens, immannis in Antro,
Bacchatur Vates; magnum ον πενετορι πολιτ." Exce$$,$$$$ Deum. Tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera Corda domans, fingitque premendo.
Virgil. Æneid. Lib. 6.

† Εγὼ δὲ Φοῖει ἡ Ποιητική ἡ σύμπατα ἀνυμακότωσι, καὶ ὑ π τὰ προε-πεξεόντος ἀνάδρος νορίαν. "Ετι δὲ πρὸς τὸ Φοῖει ταυτικὴ ἑκατ, ὅταν κάλεται ἀνάδρος Φήβουρα τῆς, καὶ μὴ θυλαμία ἡμῖν ἐνδεικνύσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἀποκριται ὑπ’ ἑτ’ ἥλιου τὴν ἄνωτας σοφίαν, υπερφυσικά δὲ τὸ γερμαν 
ء © όσαντερν Φάνοται, δ’ το τοτε νοεις ἕκασς ἀντίς.
Platoν. Alciadi. β.

‡ See Aristotle’s Rhetor. Lib. 3. § 17. of Epimenides.
continued Train of wild and daring Metaphor.

But it is time, my Lord, to look back, and remember that we are treading upon enchanted Ground; for so is every Inch that belongs to the Poets: And as we have lately been informed of certain Countries where every thing in Nature is reversed, it is so here in fact, where a little Folly is preferable to the deepest Wisdom, and all Persons of cool Sense are incapable of the highest Honours: Nor have the Possessed any Cause to complain, while they may comfort themselves that they are not without Company; and those of the most eminent of Mankind. "That there is a Grain of Folly incident to great Minds," is an Observation not entirely confined to Poetry; but extending itself to Persons that excel in every Art and Character of Life: The same Flow of Spirits, and Energy of Thought, which enable them to excel in Science, and reach the Heights of their Profession, carrying them often beyond the common Measures of ordinary Life, by which alone, the Vulgar judge of Wisdom and Folly. In natural Knowledge it makes a Democritus or an Archimedes, who were sometimes thought a little crazy by their Countrymen. But when it was applied to what They thought Divine Matters, it assumed a more venerable Habit and severer Mien: It
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It then required Submission and Obedience; yet still it preserved something of the Air and Look of the original Passion; something of the ecstatick Manner of an agitated Mind. This is so true, that those who had a mind to falsify the Character, and pass themselves upon Mankind for the truly inspired, were obliged to adopt likewise the Appearance, and affect a madish Behaviour, to give a Sanction to the Cheat.

What may be the Appearances, or Aspects of Things natural or divine, that have the virtue thus to shake our Frame, and raise such a Commotion in the Soul, I will not so much as enquire: The Search, I should suspect, would be fruitless, if not irreverent: It would be like prying into the Author of Fairy-Favours, which deprives the curious Enquirer of his present Enjoyment, while the courted Phantom mocks his eager Grasp, or

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c Sic hieri jubet ipsae Deus; sic magna facerdos
Est mihi divino vaticinata Sono:
Haec ubi Bellone motu est agitata, nec serem
Flammam, non amens verbera torta timet.
Ipsa bipenne suos eavit violenta lacertos,
Sanguineque effuso spargit inulta Deam:
Statque latus praefixa veri, stat fuscia peectar,
Et canit eventus quos Dea magna monet.


d Bona pars non unges ponere curat,
Non Burbam; secretis petit loca, Bainea vitat:
Nanciscetur enim praecitum nomenque poetæ, &c.
Horat. de Arte Poet.

e Καθ’ άν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἑπιγραμμανίαις ΜΤΟΟΛΟΠΙΑΙΣ ὁμι
ἐκ πλάνος τριῶν πικρᾶ τὴν ἀλεθείαν ἔστησον.

Δισ. Σικελ Βιολ. 5.
or presents him with a Turf, or Stone, instead of a Goddess. The Objects, they say, of this Passion, discover themselves, like a coy Beauty, but by Halves; 'tis well if you get a Side-Glance, or a passing Smile: They cannot bear to be stared at, and far less to be criticized, and taken to pieces: 'Tis unlawful to doubt of their Charms, and the ready way to elude their Force, and rob ourselves of the delightful Astonishment. But thus far we may presume to carry our Enquiry without Offence, and venture to say, That the original Cause of this Passion must be some wondrous sublime thing, that produces such admired Effects: Its Dictates in many Places, are received with profound Submission, and the Persons touched with it are held in high Veneration.

Modern History informs us of certain Countries, where they pay a devout Regard to mad People. They look upon them as favoured with some nearer Aspects of heavenly things than are allowed to other Men, and as having somewhat about them sacred and divine. As I do not pretend to account for this strange Opinion, I can only as it were guess, by parallel Cases, what may be the Reason of it: And without looking so far back as the prophetick Sibyls, or the Truth-telling, but disregarded Cassandra, we find abundance of Examples

* Non copii sue Bellezze, e non l'espose. Tasso.*
Examples in later Antiquity, of the Deference paid to the Ecstatick Race. The ancient Greeks have expressed the Sense they had of their Condition, by the very Name they gave them: From its Origin we know how inseparable they thought the Symptoms of Mythology and Madness. They saw the Persons under either Passion, neither looking nor speaking like other Mortals: They were amazed at their Change of Voice and Feature; and could not persuade themselves, but that they were actuated by some higher Genius than was competent to Mankind.

But it was not only the Appearance that struck them; They were led into the same way of thinking, by the imagined Effects of this Passion. Some of the Proficients in it, they thought capable to inform them of the Will of Heaven, and describe the Deeds of Heaven-born Heroes; Others of them, to foretell what would happen on Earth, and easily inferred the Sacredness of the Cause, from its wonderful and beneficent Influence. They were not able to imagine that mere Humanity could penetrate into the Depths of Futurity, or unravel that Combination of Causes, which they called Chance: Their acutest Observers could discover no Path to guide them thro' the Abyss of Ages, to the Fates of Families and Nations latent in the Womb of

* M A N T I S. *
of Time: And of course, they admired the darkest Hint given by an Oracle, and received the most distant Notice of an approaching Event, as a Message from Heaven. "We " "reap, says the Philosopher, notable Advantages from Madness, which comes to us as " a Gift of the Gods. There is, for Instance, " the Prophetess of Delphi, and the Priestesses of Dodona, who in their Madness " have done great and signal Services to " Greece, both of a publick and private Na- " ture, but little or nothing when in their " Wits. 'Twou'd be tedious to begin and " tell of the Sibyls, and many others, who, " under the Power of a furious divining " Spirit, have forewarned numbers of Peo- " ple of things that were to come. At times " there fall upon certain Families some cruel " Distempers, or other severe Affliction, to " punish them for the Crimes of their Pro- " genitors; but if any one of them is seized " with this Ecstatick Spirit, and begin to " prophecy, a Cure is found: They fly " to Prayers and Holy Ceremonies, and " light upon certain expiatory and mystick " Rites which free the Person thus inspired, " and is a standing Remedy in all such Cases to " Posterity. But the most beautiful Madness, " and amiable Possession, is, when the Love " of the Muses seizes upon a soft and suf- " ceptible Mind; it is then that it exalts the " Soul,
Soul, and throwing it into Ecstasies, makes it break forth in Hymns and Songs, and other kinds of Poesy, and celebrate the high Achievements of ancient Times, and instruct the Generations to come. This is so certain, that whoever he be that pretends to the Favours of the Muse, without partaking of this Madness, from an Opinion perhaps, That Art alone is sufficient to make a Poet, he may assure himself that he will fail in his Character; his Work will be lame; and while the Productions of the inspired ecstatick Train are read and admired, his sober Performance will sink in Oblivion.\(^h\)

Let us acquiesce in this Sentence, My Lord, in so far as it regards Poetry; and after a fruitless Attempt or two, get loose at last from an infectious Subject.

\(^h\) Plato in Phadeo.
Have somewhere read of a famous Painter, who, to give Proof of his Art, had represented a sleeping Satyr; that after the first Design was finished, he began to think it might be proper to diversify and enliven it, with the addition of a Country Boy, standing aside and gazing at the Creature, as if afraid to awake him. He tried it; and expressed so happily the Curiosity and Wonder in the innocent Face of the young Peasant, that when the Picture was exposed to view, and the People came flocking to see it, their whole Atten-
Attention turn'd upon the Adjunct of the Piece: They admired the wondering Boy, were delighted with the native Simplicity and Surprize in his Look; and all the Master's Art, in expressing the Character and uncouth Proportions of the principal Figure, was overlook'd and thrown away.

I make little doubt, my Lord, but this may be frequently the Case of those who attempt to design after moral Originals, as well as natural ones. They enter so deeply into one Passion or Bias of Humanity, that, to use the Painters Phrase, they quite overcharge it. Thus I have seen a whole System of Morals founded upon a single Pillar of the inward Frame; and the entire Conduct of Life, and all the Characters in it, accounted for, sometimes from Superstition, sometimes from Pride, and most commonly from Interest. They forget how various a Creature it is they are painting; how many Springs and Weights, nicely adjusted and balanced, enter into the Movement, and require a just Allowance to be made to their several Clogs and Impulses, e're you can define its Operation and Effects. But few of them are willing to acknowledge so much; and like the honest Painter, go and dash out the superfluous Boy, and put a Tree or impending Rock in his room, that will not eclipse the principal Representation.
Whether any such Enormity has happened in some Step or other of this Enquiry, or whether it would be worth while to lop off the Excrecence, if it prove troublesome, I submit to your Lordship's Determination. All I beg for, is a short _Demur_ in the Sentence, until we regain a _cooler_ Temper to conduct us to the end of our Search, and to teach us, What _Use_ is to be made of the mad _mythological_ _Vein_? A chief Part of Homer's Works cannot be understood without some knowledge of its Nature and Origin, nor tasted without a _Consciousness_ of his Dexterity in the Application. Even the lively Author of the _Dialogues of the Dead_, with all his Penetration, has put it as a Maxim in the Mouth of the Poet, "That as it is the best way, to _prophecy_ of distant things, and wait for _Events_ to fulfil it; So in _Poetry_, there is nothing like _sending forth_ a _Fable_ into the World, in hopes that some time or other it may _stumble_ upon an _Allegory._

_Mythology_, taken in the _largest_ Sense, must be distinguished into two sorts: The one _abstracted_ and _cool_; the Result of great Search and Science: "Being a _Comparison_ of the Harmony and Discord, the _Resemblance_ and _Disimilitude_ of the _Powers and Parts of the Universe_." It often consists of their finest _Proportions_ and hidden _Math._
Aptitudes set together, and personated by a Being acting like a Mortal. "The other, "sudden and flashy; rapid Feelings, and Starts "of a Passion not in our Power." The first of these may be called artificial, and the second natural Mythology; the one is a Science, and may be learn'd; the other is the Faculty that for the most part, if not always, invents and expresses it. This last cannot be learned; but like other natural Powers, admits of Culture and Improvement. The Use I would make of such a Division is to observe, That Homer had the happiest Opportunities the World could give, to acquire the one, and improve the other.

We need only call to mind his Climate and Parentage, his Education and Business, to be persuaded of the fair Chance he had for a noble Capacity and a proportioned Culture. They conspired to bless him with so powerful an Influence, that the sagacious Democritus, struck with admiration of his Genius, said in a happily invented word, That it approached to Divinity. And as for acquired Knowledge in the mythological way, had he been to range over the Globe, He could have pitched upon no Country, in any Age before or since, so proper for his Instruction as the then Kingdom of Egypt.

*"Oµηρες Φύσεως λακών Θεαζομαι.

Δικυν Άργος νυ.
In Egypt he might learn their Doctrine concerning the Origin of Things; He wou'd be informed of the Antiquity of Pan and the Inventions of Thoth: He wou'd hear their Matute Songs and legal Hymns, handed down for thousands of Years, and containing the Principles of their primitive Theology: The Nature of the Elements, the Influences of the Planets, the Course of the Year, and Instincts of Animals. How attentively would he listen to the Songs of their Goddess? the Compositions of the beneficent Isis; who while on Earth, condescended thus to employ the Muses, and prescribe the Form in which she would be worshipped after she was gone? These he would imbibe; and like some young Druid come over from Gaul to study under the British Priests, the senior Doctors of their oral Mysteries, He wou'd return to his Country fully instructed, and a Master in their emblematical Mythology.

Never was there a People so addicted to Metaphor and Allusion: Their very Method of Writing or Sacred Sculpture, was a complete and standing System of natural Simile's. "It was an immense Collection of all the "Relations, and analogous Circumstances, "they could find in a long course of Ob- "servation, between human Affairs, and the "Nature

b 'Εκεί φασι, τὰ τὸν ποιὸν τὸτον σεσώμενα χρόνον μέλη, τῆς "ΙΣΙΔΟΣ κεῖμενα γεζονέαν.

Πλάτωνος Νομον β'}
An Enquiry into the Life Nature and Make of Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Reptiles, Insects, or whatever animate or inanimate thing they imagined most consonant to the Manners and Economy of what they wanted to represent. Thus when they would signify a dutiful Child, they painted a Stork; because that Bird, as they fancied, being fed by its Dam and taught to fly, never afterwards leaves her, but accompanies and tends her until she die of old Age. When they would represent a Woman that had been once with Child, they painted a Lioness; because they believed that Animal conceives but once. When they designed to paint a Man universally hated and shunned, they drew an Eel, which is found in company with no other Fish.

They had likewise a singular way of expressing abstracted Ideas; such as Pleasure and Pain, Impossibility, Antiquity, Happiness, and the like. Thus, to express Pleasure, they painted the Number Sixteen, which they looked upon as the Year of Life when Mankind is capable of mutual Enjoyment. For an Impossibility, they delineated two Feet walking upon Water; and to denote any thing very ancient, they painted a Bundle of their Papyrus, a Plant which they thought the first Food of Mortals, before the Invention of Corn, or eating of Flesh. Sometimes their Characters did not only contain a simple 

Expr--
Expression of a Fact, or the manner of it, but likewise exhibited the Reasons and Cause; especially if it was a natural Appearance that happened in their Country, or any thing relating to the Division of Time, or the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies.

Thus, in order to explain the Overflowing of the Nile, they first painted a Lion; because the Inundation of Egypt happens constantly in June, when the Sun is in that Sign of the Zodiac. Under him stood three Water Vessels; and the Figure of a Heart with a Tongue, in the midst of them. The three Urns, neither more nor less in number, denoted the three Causes, as they conceived, concurring in the Production of the Phenomenon. One they ascribed to the Soil of Egypt; of such a nature, they said, as to generate Moisture in itself: The second flood for the Influence of the Ocean, whose Waves, according to Thales, were then impelled into the River's Mouth by the Etesian Winds: tho' that Part assigned to the Ocean may rather favour the Opinion of Euthymenes, "That the Nile took its rise from the Atlantick, and yearly overflowed its Banks, "at the Season when these Winds beat upon "the Coast, and drove a greater quantity of "Water into the mouth of the Cavern that
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"fed it c." The third Urn expressed the true Cause of the annual Deluge; the prodigious Rains, that fall about that time in the Southern Parts of Ethiopia, and are gathered by a large Circuit of Mountains into the Bason or Lake, where the Nile has its Origin. These make it swell above its Banks, and lay the lower Egypt under water for three Months in the Year d.

The Heart was an Emblem of the Nile itself, as it gave Life and Motion to Egypt, in the same manner as the other does to the Human Body: And the annexed Tongue represented Humidity, the great Cause of their Happiness; and according to them and their Scholars e, the first constituent Principle of Being.

These, my Lord, are a few Examples of the enigmatical Humour of the Egyptians. I could with pleasure add to them, both for the Curiosity of what they contain, and because they abound with Imagery, and fill the Mind with more Sensations than any other kind of Writing. I could run over the surprising Resemblance they found between the Sun

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"Imilies, and the Ioniæ School."
Sun and a puny Insect, the common Beetle, in its Generation, Instinct, and Parts. I could relate the Sympathy they observed between the Moon at her Change, and their Cynoccephalus or Ape; an Animal, as they said, designed by Nature, for a sacred Symbol, in so far as it comes into the world circumcised like an Egyptian Priest: And from these and such like, we might explain a part of the Reason of their monstrous Statues, and Baboon-Worship. But an Apprehension stops me, left it be said, That all this while I am but indulging a Conjecture, and pleasing my self with an imaginary Scheme; "That Homer never learned the Egyptian Mythology, neither does it appear, that he knew the Grounds of their Religion."

The Argument of the greatest weight to prove that he did, is taken first from the Allegories that are found in his Writings. They contain the same Doctrine and Theogony as

The Opinion which the wise and learned Plutarch entertained of their Rites and religious Ceremonies, is something singular. "Ουτέν γὰρ ἀλάσθαι, εὐθεῖα μισθώσει, εὐθέω ἐπὶ δεινοκαμονίας (ὡςτε ἔνων νομίκος) ἐμπεποιηκεύομεν τῷ Ἰεροτριπαίσ; ἄλλα τὰ μὴν ἀθικὰς ἔχοντα καὶ ἑρμοθείκες λειψιας, τὰ δ' ὕπνο ἀμοιρὰ κωμής τὸν ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ ἀ φυσικῆς ἐσθίν: And the very Example he subjoins is, Ζωὰ το Περὶ ΚΡΟΜΜΤΟΤ, the Regard they pay to the Oinon. "The Egyptians, says he, have inferred nothing into their Worship without a Reason, nothing merely fabulous, nothing superflious, (as many suppose); but their Institutions have either a Respect to Morals, or to something useful in Life; and many of them bear a beautiful Resemblance of some Fact in History, or of some Appearances in Nature."
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we know was delivered by Orpheus, and in the same vailed and mystick manner: So that with the same certainty as we can say, such a Man is a Stoick, another an Epicurean, and another a Sceptick, we can affirm that Homer is an Egyptian Mythologist. We immediately suspect a Man to be a Disciple of a particular Sect, and instructed in this or the other School, from his way of writing, and using the Terms peculiar to either of them. But if we find him building likewise upon the same Principles, and delivering the same Maxims, we no longer doubt of his Preceptor.

The Egyptian Religion and Doctrines, were settled in the southermost Parts of Greece, by Danaus and his Posterity. Afterwards Orpheus, Musae, Melampus, and their Successors, spread them over all the Country. Homer, who came after them, made no change upon those Rites and Opinions: And yet, My Lord, we find his Writings appealed to, as the Standard of their private Belief, and grand Directory of publick Worship. Is not this the same as to say, "That Homer's "Poetry contains the same Principles and Pre-"cepts with those of the Egyptian Theologue, "and was the most perfect Collection of them "the Grecians had in Writing?" Nor are there wanting other Proofs, not only of our Poet's following the general Doctrine of the "Egyp-
Egyptians, and of the Grecian Law-giver their Scholar, but plainly borrowing Images and Descriptions from him, and inserting them in his Poetry: Especially if your Lordship will take it upon the Word of the early Fathers of our Church, it will be easy to make out nothing less than downright Plagiarism.

"HOMER, says one of them *, stretching his Privilege as a Poet, and from an Emulation of the Glory that Orpheus had acquired, mystically introduces a Plurality of Gods, that he might not appear to dissent from the other's Poetry. He has copied him so close, that the Resemblance appears in the very first Line of his Works: Orpheus having begun his Poem with

\[\text{Μήνων άείδε Σέλ Δεμύτερας Ἀλακόρπτα;}\]

Homer copies

\[\text{Μήνων άείδε Σέλ Πελινίδεω Αχιλλάκα;}\]

choosing rather to offend in the Measure of his Verse, than to be the first that made mention of the Name of the Gods.

Another primitive Writer † hath recorded several Instances of his borrowing largely both from Orpheus and Musæus. He informs us, that Orpheus having said a very harsh thing of the fair Sex,

* Justin Martyr. † Clemens Alexandrin. Stromat. S.
Nothing so fierce and impudent as Woman:

Homer had just changed a Word, and said,

And that as Musæus first employed the beautiful and just Comparison of the growth and decay of the Leaves of Trees, to express the transitory State of Mortals, Homer had but transcribed it in the sixth Iliad, “That as the Wind strewed the Leaves upon the Ground, and the sprouting Wood sent forth others at the approach of Spring, so one Generation of Men fails, and another comes in its room.” The Father gives some other Examples of the same kind; particularly the noble Description of the Cyclops falling asleep; which he says Homer took from Orpheus’s Representation of Saturn in the Theogony:

Keîr ἀποδοξμώσας ωαχύν άυχένα; καδ'ε μιν ἀποθ. Ἡμεὶς ϖανδαματας —

— Out-stretch’d he lay

His brawny Neck reclin’d; then sunk in Sleep, The all-subduing God.

With what views these ancient Authors have made such Observations, or how far they
they have succeeded in them, is a Question remote from our present Subject: Only so far we may presume to use their Authority in secular matters, as they intended to prove in the first place, "That Homer was not him-
"self the Author of the Poly-theism which "he sung, nor the Inventor of his religious "and philosophical Allegories; but had re- "ceived them, at first or second hand, from "the Egyptians." In this respect, it would not be difficult for any body who is ac-
quainted with Homer, and who looks over the few Fragments of Orpheus, to make other Remarks to the same purpose. As for in-
stance, that beautiful Description of Heaven, so justly admired, and transcribed by Ari-
stotle.

'Oυλυμπήδι, εις φασι Δευ η θεω, &c.
Radiant from Heaven he came, the blest
Abodes,
And Seat unshaken of th' immortal Gods:
The happy Land, where Tempefts never blow,
Nor chilling Showers descend, nor fleecy Snow;
Th' unclouded Sky smiles with perpetual Day,
And Light eternal darts a gladdening Ray.

This Description bears a great Resemblance to those Lines of the Theologe, (so the Ancients called Orpheus):

---Διώκεσθε δ' ἀνθρώπους ---
Χαρις ἀν' ἄθωμετων, νυὲν ἐδει.

Τί
An Enquiry into the Life

Th' Abodes of Men

He sever'd from th' Immortals, to possess
A blissful Seat, exempt from all Excess;
Where from above no chilling Cold is sent,
Nor scorching Ardour fires the Element;
Where Phoebus' Axle rolls the middle Road,
And temp'rate Mildness dwells beneath the God.

Here the Thought is the same, and several of the Names. In the Fragments that pass under the name of the same Author, we have Examples of those hidden pieces of Art employed by our Poet, to give his Work an air of Divinity and Inspiration. Such is the Invocation of his Muse at the beginning of his Poem, and his mentioning the celestial Appellations of Men and Things, as if he had understood the Language of the Gods. As to the first, besides what is told above, there is another Address to his Genius recorded by Tzetzes:

\[ \text{Nων δ' ἔσθη μοι ἄλωπη Λεσχηπίς ἕνεως Μοῦσας} \]

where the Epithet comes from a Mountain in Thrace, in the Odrysian Country. For the second, Briareus's two Names are later than the Moon's:

\[ \text{Mέγατο δ' ἄλωπα ὑζεῦ ἐπείπετον, ὥτε ΣΕΛΗΝΗΝ} \]
\[ \text{'Αὔτωνον χάλυβον; 'Επιχεώνι δὲ τε ΜΗΝΗΝ,} \]
\[ \text{''Ἡ ἔκλλε ὀσφεῖ ἕχει, χόλα τὸσσα, χολλα μέλαθεσα.} \]

Another
Another Earth of boundless Size he form'd, 
SELENE call'd in Heaven; but the Tribes 
Of Men term it the MOON: She, like this 
Globe, 
Has many Hills, and Towns, and lofty Roofs.

But however these things may be, whether
Coincidences from Chance, or Imitations
arising from a Parity of Principles and Manners, we may safely conclude, that Homer
drew his Mythology from these three Sources:
First, from the Form of Worship already esta-
blished in his Country: Secondly, from the
Traditional Doctrines of Orpheus and Melampus, who first formed the Grecian Ceremo-
nies, and gave that People a Notion of Immortality: And lastly, which was the Pa-
rent of the other two, from the Egyptian Learning.

I would not be understood in this, as
if I affirmed that Homer had gone thro' a
Course of Hieroglyphicks in Egypt: Perhaps
that Science was not then brought to such Perfection, as it afterwards attained; tho'
their high Pretensions to Antiquity and legal
Institutions in Religion seem to assure us that
it was. But the Design of the Examples in
that way, was to shew their Manner of Think-
ing and Writing upon natural and religious
Subjects: From which of consequence we
must suppose, That if Homer was at all among
them,
them, as it appears he was, a Man so capable and inquisitive, could not return without learning something of their Rites, and the reasons of them; that is, of their Mythology.

With respect to the traditional Part of his Instruction, it may be asked, How it was preserved in times of such Ignorance and Disorder? And thro' what Channels it could be conveyed to Homer? Tho' this Question be upon the matter answered already, and that the Age in which he lived is too remote, to allow us to speak with certainty of his Instructor; yet we can give an account of some great Men who had the honour to pass for his Teachers, and were named as such by the Learned and Wise among the Ancients. And first, PRONAPIDES of Athens is given for his Master*. Diodorus the Sicilian, whose Authority is doubly valuable, as an Historian and a Critick, honours him with the Appellation of ΜΕΛΟΠΟΙΟΣ ΕΥΦΥΗΣ;* and adds, that He had written in the Pelasgick Character, in imitation of Linus and his Scholars: That his Subject was likewise the same; The primeval State of Nature; which he accordingly inscribed ΠΡΩΤΟΚΟΣΜΟΣ, The first World.

After him, Aristeeus the famous Northern Traveller has the fairest Pretensions. He was a Native of Proconnesus, a little Island

in the Propontis near the ancient Cyzicus, a
delicious Place, and partaking in the Blessings
of that happy Climate. Invited by his Situa-
tion, which lay just opposite to Thrace, He
visited that Country, wandred a great way up
among the Scythians, and was the first that
gave the Greeks any knowledge of the northern
Nations. He composed, at his Return,
the 'ΑΡΙΜΑΣΠΕΙΑ ἜΠΗ, Arimaspian Poetry;
containing an Account of the several Tribes
of the Barbarians he had gone thro', and
particularly of the One-eyed Arimaspian, as
he calls them, the fiercest of Men. After this
He made a Voyage Westward, and viewed
Italy, at that time almost as barbarous as the
Scythians themselves; and both at home
and in his Travels, he seems to have per-
formed some Feats of an extraordinary Na-
ture, which raised the Wonder of his Co-
temporaries, and made him be looked upon
as a God, or at least as a divine Man. This
Opinion would not be weakened by his
writing a Theogony, like the rest of the
ancient Sages; and exercising himself in a
Field, where Philosophy and Religion of old
strive which should most assist the other, and
made an Effort in common for the Good of
Mankind.

Between

n Herodot, Melpomene. Lib. 4.

