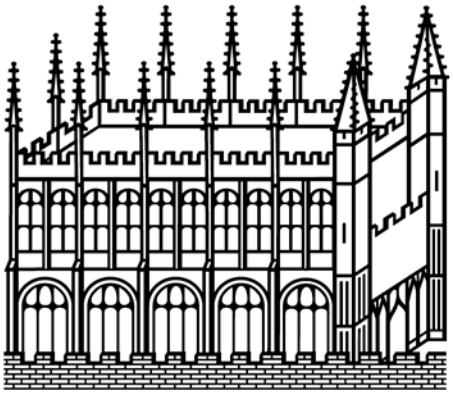

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HOMER AND THE ILIAD

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VOL IV

NOTES PHILOLOGICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL

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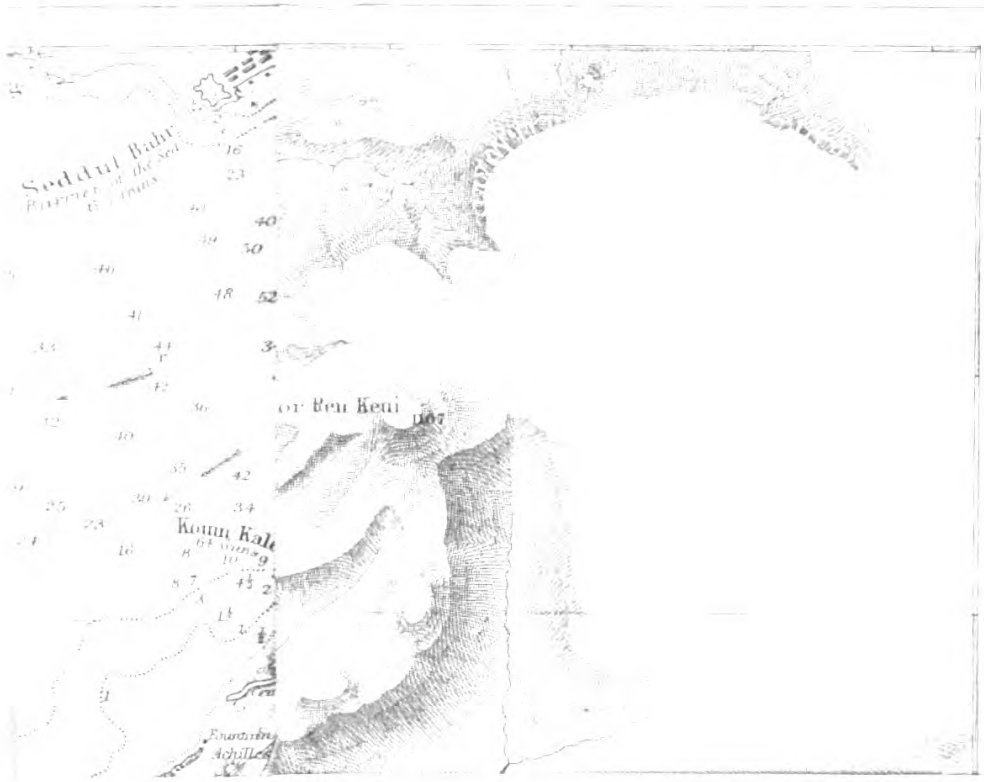


BIBLIOTECA

NOTES TO THE ILIAD.

BOOK I.

VER. 1.—*Peleus' son.*

THROUGH the whole of Homer we have occasion to note the immense force of the paternal and ancestral element in determining the value of the individual. No notable man is sufficiently designated by his own name; the name of his father is always added. The "son of Peleus" is a designation of Achilles as common and constant as "divine" or "swift-footed." And not only the father, but the grandfather also is often named, and a long genealogy paraded, as in the case of Æneas (xx. 215). This might of ancestry is seen everywhere in the Old Testament, and in the whole political arrangements of the ancient Athenians and Romans. The romances of the middle ages recognise the same element in the strongest manner. In King Arthur, no knight ever performs deeds of remarkable prowess without his turning out to be a man of noble birth (so Sir Beaumains, I. 130). The same aristocratic element is visible in the proper names of all languages, a great proportion of which is manifestly patronymic. So with us: *Richardson*, *Wilson*, *Tomlinson*, *Anderson*, *Dickson*, *Paterson*, and many others. In Greek, Εὐρυβιάδης, Ἀλκιβιάδης, Διογένης, Θεαγένης, etc., are formed on the same principle. There is a true instinct of nature, and a strong foundation, both of physical reality and social virtue, in this matter, which the conceits of modern democratic individualism will never be able to annihilate.

VER. 2.—*The "Grecian force."*

The word in the original is "*Achæan*," which the Germans—V. and D.,—with the usual minute accuracy of that people, conscientiously preserve. In a poetical translation, intended not for the curious scholar but for the cultivated general reader, I have considered it unnecessary, and contrary to the genius of our literature, to imitate their example in this matter. The ancient nomenclature of the Greek tribes will be discussed afterwards under Book II. I use *Greek*, *Achæan*, *Danaan*, *Argive*, as it may suit my line.

VER. 3.—*Hades.*

This word, according to the traditional, and not improbable etymology, means "the invisible or unseen world"—the realm of the dead generally, and of course does not at all correspond to our word "hell," of which the Greek counterpart, *Tartarus*, is only one division of Hades. The etymology of the word has been in this place well preserved by Ch., who says,

> "Sent them far to that invisible cave
> Which no light comforts;"

but this looks too like a phrase coined by modern imagination, not the fixed term of an old theology. In translating from the ancients generally, the word Hades may now be considered as naturalized. Wr. has it here; and even C. ventured on it in more purely English days. Trench is no doubt quite right in wishing that, to prevent certain theological misapprehensions, this word had been introduced by the English translators of the Bible for the Hebrew word שְׁאוֹל, which corresponds to the Greek ᾅδης in every respect; but for practical purposes I can see no reason why the vigorous and emphatically English word "hell," should not still be used in all cases where its use would not involve a manifest confusion; as even in the New Testament I should be sorry to see, in the famous passage about the Christian Church (Matt. xvi