Στρατ ΒΙ. Ε. τυ.
Enquiry into the Life Between those two; Pronapides and Aristeüs, lies the Claim of instructing Homer: Creophilus too is named as a Competitor; but his Pretensions had been better smothered as we saw formerly. How to determine between the remaining Pretenders, surpasses my Abilities; and I must in this Particular join with an Author, who tho' an Admiring of our Poet, has exercised his Eloquence, in proving him unjust to the Trojans, and injurious to the beauteous Helen. It is Dion Chrysostome I mean, who gives it as his opinion, "That as the precise Time and Place of his Birth was not certainly known among the Greeks, so it was likewise a question, Who had been his Master in Wisdom and Poetry?"

But there is another Channel still, thro' which this kind of Science might flow down to Homer; not indeed directly from Egypt, but from a Phoenician or Egyptian Colony. Your Lordship knows the invidious Story that goes of Hippocrates the Father of Medicine: It was customary among the Ancients, when any one recovered of a Disease, to write or engrave an account of their Cure upon a Tablet, and hang it up in the Temple of Esculapius, in sign of Gratitude to the God, who they thought had directed them to the Remedy. These Tablets, they say, containing...
ng the History of all sorts of Distempers,
and their Method of Cure, Hippocrates per-
used; and having made himself Master of
the Knowledge they afforded, afterwards set
fire to the Temple, that he might enjoy
such a Treasure without a Rival.

Much of the same kind is the account
we have of Homer's Instruction; only he
spared the Records from which he drew it:
'Twas in the first or second Generation after
Oedipus, says Diodorus, that Thebes was
fack'd a second time by Alcmeon. "Among
the Captives he carried off, was the old blind
Prophet Tiretias, who died by the way:
But his Daughter, the celebrated Manto,
was sent to Delphi as a part of the Spoil.
She was no less skilled in Divination than
her Father; and while she stayed in Apollo's
Temple, made great Improvements in the
Art. She was favoured by the God; and
having a wonderful Genius, composed
Oracles of all kinds, and in different
Forms, allegorical, prophetical, and moral.
These were preserved in the Temple; and
from them, says the Historian, Homer bor-
rowed many Verses, and inserted them
as Ornaments into his own Poetry."

However imaginary this Inflation
may appear, it would be rash to condemn it
as entirely groundless. It carries indeed in its
Face,

1 Diodorus, Book IV.
Face a certain air of Fable; but if narrowly viewed, and the Circumstances weighed, I believe it will be allowed to bear an application of the Proverb, "That if not true, " it is at least well contrived." The Foundation of the Story, Alcmeon's Expedition, the sacking of Thebes, and its Desolation long after, even during the Trojan War, are certain and undoubted Facts: The Neighbourhood of the Delphick Oracle, the constant Custom of the Country, and the supposed Sanctity of the Place, make the subsequent Parts of it look probable.

But when we take in the other Presumptions, arising from the Oracle itself and Homer's own Works, it becomes difficult for us to refuse our Assent: As first, That the Places where Hymns, Songs, Paans, and Poetry in general was used and known, were anciently no other than the Temples and Altars of the Gods: Next, That the ἙΣΦΑΤΑ or Sayings of the God were preserved with a peculiar Care: They were inscribed sometimes in Wood, and sometimes in Plates of Metal, and hung upon the Pillars that enclosed the ἈΔΤΟΝ or Sanctuary. Nay Plutarch assures us, That there was commonly about the Temple at Delphi, a Set of Men of a Poetical Turn, whose Business it was to sit round the Oracle on solemn Days, and receive the Voice from Pythia's Mouth, which they
were afterwards to wrap up in a *Vehicle of Words*, in what Phrase and Measure they thought convenient. "For such was the "kind of Life, continues *the human Philosopher*, in these early Times, and so general was the *Propensity* to Harmony and "Numbers, that every *Science* was delivered "in *Verse* : Nothing in History, nothing in "Philosophy, and in a word, no Accident "or *Transaction* that wanted *Voice* and *Description*, but what wore the Garb of the "Muses, and in it was admired. Nor for "certain, did the *Delphian God* refuse the "loved Ornament to his own *Art*, or drive "the *divine Muse* from the sacred *Tripod* : "He invited her to it, and fanned the poet- "rick *Fire* : He cherished the pregnant *Breast*, "inspired it with *Images*, and exalted the "mysterious Sublime of the *Soul*, until it "burst forth in Strains befitting his *Shrine*. 

**But** this is not all: We know from *Homer's own Mouth*, that *this very Temple* was in high Repute long before his Days: That it was honoured by the adjacent Nations, consulted by Princes, and was arrived at an immense Pitch of *Wealth* and *Fame*. In the *Odyssey*, he lets us know that *Agamemnon* had consulted it himself before he undertook

*N2*

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*m This is confirmed by Strabo: Πωςιαν δεχόμενα τῷ τειμωλίῳ ἀποθεωτικῶν ἔμμετρα τῷ καὶ ἀμέτρᾳ ἐν τετελεσθέν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐς μέσον ΠΟΙΗΤΑΣ τίνας ὑπεργούντας τῷ ιερῷ.

Στραβ. Βιβ. θ.
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the Expedition to Troy: and in the Iliad, Achilles tells the Ambassadors, from that Prince (Agamemnon) "That He would not " marry his Daughter, tho' she were beauti-
" ful as Venus, and skilful as Minerva; " That he would have no Peace with him, " nor part in the War; That he was resolved " to go home to Phthia, and shun his im-
" pending Fate; since his Life was more " worth to him than all the Wealth within " the Walls of Troy; and (to enhance the " Comparison) more than all the Treasures " that are preserved within the Stone-built " Gate of the rocky PYTHOS, the Abode of " the Soothsaying APOLLO."

This is Homer's Description of the Situation of the Oracle: When we compare it with the accounts left us by Historians and Travellers, it appears so natural and just, that we easily believe the Poet must have had the rough Aspect of the Mountain in his Eye, and represented the Building from the stately Original. Or if this Belief be thought fond or illusive, it is not impossible to heighten the Evidence: But upon condition, that we

\[\text{\textit{n 'Ως γὰρ ὁ χρὴς ἡλικίας αὐτὸς Φαῦς Ἀπόλλων}\\ \text{Πυθεὶ ἐν Ἑμέθηῃ, ἕω ἀφηνέ ἠδὲ ὀγδοὸν 'Ομόδω}\\ \text{Χρησίμανος ἡ Τότε γὰρ ἐκ κυλίνδετο πήλματος ἀρχή}\\ \text{Τρώῆς τοῦ καὶ Δαναοῖς.} \]  \textit{Odyss. 8.}  

\[\text{\textit{Ibid. IX.}}\]

\[\text{\textit{p Αἰαῖς ἐπὶ χαρίν ἑβρωτός, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐξον τὸ ΜΑΝ-}\\ \text{ΤΕΙΟΝ.} \]  \textit{Στρατ. B.C. 6.}  

See also Panafíanas, Phocis.
we remember the Want of Records already mentioned; and that they had in those
days no other Method of knowing the Trans-
actions of former Ages than by Tradition
and Converse with the Guardians of Know-
ledge. With such Assistance it is easy to
make out Homer's Acquaintance with Delphi.
To him, my Lord, we owe our Information
of the Antiquity and first Settlement of that
sacred Seat: From him we learn, "What
wise Nation or artful People was then
able to project such an Establishment; or
endowed with the necessary Address for
executing the great Design of explaining the
" Purposes of Heaven, and foretelling the
" Fortunes of Men." A little Reflection
will tell us, they could hardly be Greeks:
The Grecian Tribes had not as yet attained
the ordinary Arts of Life; much less had
they reached this Height of human Policy.9
Or if it was a Grecian Settlement, the Plant-
ers must have been some Exception from the
Rule; some privileged Nation, and the first
instructed in Religion and Government.

It was so, my Lord; and to make amends
for the Silence or Trifling of the succeeding
Historians, Homer hath assured us, That the
Founders of this prophetick Colony were
CRETANS. " There were many of
them,
them, he says, and *goodly Men*, who came in a Ship from *Cnossus* the City of *Minos*, and were chosen by *Apollo* to offer Sacrifices, and relate the Oracles of the God of the *Golden Tripod*; whatever *Phæbus* should utter, when he prophesied from the *Laurel*, under the *Hollows of Parnassus*.* And that we may not doubt of the Manner in which this was done, He tells That they sung such *Paens* or *Hymns* of Praise,

"Οἰοὶ τε Κρήταις Πατριώτες; οἴοι τε Μέτα τε
Εὖ σιχθέων ἐκκε Θεᾶ μελήτζων οἰοίδεν.

As Cretans wont to sing; whose Breast the Muse Hath filled, divine, with ever-flowing Verse.

*SUCH WAS the first Establishment of the Delphic Oracle.* It came to be quickly in repute with its nearest Neighbours; and in not a great many Years, *Greece* was full of the Fame of its Sanctity and Truth. Presents of immense Value came pouring in, from *Italy* on one hand, and from *Asia* on the other. And when these Treasures were touch'd, or any Indignity was offered the Temple, the Publick was sure to espouse the Quarrel, and

"Οὐράνιοι Ταύρος εἰς Ἀττλα. It is exactly Strabo's Description of the Oracle, "Οὐράνιοι Ταύρος εἰς τὸ μνημείον ἈΝΤΡΟΝ ΚΟΙΛΟΝ "καλεῖσθαι εἰς μᾶλλον πρότερον ἀναφέρεσθαι δ' εἰς εὐτυχείαν ἐκθεσια.
and make a *Holy War* in its Defence. But the greatest honour it had, was to be the Place of Assembly of the *Amphiétyons*, or great Council of *Greece*. They were Deputies sent from the *Sovereign States*, to consult in common the general Welfare of their Country, and determine Differences between the jarring Cities.

During their Meeting, the *Pythian Games* were celebrated in honour of *Apollo*. The reason why I mention them, is to observe that it was long before *Horse-Races* and *Wrestling* came to be a part of the Entertainment. The *first* and *sole Actors* for many Years, were the *Κιόαραοι* or *Rhapsodists*; and their Contest was, who should sing the finest *Pæan* in presence of that august Assembly. This Custom was established before the *Amphiétyons* met at *Delphi*: And tho' there were no other Evidence of *Homer's* being there, yet I should never think, that the sweetest Singer in *Greece* would foolishly shun the Place where the greatest Honours were paid to his *Art*. 'Tis plain he was fond of the Character; was sensible to Glory and publick Esteem; and as for his liking to the *Subject*, the Praise of *Apollo*, besides the first and longest of his *Hymns* dedicated to that *Theme*, there goes a *Second* under his Name, where he tells the God, "That a "sweet-spoken Bard, who holds in his Hand"
an harmonious Lyre, makes him always the first and last Subject of his Song t.

And here, a new unbounded Prospect opens full upon us: Homer at Delphi, conversing with the Priests, and singing Paeans to Apollo! What Advances might he not make in this great School of Religion and Poetry? The Oracle was the standing Fountain of their Knowledge: The sacred Spring that stood open for their Instruction in (what they thought) Piety and Learning. Thither they came from every neighbouring Coast, to learn the Fates of Kingdoms and Common-Wealths, and consult the Success of their Projects in private Life. Let us think a little, how it was possible to draw such Dependance? How to maintain it in the midst, not only of a barbarous People, such as the Greeks generally were at its Settlement; But when things were much changed, when they had acquired that Acuteness and Penetration, for which they were famous some hundreds of Years before the Oracle ceased. Religious Reputation, we know, is of a ticklish Nature, hard to be supported in a learned inquisitive Nation; and when once blasted, is irretrievable for ever. The Difficulty increases, when we consider how nicely the Answers would be sifted, and their Sense canvassed,

\[t \quad \text{Σὲ δ' ἈΟΙΔΟΣ Ἐχ'ν φοιμηθα λέγειν}\
\[\text{Ἡμερής, πρῶτον τε καὶ ἰδα'ν αἰν ἀει.}\
\]
canvassed, with more curious Eyes and anxious Attention, than any thing in the World besides: And after all, it seems, "They "flocked to Delphi, and believed the Oracle."

As a sort of Apology for a thing incapable of Defence, we must suppose, that they firmly believed what many of them have left in Writing, "That most of the Predictions "were really accomplished." Others, they persuaded themselves, would still come to pass: For they reasoned, If some had, Why not all? In the next place, it usually appeared from the Answer, That the God was perfectly acquainted with the Country, Parentage, and Fortunes of his Suppliant. He commonly addressed him with an Appellation taken from the Founder of his Family, or from some illustrious Place or Person to whom he bore a relation. And indeed thro' all the Oracles that have reached us, We discover a wide Knowledge of the Geography and Antiquities of Greece; of their Colonies, ancient Settlements, and Turns in their Affairs. Nor is that Knowledge confined to Greece; but Asia, Africk, and the Western Parts, fall often under the Cognizance of Apollo.

To account for this, without supposing a Succession of knowing Men in the Service of the Temple, and a Stock of Literature unknown to the rest of Greece, would prove a difficult
difficult Task: And the rather, that there could be no Fallacy devised to supply the want of it. For the Votaries, however prone to believe, and unwilling to reason, yet could never be deceived as to their own Country and Parentage. And in this respect the Oracle acted in as fair a manner as could be wished. It did not, like the Sibyls, utter Prophecies at random, upon strange hidden Subjects, without Rule or Choice: But allowed you plainly to state your Question, and then, in some connexion with it, emitted a Prophecy, or gave the Solution. There seems then to be a Necessity either to admit the Knowledge of the Priests, or turn Converts to the Ancients, and believe in the Omniscience of Apollo, which in this Age I know no body in hazard of.

The Truth is, such a Settlement neither could have been projected nor executed at that time, by any other than a wise People, skilled in the Arts of Government both religious and civil, and not without some Experience in Naval Affairs. Without this last, it was impossible to know the State of Greece; the different Nations that inhabited the several Coasts; their Cities, and Product of the Soil; the Revolutions in their Republicks, and Origins of their Families. But a People skilled in Navigation had good Opportunities to know such things; because, as was already observed,
observed, the greater part of Greece lay upon the Sea. These Conditions are hard to be found together; and when found, they agree to no Greek Nation then in being, but to the Cretans; the very Men whom our Poet names as the Founders of the Oracle. Let us take a View of this ancient Island, and, if possible, trace this Oracular Science to its Fountain.

It appears from History, That before the Days of Minos, Crete lay under the common Calamities of Greece: It was afflicted with Incursions, Devastations, and frequent Removes of its old Inhabitants: But from his time, it became a regular flourishing State; and, by virtue of his Laws, with the assistance of its Situation, had the Happiness to preserve its Liberty long after the Continent was enslaved. From such a thorough and sudden Change in their Affairs, it is natural to infer, "That the Cretan Laws were not invented by degrees, like the Athenian and Roman, or enacted piece meal according to the Urgencies of the State; but laid down all at once; and resembling in this respect, the Spartan or Venetian Constitution." And when we consider it in this Light, we must allow such a Plan of Government to be the Effect of abstracted Knowledge, and of a just View of human Nature, in its Passions and Relations to outward Objects. But this could hardly come from a Barbarian: It must be the Child
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Child of a Man who had either himself seen, or was soundly instructed in the *Arts of Policy*; who knew a legal civilized Life, and could provide against the Turns of Manners arising in populous Cities and rich Communities, either from inward Luxury or foreign Violence.

That this was done by *Minos* with a Depth of Wisdom peculiar to that great Law-giver, is unanimously testified by the Ancients: But one Witness may serve for all on this Subject; for we may safely take Plato's Word in what belongs to a Legislature. He says two things of the *Cretan Laws*: First, That it was with great Reason they were celebrated as the most *excellent* in *Greece*: And secondly, That they were the most *ancient* in that same Country. Let us keep them in view, while we consider at the same time some Particularities in the Life of the Law-giver.

He is famous not only in this Capacity, but as a Founder of the Cities, *Cnossus, Cydonia*, and *Phaestus*; which are two Qualities that rarely meet in one Man. He appears to have been equally just in executing his Laws, as he was wise in contriving them. His two Brothers he made supreme Judges in the Kingdom. *Talus* the younger, went a Circuit thrice a Year thro' the Island, to hear

\[\text{Diodor. Sicul. Lib. 5.}\]
hear Causes and give Justice: The Laws by which he judged were engraved on Plates of Brass; and from the constant use he made of them, he got the Name of ΧΑΛΚΟΣ, or the Brazen Talus. Rhadamantus the elder, had the Cognizance of Capital Crimes, and held his Tribunal in the Metropolis. The Prince himself led his Armies and commanded his Fleets in Person, and he is said to be absolutely the first who was Lord of the Ocean. From this Circumstance in his Life, and the Power of Life and Death committed to his Brother, they both seem to have had their Names.

But the greatest Honour which this Prince attained to, and what makes most for our present Purpose, is, that of all the ancient Heroes, Minos alone is celebrated as the Companion of Jove, with whom he used to converse as with a Friend. From him, ’tis said, he had his Laws; and to account for this Familiarity, he was afterwards called his Son. Now, My Lord, if to these Accounts of this Founder of States, we add another Reflection; “That all the Gods were

* Plato in Minoe et Epinomide.

* Rhadamantus from Rhadá; Dominari and Munoth; Imagines, Umbræ, Phantasmata: Or Maveth or Moth; Mors, Mortes. As if it were the Lord of the Shades, or Prince of Death. Minos from Mi or Me, Aquæ and Non, Filius, Princeps. From the old Root Mi or Mai, by a common Transposition, comes Iam the Sea.

were said to be born in Crete, that there
Jupiter was nursed in a Cave, and the
Curetes, or Idæi Dætyli, danced about
him, left old Time should devour him,
as he had done all the Gods that had been
worshipped before." This, I say, will
carry us a Step further in the Enquiry, and
enable us to understand what Ephorus means,
when he tells us, "That Minos was no Cre-
tan, but came from beyond Sea to Crete,
with these Tutors of Jove just now men-
tioned a.

Here a Light strikes upon us that seems
to make some amends for the Length of the
Deduction. The Oracle of Apollo at Delphi
was a Settlement of Cretans: In Crete was
Jupiter born, and the rest of the Gods; that
is to say, the Cretans were the first Europeans
who received a Form of Worship, and
learned the Names and Natures of the Gods;
and from them that Knowledge was propa-
gated among the Western Nations. In this
Sense, Jupiter and Juno, Ceres and Neptune,
with all their Train, were of Cretan Extract
as to the Greeks. The Inhabitants of Crete
formerly barbarous, were instructed by Minos,
who came with People already civilized and
knowing in civil and manual Arts, the Cure-
etes, Idæi Dætyli, and the Telchines from
Rhodes: Which is to say in Substance,

a Apud Diodor. Lib. V.
"That the Knowledge of the Gods, their Temples, Priests, and Oracles, with the necessary subservient Arts, were first brought to Crete, by Phrygians, Phœnicians, and Egyptians."

I cannot resolve to lead your Lordship thro' the Labyrinth of Mythology and History, in which a farther Investigation would entangle us: Tho' should we pursue it, and trace backward the Delphic Antiquities, first from Crete, then from Phœnicia and Rhodes, and thence to Egypt, we have every where Prints that would direct us in the Track. Many of them have been pointed out already by a great Man, tho' with another Design: But a Hand so masterly as his, seldom touches a Subject without spreading a Lustre upon whatever belongs to it. Cadmus's Relation to Egypt is a thing too notour to be mentioned. But I incline to think, that the People last named (the Telchines) came immediately to Greece from that Mother-land of Priests and Superstition.

The Account Diodorus gives of them is first, That they were Children of the Sea; or, in plainer Terms, that they came from beyond Sea to Greece and the Islands; whose rude Inhabitants being able to give no other account of their Origin, imagined them (as the Indians did the Spaniards) to be the Offspring

\[\text{Sir Isaac Newton, Chronol. Chap. I.}\]
spring of the Element where they first appeared, and so called them the Sons of the Ocean: They had given the same Name to Inachus and his Wife before, and for the same Reason: They were, for any thing we know, the first Egyptians that came to Peloponnesus, and founded the ancient Kingdom of Argos. Some said, that Inachus was the God of the River at whose Mouth he had entered the Country.

It is easy to imagine how prone an ignorant gazing Race of Mortals would be to entertain such Fancies: And how great the Barbarity was that prevailed among them, is evident from the Story of Phoroneus the Son of Inachus, and his Successor in the new formed Kingdom. He is said to have first taught the wild Inhabitants to quit the Caves and Hollows of the Mountains in which they lived, to build themselves Houses, and make a fort of Town. In his Days came the Telchines, the second Egyptian Colony, and attempted to make a Descent, and settle in the same Place; but being repulsed by Phoroneus, they failed to Rhodes.


d Pausanias Corinth. Lib. 2. ΦΟΡΩΝΕΑ ἐν τῇ σῇ τάξῃ γενέσθαι πρῶτον; ΟΙΝΑΧΟΝ δὲ ἐν τῇ εὐθέᾳ ἄλλῃ τῶν Πελοποννησίων παῖδα ἐννυσθεὶς ΦΟΡΩΝΕΙ. — Φορωνεὺς δὲ ἐν ἠνδρῶτες συνύγας πρῶτος ἐς κοινὸν, εποράθην τῶν καὶ ἐν χώλαις οἰκοῦν ὑπονοούσας καὶ τὸ χαρίς ἔπειτα τῇ φροτοευθείᾳ ἄτο ψυχασθῇ ΦΟΡΩΝΙΚΟΝ.
Rhodes, and some of them passed over from thence to Crete. In both Places they are called the Inventors of Arts of every kind; as well they might appear to a People so void of Contrivance, and destitute of the Necessaries of Life. They were the first of Mankind who reared Temples, and made Images, and Statues of Gods. Some of the ancientest Statues in Greece bore the Telchine Name, and preserved the Memory of theirs Author's: Thus the Lindians called theirs, the Telchinese Apollo. The old Camirus had a Telchinese Juno; and in Ialysus, both Juno and the Nymphs were distinguished by the same Epithet.

Now, My Lord, it is generally agreed, that these are all Egyptian Inventions; and the very things for which that thoughtful People valued themselves above other Nations. The great Disciple of their Priests tells us, "That the Names of the twelve Gods were first settled by the Egyptians, and from them the Greeks had received them: That 'twas They who had raised Altars, carved Statues, and bestowed Temples upon the Gods, and had first cut the Figure of a living Creature in Stone."

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a Eusebius, Numb. 229.  
b Diodor. Sicul. Lib. 5.
After this, it is almost needless to add, That the Telchines passed for great Conjurers and Magicians; able to do Wonders with Charms and Drugs, whose Powers they knew, but were extremely reserved and scrupulous in communicating their Discoveries. Yet these are Characteristics not only of their being Egyptians, but of the Race or Tribe of the Priests, the old Inventors of the ΗΕΡΑ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ (the Holy Character,) and other Methods of hiding their Knowledge from the Vulgar.

So far we are led by the laborious and learned Diodorus. From others we learn, "That the Curetes, the Corybantes, the Telchines, and the Idæi Dactyli, were all of one and the same Tribe, or with a very little Variation: That they were all enthusiastic, and addicted to sacred Shows, "Bacchic Processions, and ecstatick Performances: That in consequence of this general Character, they chose to appear as Servants and Ministers of the Gods; and amazed Mankind with the noise of Cymbals, Sistrums, "Pipes, and the Appearance of the armed Dance." In a word, they were a People

d Τῆς εἰς τῶν ἈΙΩΠΠΙΩΝ, καὶ Χαλδαίως καὶ Μάγις εσφία, τῶι διαφέροντας τῶι ἄλλωι, ἡγομονίας καὶ τιμῆς τυγχάνον τις τοῖς πρὸ ὑμῶιν. Στραβ. Εἰσ. a.

e Strabo, Lib. 10. It is admirably told by the Author: Τῆς αὐτῆς δὲ τοῖς ΚΟΤΡΕΣΙ τῆς ΚΟΤΡΒΑΝΤΑΣ καὶ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙΣ καὶ
People come from a *Land of Priests*, and fond of propagating their *native Arts*; those Arts by which they could raise the greatest Admiration in Mankind, and gain the most Reverence to themselves.

**That** they came from an *Eastern Country* is apparent from the *Order* of their *Arrival*, and the *Progress* of their Inventions thro’ the western *Parts of Europe*. The *Islands* said to be first peoples, and brought to live in a regular manner, were *Cyprus, Rhodes*, and *Crete*. Your *Lordship*, who knows their Situation, will easily perceive, that their Neighbourhood to the *Continent* must have procured them that Precedency; and for the same Reason, that *Imbris* and *Lemnos* lying so near the *Chersonesus*, became the grand *Receptacles* of the *Same-thracian* and *Bendidian Mysteries*. *Nine* of the *Telchines* are said to have lived in *Rhodes*; and some of them went from thence with *Rhea*, to asliff her to nourish *Jove* in *Crete*; that is, “*In a Course or Flux of Years*, they

O 2

“went
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"went from Rhodes, and instructed the " Cretans in the Worship of Jupiter."

One of the chief Parts of the Worship of the Ancients, was their Oracles; and their believing in them was a good Proof of their being highly convinced of their divine Original: It is not therefore to be supposed that the Egyptian Strangers would neglect a principal Branch of their Religion, or overlook so gainful an Institution in their new Plantation: But that there may be no use for Supposition, nor any doubt left of the Oracular Talents of this very Tribe, one of the Telchines, LyCUS by name, leaving their first Settlement, went to Lycia, and founded the Oracle of the Lycian Apollo, upon the Banks of Xanthus. This Temple, the accurate Strabo calls τὸ Λητόων, or Temple of Latona, which affords a new Proof of its Egyptian Origin. The chief Oracle in Egypt was that of Latona, Apollo's Mother at Butoo, (for the God was of a sooth-saying Family;) and the Telchine that founded this, has probably called it after the honoured Habitation of the Goddess in his own Country.

DELPHI

§ Τὸς ἀρχαῖος μὲλλειν ὑπὸ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἡ ΜΑΝΤΙΚΗ καὶ θάλα, καὶ τὰ ΧΡΗΣΙΜΟΤΗΡΙΑ: νυνὶ ὑπὸ ἐλεγορία καθέκει θολόῃ.

Στράτ. Β.Β. ο

* See Page 92 of OLEN the Lycian.
DELPHI I take to have been their next Settlement, after they had succeeded so well in Crete, and established both their Rites and Laws among the Inhabitants: From it, in a lineal kind of Succession, sprung the Oracles of greatest fame over Greece. Among the Descendants of Machereus (a Delphick Priest, famous for killing Neoptolemus) was Branchus; who quitted his paternal Seat, went to Didymæ near Miletus, and there set up the Oracle of Apollo, known by the Name of Branchidae. The Priests of this Temple, affirmed in the usual mythological strain, that Apollo was in love with their Founder, and so bestowed upon him the Gift of Prophecy.

A little before this, the Clarian Oracle near Colophon was founded by Mopsus the Son of the inspired Manto, and Grandson of the Theban Prophet. It stood in a beautiful Grove, as did most of the Temples that were consecrated to Apollo and Diana, and was still in vogue in the Days of Germanicus the Son of Drusus, and Livia's Grand-child. There were many of them all along the Ionick Coast, which seems to have been antiently a prophetick Soil: It came afterwards to be productive of Poetry, and turned at last to Rhetorick and Philosophy. Apollo had Oracles at Zeleia, Priapus, Larissa, Thymbrys, Cilla, Grynium, and many other Places.
The multitude of them shews a particular Attachment to his Worship; and the reason of it is worth our notice, and belongs to our Subject.

The little Island Delos is commonly assigned by the Greek Historians, as the Birth-place of Apollo and Diana: But the Asiatics have likewise a Claim, and perhaps equally ancient with the other. "A little up from the Sea-shore, not far from Ephesus, there stands a stately Grove of all sorts of Wood, but chiefly Cypresses: They call it Ortygia, and thro' it runs the River Cenchrius, in which they say the Goddess Latona bathed herself after Child-bearing. For here it was that her Delivery happened under the Care of Ortygia the Nurse; and here they shew the Recess or Sanctuary in which she was brought to bed, and the Olive Tree on which she first leaned, when her Pangs had ceased. Above the Grove stands Solmifus, the Mount where the Curetes took their Station, and with the Noise of their Armour, amazed the jealous Juno, until Latona was brought to bed. Many old Temples are to be seen around the Place, and some new built: The first are adorned with ancient Statues; such as a Statue of Latona with a Sceptre in her hand, and another of Ortygia with the Twin-Gods in her Arms. A grand Assembly
Assembly is yearly held in honour of the "Birth; the Youth from the adjacent parts appear sumptuously habited, and keep the "Feast with all possible Magnificence; and "the ancient College of the Curetes, make "an Entertainment for themselves, and per- "form some mystick Sacrifices, I suppose "after the manner of their Founders &.

Here, My Lord, we have the same Rites, and the same Teachers of them, as we found in Crete, the Parent of the Delphick Oracle: And it could hardly fall out otherwise, since the same Historian who pointed out the Country of Minos, hath also told us, "That the Cretans under Sarpedon, failed to "this very Coast, and founded the old Mile- "tus: The new was hard by it; which after- "wards sent forth Colonies all around it, "and on both sides the Hellespont, as far as "the Euxine Sea." With the Cretans came likewise these Guardians of young Deities, the CURETES, to the maritime Places of Ionia, Caria, and Lycia, and made Apollo be born here, as they had made Jove be produced in Crete; or perhaps, as they or some of their Companions had made Apollo himself owe his Birth to Delos before.

That the Grecians were themselves con-
scious of this Genealogy of their God, I gather from the Hymns ascribed to Orpheus; which, O 4

tho’ not the Work of the great Law-giver, as they stand now, are yet the noblest and oldest Remain of the pure Grecian Liturgy. They are properly Invocations of the several Deities, and composed of the Distinctions, Powers, and Attributes peculiar to each: The Tuscan Priests very justly called these Pieces of Worship Indigitamenta. In the Address to Apollo, among the other Qualities, taken from his Nature, as representing the Sun; from his Mythology, as vanquishing Python; and from his Effects, as Health and Harmony, there is one taken from a local Relation: He calls him Memphite or the Memphian Apollo; an Appellation taken from Memphis the Metropolis of Egypt, at the time when these Hymns were composed. It is remarkable as it stands among the other Epithets; and coming in among the first of them, seems to insinuate an early Affinity between the Delphick and Egyptian Prophecy. In these same Hymns, the Curetes are complimented with being

—The immortal Race
Who first prescrib’d a Prayer to weak Mankind.

And

1 The Hymn begins,

2 The Hymn begins,

3 A Knotty Knotty

4 A Knotty Knotty

5 A Knotty Knotty

6 A Knotty Knotty

7 A Knotty Knotty

8 A Knotty Knotty

9 A Knotty Knotty
And in the Address to Latona, 'tis plain the Author knew the Pretensions of Asia to her Reception; but he has divided the Honour, and made her bear Apollo in Delos, and Diana in Ortygia¹.

There is another Connexion still remains: To comprehend it in all its Strength and Beauty, requires an Eye accustomed, like your Lordship, to view the various Models of States, and trace the Genius and Result of different Schemes of Government. I can only pretend to point out the Substance of it, which stands thus.

It is agreed among the Ancients, That the Plan of the Spartan Constitution was taken from the Laws of Crete. Lycurgus, they said, made some stay in the Island, and conversed with the Cretan Thales, a Law-giver and Poet, who informed him, "How Minos and Rhadamanthus had framed their Laws, and published them among the Inhabitants as coming from Jove." From thence he went to Delphi, and consulted the Oracle concerning the Plan he had received; and it being approved of, he returned to Laedemon, and settled it likewise as the Dictates, not of Jove, but of the Delphian God. It was still in vigour when Herodotus lived; who having had occasion to observe the Spartan

¹ Γεναλίκην Φοίτου τε καὶ Αρτέμιν ἰδεῖςιναν,
Τὴν μὲν ἐν ὙΠΥΙΗ, τὸν δὲ κραναθ ἐν ΔΗΛΩ.
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tan and Egyptian Customs, with more Attention and Understanding than falls to the share of most Travellers, hath left us a Draught of the Resemblance he found in many Particulars, both of their Religion and Government. I will not enter into a Detail of them, but take notice of an obvious Question; “How great the Resemblance must have been between the Originals (the Egyptian and Cretan) since so much of it was preserved in the Copy at second hand, the Lacedemonian Constitution?"

Of all the Institutions of Crete, I shall mention but one, to shew the diffusive Influence of the Egyptian Customs. Musick and Poetry in Egypt were circumscribed by Law, as I observed before; and we learn from the Sketch of the Cretan Commonwealth left us by Strabo, “That their Children were taught Letters, and the Songs appointed by Law, and a certain Species of Musick, exclusive of all others.” In imitation of this, the Lacedemonian Youth sung the Hymns of Terpander; and to give them the more Authority, the Helotes or Slaves were forbid to sing them under severe Penalties. Thus these three States agreed in the strange Design of setting Boundaries to the two wildest things

1 Herodot. Erato, Lib. VI.

m Πατθος δὲ θάμματα τοι καυσάειν, καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν Νομῶν Ωδαμ, καὶ τινὰ Ἕλλην τῆς Μυσίας. Bc 1.
things in Life, the Sallies of Musick and Raptures of Poetry. But this, we are told, was the most ancient Philosophy in Greece; and their first Sophists, taught by the Egyptians, run their Science in this politick Strain. They chose, like their Masters, to begin at the Source; and thought it the greatest Wisdom to fashion and regulate the human Passions, by adjusting the Springs that set them going.

And now, My Lord, we are got upon an Ascent, whence we can see to the end of the Disquisition. It now appears what those Pæans were, which the Cretans were wont to sing: No other than the publick Hymns authorized by Law, and appointed to be learned by their noble Youth. It appears in what manner the Oracle was erected, and what kind of Learning was probably there: It has been a Tradition of the Cretan and Egyptian Mythology, involved in Metaphor, and heightened by Enthusiasm. Nor must we confine it solely to religious matters: All sorts of Subjects came thro' the hands of Apollo; and the Philosopher so often quoted, when he forms a Scheme for improving his Country-men in Wisdom, and assisting them to make advances in real Knowledge, lays a part of

n ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ ίζι παλαιότερη το και πλέον των Ελλήνων και ΚΡΙΤΗ τα και ΑΔΕΔΗΛΙΜΟΝ1, και σοφιτεί πλείον ιγε και ιδίον.

Plat. Πρετάγορα.
of the Stress upon their Instrucdon from the Oracle.

Thither our Poet seems to have gone by Sea from Chios. For in relating the Voyage of the Cretan Vessel that carried the Founders of the Temple of Delphi, almost round the Peloponnesus, he has described the Coast so minutely as to name eighteen Promontories and Coast-Towns, they saw one after another: He mentions the distant Islands, and Tops of Mountains, they descried at such and such Parts of their Navigation, and has not forgot so much as the Changes of the Wind necessary in so indirect a Course. This seems to be too exact and particular to be received by Relation from another, but looks like the effect of personal Observation, and the exact Memory our Poet retained of a Voyage made by himself. There let us leave him with his priestly Instructors, to consider what use he made of this Stock of Knowledge, and How such Materials are to be managed?

So delicate is the Nature of Mythology, that it requires not a stronger Head, or more elevated Fancy, to produce it at first, than it does a nice Hand to apply it in a Poem, and interweave it with the Persons and Machines concerned in the Action. Of the two sorts already mentioned, the last is apt to

ο Πατέρας το κατ' έν Δελφών μαντείαις χρονίζοντο.

Πλατωντ. Ετυμον.
to get the upper-hand in the Narration, and confound its own Offspring, the *artificial Mythology*. This produces Inconsistencies sometimes in Facts, or renders the Meaning of the Allegory impenetrable: But the worst part of its Influence, when misapplied, is upon *Manners*; where it destroys the Distinctions of Characters, and often blends Extremes that are incompatible in *Nature*.

There are Circumstances in many of Homer's Stories, which have little Connexion with the Transaction where they are employed: "Some of his Fables, says *Eustathius*, were invented by himself for "his present purpose; others of them are "*purely allegorical*: And he has many be- "sides, that were composed at first by the "*Ancients*, and are inserted in their proper "places in his Poetry, tho' their Allegory "does not always respect the *Trojan Affairs*, "but points at what was intended by its "*first Inventors.*" To shew the Truth and Extent of these Observations throughout Homer's Writings, would be upon the matter, to write a regular Treatise of *Mythology*. It has been done in part by the learned *Proclus* in his Notes upon *Hesiod*, and upon Plato's *Timeæus*; where the Objections raised against our Poet's Representations of the Gods are answered, sometimes with more Deference than Judgment. But there are some other Parts
Parts of his Management with respect to his Divinities, their ranging themselves on different Sides, and his Chiefs being protected by opposite Powers, that it will be worth while to examine. They are Beauties in Poetry for the most part but little observed, and give great Pleasure, when we enter into their Meaning, and perceive the Justness of the Application.

HOMER's Gods are finely distributed between the two Armies, the Greeks and Barbarians: The Greeks, naturally wise and brave, and so formed by the Temperature of their Climate, have Pallas and Juno of their Party. The Trojans have Mars, or the impetuous Sally of War, Venus or Effeminacy, and Apollo, a mixed kind of Divinity; the God of Heat, ecstatick Musick, and poetick Passion. Jupiter, or the Universal Nature, and particularly the Influences of the Celestial Region, favours sometimes the one and sometimes the other, but generally the Greeks. Neptune is entirely Grecian, as they were Lords of the Sea. Mercury and Diana have little to do in the War, but are mentioned by the Poet, the one from the Egyptian Tradition as Latona's Opposite and the Conductor of departed Souls; and the other, as a Power, no Friend to the Ladies, whom she kills at pleasure. These are what we may call the active Gods, and this is their general
and Writings of Homer. 207

general Arrangement. As for Saturn or Time, Ceres or the Earth, Pluto or Hell, they are a kind of stable Deities that support the whole of things, but have little particular Influence upon any single Action.

If we descend to their several Parts, and look nearer still into the Poet's Con duct, we shall find every God in his becoming Employment, and acting consistently with the Power he represents. Phæbus or the Sun, the God of Heat and Health, in his Wrath sends a Plague. Achilles, from a Sensation of the Corruption of the Air now unwholsom, or in the Poet's Stile, being warned by Juno, calls an Assembly: Provoked by Agamemnon, Pallas, or Reflexion, reasons with him, and quiets him. His Armour is made by Vulcan, and his vast Nimbleness and Humidity makes him properly the Son of a Sea Goddess. The wise and patient Ulysses is favoured by Minerva; and it is very remarkable, that Homer never varies this tutelar Numen, nor represents his Hero under any other Tuition than the bluc-ey'd Maid's. It might have embellished his Narration, and given play to his Fancy; but he has preferred the Truth of the Character, and stuck close to his Allegory. The frequent Shipwrecks, and bad Fortune of the Hero at Sea, is told in poetical Language, by saying, He was hated by Neptune, in the same manner as the Man who com-
mitted any Outrage when drunk, was under the displeasure of Bacchus. The other Chiefs mentioned in the Iliad are frequently assisted or protected by some Divine Person, according to the nature of the Occasion, and their personal Qualities.

Let us now quit our Bard for a little, and observe what Figure this Subject makes in other hands: The celebrated Roman Poet, writing for the Honour of his Country, has been forced to shift Sides, and make the Trojans, if not the conquering Party, at least worthy to conquer, and only subdued by Fraud and Stratagem. This, with the received Tradition concerning the Birth of his Hero, has led him into some Improprities about his Gods, which he has not failed to cover with his usual Judgment: For example, that the chief Divinity that guides the holy, wise, and brave Eneas, should be Venus, is something unlucky. She well might tutor Paris, and favour all the Trojans who had their Scraglio's even then: But it required great Discretion to make her act in the Eneid, with any Propriety. And after all, however we may be charmed with the Delicacy of her Appearance, and the Pomp of the Description, I don't know but she is introduced as a mere Person, divine indeed, and of great Power; but without any regard to her Character and Inclinations. It was hard to
to make her appear in a *virtuous Cause*, or direct the Enterprizes of the pious Hero, in any other Capacity than his *traditional Parent*; except she had condescended to accompany him when he went a hunting, and conducted him into the Cave with *Dido*.

*Such, My Lord,* is the impatient Temper of Mythology; and so powerful a thing is *Truth*, that it will not bear to be disfigured, tho' in *Masque*, nor stoop to any other than a *genuine Representation*. Perhaps *Homer’s drawing immediately from the Fountains*, or having a hand himself in modelling these *divine Phantoms*, has made him happy and natural in their *Distribution*. Their *Use*, if we may believe the Ancients, was not confined to *Poetry*; nor to raising those high Sensations and magnificent Images of the Universe and of its Parts, for which we admire them: But thro' the channel of *Religion* they reached *Life*, had an influence upon *Morals*, and impressed the Vulgar with that dread of future Punishment that keeps them in their Duty.

*A Person* of great *Wit*, and greater *Learning*, who has laboured exceedingly to prove, That Mankind for the most part acts not from *Principle*, hath at the same time essayed to weaken this Influence*, and attributes

*Continuation de Pensées diverses par M. Bayle, Tom. 1.* § 219.
butes any Good their Religion and its Rites could do, to its taking up that *Time* which must have been otherwise ill employed by a polite and voluptuous People: Yet he allows, that an Apprehension of Punishment from the *Magistrate* restrains from Evil; and why an Apprehension of Vengeance from the *Gods*, if supposed equally certain, should not have the same Effect, I cannot understand: The former is insufficient in many instances, to prevent Fraud or Violence, and so no doubt is the latter. And these Instances, when collected and set together, make a glaring Appearance; but conclude no more against the Efficacy of Religion, than against the Necessity of Laws and of Penalties to enforce them.

That the Commonalty of *Greece* and *Rome* believed a State of future Rewards and Punishments; and that *this Belief* kept them in their duty, is affirmed, as I laid, by the wisest of the Ancients. 'Tis needless to tell your Lordship, that *Timæus Locrus* was of the number: The Character he bears of *Plato's Master* is sufficient to justify his Claim. The little Treatise of his, which 'tis thought his illustrious Scholar purchased at an immense Price, is no less than a *System* of
of the World. His Expressions are simple, but his Doctrines are drawn from deep Observation, and explained in the Harmony and Proportions of the Pythagorick Philosophy. He begins with Creation, which he attributes to a good Principle, whom he calls, "The invisible God, the Prince and Parent of all things." Then he goes thro' its Parts; the Nature of the Elements, the Course of the Planets, and Periods of Time, and concludes with Man, and the Doctrine of Morals, in these remarkable Words: "The Mind, says he, that is exercised in such Contemplations, and attains to a Contention, with the State of Humanity, and to a just Use of the appointed Measure of Life, is undoubtedly happy: And whosoever receives this Attainment as his Lot from Heaven, is led by Truth to Felicity. But if any Disposition happens to be perverse and unruly, then Chastisement should be applied; both that appointed by the Laws, and also what can be drawn from those Traditions that introduce numberless Terrors from Heaven, and Tortures in Hell; threatening endless Punishments that await

Upon this Treatise, these Verses of Timon the Satyrift are preserved.

Πολλῶν δ' ἀργυρίων Ἵλιγνόν ἡλάτευτο βίελον
"Ενδέεν ἜΦομάζεις ΤΙΜΑΙΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΝ ἐπιχείρειν."
" await the wretched Ghooft below, with all
" the Torments which the I on i c k P o e t
" has laudably, and from ancient Tradition,
" represented the Souls of wicked Men to
" endure hereafter. For as sometimes, when
" wholesome Remedies will not prevail, we
" procure Health by administering a sickening
" Potion; so we curb the Stubborn and Dis-
" obedient by false Relations, when the
" true have no Effect. Of necessity there-
" fore the foreign T o r m e n t s m u s t be
" inculcated b — And it must be told, that
" Nemesis, the distributive and avenging
" Power, hath appointed all these things to
" happen in the second Period, and to be
" executed by fierce infernal Genii, who
" witnessed the Conduft and the Crimes of
" Men. To them the all-governing God
" has committed the Administration of the
" World, which consists of Gods and Men,
" and of the other Animals he himself has
" formed, after the perfect Model of the
" e t e r n a l and i n t e l l e c t u a l I d e a c.

I t a p p e a r s then that Mythology, and
H o m e r ' s M y t h o l o g y in particular, was thought

to

b Αίγαυτω δ' ἀναγκαίως καὶ ΤΙΜΟΡΙΑ ΣΕΝΑΙ;

c Ὅσιος ο ὁ πάντων Ἀγεμῶν Θεὸς ἐπέτρεψε διοίκησιν Κόσμου, σωματικοποιοῦσθαι ἐν θεῖν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων; τοῖς τε ἄλλων ζέων ὡς ἑδήμαρται ποιεῖ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ τὰν αφίζαν ἑΙΔΕΟΣ ΑΙΩΝΙΩ καὶ ΝΟΗΤΩ.

Timaeos Λογ. περὶ Ψυχ. Κύκω,
to be a Cure for a wrong-turn'd Mind, and a Restraint from Immorality and Vice: And if it was so in Greece, it was much more so in Italy, where Timæus was born, and where long after his days, not only private Superstition prevailed, but the most important Steps of the State were over-ruled by the Aruspices and Augurs; and their Consuls and Pretors bowed before a Prefage taken from the Entrails of Beasts, the Flight of Birds, and Signs from Heaven.

But Timæus's Disciple seems to have carried things a little further: He lived in Athens at a time when the Laws had given a Sanction to Mythology; with which, like a good Citizen, he so far complies, as to disapprove of a narrow Scrutiny into its Sense and Origin. He thinks it best to accept of the literal Meaning, and would have curious inquisitive People rather turn their Searches another way.

There was a beautiful Spot of Ground a little without the Walls of Athens, upon the Banks of Ilissus, where it was believed that Boreas had run off with the Nymph Orithya, while she was sporting with one of her Companions upon the Brink of the River. Thither came Socrates with a young Gentleman of the Town, in quest of an agreeable Retirement. They were to read a paradoxical Discourse of Lysias, the greatest Orator.
Orator then in Athens, proving, "That "Favours in Love should rather be granted "to those that never felt the Passion, than "to the real Lover." And having talked a little of the Beauty of the Place, how proper it was for Girls to sport in, and mentioned some other Circumstances of the Story, the Youth very naturally turns to his smiling Com-panion, and says, "But be sincere with me, "Socrates; Do you really believe this Legend to be true? — Why, says the Philo-"opher, tho' I did not, (as they say your "learned People do) I would not be far "in the wrong; and then I should go allegorize, and say, that the real Wind had "come in a Gust, and blown the Nymph off "the Steep, and so was reported to have "carried her away, while she and Pherma-"cia were intent upon their Play. But for "my own share, my Boy, I look indeed up-"on these moral Meanings as very pretty "and curious; but think they belong to a "profound laborious Genius, and are the "Work of not a very happy Man. My "reason is, (and I have no other for it) "That after one has got thro' this Allegory, "he must next undertake the Race of the "Hippocentaurs; and when he hath adjusted "them, then the Chimera comes upon him: "Next
Next follows a Train of Gorgons and Pegasus’s, and other unwieldy Monsters, inexplicable both for their Number and Absurdity. These, should one go about to explain without believing them, and attempt to give, according to their Texture and Likeness, but a homely Solution of their Meaning, it would be an Undertaking of great Pains and Leisure. But I, my Friend, can find no Leisure for such Enquiries; and the reason of it is, That I cannot as yet, in obedience to the God of DELPHI, UNDERSTAND MYSELF. Now it appears ridiculous to me, to be searching after other Matters while I am ignorant of this. Wherefore bidding these Subjects adieu; and being persuaded of the Truth of the Opinion settled concerning them by Law, (which I just now told you) I fix my Attention upon myself, and consider not the Gorgon or the Centaur, but what kind of a Monster I am; whether more double and slippery than Proteus, and more fiery than Typhon: Or perhaps a tamer, milder Animal, designed by Nature for a divine Lot, and a peaceful Destiny.”
THERE are few things in the ancient Poetry more moving than the Story of Orpheus and Eurydice. It hath acquired new Beauties by falling into the Hands of the tender and passionate Virgil; and is told by him in so melting a strain, that some of the Touches he hath given it can hardly be read without Tears. When we are wrought up to such a Temper, it naturally leads us to compassionate the hard Fate of the unhappy Lovers; and we begin to feel some Indignation at the captious Condition, upon which he
he was to possess his Beauty, or lose her for ever: Not to look at his loved Eurydice. Arbitrary and capricious! Unbefitting the just Brother of Jove, and unlike the Bounties of a divine, envious Nature: Unless indeed there be something else understood than appears; some Truth in Life or Morals that lies latent under this Circumstance of the Tale.

The great and unhappy Lord Verulam, who was sensible of the Incongruity, has given an Explication of the Fable; but seems not to have hit upon the real Meaning. What he says is entertaining and beautiful: for he was a Spirit of that high Order that go ingeniously wrong, and cannot err without instructing. But I incline to think that the Moral of the Fiction is rather to be learned at an ordinary Musick-Meeting, or an unmeaning Opera, than in the recesses of an abstruse Philosophy.

Orpheus' Mistress was Musick. The Powers of it are enchanting. It lulls the Reason, and raises the Fancy in so agreeable a manner, that we forget ourselves while it lasts: The Mind turns dissolute and gay; and huggs itself in all the deluding Prospects and fond Wishes of a golden Dream. Whilst every Accent is warbled over by a charming Voice, a silly Song appears found Morality; and

* F. Bacon, *De Sapientia Veterum.* § 11.
and the very Words of the Opera pass for Sense, in presence of their Accompanimento. But no sooner does the Musick cease, than the Charm is undone, and the Fancies disappear. The first sober Look we give it breaks the Spell; and we are hurried back, with some Regret, to the common dull Road of Life, when the florid Illusion is vanished.

In this gloomy Temper, My Lord, should I be at present, had it been my Happiness to make one of the inspired Train: How unwillingly would a true Son of the Muses part with his Fictions and Enthusiasm? The mysterious Egypt! The prophetick Isis! The oracular Telchines; these nursing Fathers of the Grecian Divinities! To bid farewell to these, and travel back with Homer, to Countries of a cooler Turn, would be a melancholy Prospect to a Poet.

But as things are at this time, I find it possible to be very cheerful under the thoughts of an Exchange: Variety they say is sweet; and there is a kind of pleasure in getting rid of the Enthusiastic, Lymphatic Tribe, and taking Journey with our Poet, to a Land of Freedom and Ingenuity: A Land of Arts of a different Stamp; not so precise and uniform as the priestly Prescriptions; but blooming in the native Grace and Vigour which is the Gift of Liberty and unlimited Commerce. Nor will the Change I am per-

An Enquiry into the Life
persuaded be disagreeable to your Lordship, since it leads to a People and Nation whose Memory you are in Gratitude bound to honour.

The Phenician Name is so famous in early Antiquity, that the bare mention of it is sufficient to point out the Source of your Obligations. It presents us with the Authors and Improvers of Building, and the nobler kinds of Architecture; with the first Workers in Iron, Wood, and Stone: It makes us think of a Country, the Parent of Mechanicks, Navigation, and Astronomy; the Inventors of Glass, and Rivals of Egypt for the Invention of Letters and Arithmetick: In short it reminds us of the Origin of the noble and useful Arts that employ many of your Lordship's Hours, and enable you to judge for your Country, in a Capacity not very common among the Great.

This Happiness of Phenicia in the inventive Genius of its Inhabitants, and its Situation between Judæa and the Sea, have made me often wonder at the Observation of an ancient Historian. He is treating of the Rise of Arts, and what every Nation had found out for the common Benefit of Mankind; and concludes his Account with this Remark, Soli omnium Judæi nihil in medium contulere. The Jews alone of all the rest have
have contributed nothing for the publick Good.

I have frequently endeavoured to find a reason for this Dissimilitude between two Neighbour Nations: Sometimes I have thought, that the Knowledge of human Arts cultivated in Phenicia, was perhaps incompatible with that divine Science, for which the other People are so justly regarded: "Being the only Canton of the Earth whose Inhabitants were surprizingly illuminated, beyond the rest of the human Race." At other times I have imagined, that our Author was mistaken in his Remark; and he must have been so in the grossest manner, according to the Doctrine of the Rabbi's. One of the wisest of them, makes no scruple to assert, "That the sublime and profound Parts of all kinds of Knowledge, were to be found among the Jews; and that not only the Principles of all the Sciences, but likewise the Conclusions which the Greek Philosophers, Pythagoras, Plato, and such others, had drawn " from

b On est surpris de voir les Habitans d'un petit Canton de la Terre, plus eclairées que le reste du Genre humain.
M. Leibnitz Preface à la Theodicee.

c En nuestra ley se comprehende todo lo suflil y profundo de las ciencias; lo que no es ahy en las otras. And afterwards: Los fundamentos y conclusiones de todas las ciencias, fueron transportados de Nofotros, a los Chaldeos primero, despues a los Persas y Medos, y despues a los Griegos.
R. Yeuda. Cuxary, Discurso. 2°.
and Writings of Homer. 

"from them, were transmitted to them from " the Jewish Sages, thro' the hands, first of " the Chaldeans, and then of the Medes and " Persians." Which of these may have been the Case; or whether the Necessity of Invention in Naval Affairs may not have produced some difference between the bordering Nations, your Lordship's Acquaintance with the Nature of those Arts, and the History of Men, will best enable you to decide. But our present Business is only with the Phenicians.

They were a very ancient Nation; so ancient, that tho' they are among the first Countries that make any Figure in our Histories, and that Letters were early in use among them, yet their Origin is quite uncertain; and in this respect they are upon a level with their Neighbours the Egyptians, or the ancient Athenians, who both called themselves ΑΤΤΟΧΟΟΝΑΣ, and the first of Men. Some of the old Writers said, they came from about the Arabian Gulph, and settled upon the Mediterranean Coast: And others of them affirmed quite the contrary; "That "some Merchants of Sidon had gone from thence, and first set on foot a Traffick in the "Red-

* Sprung from the Earth where they lived.
"Red-Sea." However this may be, we cannot doubt of their retaining much of the Manners of the Eastern Nations: Their Language was a Branch of the Aramean, and their Policy both civil and religious; their Temples, Records, and Order of Priests, exempted from Taxes, are very like the Institutions that prevailed over the East.

But what distinguished them from all the rest, was their early Application to Maritime Affairs, and the noble use they made of their Success. They were invited to turn their Thoughts this way by the Commodiousness of their Situation; and pursued it with such indefatigable Patience, that they were the first Inventers, and continued the sole Masters, of the Western Trade, from the first Hercules to the time of Alexander, for many hundreds of Years. By this means their Accessions of Wealth and People were so great, that they grew uneasy at home, and therefore spread themselves abroad in great Colonies, and filled Spain and Africk with Cities, little inferior
inferior in Power and Splendour to their own.  

They were busied about these Settlements for some time after the Trojan War: That is, My Lord, "While the Phenicians were in a State of high Prosperity, populous and powerful, acquainted with foreign Countries and useful Arts, then it was, that by a strange Constancy of good Fortune, Homer had Opportunities to know and converse with them."

I must acknowledge, My Lord, that such a Combination of lucky Incidents in the Life of any one Man, looks something suspicious; and when I review the Concourse of them, his Climate and Country, his Religion and Language, the publick and private Manners of his Age, and his own Profession and Travels, it serves but to increase the Wonder. But your Lordship knows, that a thing's being rare, does not always conclude it false or imaginary; else the most beautiful Theories in Learning, and the highest Pitches, of Happiness in Life, must be given up as absurd and impossible. Our Business therefore, is to tread

h Gades (Cadiz), Barcinon (Barcelona), Malaca (Malaga), Carteia, Cartagena in Spain. In Africk, Tunis, Tripoli, Leptis, Utica, and the Rival of Rome, Carthage : Thebes also in Bœotia.

i Ὠρυκλεῖται καὶ Ἡ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΩΝ ναυσάλας; οἱ καὶ τὰ ἐξω τῶν Ἡρακλείων τιμῶν ἐπίλαθον, καὶ Πόλεις έχεισαν μόνει, καὶ περὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς Αἰγύπτου παραλίας, ΜΙΚΡΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΟΙΚΩΝ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΩΝ.

Στρατ. Εἰς. Ι. ο.
tread cautiously, as we have done hitherto, and to take as little upon Supposition, as the distance of Time and Nature of the Subjects will permit:

That Homer had the Opportunities mentioned, and that he did not neglect to improve them, will best appear by considering what he has really learned from the Phenicians: This will be a certain Proof of his conversing with them, at the same time that it will set the Happiness of this Circumstance of his Life in a true Light: And if they are Lessons of Importance, 'twill increase at every Step, as we shall find this or the other Fable, taken from the Relations of that ingenuous People.

And first, it may not be amiss to observe in general, That many of the Egyptian Doctrines and Customs, passed thro' Phenicia into Greece: The Refugees from Egypt commonly took this Country in their way, and afterwards proceeded to the Islands, or settled upon some part of the Grecian Coast: Some of them made a considerable Stay in Phenicia before they came further West, and therefore carried along with them into their new Settlements, both the Phenician Arts, and the Egyptian Learning.

Thus Cadmus, when he had lain long in Phenicia, went to Lemnos, Imbrus, and Samothrace, and is said to have carried thither
thither the Worship and Rites of the Phenician Cabeiri or Great Gods, and taught the Inhabitants their Initiation and Mysteries; tho' I rather think the Telchines, or the Idae Dactyli were there before him: For why should he not rather have established his favourite Worship in Thebes, where he finally settled? His Son-in-law Aristeas reigned in Cea; his Grandson Bacchus in Naxos. Phalanthus, another Phenician, took up his Habitation in Rhodes, and the celebrated Anceius ruled in Samos. He was one of the Argonauts, and the only Astronomer that was among them. His Mother gave her Name to the Island Astypalea; and the greater part of the Cyclades received Names from the Phenicians, which were derived from those Accidents and Appearances that occur to a sea-faring mercantile People. Their Origin has been nicely investigated by the laborious Bochart; and they appear to have been given in the same way as the Spaniards and Portuguese, when they discovered the Indies, called their Countries and Rivers, Tierra de Fuego, Tierra de Brea, Terra dos Papos: Rio grande — De la Plata — De las Concas; and such others.

But besides this early Intercourse between the Greeks and Phenicians, and principally the Islanders, among whom Homer lived, there was another Piece of good Fortune attended
attended him. Before he could converse with the Egyptian Priests, there was a necessity of making a Voyage to Egypt: But there was no need of travelling into Phenicia, in order to meet with a Phenician Captain, or the Governour of a Colony: They themselves went over all, carrying their Knowledge and Experience along with them. Their manner was, to go out early in the Spring upon a Trading Voyage; some to the Bosphorus and Euxine, some to the Egean and Adriatick; others passed the Streights, and fleered to the Gum Coast on one hand, and as far as Britain on the other; and when they had searched thro' all for Merchandice, they returned loaded home late in the Year.

To this intelligent and wide-spread Nation, I am apt to think our Poet stands indebted for his foreign Geography. This is an uncommon way of speaking; but it will be easily understood when we reflect, That Homer was more capable of giving than receiving Instruction in the Geography of Greece, the lesser Asia, and perhaps the Egyptian Coast: But what further Knowledge appears in his Writings of the other Tracts of Land in Europe, Asia, and Africa, That I judge he has received by Information from the Phenicians. My Reasons for this Opinion are these: By staying in Greece, and making short Voyages among
among the Islands, or even down to Egypt, he could never learn that the Earth was begirt on all sides with the Ocean, as he often says it is: But the Phenicians who had made long Voyages upon the Red and Mediterranean Seas, who had passed thro' the Streight of Gibraltar, and failed the Coast on either hand before Homer's days, and were actually making such Voyages every Year during his Life, They might tell him, that where-ever they came, they found the general Barrier was the Ocean.  

From the same Sea-faring People, he must have heard what Countries were the Boundaries and Ends, as he calls them, of the habitable Globe. Some of these he plainly names by their proper Appellations; others of them he points out by such Marks and Peculiarities as demonstrate that he was not ignorant of their Situation. To the South, he directly mentions Africk, Ethiopia, and what we take for Arabia, as the uttermost Parts of the World: To the North, he describes the Life of the Hyperboreans, just as we know the Scythians and Tartars lived, People that inhabit the Northern Continent: To the East, and West, he names no Country, but says frequently,

\[ Q_2 \]

They named it so from the very Circumstance. See Page \( Q_1 \) in the Notes.
frequently, That the Sun rises from, and sets in the Ocean; which can have no other Meaning, than that the Asiatick Continent on the East, and the European on the West, are bounded by the Watery Element. This is the only Sense the Expression will bear; and any other put upon it, makes it a plain Absurdity.

It is the more remarkable, as it comes from a Man who lived between two great undiscovered Lands. Ionia had the vast Continent of Asia lying due East from it; a very small Part of which was known to Homer himself, or to the Greeks long after his Time. There is no mention made of Babylon or Ecbatana in all his Writings, which He who celebrates the Wealth of Thebes, and Arts of Sidon, would never have omitted to do, had he known any thing of the Assyrian or Median Empire. Nay so late as the Reign of Darius, the Lacedemonians did not know the distance of Susa or Babylon from the

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ε Ἡλίας μὲν ἔπειτα νέου προσέβαλλεν ἄρφαις,
Εἰς δὲ ἀπαλαφέστακα βαμυβόκεν ὙΚΕΑΝΟΙΟ.

'Οδυς. η.

δ 'Εν δὲ ἔπει ΤΩΝ ΥΚΕΑΝΩ, λαυτρην Φάος ἤτολοιο,
'Ελκουν νῦν άμελαινοι.

'Οδυς. ς.

ε Ὀμηρος γὰρ οὖν ἔτε τῶν Ἐπον. ως τῶν ΣΤΡΩΝ, ἔτε τῶν ΜΗΑΩΝ ἄρχην ἔδωκαν: Ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἂν ὙΒΑΣ ἈΠΥΠΤΙΑΣ ὀνομάζων, καὶ τῶν ἐκεί, καὶ τῶν ἐν Φοῖνικη πλάτους τῶν ἐν Βαβυλώνι καὶ Νίνῳ, καὶ Εκδο- 
τάνοις παρεκκλησιες.
the Sea: So that I believe Homer was acquainted with little more of the In-land Country, than what was under Priam's Dominion, or inhabited by his Allies.

ON THE other hand, to the West of Greece, lay Italy, a greater Country, as they imagined, than their own, and then undiscovered by the Greeks: Behind it were the wide and unknown Tracts of Gaul, Germany and Spain, which were impervious at that time, and had all the Appearance of an ἡπείρος, or endless Continent. Now, for a Person living betwixt the two, and knowing little of either (in comparison of the whole) save the nearest Coasts; for such a Man to say, "That the Sun rises and sets " in the Ocean, That the Ends of the Earth " were upon the Ocean, and That the Ethio" opians, the last of Men, dwelt upon the " Ocean," plainly shews an Acquaintance with a Trading Nation, who could only discover the Limits of the habitable World, and relate them to a curious inquisitive Man at their Return. And indeed thro' all Homer's Works, the Mention of Coasts, and Silence concerning the In-land Countries (excepting those of Egypt and Greece) seems to

Q 3

† Ἡρετο ὁ Κλεομένης (βασιλεὺς τῆς Λακεδαίμονος) τῶν Ἀριτσηβ" μν, ὁκοσίων ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ Ἡθλασιής τῆς Ἰωνίων ὀβὸς ἐν παρὰ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΑ Ἡρόδοτ. Τέρψις.

& ΜΑΓΝΑ ΓΡΕΧΙΑ.
to bespeak that kind of Knowledge which a Man may learn from the Relations of a trading People, who visit all maritime Places, but never go far into the Country, from their Ship.

As for the Inner-Sea (the Mediterranean) he describes the Coast quite around it; but with this Difference, that he speaks of the North-East End of it *, so particularly and minutely, as to convince his Reader, that he had visited it in Person. He names all the Towns and Rivers; he describes their Situations and their Soils: One Country is rocky and mountainous; another fertile and plain: One is dry and sandy; another moist and full of Verdure: This produces Sheep; that abounds with Horses; a third swarms with Pidgeons; and a fourth is blessed with beautiful Women. And these Accounts of the several Places, and their Qualities, are all confirmed by the succeeding Geographers.

But when the Poet comes to mention the Countries and Nations lying round the West End of the Mediterranean, he talks of them as a Man who had heard of these Places from Travellers; I mean, such People as willingly tell Wonders of the distant Regions they have seen, and take pleasure in

* Omnis Graeciae fabulositas, sicut et literarum claritas, ex hoc primum simul effudit: Quapropter in hoc paululum commone rabimur.
in amazing People with Stories of Giants and Monst ters, Witches and Wilds, or of any thing out of the common Road of Life, either for Good or Ill. And yet, My Lord, these very Stories, strange as they are, and disguised with all the Ornaments of Fiction, bear still about them some Marks of Truth: The Ground-work of the Wonder is commonly something real; and shews the Justness of our Philologist's Observation, "That to frame a New Wonder, without any " previous Foundation from Truth, is not in " the manner of Homer."

Thus when we consider his Accounts of the Northern Nations, "Who live, says he, " upon Mares-milk, indigent, haughty, and " the justest of Men," the Description appears at first somewhat foolish: But upon a nearer view, we discover the Truth of it, and see the Beauty that results from such Variety of Character in a Poem. — We find there were really such People; Such the Romans found them when they extended their Conquests to the North; and We ourselves find the same Customs and manner of Life

‡ See the Notes, Page 125.

h — Πάλιν τρέπειν δεσο φασινά
Νόσον ἐφ’ ἰπποτόλων Θρημάτων, καλοράμμενος άιναν
Μυσίων τ’ ἀγχημάχων, καὶ ἄγανων ἰππομαλάγων 5
Γλαυροφάγων, ἀδειώτες, ἐκπαιδεύσαν ἀνθρώπον.

ἀλλ’ Ν. initio.
An Enquiry into the Life,

Life prevailing among some of the Tartar-Tribes at this day.

The Polish Historians tell, That after the Death of Stephen, one of the bravest of their Kings, there came Ambassadors to Poland, from the CHAM of Tartary, who was a Candidate for the Crown*. They had Instructions to represent to the Dyet, "That the Cham was a Prince of great Power, and could raise Three hundred thousand Horse, which, if they chose him King, he would either imploy in the Defence of Poland, or to conquer its Neighbours and enlarge its Dominion. That as to his personal Qualities, he was temperate and sober, caring for no Delicacy in his Eating, and satisfying his Hunger with Horse-flesh only. That being informed there were Differences among them about Religion, he gave them Assurances that their Pope should be his Pope, and their Luther should be his Luther, just as they pleased to determine." We can trace this same kind of Scythian or Tartar Life, always among their Horses, unsettled in their Lands, and free from Avarice, thro' the various Periods of History, from Homer and Hesiod down to our times.

* Anno 1586.
But it is worth while, My Lord, to rank the several Countries round the Mediterranean, and consider how Homer has mentioned them separately. The last part of our Enquiry gave us a View of his mythological Science, and of his Capacity to instruct in another channel; abstracted Relations and general Resemblances were to be applied to Life and Manners: But here his Veracity must appear, and that Knowledge of Persons and Places, which was said to be necessary to an Epick Poet. It must indeed be allowed to appear in its own Dress, and to put on some Ornaments for our Entertainment; but will never be admitted without a natural Foundation. It has been observed already, that Greece and Egypt (including the Asiatick Coast) are his proper Province; and a very wide one they were. He speaks of them with the Familiarity and Exactness of a Man, who had lived in the one and visited the other. But he bestows an Epithet upon the latter, which surprized me at first reading:

'Εν τοῖς ΣΚΥΘΑΙΣ οὐδεμία χρεία ὧΙΚΙΑΣ ἦσιν: Ὡς ἂν προς-μίτας σκύθως ἄνω δικίαν ἀντί τῆς καλλίτης εἶναι, μᾶλλον ἢπερ ΣΙΣΤΡΑΝ ΔΕΡΜΑΤΙΝΗΝ.

'Αἰσχυ. Διάλογ. β. Ἑρυξίας.

Campestres melius Scythe
(Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos)
Vivunt, et rigidi Geta;
Immetata quibus jugera, liberas
Fruges et cererem ferunt,
Nec cultura placet longior annui.
ing: He calls it πικρὴν Ἀἰγύπτων, the bitter Egypt.

It is hard to conceive in what Sense this Term was applicable to a Country he had formerly described as wealthy and powerful, and the fruitfullest Soil in the known World. 'Twas nothing strange to hear him call it ἑτεροθην Ἀἰγύπτων, the well-watered Egypt, and the rich Egyptian Fields, περικάλλαις ἀγροτε most beautiful Lands. 'Twas rather a new Argument, and not a weak one, for his having visited that Country in Person. But upon a little Reflexion, this too appears to be extremely just: It is a Proof that the Poet, accustomed to the general Eafe and Liberty of Greece, has been struck with the Strictness and Severity of the Egyptian Regulations. A poor Man could not wander up and down idle in Egypt, as he might do in Homer's Country: For a People once disciplined, and under a Subordination of Command, are bound down to their Tasks; there's no shifting nor delay; their Master's Will must be punctually fulfilled, and Ways are taken to make Men toil, in order to support the Luxury of a Few: The greater part must do so, for their own Livelihood; and when they themselves, and their Work, become the Property of others, more coercive Methods are applied. Egypt was the Country where they had a peculiar Law,
and Writings of Homer. 235

Law, obliging every Man to give an Account of himself once a Year, to the Magistrate: He was to tell, "Where he lived? How he was sustained? And what he contri-
buted to the Publick-weal?"

Homer's Expression, 'tis true, hath a particular respect to a state of Servitude; and indeed we know from the best Authority, that the Egyptians were terrible Masters: Their rigid Policy, and immense publick Works, Palaces, Temples, Canals, Lakes, Pyramids, all things of incredible Labour and stupendous Magnificence, might have some hand in these Severities; and at the same time make them so fond of their Slaves, that Signs from Heaven, and what they themselves took to be the Finger of God, could hardly prevail with them to set a whole Nation of them at liberty. But 'tis certain, that over all the World there are great Hardships and intense Miseries in the wealthiest Cities: and 'twas finely judged of our Poet, to distinguish this rich Country by a Sentiment which expresses an Effect of their Constitution, that hits not the Eye of every Spectator.

To the North and North-east of Greece, Homer mentions the Thracians, Cimmerians, and hints at Colchos and the Euxine. These People he might know three several ways: Either from the Relations of Jason and
and his Companions in the Argonautick Expedition; or from the Phenicians, who were constantly passing and repassing in the Propontis, and failing thro' the Islands; and most certainly, from the Inroads that some of the Cimmerian Tribes had made upon the lesser Asia (his own Country) not long before he was born. In those Climates, the Winter-days are shorter, and the Sky more cloudy than in Egypt and Greece: From whence he has taken occasion to feign a strange Nation, covered with perpetual Darkness, and unvisited by the Beams of the Sun. Their Seats he has not certainly assigned; but leaves them among the Out o'the World Wonders which Ulysses saw in his Peregrinations. Bochart has shewn their Name to be plainly Phenician, and the Origin of it to be the same dark Appearance that gave Rise to the Fable.

But as the Phenician Trade lay chiefly up the Mediterranean, it is to be Westward that Homer's Obligations to them lie thickest, and the greatest Presumptions of his borrowing from them his Accounts of those Countries. Many of his Wonders are to be found in Greece; but his strangest Tales, his devilish Portents, as he calls them, are in foreign Parts. And first, ITALY

\[ \text{Cimmir nigrescere; Cimmir Tenebrarum atror; Cimrire Rom} \]
\[ \text{Ardroes dii.} \]
ITALY furnished him with abundance of Monsters: The Adriatick Coast, that lies opposite to Epirus, and the Gulph of Tarentum, were too well known, and too often visited, to produce many Miracles: But the West-side, whither the Greeks had then sent no Colonies, was only frequented by the Phenicians; and accordingly there are many supernatural things told of its Promontories, and of the Islands that lie alongst it.

In the Entry of the Scilician Streights (the Faro of Messina) stood two dismal Rocks, the Destruction both of Ships and Sailors. At the Foot of the one there was a darksom Cavern, the Abode of the Man-eating Monster Scylla, and opposite to her was the devouring Charybdis. There was but a narrow Passage between them; and if you did not fail thro' it, you had no choice, but pass you must between other two, the dreadful Plancthe: They were clashing Rocks, that shattered the unwary Ship, and left the broken Planks and mangled Bodies to be tossed by the Waves, and Blasts of pernicious Fire.

After you had passed them, the Sirens appear'd, or Rocks inhabited by the enchanting Syrens, who first allured the passing Mariner with their Voice, and when he approached, destroyed him. Further up the Coast were the Leftyrgons; Cannibals likewise, who fed upon
upon the unhappy Wretches that were shipwreck'd on their Shore; and beyond their Country was the supposed Boundary of Ulysses' earthly Navigation, the Habitation of a powerful Sorceress, the infamous Circe. She dwelt in a Peninsula. "Where, says Homer, was the Abode of the Morning, and Out-goings of her Parent the Sun."

All these were in Italy, or hard upon the Shore; and however wild and fabulous they may appear, there are few of them, but upon enquiry, we find to have some natural Foundation. Their Names and Qualities plainly shew their Phenician Extract, and that they were propagated by that industrious People, from the Adventures they met with in the way of their Trade.

The Phenicians, upon their first resorting hither, and attempting to land, found the Natives of the Country extremely inhuman and barbarous; and therefore reported in general, that all the Coast, up and down, was full of Monsters. The Passage in the Mouth of the Faro is but narrow; and as there is often a great Sea rolling in it, 'tis probable they have sometimes smarted for venturing thro'. On one hand is a dangerous Vortex, and on the other stands Scylla's Rock, a threatening Precipice, exactly such as Homer describes it, tow'ring, steep, and its

1 'ΑΙΑΙΑ ΝΗΣΟΣ, A Land-Island.
its Top in the Clouds. It is joined to the Land by a flat Isthmus, upon which it would seem, that the inhospitable Barbarians used to pass, and lurking among the Cliffs, set upon and murdered the Sea-faring People, who had taken Shelter under it, to shun the Whirl-pool on the other side. For this reason Scylla, or Destruction, a Monster with many Heads and Hands, lived at the foot of it; and opposite to it was Charybdis, or the Chasm of Perdition.

The PLANCTAE have been hitherto look'd upon as utterly fabulous. "Two wandering Rocks that dash'd together, and Hurricanes of Fire blowing in the Ocean," seem to have exist'd no where but in the Brain of the Poet: And yet, My Lord, one of them is apparently true, the other really so, and sometimes both.

I take the Foundation of the Fiction to have been some of the Islands that lie in the Sea, between Sicily and the Circeian Promontory. It would be tedious to enumerate them all, and perhaps too minute and dogmatical, to fix upon the two describ'd in the Odyssey:

m ὁ δὲ δῶς ἑκάτεροι, ὁ μὲν Ὀυράνυν ἄνων ἐκάνει
'Οξώιη κορυφῇ τεϕέλῃ δὲ μὴν ἀμφισβήνει
'Εκανέν.
'Οδυς. Μ.

a SCOL; Exitium, Infortunium lethale.

o CHOR-OBDA; Foramen perditionis.

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Odyssey; 'tis sufficient to know, that all this Coast, and the Islands that lie alongst it, abound with burning Mountains, and are subject to frequent Eruptions of Fire. The most remarkable of them lie in a Knot together, to the North of Sicily, and are known by the Name of the Liparean Islands. They were anciently Seven in number, but now you may count upwards of a dozen, many of them having been split by Earthquakes, and some new ones cast up, by the Heavings of the subterraneous Fires, which undermine that dangerous Shore. Several of them are no more than bare desart Rocks, called by the Italians Parte rotte, "Parts broken off by the Shocks of an Earthquake."

Now, My Lord, the Course of a Ship from the Circeian Promontory to Ithaca, lies directly either thro' the Faro, between Sicily and Reggium; or if you will not hazard that Passage, there is a Necessity to fail thro' the Lipareans, and so round the Island. After you have passed the two nearest of these Islands, if you cast an Eye back upon them, you will find, that they appear to be running together, and in a little time, that they are become one, since you left them.
The reason of it is, the *Current* that sets in between them, and does not allow you to keep a straight Course after you have made good your Passage: Whereas if you vary but a very little from it, you lose the *Line* that directs your Eye thro' the Void, and take them up under *one*. Hence the Foundation of the Fable, that they were *floating Rocks*, which run together as any Ship passed, to catch and crush her. The same Appearance will ensue in the Case of any two Prominences that are contiguous; and for the very same reason, the *Cyanean Islands* in the Mouth of the *Bosphorus*, got the Name of *Symplegades*, as if sometimes they had been separated, and afterwards had closed and coalesced into one.

But this Appearance, tho' it may have served to confirm the Fiction, was not sufficient to raise the *dreadful Idea* that Homer gives of them. I believe the Phenicians have happened to pass, or been lying at Anchor among these Islands, at the time of an *Eruption* and *Earthquake*. All over the Lipareans, there are *Clefts* in the Surface of

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*a Petrarcha, speaking of a Lover's Heart, describes it thus:

Dentro, confusio turbida, et mischia
Di doglie certe, et d'allegrezze incerte:
Non bolli mai Vulcan, Lipari od Iebia,
*Stromboli o Mongibello* in tanta rabbia.
Poco ama fe, che'n tal giuoco s'arrischia.

*Triomfo d'Amore*, Capitol IV:
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of the Ground, and Vents in the Rocks, that emit Flame by night and Smoke by day; Some of them have noted Volcanos, that like Vesuvio or Mon Gibel, disgorgie with their Flames immense quantities of Ashes, and throw out Stones of such a monstrous Size, that a great part of the Sea is choked up, and one of them almost joined to Sicily by an Isthmus of the Rubbish. At such a Juncture, the frighted Mariners might see the Rocks really clashing, and to their dire Experience feel Πυξίς ἠλευθέρας, Storms of destructive Fire.

This Circumstance alone, were there no other Signs of Agreement, ties down the Planetæ either to the Liparean Islands, or to the Rocks that surround Ischia, and participate of the Disasters of the Neapolitan Shore: Here the Phenician Vessels that escaped, and perhaps saw their Companions perish in the infernal Tempest, needed only relate the terrible Scene of Seas, and Flames, and Rocks in an uproar: Their literal Description is the Sum of the Fable; and what is added wears the same Appearance of Probability. Circe, to exaggerate the danger of coming near these Rocks, says "That the "Birds of the Air could not pass them." The same thing is told of the Aornos, and other pestilentious Places, where yet the Air is not put in such Commotion, as by the Flame
Flame and Vapour issuing from a burning Mountain. The Storm it raises, and the sulphureous Steams it throws all around it, might very readily bring down a flying Fowl, and give a handle to the beautiful Fable which Homer has grafted upon such an Accident.

"It is no rare thing, says Strabo, "among these Islands, to see Flames rolling "upon the Surface of the Deep. They "proceed from the Caverns of Fire that are "below, which often find a vent, and force "their Passage thro' the Waves. Posidonius "writes, That within his own memory, one "morning about the Vernal Equinox, the "Sea between Hiera and Ustica appeared to "heave, and was raised to a strange height; "that it continued for some time to swell "and to fall by turns, and afterwards ceased. "That those who ventured to sail near it, "seeing the Fishes driving dead with the "Current, and being scorched with Heat "themselves, and almost choked with "a noisome Vapour, made what Speed "they could to the Shore: Some of the "Sailors in the Skiff that went nearest R 2 "expired;
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... expired; the rest, with great difficulty, got back to Lipari, where they fell into Fits, like Persons subject to the Epilepsie, and frequently lost, and then recovered the use of their Reason. For some time after, there was a kind of Clay and Slime found floating upon the Sea; and in many places of it, Flames were seen to burst forth, and sometimes Clouds of Smoke and Ashes: The floating Matter hardened by degrees, and when thrown on shore, grew like Pieces of MIlstone. Titus Flamininus was then Pretor of Sicily; he gave the Roman Senate an account of what had happened, and they sent some of the College of the Priests, both to Lipari and Ustica, to do Sacrifice to the Sea, and to the Subterranean Gods.

After Ulysses had escaped the hands of the Cyclops, he left the Coast of Sicily, and came to the Eolian Island, where Eolus lived. The Palace and Oeconomy of this Prince, seem to be purely of the Poet's Invention; tho' Diodorus hath given a long and particular Deduction of the Names and Fortunes of his Children. But Homer had some reason to add, in his figurative strain, "That he was beloved by the immortal Gods; that Jupiter had appointed him to be Governor of the Winds, and given him Power..."

* Strabo, Lib. VI.
"Power, to let them loose or restrain them, " at his pleasure." Your Lordship must know, that anciently the Liparean Islands were named from Eolus; and the nearest of them to Italy *, was said to be the Place of his Habitation. The Assertion does not want Probability; tho' the rocky Coast of Lipari (the largest Island) and great Quantities of Allum, found in no place of the World, as they imagined, but in this and another little Isle a, seem rather to agree with The brazen Wall, topped with a smooth shining Stone, that runs round the ἄλωτη νῆσος, (floating Island) where he lived b.

Betwixt it and Sicily lies Hiera, a desart Rock consecrated to Vulcan, and from thence receiving its Name: Here they fancied he had a Forge as well as in Etna, because of three Volcanos or Craters, at which it frequently disgorges Flame and Sand, and the burning Stones I mentioned before. It is just under the Eye of the Inhabitants of Lipari c; and they see distinctly from which of

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* Strongyle, or the Round Island, now Stromboli.
a οὐδαμῶ γὰρ τῆς Ὄμηρου τῆς Στουπιδρίας γενομένης, —
'Εν μέν γὰρ τῷ νῆσῳ ΜΗΛΩ ζύσται μικρὰ τις κυστίρια, μὴ δυνα-
μένη διαρκείν τολαιαὶ τολαιν.

b — ἀυτὴ δὲ ἀν ἐν

"ΑΙΟΛΟΣ ἱπποδάδης, Φίλος ἀσανάτοιο θεώτην
Πλοῦτι ἐν νῆσῳ: Πᾶσαι δὲ τέ μιν πεῖ τέχνας
ὑλίκεον ἄββακον, ΛΙΣΣΗ δὲ ἀναδίδομε ΠΕΤΡΗ.

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c Ταῦτας δὲ (τῆς Λιτώρης) μετάξι ποὺς ἐνὶ καὶ τῆς Σκιάλης, ἡς
μὲν Ἱερὰ Ἡραίη καλύπτει, περιβόης τάσας, καὶ ἱσμος καὶ διάτυρος.

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R 3
of the Craters the Flame or Smoke issues, and in what degree, whether languid or impetuous. They likewise hear the uncouth Sounds and hollow Noises under ground, which proceed from the Efforts of the struggling Matter in the fiery Caverns, and generally grow louder before a violent Eruption. 'Twas therefore the Opinion of the Ancients, "That Eolus, from a Course of Observations made upon these Volcanos, and by comparing the different Sounds they emitted, and the various Changes in the Quantity or Violence of the Smoke or Flame, or their shifting from one Vent to another; that by comparing these with the ensuing Alterations of the Weather, he had attained to a great Sagacity in foretelling a Storm, and could predict how the Wind would blow for a certain number of days after he had observed the Sign." This Skill he used, they say, with great Condescension and Goodness to the Sea-faring People: He received them into his Harbour, treated them hospitably, and directed them when to sail, and what Course to steer upon the dangerous Coast. For these reasons, the Phenicians made him Lord of the Winds, handed him down as favoured by the Immortals, and have given him a Name from
from the Storms he assisted them to shun.

This way of accounting for Eolus' Knowledge of the Weather, has found credit from later Observations. There is a Sympathy and Connexion observed between the Winds and the Agitation of the Fires, both here and in Etna. They are fierce and violent when the Winds are high, and subside when the Air regains a Calm. It is observed besides, that particular Winds produce different Effects. The accurate Polybius, who sailed round these Coasts with very inquisitive Eyes, affirms "That before the "South-wind" blow, the Island Hiera is "covered over with Smoke like a thick "Fog, so that it obstructs the Prospect of "Sicily beyond it: That before a Northernly-"wind, the Flames arising from the great "Crater, mount with a clearer Blaze than "at other times, and greater Noise is heard "from below: That the West-wind is preceded by a middle kind of Appearance, a "mixture of Smoke and Flame, and a fainter "Noise from the Hollows of the Rock."

He concludes his account with what is most immediately for our purpose, "That from "the Diversity of these Sounds, and the 

4 From AGL Procella, Tempeftas: MELEC AOLIN Rex Tempeflatum. Thence the Greeks have formed their 'Aiaa. Bochart. Canaan. Lib. i. § 33.
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"various Eruptions of the Fire and Vapour,
"it was possible to know what Wind would
"blow for three days to come; and accord-
"ingly, that there were People in Lipari
"then living, who forewarned the wind-
"bound Ships of an approaching Change,
"and seldom failed in their Prediction." In
confirmation of this, we find that the Lipa-
reans to this day are generally Seamen, and
of such Knowledge in those matters, that
Bocaccio affirms there are even few Women in
the Island, who have not some Skill dell'arte marinaresca of the Art of Naviga-
tion.

The Connexion between the various Qualities and Changes of the Air, and the Force and Appearances of Fire, cannot have escaped your Lordship's Searches into the fe-
veral Parts of natural Knowledge. It must
be the more perceptible in these Volcanos, as
the Fire is vast, and the Chasms, at which they
belch the Smoke and Vapour, are widen'd and laid open to the Air, by the dreadful Convulsions of the lab'ring Flames. Nor

* Naturalis divinatio aliquando certior est, aliquando magis in luminum prout subiectum tè habet circa quod veròtur: Quod
ù fuerit naturae constantis et regularis, certam efficit prædictio-
ömèm, si varie, et composite (tanquam ex naturâ et caufi) falla-
cem. Attamen etiam in subiecto vario, si diligenter canonize-
tur, tenebit prædictio ut plurimum: Temporis forte momenta
10:1 affæquetur, à re non multum errabit.

† Decamerone, Giornata V. Novella II.
can they miss of presaging a coming Storm. For if the Openings of the subterraneous Mazes, are at any considerable distance from the pent-up Fire which they feed and keep alive; in that case, a Tempest brooding from that quarter, and beginning to play upon those Openings, must quickly produce an Alteration at the Volcano's Head. But it is agreed on all hands that Sicily and the neighbouring Coast is quite hollow, and pierced with many Cross-Passages that communicate under the Bottom of the Sea. Thus, for instance, there is a Communication believed to run between Hiera and Sicily; and a Correspondence has been observed between the Eruptions of Etna, and of this burning Island, both as to their Quantity and Violence.

It would be too great a Digression from our Subject to pursue this Reasoning much farther: But before we venture upon the rest of Homer's Miracles, it will be pleasanter to observe what use Polybios has made of this very

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\[ \text{special Greek text} \]
very Story of **Eolus** and his **windy Empire**. He owns it looks extremely fabulous at first telling: *The Winds swoed up in a Bag, and given to Ulysses!* And yet here is a Foundation for it, and some Vestiges of Truth in the Heart of the Fable: The Poet indeed has used his Privilege; has told it in his own way, and dressed it up with several strange Circumstances, to increase our Wonder: *Wherefore, says the Historian, somewhat seriously, “This should make us believe, that “the most extravagant things that are sung “by Homer, are only so in appearance: “But that tho’ we do not comprehend it, “there is still some Principle in Nature, some “Fact in History, or Lesson in Morals, at “the bottom of the Tale.”*

About thirty miles from Shore, directly off *Naples*, and a Stone-throw from the South-side of the Island *Caprea*, stand the *Sirenae* or Rocks of the *Syrens*. The common Opinion about their Inhabitants, and the most probable, is “That they were *lewd Women, “who prostituted themselves to the Sailors, “and by the Allurements of a lazy voluptuous Life, made them unmindful of their “Voyage, and careless of returning to their “native Country.” But their Story, as it is told by *Homer*, lies too pat for a *Moral*, that ’tis hard to believe it to be any thing else.

*Per lonn. — S intesso Fregi al Ver. Tasso.*
else than pure Fiction: Their charming Aspect at first Sight; their beautiful Faces and ensnaring Voice, perfectly represent the fair Appearance of an Object of Pleasure; and their false destructive Nature, their hidden Deformities, and the way to shun and destroy them, agree so nicely with the Methods prescribed by the Moralists, for avoiding a gilded Snare\(^k\), that it would almost be pity to spoil the Allegory. Nor is there any necessity we should: The Phenician accounts of these enchanting Creatures; their telling how ravishingly they sung, and how many Crews had been lost thro' their means, was Ground sufficient for the Poet: They both gave him a foundation for his Tale, and scope to work it up in the symbolical Egyptian manner, until it lost its Specialities, and from a private Story, became capable of a general Application. There were several Syrens up and down the Coast, that waited for the passing Ships, and for that end took their station upon the Promontories, or lived in the Islands nearest the Shore. One of them laid at Panormus\(^1\), another at Naples, others at Surrentum, and the greatest number lived in the delightful Capreae in the Mouth of the Bay of

\(^k\) Ἀντί βασιλείου δὲ καὶ τῆς διότι τι άγαθόν, τι άτε άγαθόν άτε καθόν ἵνα τι τοῦ βιοῦ: Ταῦτα ἐν δὲ ταῦ ή τις αὐτὸς ἄφωνος ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης: ἄν δὲ τις ἂν ἄνδραν ή μίν Ἀφροδίτου ἄποικος ἄποικος δὲ εὐδαιμονίας οὐκ οἷον ἐν τοῖς βιοῖς.

\(^1\) PALERMO in Sicily.
An Enquiry into the Life of Naples. From thence, it is probable, they passed over to the Rocks that bear their Name, to talk with the Seamen from on board, and persuade them to moor their Vessel, and come on shore. Homer has retained the Phenician Name taken from the most obvious Part of their Character, their singing; and Posterity, by building Temples to them, and assigning the particular Places of their Abode and Burial, hath made the Tradition pass for a Reality.

In the same Class with these singing Ladies, Horace has placed the other Enchantresses, the powerful Circe; and not without reason either from the Moral, which he has had in his Eye, or from their real Story. As to the Allegory, "She is a Sorceress, skilled in Poisons, and knowing how to mix an intoxicating Draught: She is the Child of the Sun, whose Beams can only raise a Plant of Virtue, and concoct the Juice

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1 From Sir Cantilena: Inde Siren Canens, Canorum.

Bochart, Lib. 1. § 33.

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n Sirenum voces, et Circes poculi nosti;
Quae si cum sociis fructus cupiditique bibisset,
Vixisset Canis immundus, aut amica luto Sur.

Horat. Epil. 2. Lib. 1.
Juice of Herbs to a healing or noxious Quality. With their assistance, she could change and transform the Mortal that once tasted of her baneful Cup: She could make him forget his Resolutions and his Duty; renounce his Bravery and Manhood; render him deaf to the Admonitions of his Friends; and in fine, convert him into some Species of a Brute, according to the Bent of his Sensuality.

The Truth of the matter is, Circe has been herself one of the Syrens: Like them she sung, and filled her Palace with Melody: Like them, she lived upon a Promontory that run out into the Sea: Like them, she waited for the passing Ships, and like them destroyed the Crews, when she had them in her power. Her Name is Circe, the Destroyer or Puller down; of the same false Nature and deceitful Appearance with her Sisters, and only differing from them as she employed other Means

She is θεός άνδυέσσα, The Vocal Goddess; and when they approached her Palace,

Κήρης ὑ' ἐνδον ἀκαν, ἀσίσθης ὀτι καλῇ.
And afterwards,

Καλὶν άπολαν, ἀφανεῖ δ' ἄται ἄμφιμεμυκεν.

'Οδυς. Κ.

From Kirkar, dirueræ, perdere, peffundare: Unlessthe Walls that inclosed her Palace have got her that Name from Kir, a Wall.

'Ευρον δ' ἐν βυσσοῖς τελουμενα δώματα Κήρης
Εξεθείς λάβοις, περισσότων ἐνι χάρω
'Οδυς. Κ.
Means for obtaining her cruel Purpose besides the Charms of her Voice.

It is here observable, that the contiguous Miracles, or the strange things that the Poet relates of this Coast, are much of a piece: His Monsters, as well as his Men, are of the same Species, and bear a Likeness in their Manners: The Cyclops, the Lefyrgons, and Scylla, are all Men-eaters: And the Female Phantoms, Circe and the Syrens, first bewitch with a Shew of Pleasure, and then destroy. At first reading, they seem wild and improbable; but like the other Parts of Homer's Poetry, they had a Foundation in the Manners of the times preceeding his own.

It was still in many Places, the Age spoken of by Orpheus.

When Men devour'd each other like the Beasts,

Gorging on human Flesh——

The Subject is dismal, and a particular Description of such horrid Deeds, would be shocking: It will be enough to put your Lordship in mind, That our modern Indians have not been the only Guilty of the dreadful Act of feeding upon their Fellow-Creatures. The same Barbarity is attributed to most Countries, before the Arts of Life reached them, and stript them by degree, of their inhuman Customs. The East was de-
testable for offering Children to their furious King 9, and Egypt was once infamous for Inhospitality and Murder 1. The Euxine was forced to change its savage Name, and the Altar of Diana at the Mouth of it, flood reeking with the Blood of Strangers. The human Sacrifices in Britain and Gaul remain an indelible Stain upon the Memory of our Forefathers; and Greece, with all its boasted Humanity, was not entirely rid of them at the time of the Trojan War 5. The Carthaginians continued them long in Africk; and they were not disused in Italy, until the Days of Numa Pompilius. Nor did that religious Law-giver think fit to abolish them utterly at first: He chose to elude the cruel Rite, and substituted Images of Straw in place of the human Creatures whom they used to butcher. 'Twas upon the Ides of May, a little after the Vernal Equinox, that the Priests of the greatest Dignity, and the Virgins that guard the eternal Fire 1, accompanied with the Pretors, and other Citizens, made a Bridge over the Tiber, and in a solemn manner, cast thirty of these Images into the

9 Moloch, from Melech, a King.
1 Quis aut Eurythnea durum,
Aut illudati nescit Busiris aras? — Virgil.
5 Tu cum pro vitula statuis dulcem Aulide Natam
Ante ARAS; ipargique MOLA Caput, Improbe, falsa,
Rectum animi fervas? — Horat. Lib. II. Sat. V.

1' Οι πάντες ΠΟΝΤΙΚΕΣ, ἵππεων ἐν διαφανείᾳ, καὶ σὲν ἐυθεῖα ἐν το ἀναίων πυρ διαφυλάττεσα παρθένοι.
Διονυσ. Αλκαῦ φιλ. 2.
the Stream: In throwing them over, they called them, by ancient Tradition, Argives; which, as it preserves the Footsteps of this Cruelty in Italy, so it lets us know what People for the most part furnished the wretched Victims, and what reason the Phenician, and afterwards the Grecian Sailors had to give out, that this Coast was inhabited by Cannibals, and Destroyers of Mankind.

The opposite Shore of Greece, the Epirus, continued long in the same savage Condition. The Islanders, even to the West, were beginning in Homer's time to unlearn their rude Behaviour to Strangers; and as conscious of being a civilized People, they threaten their Offenders "with transportion to the Continent, to King Echetus, the Scourge of all the human Race." So true it is, that the Islands were first brought under Discipline, and that Arts and Policy came to Greece from beyond Sea. They first settled and took root in the maritime Places, and afterwards spread by degrees into the Heart of the Country. It was long before they penetrated to the West of Italy, which we therefore find full of Prodigies; and the Appellations given them by Homer, are as monstrous as their own Natures, and found as strangely in a Grecian Ear: The Etymologies of their Names are in

u 'ΑΡΤΕΙΟΤΕ ἡ πη ἡ τοῦ, ες. Διονυς. Ἀλκαρι. Βίβλος.
in vain fought for in his Language, which they only resemble in their Terminations: But the Aramean affords them, and derives them from words that shew how these Names have been given at first: They point at the very Act of Ravening, beheld by such Phe-nicians as had the good fortune to escape the merciles Hands of the Barbarians*; and have been afterwards fixed as proper Names, by being often repeated in the sad Relation of the Fate of their Companions.

But there is too much said of these Saunders, and we have dwelt too long upon this Black side of Mankind: Let us quit the Men, and consider some of the natural Wonders of this fabulous Coast. Your Lordship knows that the City of Sidon is situated in thirty-three Degrees twenty Minutes of Latitude, and the Circeian Promontory in forty-two; and if it be true that the Phenician Navigation was first upon the Red Sea, then that People must have been accustomed to the near Equality of Day and Night that happens within the Tropicks,

* The Lstrygons (Ἀστρώγων) from Lais-irgan, Leo mordax; their King Lamus from Labam vorare, deglutire; or Lahm Caro: Thence the Goblin's Name, that swallowed Children alive, Lamia: and the Greek word for the Throat, Λαυρε. These two, the Lstrygons and Lamus, have been observed by Bochart. The King of the Continent's Name likewise points at his Nature. It comes from Catah contundere exedere, whence Echetosb contusurus, contufer erit; and agrees nicely with Homer's Epithet:

'Εις "ΕΧΕΤΟΝ βασιλῆα βραδεύν διαθμόνα πάντων."
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Tropicks, and increases as you approach the Equator. But when their Trade took another Turn, and they begun to fail the Mediterranean, and discover the unknown Coasts of Italy, How would they be surprized to find the day near two hours longer than at the Mouth of the Arabick Gulf, and one hour longer than in their own Country? They would be amazed at the quick Return of the Morning, and think the Sun was earlier upon his Road than ever they had observed him before. The length of the Twilights, longer too than ever they had seen, would contribute to raise their Wonder; and when they compared every thing with their own Southern Climes, and were come to an Anchor under the Mons Circeius, lying due East of them, 'twas no wonder, if not knowing how to account for the sudden Return of Light, they took it into their Heads, "That there was the Abode of the Morning, "and the early Road of the rising Sun."

While the Phenicians were making but annual Voyages, and had not ventured to winter in foreign Ports, they wou'd happen to be in the Tyrrhene Sea and Gulf of Genoa, about the time of the longest day. The Distance of these Parts from Sidon, and the common Accidents in flow trading Voyages, (which the Phenicians could only make to unknown Nations) must have employed the Spring-
Spring-months, and protracted their Voyage till that Season. For I make little doubt but this Fable has been framed, when they were neither such Geographers, nor Astronomers as they came to be afterwards: It has been in the Infancy of their Navigation at least to the North Seas; and such a Tradition, when once broached, would not fail to be preserved, and find a Place in all the Relations of that barbarous Coast. It is too remarkable a Circumstance not to have struck Men, whose Employment forces them to observe the Weather, and fixes their chief Attention upon the Heavens: To such People the Abode of the Morning was in Circe’s Isle, for the same reason that we here in Britain are characterized by Virgil,

Et minimâ contentos nocte Britannos.

From Circe’s Isle, and by her Directions, Ulysses failed to the infernal Regions: We are told, in the poetick Stile, “That after passing the Ocean, he first arrived at a gloomy Beach covered with Thickets and the Groves of Proserpine; Pop’lars and Yews casting a dismal Shade. Here he drew his Ship on shore, and entered himself into the Mansions of Hell: He trode the Threshold of the Habitations of the Dead, and saw within,”
The four infernal Rivers that disgorges
Into the Burning Lake their baleful Streams: Abhorred Styx, the Flood of deadly Hate, Sad Acheron of Sorrow, black and deep, Cocytus nam’d of Lamentation loud Heard on the nereful Stream, fierce Phlegethon, Whose Waves of burning Fire inflame with Rage.

Upon the Brink, where two of the Rivers met, he was to perform certain Sacrifices to the infernal Deities, and pour forth the Blood to the Ghosts departed.

This Description is partly real, and partly mythological. The terrestrial Part of it seems to agree with the Avernus, a kind of Lake formed by the Sea in the recess of the Lucrine Bay, not far from Circe’s Habitation: The rest (too long to be here transcribed) is Egyptian, and relates to the Tiphareth Egyptian b mentioned above. Next to the B A I æ, says Strabo d, lies the Lucrine Bay, and within it the Lake Avernus. It was here the Ancients believed that Homer had described Ulysses as conversing with the Dead, and consulting Tiresias’ Ghost: for here they said was the Oracle sacred to the Shades, which Ulysses came and consulted concerning his Return. The Avernus is a deep darksome Lake, with a narrow Entry from the outer Bay.

a Milton. b Strange foreign Tortures. c p. 212. d Lib. V.
Bay: It is surrounded with steep Banks that hang threatening over it, and is only accessible by the narrow Passage thro’ which you sail in. These Banks were anciently quite o’er-grown with a wild Wood, impenetrable by a human Foot. Its gloomy Shade impressed an awful Superstition upon the Minds of the Beholders; and the neighbouring People affirmed, That the Birds fell into the Water as they flew over it, being choked with the infernal Steam.

Here therefore they supposed was the Passage to Hell, and the Seat of the Cimmerians, who dwelt in perpetual Night. Whoever failed hither, first did sacrifice; and endeavoured to propitiate the infernal Powers with the assistance of some Priests who attended upon the Place, and directed the mystick Performance. Within, a Fountain of pure Water broke out just over the Sea; but no Creature ever tasted of it, believing it to be a Vein of the River Styx: Somewhere near this Fountain was the Oracle; and the Hot Waters frequent in these Parts, made them think they were Branches of the burning Phlegethon.

In this very Bay Ephorus places the Cimmerians: He says They lived in subterraneous Cells, which they called Argillæ; and

*e Hence its Name Aornos; and by inserting the Eolick F, Aßornos; thence in the Italick Pronunciation A V E R N U S.
and that they had Communication with one another by means of certain dark Passages cut thro' the Earth, and by them conveyed Strangers down to the Oracle of the Dead. He says further, that they lived upon the Produce of the Metals which they dug out of the Earth, and upon the Sacrifices that were offered to the subterraneous Oracle; whose Ministers had it as a Custom handed down from Father to Son, That none of them should ever see the Sun, nor quit their Grotts, but under Covert of the Night. This, he gives as the reason why the Poet afferts, "That Phebus, who enlightens the World, "never looks upon them, nor visits them "with his gladdening Beams.

This Account of the Cimmerians is ingenious, and has something in it very entertaining to the Imagination; but as I wou'd be far from rejecting it, so the Poet's describing their Town and Tribes in this Part of the Country, is no strict Proof of their being really Italians. Homer often transports and mixes his Miracles; especially if they are of a kind, and bear any Analogy in their Natures, or resemblance in their Manners. Circe is of the same Blood with Æetes, and is allied to the Sorceress Medea, tho' she lived in Italy, and they in Colchos at the furthest end of the Euxine, separated by Seas and Continents of immense Extent.
The Idea of the one-eyed Cyclops, whom he places in Sicily, he is thought to have taken from the Arimaspian in Thrace; and the Cimmerians, from the long Nights and cloudy Sky, in the same Country. This last is the more probable, that the Phenicians might be passing homeward from the Bosphorus pretty late in the Year, and might perhaps be tempted to tarry upon some Prospects of Gain, until the Winter surprized them in that cold Climate, and froze up their Ship: In that Case they would literally see a People τις ἡ ἐνεπιλη πεναλυμμένης, wrapped up in Darkness and Clouds, and might give them a Name, which indeed will agree either with Thrace or the Avernus.

We must now pursue our Voyage round the Mediterranean, and for that reason must leave Ulysses failing back to Circe, and associate ourselves with the other Traveller celebrated by Homer, the famous Menelaus. The South and South-east Coast of this Sea seem to have fallen to his Share, as the North and North-west were visited by Ulysses; tho' I know that the latter is likewise said to have been driven both to Spain (where there was a Town of his Name, and a Temple of Minerva) and to the Coast of Africk, where he saw the Lotus-agi: But as the Phenician Accounts of these Parts are related by the Poet
Poet under the Person of Menelaus, it will be proper for us to follow him.

After the taking of Troy, the Greeks found they had purchased the Victory very dear: Besides the Men they had lost, there were few of the surviving Chiefs who had not suffered at home, by Disorders in their Families, or Damage in their Estates: Nor was the Spoil that was saved from the Flames when the City was burnt, sufficient to enrich them all. They could not think of staying so long away, and returning to their empty Habitations with little or nothing, as the Reward of their Toils; and some chose rather to go and seek for Seats in unknown Countries, than to live in their own Houses after the dismal things that had happened in them during their Absence.

Thus Diomedes and Teucer went and settled, the one in Apulia, and the other in Cyprus: Menelaus and Ulysses revived the old Practice of Greece, making Descents with their Squadrons upon several Coasts, and carrying what Plunder they met with to their Ships: And when the Disasters incident to a piratical Life had disabled them from continuing such Violences, they wandered about from place to place, and set on foot a kind of Contribution (what the French call a Quête) where-ever they came. Their high Reputation procured them a kind reception from
from all that had heard of the Destruction of Troy, the greatest Transaction the World had then to talk of: And accordingly they received many Εξώπη (Presents to Strangers) from the Princes they visited, and both, tho' late, returned rich to their own Countries.

The Account Menelaus gives of his own Travels, is in a very plain manner, "That having suffered many things, and wandered far, he had amassed much Wealth, and had come home at the end of eight years: That having been in Cyprus, Phericia, and Egypt, and having visited the "Ethiopians and Arabians, he arrived at "last in Lybia," of which he tells several Wonders: But the strangest thing that befell him, was in the Pharos, a little Island in the Mouth of the Nile. There he saw Proteus the mutable Prophet of the Sea, and received a Prophecy from him, "That it "was not his (Menelaus') Fate to finish his "days in Argos, but the Immortals would "send him to the Elysian Plain, and "Ends of the Earth, where yellow Rhadamantus reigns, and where an easy affluent "Life is enjoyed by Men; where Snow is "never seen nor Rain, and Winter shows "not his hoary Face; but soft Gales con- "stantly blowing from the Western Ocean, "serve to cool the Air and fan the Inhabi-"tants of the happy Shore.

There
There is no doubt made by the Ancients, but that this Description is taken from the Bay of Cadiz and the West Coast of Spain; and there can be as little, that Homer must have heard of the Nature and Situation of these Parts from the Phenicians. It will cost your Lordship but a Thought to recollect, That the Tyrian Hercules, long before Jupiter's Affair with Alcmena, had made the first Discovery of these Lands, and erected the famous Pillars that bore his Name: His Countrymen took care not to lose so sweet a Commerce; but charmed with the Softness and Delicacy of the Climate, and knowing perfectly the Value of the Commodities it produced, they planted it with Colonics, and drew from it the chief Streams that filled Tyre and Sidon with such immense Wealth, and particularly with Coin and Plate.

The Richness of the Spanish Mines afforded ample Materials of Hyperbole and Description to the ancient Writers; and we find in the Poets coming after Homer, that the Ease and Affluence of their Princes, had passed into a Proverb. This could be known to Homer in no other way but by the Report.
port of the Phenicians; who, when they spoke of this happy Country, called it Meechos Elysos, The Place of Joys or Land of Mirth. From them therefore our Poet has learned the Nature of the Western Region, the Blowing of the Zephyrs, and the Fertility of the Soil; and has described his Elysium just such a Place as the Fields about Cadiz, and the Andaluzian Plains.

It gives, My Lord, a particular kind of Pleasure to learn from what Originals a celebrated Piece of Painting has been taken, and from what Object the Painter borrowed his Idea. We imagine ourselves to be let into a sort of Secret, and discover new Beauties in the Copy, by placing it and the Model together, and comparing their mutual Lineaments.

< Bochart, Canaan.

< Los fertiles Campos de Andalusia, tan celebrados de la Antigüedad por los Campos Elípticos, reposo de las Almas bien aven turadas — Miré aquel pedazo de tierra, que en fertilidad y influencia del Cielo, hermosura de tierra y agua, no he visto cosa mejor, en toda la Europa. — And speaking of the neighbouring Plain of Malaga, he says, Fue tan grande el confusión que recibí de la vista de ella, y fragancia que traía el Viento, regaldose por aquellas maravillosas Huertas, llenas de todas especies de Naranjos y Limones, llenas de Azahar todo el Anno, que me pareció ver un pedazo de Parayso: Porque no ay en toda la Redondez de aquel Orizonte, cosa que no deleyte los cinco Sentidos. Los ojos se entretienen con la vista de Mar y Tierra, llena de Arboles hermosísimos: A los Oydos deleyta con grande admiracion la abundancia de los Pajarillos, que día y noche no cefían su dulce Armonía: Los Mantenimientos son abundantes y sustanciosos para el Gusto y la Salud: El Trato de la Gente muy apazible, aable y cortesano; y todo es de manera, que se pudiera hacer un grande Libro de sus excelencias.

Vida de Obregon.
ments. The fame holds, and perhaps in a greater degree, in poetical Representations. An Author to whom our Country owes many a beautiful Treatife, makes not the least question, but that the Gulf thro' which Virgil's Alecto shoots into Hell is the Cataract of the Velino, three Miles from Terni. The River falls down a Precipice of an hundred Yards high, and throws itself with such Violence into the Hollow of a Rock, as to raise a continual Mist resembling Clouds, or the Smoke ascending from a vast Furnace.

But Homer does not seem to have kept entirely to one Model: He has divided his Description of the next World into three Parts, and has taken them from three different Originals. The first contains an Account of the Entry to the Realm of Pluto, and is taken from the Avernus; the second describes the Passage, and several Stages of the dreary Progress, copied from the Procession at the Funerals of Apis up the Nile; the third presents us with the happy Climes prepared for the Good and Upright, taken from the fortunate Islands and the neighbouring Coast: And all the three are made to coincide in several Circumstances, thro' the Address and good Management of the Poet.

A f t e r

* Addison's Journey thro' Italy.
After this View of the Coasts of Italy and Spain, it would be to little Purpose to ask, How it appears that Homer learned these things from the Phenicians, or thro' whose Hands he received them? It is sufficient that such Knowledge could be drawn from no other Fountain: Tho' at the same time, it will not be unpleasant to hear that there are Presumptions in his Writings, of his having been personally acquainted with this industrious People.

And first, He knows their Character perfectly. When he speaks of them in general, they are always \( \Phi \alpha \iota \mu \nu \alpha \varsigma \nu \alpha \omega \sigma \iota \kappa \lambda \nu \lambda \alpha \omicron \omicron \omicron \iota \omicron \omicron \varsigma \), \( \text{The Phenicians fam'd for Shipping, or renowned at Sea} \); which is the distinguishing Mark of the Nation. Then their chief City is \( \varepsilon \omicron \omicron \omicron \nu \xi \omicron \alpha \omicron \lambda \omicron \upsilon \nu \), Sidon abounding with Metals; and the Sidonians, \( \varepsilon \omicron \omicron \omicron \nu \xi \omicron \alpha \omicron \lambda \omicron \upsilon \nu \omicron \omicron \varsigma \), ingenious artful Men. It is impossible for any Man, tho' he had lived a great part of his Life at Sidon, to give more proper Epithets to the Nation and City, or more expressive of the Genius of the Inhabitants. But Homer goes further, and shews that he has been acquainted with all Ranks of the Phenicians.

The mean People of a trading Nation naturally fall into Tricking and low Cozenage; and in this respect the Phenician Pedlars were the Jews of Antiquity; and bore such
such a Character among them as the Jews do among us. Such exactly hath Homer painted them. He calls them Τάφια, Scrapers of Money from any thing; and to explain how they did it, he subjoins, that they were ἀολοῦς ἀταλοὶ ἄνδρες, Men with a thousand small Wiles. There was besides a great Intercourse between the two Nations: The Phenician Ships, our Poet tells, frequently wintered among the Grecian Islands, and the Prince of one of them had a Phenician Mistress: She was, according to his Description,

Tall and beautiful, and skill'd in curious Work.

Homer relates her Story so particularly, her Father's Phenician Name, and his Circumstances, and how she was carried off by the Taphian Pirates as she was returning from the Country to Sidon, that one would almost think he had got it from the Descendants of the Family.

This Suspicion is confirmed by the Knowledge he discovers of the Produce and Manufacture

5 Τάφιας: δ ἐκ πάντως ἀσταλῶν, ξίου ἀποσφαγήν.
6 Ctesius, the Son of Ormenus, Prince of the rich Island Syria. or, as the latest Geographers called it, Syros.
7 Καλὴ τε μεθάλη τε καὶ ἄρα ἡγεῖ ἠδύνατο.
8 'Οδυς. O.
9 Αγογᾶς: Softened from Asdrubas or Asdrubas, Asdrubal. Bochart.
facture of the Country. Most of the fine things he mentions, Gifts to the Gods, or Presents from great Men, are (he says) of Sidonian Workmanship. The finest Garment in the Trojan Queen's Wardrobe, was bought in Sidon by Paris, who must no doubt have been a Judge in those Matters; and the prettiest Utensil in Menelaus' Palace was a Silver Bowl edged with Gold, which he had received as a Present from the King of Sidon; and it is not improbable that Homer had seen many like it, when in that City himself. In short, he seldom describes Toys or Jewels, or any Piece of curious Work, but he very readily adds, that it was made in Sidon, or brought over in a Phenician Ship: And herein he hath the Happines to agree with our sacred Chronicle, where we learn, that the wise Solomon, when he was about to build his magnificent Temple, received a cunning Man from Tyre, "Skilful to work in Gold and in Silver; In Brass, in Iron, in Stone, and in Timber; In Purple, in Blue, in fine Linen, and in Crimson; also, to grave every manner of Graving, and to find out every Device which should be put to him.

But, My Lord, We do the Phenicians an Injury in making them only Artificers, Navigators, and Merchants. The nobler Sciences

* Iliad VI.  
Odyss IV.
Sciences were cultivated among them, and they have the Honour of being the Authors of two famous Sects that gained great Reputation, by Opinions which the Grecians borrowed from them. We have it upon the Authority of Posidonius, That what is called the Atomical Philosophy was first advanced by Moschus a Sidonian, some time before the Trojan War. I am the apter to believe that it was so, because it is certain that Epicurus was not the Inventer of the Doctrine of Atoms which he embraced; but received that method of accounting for the Rise of Things from Democritus, who had travelled long in the East, and brought from thence his Learning and Philosophy. By this means those Principles that were so greedily swallowed both in Greece and Rome; and as a witty Writer affirms, were embraced by all the fine Gentlemen of Antiquity, came originally from Phenicia.

It were easy, My Lord, to say a great deal concerning the Phenician Theology transcribed by Eusebius, their Records kept in their Temples, and the Problems that passed betwixt them and the knowing and peaceful Prince just now mentioned: But as these things belong not immediately to our Subject, nor to the Instruction that Homer received from this People, I shall rather select a Grecian

* Mons. St. Evremond.*
a Grecian Disciple of theirs, whose Works have some Connexion with our Poet.

Among the earlist of the Greek Philosophers was Pherocydes, a Native of that very Island, where we heard that it was customary for the Phenician Ships to winter. He has the Honour to be mentioned as Pythagoras's Master, and is famous for introducing Prose-writing into Greece. He had no living Master of his own, to lead him the way in Science; but having purchased from the Phenicians, either in his own Country, or as is more probable in theirs, some Volumes of their sublime Philosophy, he drew from thence his Knowledge, and acquired a very great Name among the Greeks. They look'd upon him as the first who had spoke of the Transmigration of Souls, a Doctrine much inculcated by the Pythagoreans his Successors: and read with admiration his Accounts of the Birth and Successions of the Gods.

His Country is pointed at in Homer in a very remarkable manner: "Above Ortygia, says the Poet, there is a certain Island called Syria, if ever you heard of it, or Tropicks of the Sun. This, it seems, is the Mark of the place, that will help us to distinguish it from the neigh'ring Isles: But without the assistance of succeeding T History,
History, and particularly where it relates to Pherecydes, we shou'd never have known what to have made of it: To have gone in search of such an Island under the Tropicks, wou'd have been as foolish as to think of contriving a natural meaning for the Expres-

sion taken in its literal Signification; and in what Sense the Returns of the Sun can be said to be in any one of the Cyclades, is a Question that would puzzle our best Astro-

nomers.

For a Solution, the old Scholast upon the Passage tells us, that "In this Island " there was a Cave consecrated to the Sun, " which shewed the Time of his Returns." These are the very words of the Commen-
tary; and they seem to stand as much in need of an Explication as their Subject. I incline to think, that the Phenicians finding the Island rich in Grain, which they much wanted, and accommodated with a fine Har-

bour, may have endeavoured to fit it in every respect for their Winter Retreat. With this view it is probable they may have adjusted a Meridian Line to some Hole or Cleft in the Roof, which admitted a Ray of the Sun into the consecrated Cave, and marked the Solstices upon that Line, and what other Sub-

divisions they thought fit.
The Use of such a thing, for letting them know the Turns of the Year, and for pointing out the Seasons fit for failing, needs no Enlargement; and their Skill in Astronomy and Numbers, leaves as little doubt of their Ability to effect it. The same thing was afterwards performed, and perhaps more accurately, by Pherecydes; not in the Cave, but by erecting a Stylus whose Shadow should mark the Advance and Retreats of the Sun to and from the Tropicks. Whether this Heliotrope was moveable or not, I cannot tell; but it was long preserved in Syros, many hundred Years after the Author's Death; and from its Duration, I take it to have been some Pyramid of Brass or Stone, erected and marked in a level from the Base, in the same way as the great Obelisk brought by Augustus from Egypt, and placed in the Campus Martius near the City; whose Shadow, says Pliny, shewed the Sun's Altitude, and the Increase and Diminution of the Days and Nights.

Had Pherecydes lived before, or contemporary with Homer, there would be no doubt but this very Machine was the thing described by the Poet; but being posterior, it is more likely that he himself took the Hint from the Phenicians, and probably outdid theirs, in the Exactness of his Invention.
There was nothing like this Heliotrope to be seen in any Part of Greece, save in this little Isle, whose Inhabitants, ignorant like the other Greeks, when they came to see it, and were gazing at the Marks, and asking the Use of them, could only gather from the Phenicians Answer (just what Homer has said of them) "That they were the Returns of the Sun; or, that when the Sun had advanced so far, He returned the way he had come." Homer cou'd not miss to hear of them; for if he was not himself in this Island, which he has described so happy and healthful, he wou'd certainly be informed of every thing concerning it in Delos, just in its Neighbourhood, whither he came every Year to sing at the Feasts of Apollo.

Here, My Lord, we will finish our Voyage. We set out from the Helleespont, and taking the Coast of Italy in our way, we have returned by Spain and Africk to the Egecan Sea. What we have seen is sufficient to convince us, that Homer owed most of those Tales that raise our Wonder in the Odyssey, to his Converse among the Phenicians: And as they were told from the first Apprehensions the Phenician Sea-men and Simple Greeks formed of them, that same Simplicity has been preserved in the Relation, and has accommodated them to the Understanding.
Standing and Taste of all Nations and Ranks of Men.

I cannot bid them farewell, without reflecting with some Surprize on Homer's Good fortune in this Particular. He was equally happy in his Wonders as in his Religion. Too much Splendour did not glare in his Eyes and darken his Miracles; for, if your Lordship will forgive the Oddness of the Phrase, the best Light to place a Wonder in, is a little Obscurity. His Gods and their Powers were never so much as questioned, when he sung of their marvelous Alliances and mystick Generation: Nor were these Countries to the North and West of Greece enough known, to make People doubt of the strange and woeful Stories he related of them. It was so late as Cocceius and Agrippa, under Augustus, who cleared the Avernus, and cut thro' the Mountains, that Homer's Hell appeared to be an ordinary Bay; and what he said of it, ἔλεγεν ἡ ἡλλὴν καὶ ἡ θέα to be all a pure Fable: But before that, and especially in the Infancy of the Phenician Navigation, while the Coast lay unexplored, the Miracles would be swallowed; and the strangest Tale he could tell, would pass for a certain Truth.

Such Reflections as these, have sometimes led me to think, that Homer's Art was not so great and refined as we commonly suppose.
it to have been: That his Good Fortune was far superior to his Skill; Since he needed but represent things both in his own and other Countries, almost as he heard them talked of. The ordinary Strain in which they were related, was nicely calculated for giving them that air of natural Wonder, that affects us so strongly in reading them: A thing hardly to be counterfeited! For a man who understands any Subject perfectly, who knows the Causes and Effects of every surprizing like thing about it, of consequence talks coolly; and having no Admiration himself, can with difficulty raise it in another. When he essays to do it, his Looks and Voice, and laboured Sentences betray him, and shew the Artifice; But if at any time he comes to forget himself, and can screw up his Fancy so as to smother his Reason, he may then succeed; and inspire his Hearers with a Passion he begins to feel: Yet his Judgment will recur when the Fit is over, and leave him the same cool unadmiring Person he was before.

I have heard it declared, by those whose Business it is to personate Characters and their peculiar Passions, that they never succeed so well as when they forget themselves most; and have entered into some sort of Persuasion, that they are indeed the Persons whom they represent. But I don't know, whe-
ther I dare apply their Case to our celebrated Poet, and venture to say, "That the more firmly Homer believed the Wonders he tells, he wou'd tell them the better, and paint their most moving Circumstances with a truer Feeling than if he had not been persuaded of the Truth of the Facts."

Paulum tu interesse censes, ex animo omnia Ut fert natura facias, an de industriâ?

Thus, We have run over Homer's Advantages from Nature and Education: We have surveyed the Climate where he was born: We have considered the Manners of his Country, its Language and Religion; and have found from the Nature of things, and their constant Effects, that they were all in the happiest temper for Description and Poesy. We have gone further, and traced him in his private Education, his Employment and Manner of Life, and found them of the same nature and tendency: And to account for the wide Knowledge of Men and Things that appears thro' out his Works, we have look'd abroad, and found foreign Countries affording the happiest Opportunities Man's heart cou'd wish, for poetick Improvement: Their joint Effects we have found verified in his Descriptions and Allusions, and in the Numbers of shining Images that grace his Writings: But take them altogether, and
they had not been able to raise him to his high Station, if the noblest Subject that ever fired the Fancy of a Poet had not completed his Happiness. Let us, My Lord, consider it, and conclude the Enquiry.
OF THE TWO Heroick Poems written by Homer, the first contains an Account of the hottest Period of a long War between the confederate Princes of Greece, and the richest Kingdom of Asia with its Dependencies. The second relates the Consequences of that War, and the Fates of the several Chieftains after the Victory. Homer seems to have been destin'd for writing the History of the whole Transaction, by being born in one Country, residing in the other, and travelling much in both.
It would be a difficult matter to enumerate the Advantages of such a Situation: It would be to resume the Conditions in Manners, Language, and Travelling, we found to be requisite in Poetry; and shewing that by this means they are included in Homer's Fortunes. He appears to be the only Bard, that equally knew the Country of his Hero, and that of his Enemies: And except those Poets who have sung of Civil Wars, where the contending Parties are of the same Country, and where for that reason, there can be no Variety of Manners; excepting those, I say, he seems in this respect likewise to be singular among the Poets.

I cannot pretend to determine the precise time he spent in each Country; how soon he left Ionia, or how frequently he returned to it? 'Tis certain, that his Language and Manners are principally Ionick; tho' all the Dialects of Greece are employed in his Poetry, and give proof that he has visited the principal Nations, and learned the Peculiarities of their Speech. His own has no doubt been formed, where he spent his Youth; and afterwards, by wandering up and down in Asia and Greece, he hath attained that easy familiar manner of speaking of them, for which he is admired. This is a Blessing so rare in a Poet's Lot, to be as it were a Native of both Countries, that I believe your Lord.
Lordship will not be displeased to take a View of some of its Consequences.

The first that offers, is That he must have been acquainted with the Field of Action, the Plains of Troy. 'Twas this enabled him to describe it so minutely; and give it that Air of Veracity it bears from those Natural Incidents he has thrown into his Narration. He had them, not by reading or Speculation, but from the Places themselves, and the Prospects that arose from the Culture and Disposition of the Grounds. Who but the Man that had wandered over that delightful Plain, that had viewed the Bendings of the Coast, and every Corner of the Fields, could have described or feigned the genuine Marks of it: The Tomb of Dardanus, the Springs of Scamander, the Beach Tree, with many other Circumstances that distinguish the Environs, and enrich his Landscape. Other Writers, before they tell you of an Action that happened in any Place, first describe that Place, be it a Grove, or Rock, or River, or the Declivity of a Mountain. These they feign according to the strength of their Fancy, and then they apply them. Homer mentions

a  Efl urbe egressis tumulus, templumque vetustum
Defertae Cerereis; Juxtaque antiqua cupressus,
Religione patrum multos servata per annos;  Says Eneas
to his Servants, who must have known those Places as well, or
better than himself.  Encid. II.
tions his Places with an appearance of Certainty, as already subsisting, and already known: He does it almost in the Manner of an Historian, and leaves you to pick up your Knowledge of them from the Circumstances of the Action where they are introduced.

It may perhaps seem somewhat extraordinary, at this distance of Time, to affirm "That Homer's Account of these Places was not fictitious; that his Battles were given in no imaginary Spaces, but correspond with the real state of the Land and Water." Yet a very convincing Proof of it may be drawn from the Nature of a Treatise that Time has deprived us of. Demetrius Scepsius was born at a little Village, situated upon a Skirt of Mount Ida, not many miles from Troy. As he knew every Mead and Brook in the Country, and that there was neither Hill nor Vale, nor hardly a By-way, that had escaped his notice, he wrote a Commentary of thirty Books upon few more than sixty Verses of Homer's Catalogue of the Trojans. There he ascertained the real Places of Homer's Descriptions, and pointed out the Scenes of the remarkable Actions. He shewed where the Greeks had drawn up their

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"Et in medios res, Non secus ac notas auditorum exit." — Horat. ad Pison.

"SCEPSIS."
their Ships; where Achilles encamped with his Myrmidons; where Hector drew up the Trojans; and from what Countries came the Auxiliaries: In short he fixed the Geography of the Trojan Affairs, and actually performed what Virgil feigns.

— Juvat ire et Dorica castra, Desertosque videre locos, littusque reliquit. Hic Dolopum manus; hic sœvus tendebat Achilles; Classibus hic locus; hic acies certare solebant.

Or, as it is fancied by a softer Poet:

Hac ibat Simoïs; hic est Sigeïa tellus; Hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis. Illic Æacides, illic tendebat Ulysses; Hic lacer admissos terruit Hector equos.

Here is the great Witness for Homer: He appears to his Character, and attests his Veracity after many Searches into the Truth of his Relations. But tho' we had no such Testimony, we might know he copied from Nature, and described Realities by the Effects of his Descriptions upon our own Minds: 'Tis in this as in other things; no Imagination can supply the want of Truth: Flowery Meads and horrid Rocks, dismal Dungeons and enchanted Palaces (things all on Extremes) can
can be easily imagined: But they take only with young raw Fancies, fit to be entertained with stories of Dwarfs and distress'd Dam'sels. 'Tis the Traces of Truth that are only irresistible; and the most fanciful fairy Scene in the Argenis, or the *****, does not please like the Callicolone, or a Prospect from the Brow of the lofty Ide, because not real. In the one, the Harmony established between the human Understanding and Truth, commands our Afsent: In the other, the Mind wavers, and views them passing like a waking Dream.

Such was Homer's Good fortune with respect to Places; and the same Cause has made him equally happy in the knowledge of the Persons whose actions he sung. A Stranger in Asia must have been a Stranger to its Inhabitants; but Homer, as a Native, had many opportunities to know the Nations and Tribes contiguous to Troy. We find him able to recount Priam's Auxiliaries, and make up a List of their Leaders, with equal certainty as he had done his ERITIA or Catalogue of the Grecian Ships. His Knowledge this way will bear the strictest Scrutiny; and as we are apt to set a high value upon those Accounts of Men and Countries, that are given by People personally acquainted with them, it will be worth while
while to enquire narrowly into the Poet’s Abilities, by dipping a little into his Subject.

PRIAM’s Kingdom, according to Homer, extended from the River ESEPUΣ, the Border of the Cyzicenian Territory, all along the Coast of the Propontis and Hellespont, until you come to the Lectian Promontory, over against Lesbus, in the Egean Sea. This we learn from Achilles’ own Mouth, who had ravaged the greatest part of it. When the unhappy Priam came to him to beg the Body of his slaughtered Son, the fierce Greek began to relent, and thinking upon the Reverse of Fortune of the aged Prince, he says to him:

Before these days, old King, we hear thou ruled’st

O’er many Provinces in prosperous State,
From Lesbus upwards, Macar’s fertile Seat,
All between Phrygia and the Hellespont.

The Trojan Dominion therefore, was bounded on the west by the Sea, and on the east by the famed Mount Ida, whose Skirts run north to the Euxine, and south-east to the Bay of Issus. It comprehended nine Govern-

\[\text{Iliad. Χ.}\]
Governments, or Provinces, over which it is thought Priam reigned before the Arrival of the Greeks. Besides these, he drew Auxiliaries from the high Countries all around him, as far as from beyond the River Halys on the one hand, and the Old Cilicia on the other.

With these, and with their Inhabitants, must Homer have been acquainted, to give us such a Plan of the Trojan Power as he has done: And in order to fit him for this Task, some Events fell out before he was born, which are worthy of Observation. As first, "That this very Country, formerly the Dominion of ancient Troy, reaching from the River Esopus to the Lycian Promontory, was soon after the Destruction of the City, wholly occupied by the Eoli-ans, a Grecian Colony. Next, that within fourscore Years after this Settlement was made, another Grecian Tribe, the Ionians came and possessed themselves of all the Coast from that Promontory down to the Cilician Border. Not long after this, Homer came into

* I. From Esopus down to Abydos, under Adrastus and Amphius the Sons of Acris. II. Abydos, with its Territory, under Atlas. III. The Lycians under Pandarus. IV. The Dardans under Eueas. V. The Trojans, so called from Troy, under Hector. VI. The Leleges under Aetes. VII. and VIII. Two Lymeis's: One under Euryplus the Son of Telephus; the other, under Myntes, the Country of the beautiful Briseis, Achilles' Mistress. IX. Thebes, opposite to Lesbos, under Etion, where Chryseis was taken, Agamemnon's loved Captive; and it was also the native City of the faithful Andromache.
into the World, and had access to hear from his own Countrymen their Exploits, and from his Neighbours, the Descendants of Priam's Allies, the traditional accounts of what passed in the War.

From the Remains of the Trojans, that were left scattered up and down in the conquered Country, he would hear their Side of the Story: What Friends and Ancestors any of them had lost in the Common Cause: What kind of Men they were? What Armour they wore; what Weapons they used, and how nobly they fought before they fell in Battle? He has described the Houses of some of the Princes that lived at a great Distance from Troy; has given us an Inventory of their Armories, the Number of Horses they kept, and the Chariots they had laid up, with all the Circumstances of a Family Story, such as might be told by one of their Posterity. He appears indeed to have wandered over many of the Places he mentions, and to have visited the native Soils of the greater part of his Heroes, where he might hear their Stories from their Subjects and Descendants. They would not fail to tell them with all the miraculous aggravating Incidents, which their Love to their Chiefs, and the Warmth of their Fancies could inspire: And we all know how carefully such Traditions are
are preserved, and faithfully handed down to the young Branches of a warlike Family.

The Effect of this Good-fortune in Homer's Situation, we feel upon our Minds, while we read his Works. To persuade, is allowed to be a thing very hardly accomplished in Verse. The common weak side of Poetry is, that while we read it, we perceive it is so: The Fiction every now and then discovers its cloven foot, betrays its Dissimilitude to Truth, and tho' never so willing, we cannot believe. However we may be pleased with the Sweetness of the Lines, and the Pomp of the Description, the Mind is seldom seized, nor do we enter into the Subject. The Poet gains no Ascendant over our Opinions, nor puts us in pain for the Consequences. But when we sit down to Homer, and hear him tell over the Number of his Ships, recount his Auxiliaries, and produce as it were the Muster-Roll of the two Armies, we can no longer defend ourselves; and in spite of all our Precaution, an Opinion creeps upon us, "That every " Tittle of what he says is true."

Another Consequence of Homer's Situation with regard to his Subject, is the Smoothness of his Language. I do not mean the Genius of the Ionick Dialect, or its general Aptness for Poetry; tho' the frequent Return of Vowels, and the sportive Disposition of
of the People, are Circumstances of no small Importance, either for Sound or Character. The Advantage I mention, is the Softness of the proper Names of Places and Persons that fill his Poem; and their being as it were ready polished to his hand, and fit to be employed in a Work where Delicacy and Grandeur must combine to bring it to perfection. Here seems to be another Singularity in Homer's Destiny, "To speak as easily of a " foreign Country as he does of his own." His Ancestors had come and possessed themselves of all the Dominion of Troy, had softened the Names of the Mountains, the Rivers, and Vales, and given them Grecian Terminations: They had familiarized them into their Language before he was born, and he just came in time to reap the Benefit of it in his Poetry.

We are told that Virgil in his Youth intended to write a Poem of the Wars of Rome; but having essayed it, he was deterred from the Undertaking by the Asperity of the ancient Roman Names. That great Master of Verse found it difficult to put such harsh Words as Vibius Caudex, Tanaquil, Lucumo, or Decius Mus, into his Poetry. Some of the Names of Towns could absolutely find no Place in Heroic-Measure. They were all

a Mansuri Oppidulo, quod Versu dicere non est.
Horat. Lib. I. Sat. V.
most as frightful as Boileau’s *WOERDEN*, or the hideous *WURTS*, of whose Name he so woefully complains, as quite scare-ring his Muse*. But instead of these, *Homer* had the most flowing Names and sonorous Appellations, either imposed by the lately settled Tribes, or softened from their ancient Rudeness into his own graceful Dialect. Succeeding Writers have bore testimony to his Excellency in this particular; there being few Parts of his Works from which they have borrowed more largely, than those high-founding Epithets he every where imposes upon Persons and Places, and which have been in a manner consecrated to the Poetick Stile, with the unanimous Consent of his Successors.

**But, My Lord**, tho’ we know the Times of the *Eolian* and *Ionian* Migrations, and when they settled upon the *Asianick Coast*, I hardly think that we are got to the Bottom of the Affair; or that this Knowledge is sufficient *fully* to discover *Homer’s* Happiness in the Choice of his **Subject**. I am apt to think

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*b* Des villes que tu prends les noms durs et barbares,
N’offrent de toutes parts que syllabes bizarres:
Et qui peut sans freinir aborder *Woerden*?
Quei vers ne tomberoit au seul nom de *Heufsden*?
Quelle Muse a rimer en tous lieux dispoilee,
Oferoit approcher des Bords du Zuiderzee?  *Epitr. 4.*

c *WURTS* l’espoir du Pais, et l’Appui des ces Murs
*WURTS*—Ah quel nom, Grand Roi, quel Hector que ce *Wurts*?
Sans ce terrible nom —
Bientot — Mais *Wurts* s’oppose.  *Epitr. 4.*
think that these Colonies were not the first that crossed the Hellespont, and carried with them something of the Western Language and Manners. I believe there were many Bodies of People from Thrace and the Islands, who may have gone over at different times, and taken Possession of some Parts of the Coast, and who were afterwards incorporated with the former Inhabitants. A Presumption of this may be drawn from the Trojan Names, which are supposed to have existed before Homer's People came and settled in their Country. They are for the most part of Grecian Composition: Nay even the Names of the Trojan Auxiliaries are generally Grecian, tho' further removed from that Country than the Asiatick Shore. But as these may have been imposed by the subsequent Inhabitants (the new Greek Plantation) we could not build upon this Circumstance without the Concurrence of other Proofs.

And first, We are assured by a Native of Pontus, one of the Northern Countries, formerly in alliance with Priam, "That " the Trojan Language had many Words and " Names in common with the Thracian." Of this he gives several Instances, which it would be to little purpose to transcribe: But what appears very remarkable in them is, That those very Instances are generally Grecian.
Enquiry into the Life terms, as well as Trojan or Thracian.

There are indeed many reasons to induce us to believe, that the difference between the ancientest Greek, and the Language of Thrace, was not very considerable. The People of Macedon had many Names in use among them, which were not understood by the Inhabitants of Attica and Peloponnesus; and the Thracians who filled all the Country to the North of Macedon, from Epirus and Illyricum to the Strymonick Bay, and quite down to the Hellespont, have no doubt varied yet more from the Grecian Dialect; but still with some Affinity to the bordering Language.

To confirm us in this Opinion, it is certain that the Thracians had anciently great footing in Greece: Thersa a Thracian governed at Daulis in the Phocean Territory, where the tragical inhuman Story of Philomela and Progne was acted. From thence a Body of Thracians passed over to Euboea, and inhabited the Island: They are constantly called Abantes, by Homer, from Abas, the Town in Phocis whence they came. Of the same Nation were the Aoner, Tembices, and Hyantians, who made themselves Masters of the old Boeotia; and even the polished Attica itself was inhabited by the Thracians, under the Command of the renowned Eumolpus. In a word, the great Tracts of Land occupied by them, and by the Egyptian and Phry-
Phrygian Colonies, have made the celebrated Geographer assert, "That almost "all Greece was formerly possessed by Bar-
"barians d."

This Intercourse between the Nations, and Affinity of their Dialect, will appear still stronger, if we call to mind Who were the Masters of the ancient Musick and Poetry, and the first famed for these Arts among the Greeks? It was Orpheus, Mus- saus, Thamyris, and Eumolpus, all Thracians; who were not only understood by the then Greeks, but able to charm them with their Eloquence and Melody, and persuade them to exchange their Fierceness for a Social Life and peaceful Manners e. No wonder then if the Thracian Tribes that crossed the Hellespont and settled in the Do- minion of Troy, the Cauncones, Treres, and Cimmerians, gave Names to their new Habita- tions, which bear an Analogy to the Lan- guage of Greece.

U 4

BUT

d ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΣ μήν ὑν ὁ Μιλήσιος περὶ τῇς ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΝ
Φήσαι, ὅτι πρὶν τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὄψιν ἀνήρ Βάρβαρος: Σχεδόν δὲ τί καὶ ή ΣΤΜΠΑΣΑ ΕΛΛΑΣ καὶ ικίνε ΒΑΡΒΑΡΩΝ ὑπήρξε τῇ παιαινῇ.

Ετρέα. Β. Β. Ελα τ. ζ.

e Ορφέες ἦσαν ὁ έπιμελήτης τῆς Αρχαίας Μουσικῆς, ΟΡΦΕΥΣ
ΜΟΣΤΑΙΟΣ καὶ ΘΑΜΠΡΙΣ; Καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ Αἴγι τῇ περὶ τοῖς Ἀθηνών ΘΑΜΠΡΙΣ ὁ ὈΡΗΣ ἔκαστο τὸν Ἀργάν Ἐπιχειρησάμενος γεν- νομενον ἔν καὶ ὁ ΚΙΚΩΝ ΟΡΦΕΥΣ: ὡς 'Ορφέος τὰ πρῶτα μὲν ἀγμαθέων διείξε οὕτως καὶ μεθιζον άξιων ἐνζιζον καὶ Οχλόν καὶ Συ- κάμων περιπλοκον, διεθαρή ἐκ τῆς Επιστημῆς ο Ὀρφέως
Ἀνὴρ ΤΟΗΣ ἢ τῇς Μουσικῆς τῇ καὶ Μανικῆς, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς Τελείας ΟΡΓΙΑΣΜΩΝ.

'Ευναθ. ἐν Εὐλαβ. 'Ραφεών, β.
But besides the Thracians, there were several other Tribes, that in an ambulatory uncertain kind of Life, strayed over Greece and other Parts of Europe, before the Trojan War, whom Homer nevertheless recounts among the Nations fighting under the Banners of Troy. These came not as Auxiliaries from beyond Sea to Priam, he having received no manner of Assistance from the European Side, and must therefore have passed the Sea, and settled in Asia some considerable time before the Beginning of the War. The most distinguished of them were the wandering Pelasgi, the great Planters of Greece, Italy, and the Trojan Coast. It would be endless to relate their several Settlements up and down those Countries, and their Expulsions from them: It is sufficient we know in general that they were a great and populous Nation: "Among their other Establishments, says an ancient Historian, "the Pelasgi were possessed of the whole Sea-Coast of Ionia, with the neighbouring Islands:

Διάναος, ὁ πειθεισθεῖσα θυγατέριν παῦρ
Ελθὼν εἰς Ἀργος, ὄμως ἰόνιαν πολίν ἔ
Πελασγῶτας β' ἀνυμαχήμας τοπρίν,
Διαναοῦ καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθνεν. Ἐρυπίδα.

Διόνυσιος Ηλικάρνασσ. Ἀντικ. Ρωμ. Λιθ. 1.
"Islands: But being exceedingly given to change of Place, and a sudden Relinquishment of their former Seats, they both increased in an extraordinary manner, and were as quickly brought low:" The chief Blow was given them by the Eolians and Ionians, at their Arrival in Asia; who took their Towns, drove them from their delicious Fields, and forced those that escaped the Sword, to take Shelter in the higher Country.

Such Commotions are apt to appear something strange to us now; but very unreasonably, when we consider how many European Families are at this day quitting their paternal Habitations, and crossing no narrow Arm of the Sea, to a plentiful Land, like the ancient Greeks; but traversing the Ocean in quest of uncultivated Grounds, and running to another World in hopes of bettering their Condition. This Reflection may stop our Wonder: And when we think of all these Removes and interchangeable Secessions of Tribes and Nations, we shall not be surprized to hear it affirmed by a Man so well versed in the ancient state of things as Strabo, "That about the time of the Trojan War, both Greeks and Barbarians, as if seized with some wandering Spirit, or acted by a restless Impulse, deserted their native Seats, and
An Enquiry into the Life

"and marched in Multitudes to invade the " Possessions of their Neighbours."

It was by this mixture of Tribes, and Permutation of Places of Abode, that the Coast of the lesser Asia was in a manner naturalized to the Greeks before the War of Troy. Their Neighbours the Thracians had often settled in it; and the wandering Pelasgi, the Leleges, and the Caucones, when driven from the Shore, had even carried into the upper parts of the Country, some Tincture of the Grecian Language, and Knowledge of the Inhabitants of their Mother-foil: And as the Language then spoken in Troy seems therefore to have been a Mixture of the Thracian, Aramean, and Greek, it is not impossible but that the People might make shift to understand each other: Paris might be able to court a Grecian Dame in an intelligible Stile; Or, if it should be maliciously said, that this may be done without much Language, Homer himself might stand in little need of an Interpreter, to learn from the Descendants of the Trojan and Lucian Families, the mighty Deeds of their warlike Progenitors.

This will appear still the more probable, if we consider that few of the Genealogies of the Trojan or Dardan Chiefs reach above three or four Generations: So far they can trace their Descent, and no farther. A great Proof
Proof of the late peopling the Country. Any of the Races that go higher, run into Mythology, and derive their Pedigree from Heaven; that is, they are the Off-spring of some strolling Man, or strolling God, who came into their Country three or four Generations ago, (they cannot tell from whence) and left them behind him, as his Posterity.

It was a common Phrase among the Ancients, when they addressed a Man whose Appearance and Conversation bespoke him to be of a noble Family, That he was not sprung from the Rock, nor dropt from an aged Oak: Upon this Supposition, when they found themselves at a loss for a fleshy Father as the Stock of their Race, they took care to give themselves such an Original as they were sure would never try to disprove their Claim. But this very Want shews a recent Settlement; and a mixture of Strangers lately come into the Country, who must either impose new Names upon things, or pronounce the old with the Accent and Tone peculiar to the Genius of their native Tongue. In any case, Homer's Writings must have felt the softening Influence, and been exempted from that Harshness and Dissonancy which a number of foreign Names unavoidably introduce into narrative Poetry.

These
These, My Lord, are beautiful Circumstances in the Poetick Destiny of our Bard; and might give great distaste, if a Composition was deprived of the Graces that attend them. For is it not here as in Life? That we too frequently overlook our Enjoyments, and are ignorant of their real Value, until some cruel Accident snatch them from us, and make us sensible of their Worth by their absence. But Homer's Good fortune, almost in every Circumstance of his Fate, makes him, methinks, appear like some exquisite Statue, the Work of his Country, and placed with Judgment in a well regulated Garden: There, Pieces perhaps of ordinary Workmanship grace this or the other Parterre; but all the Openings terminate upon this favourite Figure, and at every different Turn you discover a new Beauty, and think it more graceful than before.

Yet among all these there is generally a chief point of view; some advantageous Stand, which gives the sweetest Attitude, and most amiable appearance of the Figure. This, My Lord, is still before us: It may open up us at the next Turn, and has perhaps been luckily reserved for the last Look, that we may retire full of the Idea, and with a higher Taste of the Beauty of the Original.
The great Good fortune that attended Homer, I take to have been what we may call the Material Part of his Subject. "It was a prodigious Rendezvous of the bravest Inhabitants, and Sons of the noblest Families of a free Country, wide and warlike; and engaged in a violent struggle of Passions and Arms, with another of more effeminate Manners. The Effect was, that it afforded him real, historick Characters for his Model.

To set this matter in a just Light, and shew the vast extent of its Influence, we need make but one Reflection; "That such an Assembly of the Chiefs of two great Nations, displaying their Virtues and Vices upon the greatest and most interesting Subjects, must include the prime Characters of Mankind; and of consequence present a Poet with the most genuine and fairest Materials that can beautify a human Composition." Let us remember, My Lord, what it is that gives us such perpetual Pleasure in reading the Iliad? That makes us start at the Turns in the Speeches, and fills us with Anxiety and Wonder? It is not the beautiful Descriptions of Places, nor even the Rage and Ardour of the Battles. But those High Strokes of Character that every where occur, and are constantly presenting us with new Sentiments of the human Heart, such
such as we expect, and from our own Experience feel to be true. These can never miss their Aim: They at once charm the Fancy with Images, and fill the Understanding with Reflection: They interest every thing that is human about us, and go near to agitate us with the same Passions as we see represented in the moving Story.

This Reflection will bear to be turned on every side, and dreads no Search be it ever so severe. In the choice we make of any Measure in the conduct of our Business or Pleasures, we examine its Justness and Expediency, not only by considering what good end it serves? But likewise, what Inconveniences are avoided, what Pains or Trouble spared, or what Miscarriages prevented, to which another Method might be liable? Take Homer's Subject in the same Light, and it will appear with a Pre-eminency hardly to be expressed. Such a Convention of Princes, from different Countries and Soils, but all speaking the same Language, furnished him with great Materials, and hindered him from attempting an Impossibility; "I mean the "feigning or forming new imaginary Characters, without Originals from which he might "copy them." The flourishing Condition of Greece at that time; the great number of Principalities, free Cities, and growing Republicks, sent forth an Assembly of Heroes, the
the World could hardly match ever since. The Grecians themselves confessed, that their Country, when much more polished and improved, had never produced so many free natural Characters, not tainted with Politicks, not moulded by Laws, nor effeminated with Pleasures; and for that reason, half-deified those very Persons, whom they knew at the same time to be but the Sons of Men.

His Subject therefore, saved him from a desperate Enterprize; and prevented him from falling into those Errors and Absurdities that deprive many a lively Poet of his Reputation. To it he owed the Stateliness and Dignity with which Idomeneus the Cretan King appears on all occasions. To it he owed the beautiful and unwarlike Nireus, the faithless Pandarus, and the amiable humane Patroclus. And above all the rest, to this he was indebted for the noble Contrast of Characters that adorn his Poems. There we see the ancient Nestor, mild, and calm, and talkative, opposed to the young fiery Thessalian, the intractable Achilles: The too indulgent Priam stands by the prudent Polydamas, and the wise Antenor: The Hardiness of the noble Hector, and Debauchery of the luxurious Paris, serve but to illustrate one another, and come all originally from the same Fountain.
The Detail of this part of his Happiness would be endless: But there are two remarkable Circumstances in Homer’s Writings, which have been generally look’d upon as Strokes of Art, where I am apt to think the Nature and Situation of his Subject bore a considerable Sway. It has been observ’d to his Honour, “That the Characters of his ‘Heroes, tho’ of the same kind, and excelling in one and the same thing, are yet all diversify’d, and mark’d with some Peculiarities that distinguish them, and make a Separation.” Thus, for instance, both Achilles and Ajax, Diomedes and Hector, Ulysses and Merion, are all brave; but it is in a different manner. Achilles is fierce and impetuous, Ajax steady and firm, Diomedes gallant and open, Ulysses cautious and bold; and both Agamemnon and Hector are mark’d with that princely Courage which becomes the Generals of two great Nations. This, My Lord, I hardly think could ever have been feigned; it was Truth and Nature alone that could form those Differences, so real and yet so delicate, and afterwards offer them to a Representation.

To describe so many Men; to point out their Manners; to paint their Persons, relate their Adventures, and make a long Recital of their Families, seems to be beyond the Power of Fiction. The making or feign-
HOMER has kept true even to the Fortunes and Estates of his Heroes: The two richest Men in Greece, were Agamemnon and Achilles: The one, by reason of his large Dominions and the Sovereignty of the Isles: And accordingly we find him lending sixty Ships to the Arcadians, an inland People; and promising many Towns and Lands in Dow'ry with his Daughter. The other, Achilles, was Lord of the rich Thessalian Plains, early famed all over Greece, for Wealth and Horsemanship. He had likewise taken and plunder'd three and twenty Towns lying round Troy, and was enriched by his Share in the Spoil. We are not therefore surpriz'd at the Treasure he throws away with such Profusion at the Funerals of Patroclus; nor to find him renowned for his Horses and Chariot-racing, beyond the

a Ἄδης ὁ αὐτὸς Οἰλές' Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε Ἡράκλαζ,
Πολλαῖς ΝΗΣΟΙΣ καὶ ΑΡΓΕΙ πάλιν ἀνάστειν. Ιλιαζ, Β.

b Ω Μένων, πρῶτο μὲν ΘΕΤΑΛΟΙ εὐθυμιοι ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς Ελνυμοι, καὶ Ἰάωνάξυλο ἵππο 'Ιπτίκη τε καὶ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ, ΠΛΑΤΩΝ, ΜΕΝΩΝ.
rest of the Greeks. He was so remarkable for it, that when Ulysses meets his Shade in the infernal Regions, the first Circumstance which occurs to him is, That now alas! he was there, \( \text{λελογμένῃ \ Ιταυωνίων} \), unmindful of his Horses and Chivalry.

The Second thing which has been look'd upon as a noble Proof of his Judgment, is the Period of Time he has chosen for the Beginning of his Poem. He has not, they say, set out with the first Campaign; nor attempted to deduce the Trojan Story from the miraculous Birth of Helen, or her Brothers: He has confined himself to the last Year of the War, and by that means filled his Poem with History and Action.

But here too, he was happy in his Subject, which directed him of its own accord to make the Choice. There were two distinct Periods in the War. The first was long and tedious, while Achilles and his Myrmidons were fighting on the side of the Greeks, and ravaging the Country around Troy. During all that time, the Trojans kept within their Walls, and durst not meet this dreaded Warrior in the open Field: So that there was but little to be described, except these Excur-

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{Nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri,} \\
&\text{Nec gemino bellum Trojanum orditur ab ovo.} \\
&\text{Horat. ad Pison.}
\end{align*} \]
Excursions to pillage, which are occasionally inserted in the Dialogues of the Iliad.

But the second Period was short and full of Action: For no sooner was the disoblige d enraged Hero retired to his Ship, and had withdrawn his Troops, than the Face of the War was wholly changed: The remaining Greeks were now no longer supported by his tremendous Arm; and the Trojans ventured to quit their Town and face the Enemy. Battles, and Truces, and Perjuries, ensued: Fear, and Terror, and Despair, took their turns in the Camps, and filled every anxious Hour with Passion and Amazement. The Wrath of the Hero was the Spring of all this Misery; and therefore a happy Theme for an Epic or Narrative Poet.

It was so, My Lord, in many respects. The Wrath of Achilles was in reality the Hinge of the War, and that upon which the whole of the great Transaction turned. The Time of Action; the Counsels of the Leaders; the Disposition and Temper of the Armies, all depended upon it, and were directed by it. This made it a kind of Rule for the Conduct and Disposition of his Poem: and if he kept it in his Eye, (as we see he has certainly done) it would naturally lay out his general Plan, and influence the Proportions of the subservient Parts. It has besides, the peculiar Excellence
cellency of shewing and exercising more Passions, and of more opposite Natures, than any other Period of the War. It was raised by Love and Ambition, inflamed by Pride, softened by Friendship, kept up by Glory and conscious Virtue, and only vanquished by a superior Passion, Revenge.

Many other Parts and Episodes, if I may say so, of the Grecian Expedition, furnished Matter for Epic Poems. Demodocus sung the Ambush of the Trojan Horse; Phemius, the Return of the Greeks with Agamemnon; and the Little Iliad (a Poem so called) contained both those Subjects, and the occasional Adventures that had followed upon the War; the adjudging the Arms of Achilles, — Philoetetes, — Neoptolemus, — Sinon, with some others. But it is worth our notice, what Judgment the Father of Criticism has made of these Pieces: He says, That whereas the Iliad and Odyssey could furnish but two, or at most but four, regular and entire Aelions, the Little Iliad could afford double the number; so that you might compose eight different Poems of the Materials it contained: So simple and connected a Subject was the Wrath of Achilles, and the Wanderings of Ulysses!
It was, at the same time, not only rich in Action, but in such Action as is capable of being described, and admits of a Recital. When a great Town is taken sword in hand, the Carnage and Fury exercised in it can hardly be told: That horrid Face of Misery is, in the real meaning of the Phrase, beyond Expression: The Intenseness of the Ill transcends all Language, and mocks the Words we use in the Description. Much less can we collect from every quarter, the various Scenes of Woe, and represent them together. But the Action that has fallen to the share of our Poet, is generally of such a nature as to give play to the Imagination: We can follow it step by step, observe its Progress, and lose but little of the whole. We can accompany Diomedes and Ulysses in every Motion of their nocturnal Expedition; and can walk up and down the Grecian Camp, and visit the Watch, with Agamemnon and Nestor, as if present upon the Place.

It is true, We cannot comprehend the Shock of a general Engagement, nor describe what is doing in all the Parts of a Battle: But the ancient manner of fighting

\( \text{Iliad. K.} \)

\( \text{Dvor' es tis Phulakas kalakismoen, ephu idoumen} \)

\( \text{Mn} \text{ tou} \mu\nu \text{ kai} \text{stat} \text{a} \text{dphmenes. Hdo} \text{ kai} \text{Epistro} \)

\( \text{Koumiouvel}, \text{atap Phulakhs epitaphyu labon,ke.} \) \( \text{Iliad. K.} \)
fighting made a compensation for this to the Poet. Their Battles were, for the most part, so many Duels, or single Combats of Chief against Chief, and Man against Man: Hardly was there a random Blow given, or a Javelin let fly, without being aimed at a particular Person. The Warriors had time to know one another, and to throw Reproaches and Threats, as well as Spears, at their insulting Adversary. This manner of fighting is finely fitted for Description; and tho' we cannot be in all parts at once, yet we can attend upon any single Hero, hear him threatening, and view him performing, in the Rage of the Field.

I should transcribe a great part of his Poems, if I intended to point out every particular Advantage that Homer reaped from this happy Choice. But there is one famous Doubt concerning his Works, which deserves our Attention. Your Lordship must have observed how seriously the Ancients propose it, and I suppose, will not be displeas'd to find his Subject affording an Answer.

They seem inclin'd to believe "that "the Principles of all the Sciences are to "be found in his Works: No Species or "kind of Writing for which he has not set an "Example; nor almost any Art, whose Pre-"cepts and Rules may not be deduced from "his Poetry." They went further, and enter'd into
into a Detail of his Knowledge. General Assertions did not content them; but such wise Men as Dionysius the Halicarnassian, and the ingenious Plutarch, thought themselves judiciously employed, in collecting the several Branches, and setting them together. They have shewn, that Poetry in all its Forms, Tragedy, Comedy, Ode, and Epitaph, are included in his Works: That Oratory, Politics, Oeconomy, and War, are bound to acknowledge him as their Master. The last we should not so much wonder at, since the great Macedonian Conqueror, among other Honours done to his Works, professed himself his Scholar in this Kingly Science: But some went still further, and found the greatest Secrets of Nature, and hidden Mysteries of the Universe, revealed or shadowed out by this wonderful Poet. Hardly a depth in Astronomy, or latent Principle in Heaven or Earth, which they have not discover'd him to be acquainted with, and to have hinted at its Powers in some Allusion or metaphor.

These, My Lord, are very strange Assertions; and it seems stranger still, that the severest Men in the World, the People least obnoxious to Illusion or poetick Enthusiasm, should adopt and defend them. The famed Antisthenes had begun a Treatise to prove Ὄτι τὰ μὲν Δῆμος, τὰ δὲ Ἀλήθεια ἐγνώμεν τῷ Ποίητῃ; That the Poet spoke sometimes

 accord.
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according to Truth; and sometimes, according to Opinion: But not living to finish it, no less Man than Zeno, the Parent of the Stoick Philosophy, took up the Design: He shewed, that Homer nowhere contradicted himself, pointed out the latent Meaning of his Allegories, and the natural Sense in which they were to be taken. The learned Crates Mallotes, contemporary with Aristarchus, and Pannetius' Master, took a step still beyond them: He thought it not enough, that what Homer himself had touched upon should be demonstrated to be true; but he actually applied his Hypotheses to the Phenomena of things, and by their assistance, endeavoured to solve those Difficulties in natural Philosophy, which had not been directly explained by the Poet.

They did indeed imagine, that there was nothing in the World but what he understood: And being struck with what they saw, they gave into the common weakness of Mankind, and made large Allowances for what they saw not. They came at last to persuade themselves, that a Mind so vast could not belong to a Man; that so much Knowledge could only flow from a heavenly Source; and
and having once firmly settled his *apo-
thēōsis* in their own Minds, they
wanted next, that every thing about him
should appear supernatural and divine. The
Uncertainty about the Place of his Birth,
they improved into a *celestial Lineage*; and
because they knew not the name of his Fa-
ther, they called him the Son of *Apollo*.

**Appion** the celebrated Grammarian
writes, " That the Herb *Cynocephale*, the
" *Egyptian Osiris*, has a miraculous Virtue;
" that it is a sovereign Remedy against Witch-
" craft, and commands the infernal Powers;
" that the Person who digs for it, immedi-
" ately dies; but that he himself having
" procured it from another, had charm'd up
" the Shades, and enquir'd into *Homer's Coun-
" try* and Parentage: That he had received
" an Answer, but durst never publish what
" he had learn'd upon that Subject $k$." To
such Extravagancies does a *fond Opinion* lead
us! It was possible, among the Ancients,
to improve a common Accident into a
ground of Admiration; and the lowest Cir-
cumstance in Life, into a Proof of *Divi-
nity*.$^1$

But, the plain Account, which *Homer's Sub-
ject* makes of these suspected Sciences, is this:

*Nature*

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$^1$ Deification.  
$^1$ See Note ($^b$) Page 5.
Nature includes them all: Her Proportions are just and invariable: Whoever paints her true, or any part of her that is full of Action; and applies that Action to Times, Places, Persons, and their Signs, will include those Proportions, and their Measures, without intending it, almost without knowing it, but never without some Perception of their Propriety and Truth.

It would be ridiculous to imagine, that Homer first learned the Sciences and their Rules abstractedly; that then he applied them to proper Objects, and these again to the Subject of his Work: That by this means he had converted the Principles of all the Sciences, natural and moral, into human or divine Persons, and then wrought them into the under-parts of his Poem. This is beginning at the wrong end; and however proper the Method may be, or rather necessary in Philosophy, it would spoil all in the hands of the Muses. Homer took his Plan from Nature: He has followed her closely in every step: He has related Actions and Passions of every kind: He has painted Places, Persons, Animals, and Seasons, with their proper Marks and Qualities. He has done this with a constant view to the effects which these things produce; both as they strike upon the human Mind, and do good or ill in hu-
man Affairs. By this means he gives us back our own Sentiments on every Accident in Life, and paints the Impressions we receive from the other Parts of the Universe. He becomes an allowed Master in Morals, and is suspected of Mystery and hidden Meanings in the several Branches of natural Knowledge.

He came into the World at a proper distance of time, after the Expedition which he fung; not too near it, when naked Truth, and the severe Appearance of known Facts, might quaff Enthusiasm, and render Ornaments ridiculous; but when the Circumstances of the Story had sufficient time to ripen into Fable, or at least be susceptible of it, from a skilful hand.

It

m Tōn ΟΜΗΡΟΝ, καθάτερ ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ, πάντας ψηλαὶ τὰς ποιηματικὰς τῶν Τρότων: Και τῶν Ποιημάτων ἔφι οἱ ἡγεμόνες ὑπερεξάκειαν πάντας, ἵνα ὅπως ἐκαίνος ἀνθρώπους κράτησον. Μεγαλοποιοῦσαν τὸ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ΟΡΦΕΑ ἀκόμησαν ὑδάς τι τὸ ὑπερεξάκειαι τοῦ ΗΕΙΩΔΟΝ, καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλους. Καὶ ΛΟΓΟΝ μὲν ὑποδίδει τοὺς Τρῳκίν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ΤΥΧΗς τῶν πάθων Ἑλλήνων τὰ καὶ Βαρβάρου ΑΡΕΤΑΣ ξυμνήγειν. Ἐσαυγάσθαι δὲ ἐς ἄυνος ΠΟΛΕΜΟΤΟΣ, τῶς μὲν πρὸς Ἀνδροδίκης, τῶς δὲ πρὸς Ἀποστόλους καὶ Σοφίκης, τῶς δὲ πρὸς Πολιμάδας, τῶς δὲ πρὸς Θείκης καὶ Θείς; Καὶ ὅπως κατ᾽ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ ἔσθη, καὶ Χορός, καὶ Θείς καὶ Ἐφιλίας, καὶ Διήγης, ἐπὶ ἀφάδος, ἐπὶ Διήγης ἔγραφα τὸ ἐν ΤΕΙΩΓΙΑ ἀπετέλεσε, καὶ ὈΡΑΣ ἐν οἰκείωσις ὑπάρχοντα χρώμα ἐς τὸν ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ καὶ Ναυσίκας, καὶ ὈΠΙΟΤΟΙΚΩΝ τὴν ἘΠΙΤΑΧΟΝ, ἔσθη ἐς τὸν ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ καὶ Ναυσίκας, καὶ ΤΑΪΤΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΟΜΗΡΟΝ ΔΑΜΟΝΙΟΝ ἐξεργάσεις; καὶ τῶς ἐν καὶ ἀναλήως ἄνωθεν ἀναλαμβάνει. Φιλερτάτ. ΗΡΩΙΚΑ. § ΙΙ.

n Trojani Belli scriptorem, maxime Lalli,
Dum tu declamas Roman, Præneste regesti:
Qui quid sit pulcrum, quid turpe; quid utile, quid non;
Pleniæ ac melius CANTERET et GRANTORE dicit.

Horat. Lib. I. Epist. II.
It is, I think, generally allowed, that a Poet's Plan is much wider than an Historian's. The Writer of History represents but one single Portion of Nature; and for the most part, only that side of it which is connected with Politicks and Government: But the Poet, tho' confin'd to a single Action, takes Mankind for his Rule in the Execution. He has an Universal Idea for his Model, all the Passions to fill the Under-parts, and the whole Train of Accidents and Adventures in War, Dangers, and Death, to make out his Narration. He takes them originally from real Life and a single Part; but he is not tied down to the Circumstances of the Fact. The Image turns general in his Hands; and the more his Subject is varied, the richer and truer will be his Imitation.

His manner of writing must also be taken into the Account. A Metaphor is a general Pattern, which may be applied to many Particulars: It is susceptible of an infinite number of Meanings; and reaches far because of its Ambiguity. It leads, as we found before, even to Madness; and wantonly ranges the Corners of the World for Comparisons to fit its fancied Properties. This way of treating a Subject must render it still more general, and when joined with the Truth of Description will account for the Mysteries in Homer's Writings.
But how surprizing a thing is it to be able to join those Extremes? To speak in the simplest and most comprehensive manner: To soar so high, and stoop so low, as to follow Nature minutely, and at the same time fill the Images with Expression and Majesty. And yet, My Lord, the greatest Objections against our Poet, arise from the too great Truth of his Descriptions; and from his representing his Heroes in those natural Lights which we think below the Politencis of our Manners. They have been frequently answered; and here, their very Foundation turns out to the Honour of the Poet, and proves the grand Ornament of his Performance.

It could, in reality, enter into no Man's mind, to have given such an Epithet, for example to a Prince, as Ἄγαθος Μερέλας, The loud-voic'd Menelaus; had not the Exigencies of War rendered this a very eminent and useful Quality. Before the Invention of Trumpets or Drums, the Leaders of an Army were often at a loss how to make a general Signal; especially by night, or in thick weather, when a visible Sign could be of no Service. In the famous Scythian Expedition, undertaken long after Homer's time, by Daris the Father of Xerxes, we find a Man of strong Lungs the most necessary Person in the Camp. This Epithet
then was taken from the real state of things: And indeed it seems impossible, that either the Poet's Descriptions, or the Actions described, should be so different, and yet so true, had he followed any other Guide.

The particular Circumstances of the several Encounters could never have been so variously imagined in the road of Fiction only: Neither the single Combat between Menelaus and Paris, nor that between Ajax and Hector, where every thing is managed in a very different manner, and yet with the highest Probability in both. In the first, the Prayer of the Grecian Hero to Jupiter, — the shivering of his Sword, — his Fury at the Disappointment, — and bursting the Lace that bound on the Helmet of the effeminate Trojan, are delicate Circumstances, and nicely adapted to the Temper of the Warriors, and the Inequality of the Match. In the other, where the Heroes were more upon the level, and without personal Enmity, how exactly do things fall out in proportion to this Equality? The Gallantry of Hector, — the Bluntness of Ajax, — the Effects of their Spears, — and their be-taking themselves to such rough Weapons as ponderous Stones, are agreeable to the Strength of the Combatants, and the manner of fighting then in use.
I am not in hazard, with your Lordship, of being understood as if I asserted, that Homer's Accounts of Facts, even excluding his Allegories, are literally true: That, for example, the Lot of Ajax sprung first out of the Urn, just as the Greeks themselves could have wished; or that Hector's Spear pierced exactly thro' six of the seven Folds of his massy Shield, and stuck in the last. This would lead into a peevish Disquisition of the Truth of Circumstances which Poetry will never bear, and is against its Laws: It is sufficient, if the Gross of the History and chief Characters are true.

And here we find the Poet copying Nature so close, as to connect the Manners of his Heroes with the Make and Cast of their Persons. Their Stature and Aspect is constantly suited to their Temper and Disposition. His Poem is like the first View we take of an unknown Face, which prejudices in its favour, or creates a Dislike: In the same manner, we no sooner see the Form of a Man delineated by Homer, than we expect from him such Passions and Manners, and such a kind of Conduct, as we find ascribed to him in the Poem. Ulysses' Picture is almost inimitable; But it cannot be jufter than his Herald's, the trusty Eurybates. This ancient Person served as a Counsellor.

See 'Iliad.' f. line 192, and compare it with 'Od.' 2, 9, 6.
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fellor to the Prince of Ithaca; he accompanied him to the Siege of Troy, and held the chief place in his Confidence and Esteem: His round compact Shoulders, his swarthy Face, and short curling Hair, promise that kind of Perception, and Aptness for Toil and Business, which is necessary in a second part in Life; and make us think of a Man who knows how to resign his Passions and Appetites to those of his Master.

The Characters of many other Persons in Homer are so beautiful, that it would be worth while to collect the Accounts we have of their Lives and Fortunes from other Writers, and compare them with the Poet's: But these historical Scraps are very imperfect, and often contradictory to one another. For after all, My Lord, Homer is their best Historian: And it is to be presumed, that the faint Tradition concerning the Adventures of these Heroes, was rather ingrafted upon

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\textsuperscript{p} — Кýрμες ολίγων προγενετερος ἀυτῆς;
Γυμνὸς ἐν Ὑμοίωσι, μελανόχρως, ὀλυκάρνης.

\textsuperscript{q} Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸς πρὸς τὰ τὰ ὁμήρῳ Ποιήματα διαζέβειμαι, ὡς Θεία τε ἄλων θηγώνοι, καὶ πέρα 
Ἀναρωμοί ὄνειρι.
Καὶ νῦν ἐκδικάστημαι μᾶλλον, ἐκ ἐκ τὸ Ἑπτοτικά μάλλον, ὑπὲρ ἕν τὴν Ἱδίου ἐκφη-
κερος ὁμοίως; ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ μᾶλλον ἐν ἐν τῶν Ὀνάμασι τῶν ἩΡΩΠ, ἐν τοῖς Ἱένεοι.
Καὶ ἢ 
τῶν Δή, ὡς ἐκαρπὸς ἀπὸ τὸ καλέτο τὰ 
κεφαλά τις, ἡ ἀποθεωσίν ὑπὸ ἑτέρων. Ποῦς γὰρ ἄλων ἐν Ἐφετοῖς? 
πόθεν δὲ Ἐλένης τε καὶ Ἁθηήξε! Καὶ 
τῆς Δή ἐκ τὸς ἀποθεώσεσις 
Στρατιῶτες ἐν τολμῶν Ἰδόντες, ἢ εὖ Ἐσάλοι τὴν Ἰππότην? Τὸ γὰρ 
μὴ ὡποθεώσατε ταῦτα τῶν Ὀμηρῶν (Φανερώς) ἀλλὰ γενοῦσαι τε καὶ 
Ἀθηήξεων ἐπὶ οἵτινα ποιῶσας, πολὺ ἐλίγων, ἢ δοκεῖ 
μᾶλλον ἕκαν μετάκεισάς, ἐν τῷ 
τοιχίλην τε καὶ ἢδιος ἀποθεώσας τῶν 
Πάντων. 

\textsuperscript{v} Φιλοσφ. ἩΡΩΙΚΑ, § XVIII.
upon the Characters they bear in his Poetry, than that they arose from a nearer Acquaintance with them, or better Opportunities to hear of them, than were enjoyed by the Poet. The prettiest thing of this kind is a fanciful Piece of the elegant Philostratus, which he calls his Heroicks. His Favourite among them all, is the unfortunate Palamedes, whom he endeavours to raise upon the Ruins of Ulysses; and speaks much of the Injustice done him in the Iliad.

Philostratus manages the Cause of his neglected Hero, with the Humanity and Good-nature that run thro' all his Writings. He mixes it everywhere with high Praises of Homer, and contrives a strange enthusiasmick Story of a Paetion between him and Ulysses' Ghost in order to bring him off. But a later Author, zealous and grave, and a great Enemy to the Grecian Superstition, has put the matter upon a different Foot: He affirms, "that it was Palamedes who wrote the Poem of the Trojan War; that Homer had received it from Agamemnon's Posterity, and was brib'd by them to omit the Passages that did honour to the Author, or reflected upon their Parent. The Poet complied, and suppressed the Name of Palamedes thro' Envy, a Passion that taints the greatest Minds."
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This Story, the only bad one I ever read of our Poet, as it is told by Suidas, contradicts itself, and therefore does not require a Refutation. I would only take occasion from it to remark, That one of the greatest Changes which Science has undergone, and one little observ'd, had first its Birth when these Authors wrote. Philosophy was taking a new Face about the Age of Philostratus: It was beginning to forsake the natural Precepts of Life and Morals; to neglect that noble Connexion, which the first Masters had established, between Physical Contemplations and this prime Science of Manners and Actions. A Connexion never to be overlook'd; and which we have the Satisfaction to see revived b, since the Sciences have gained a new Lustre; and by the happy Application of Geometry and Numbers, to the Appearances of Nature, have lost that Uncertainty which was long their Reproach, and the Cause of their Decay.

But instead of this, in Philostratus' Age, the Knowledge of Secrets was coming in vogue. Unnatural Virtues, and marvellous Feats, were affected by the vain glorious Leaders of the several Sects: They found it easier

easier to distinguish themselves by high Pretensions, than by laborious Study, and a Conduct unshaken by the Frowns of Fortune, and humble under her Smile. Slavery was growing intense: Not only Virtue felt its Sting, but whatever belonged to Greatness of Mind, or had any relation to Freedom of Thought, was a suspicious Quality: Learning fell under the displeasure of tyrannical Power; and the Superiority and Firmness which it inspires, grew dangerous amidst a Crowd of Slaves. Such a Pressure upon the minds of learned Men, made them look out for uncommon Relief: Either they stretched the Powers of the human Mind to an impossible Pitch of Insensibility, which was the Revival of high Stoicism; or they attempted to bring new Supports from Heaven, when they could find no Resource upon Earth: Some Reigns thereafter, about the time of Sui- das, when the Philosophers came to be harassed likewise on another Score, they unanimously gave into this latter Folly: They were all agog after Miracles; and a general Affeation of a supernatural Intercourse between the Gods and them, like a phrenzy had seized the persecuted Sages.

It is in this very Taste, My Lord, that Philostratus relates the Story of Palamedes, in a Conversation with a philosophical Her-
He says, that Protesilaus used to appear to him once a week in a Vineyard, teach him some divine secrets, and then complain of the hard usage that Palamedes, and some of his Brother Heroes had received from the Grecian Bard. The faint Accounts of the other Princes, and the wandering Reports concerning their Lives, are not worthy of greater Regard. They are mentioned by the first Historians in Greece, whose Writings we have now loft: But tho' they had escaped the hand of Time, we should have reaped but little advantage: For Homer has obtained credit so far above them, even in respect of their Veracity, that Strabo, who had studied them carefully, declares "he would rather believe him and Hesiod, and the Tragedians who have copied their Heroick-History, than follow Hellenicus, or Theopompus, or Ctesias, or even Herodotus himself c."

His Subject therefore still comes uppermost, and appears with greater Excellency the more it is canvassed. It is this that distinguishes him amidst the poetick Tribe, and joined with his Language, Manners, and Religion, has left him without a Rival. The great Difference between him and Virgil has been already

\[ \text{τοίς Ἱππολόγοις, ἡ Κητσία τὴ και Ἠρόδοτῳ καὶ Ἑλλανίῳ καὶ Ἀλλοτρὶ τοῖς} \]

\[ \text{Στρατ. Β.Μ. ἑκ.} \]
already pointed out in a lively elegant Essay upon the Life of our Poet: It comes originally from a hand said to be happy in painting modern Life; and at the same time, has taught Homer to speak English incomparably better than any Language but his own. It was his Invention that made him the First of Poets; whose Sources and Opportunities have been the principal Object of this Enquiry.

But if your Lordship will indulge me in the Liberty taken by Juvenal's She-Critick, I would further observe, that Virgil had seen much of the Splendour of a Court, the Magnificence of a Palace, and the Grandeur of a Royal Equipage: Accordingly his Representations of that Part of Life, are more august and stately than Homer's. He has a greater Regard to Decency, and those polished Manners that render Men so much of a piece, and make them all resemble one another in their Conduct and Behaviour. His State Designs and political Managements, are finely laid, and carried on much in the Spirit of a Courtier. The Eternity of a Government, the Forms of Magistrature, and Plan of Dominion (Ideas to which Homer was a Stranger) are familiar with the Roman Poet.

* Homer's Iliad, translated by Mr. P o p e.
* Juvenal, Satyr 6.
Poet. But the Grecian's Wiles are plain and natural; either Stratagems in War, or such Designs in Peace as depend not upon forming a Party for their execution. He excels in the simple instructive parts of Life, the Play of the Passions, the Prowess of Bodies, and those single Views of Persons and Characters, that arise from untaught, undisguised Nature.

This Difference appears nowhere more strongly than in the Chiefs of the Armies. The Characteristic of Homer's Hero is violent Passion; his honoratus Achilles must be

Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer:

Paint him, says Horace,

Forward, and fierce, of unrelenting Wrath.

Nay to such height did his Impotency rise, that the young Antilochus, when he brought him the dismal News of Patroclus' Death, was forced to hold his Hands, lest he should have attempted to cut his own Throat. It is true, we are apt to make allowances for this Excess of Passion: We think of the ill Usage he met with; Our eye is turned upon his unbounded Courage and superior Strength, and we are willing to bear with his haughty Spirit: But what shall we say to the Prince of
of the Grecian Powers, who was to think for them all, and lead their Armies; their Stay and Confidence, the stately Agamemnon? How is he tossed and agitated between Love, and Anger, and Dread of a Miscarriage? He thinks it no shame to own his Passion for a Captive Maid, in face of the whole Army: He tells them plainly "that he likes her much better than his Lady, the beautiful Clytemnestra, of the prime Grecian Nobility." He is besides, now and then, a little covetous; and tortured with Fear to such a degree, that his Teeth chatter, and his Knees finite; he groans, and weeps, and rends his Hair; and is in such piteous plight, that if we were not well assured of his personal Bravery, we should take him for a downright Coward.

But Virgil durst make no such Condescension to Nature, nor represent the human Frailties in their genuine Light. His Characters are all formed and regulated; and except that his Hero is sometimes, as Don Quixot says of his Amadis, algo lloron, a little blubber-ey'd; excepting that, and the Cave-Adventure, he behaves in every other respect with all the Dignity and Reserve of a Roman Senator.

Here the Force of the Model appears, and the Power of publick Manners. Virgil's Poem was to be read by a People deeply disciplin'd,
ciplin'd; whose early Necessities had taught them political Forms, and from being a Company of Banditti, had forced them into publick Virtue. These Forms had time to take root in the Minds and Manners of the Nation; and Constancy, Severity, and Truth, was become a Roman Character. Even when the Substance was gone, when Luxury and high Ambition had stript them of their original Integrity, they were still forced to feign and dissemble: They put on a Show of Virtue; and tho' they were really vicious, and knew themselves to be so, yet they could not bear a professed Ruffian, nor an avowed Profligate: They turn'd nicely sensible of Reputation, and what they called a Man's Fortune; not in our Sense of the Word, but that Fate, which as they imagin'd, attends and overrules all our Enterprizes. For this reason they did not love that any Accident that had frighted or put them in disorder should be known. They thought it diminished their Authority, and made them look little in the Eyes of the People; and therefore concealed their Passions, and the Events that raised them. Thus they disunited things, and their Appearances, and by that means disguised their Humanity.

But the natural Greek, in Homer's days, covered none of his Sentiments. He frankly owned the Pleasures of Love and Wine;
he told how voraciously he eat when he was hungry, and how horribly he was frightened when he saw an approaching Danger: He look'd upon no means as base to escape it; and was not at all ashamed to relate the Trick or Fetch that had brought him off: While the haughty Roman, who scorn'd to owe his Life to any thing but his Virtue and Fortitude, despis'd accidental Escapes, and fortuitous relief in Perils; and snuffed at the Suppleness and Levity of Mind necessary to use them.

After the Heroes, the Difference appears most conspicuous in the female Characters of the two Poems. The Ladies make but an inconsiderable figure in the Eneid; and excepting a Queen who raises Horror by the fatal Catastrophe of her Death, the rest are feeble languishing Shadows, who seldom speak or act thro' out the Piece. Lavinia herself, who shou'd be the most amiable and important Character, is an obscure retired Person, whom we hardly know. She is just like a Senator's Daughter, kept from Sight; and, according to the Rules of a wholesom Economy, without a Will or Passion of her own. The Italian Reserve appears in her Manners, and that passive Tameness with which our gay People find such fault in the virtuous Characters of the ancient Plays.

But
But the Heroines of the Grecian Poet are among the striking Figures of his Subject. His Captive-Beauties are indeed in a state that draws Compassion; they are too much upon the eastern Establishment, to be look’d on without Pain, by one accustomed to European, and much more to British Manners. To think of a fine Woman, dragged away from an indulgent Father or a fond Husband, and left at the Mercy of a brutal Conqueror, bathed in the Blood of all she loved, is a most shocking Circumstance: It is not to be palliated, even tho’ they are represented in a little time, as pretty easy under the Dispensation, and unwilling to part with their new Acquaintance.

But Homer’s Ladies of Quality are all remarkable for great Good, or great Ill, and make their appearance accordingly. The too lovely Helen is not more distinguished by the Gracesfulness of her Person, the Charms of her Face, and that Air of Grandeur that accompanied her motions, than by a Mind capable to please. She is not only fitted for

{k 'Εκ δ’ ἤγαγε Κλαιίς HΡΙΣΗΙΔΑ καλλικόρους; Δὼκε δ’ ἄγειν τὸ δ’ αὖθις ἐκεὶν παρὰ νῆας Ἀχιλλοῦ. Ἡ δ’ 'ΑΕΚΟΤΣα ἐμα τείς ΤΤΝΗ κιε. ——— Ἰλιαδ. Σ.}

Δὰ ΜΩΛ’ δ’ ἐς Ἀχιλλεύς ληστῶν Πάτρωκάς τε, Ὀμίλον ἀνηχίμενοι, μεγάλ’ ἦκχον ἐκ δὲ δύρατε Ἑκαμοῦν ἀμφ’ Ἀχιλλῆς’ δαίσφρονα Χαρτὶ δὲ πάταντες ἑτῆςα παπλήγων’ λῦθεν δ’ ὑπὸ γύια ἐλάφης. Ἰλιαδ. Σ.’
for the softer Hours of Life, but answers Priam the old Trojan King, with all the Discretion of a Privy-Councilor. She appears at times with a high Sense of Honour, and in the end, laments so feelingly the Slip she had made thro' the wrath of Venus, calls herself so many hard Names, and touches upon a tender point (her former Lover) with such Delicacy, that I make no doubt but many a good-natur'd Husband, to see her look, and hear her talk, wou'd approve of Menelaus' taking her home, after she had lived ten Years with another.

The ancient Hecuba, and the young Andromache, are the liveliest Characters of a tender Mother, and a more tender Wife, that ever were painted. All their Speeches, and Sentiments, are so natural and just, that it is impossible to read them without emotion. They, and old Priam, are the only Persons who speak long; both as they are most susceptible of Fear, and the aptest to complain under a Calamity.

The aged venerable King, when he wou'd persuade his daring Son to re-enter the Town, and shelter himself from the Spear of Achilles, ushers in his Speech with a moving Action. He acknowledges the Superiority of the dreadful Hero, and then falls into a natural Wish, "That the Gods had no greater regard for him than he:" He calls to mind
mind the Miseries which he had brought upon him; and they are so distracting, as to make him forget Hector for a little, and talk of Laotboe and her Children. — But soon returning to the present Object of his Care, he again begs him to come within the Walls; not so much to save himself, but left Achilles should triumph, and to defend from Slavery and Death the Men and Women of wretched Troy: Then rememb’ring his own feeble and destitute Condition, if Hector is slain, he raises his Voice, and calls upon him to return, at least to keep his aged Father from beholding those Miseries that stare him in the face: He bids him do it, Επὶ γεωργία, while he is yet in his Senses, which has a peculiar Beauty, and is strangely moving: It signifies either as yet alive, or rather, before he begins to doat; when he should be insensible of his Fate, and like a Captive Infant, not know whether he was happy or miserable.

The Recital which Andromache makes of her own Life, when she would dissuade her loved Hector from going to Battle; the loss of her Father, her Mother and Brothers; her own forlorn state if she loses him too, are all the Dictates of Nature itself. But what she adds, when her Tears begin to flow; the use she makes of her Orphan Cir-
cumstance, is melting beyond Expression. She stops a little, — looks at him, — and then bursts forth,

Hector, now thou'rt my All, my Father first, My tender Mother, Brother, and my Husband.

The remaining Characters, Hecuba, Penelope, Nausicaa, and Calypso, act and speak with the same Propriety: They serve but to lead us back to Homer's Subject. They shew its Fitness for Poetry in every respect we can consider it, and by every Comparison we can make with it. It is so rich and luxuriant, that the Poet seems almost overwhelm'd with the flow of Passion and Sentiments that crowd upon him, and offer themselves to Description. He has seldom room to appear himself; and as Strada says elegantly of Lucretius, that he is frequently covered with the Machin ery and Majesty of his Subject, so Homer is perpetually personating, and says little or nothing as immediately from himself.

It here appears, My Lord, that Nature is the surest Rule, and real Characters the best ground of Fiction: The Passions of the human Mind, if truly awak'd, and kept up by Objects fitted to them, dictate a Language peculiar to themselves. Homer has copied it, and

1 Prolusiones Poetic.
and done Justice to Nature. We see her Image in his Draught, and receive our own Perceptions of Men and Things reflected back under different Forms. By this means he fixes our Attention, commands our Admiration, and enchants our Fancy at his pleasure: He plays with our Passions; raises our Joys; fills us with Wonder, or damps us with Fears: Like some powerful Magician, he points his Rod, and Spectres rise to obey his Call: Nay so potent is his Spell, that hardly does the Enchantment vanish; it is built upon Truth, and made so like it, that we cannot bear to think the delightful Story should ever prove untrue. His Work is the great Drama of Life acted in our View. There we see Virtue and Piety praised; publick Religion promoted; Temperance, Forgiveness, and Fortitude, extolled and rewarded; Truth and Character follow’d; and accordingly find it standing at the head of human Writings.

By these Steps then, Homer is become the Parent of Poetry, and his Works have reached their exalted Station: By the united Influence of the happiest Climate, the most natural Manners, the boldest Language, and most expressive Religion: When these were applied to so rich a Subject as the War between Greece and Troy, they produced the Iliad and the Odyssey. Their
Their conjunct Powers afford the wish'd-for Solution; and a proper Answer to the Question, "By what Fate or Disposition of things it has happen'd, that no Poet has equal'd him for upwards of two thousand Years, nor any, that we know, ever sur-pased him before? Since it is no Wonder, My Lord, if a Production which requires the Concourse of so many dissimilar Causes, so many wide Chances and uncommon Ingredients, to make it excel; (the Absence or Alteration of any one of which would spoil it) That such a Production should appear but once in three or four thousand Years; and that the Imitations which resemble it most, with due regard to the Manners of the Times, should be next in Esteem and Value.
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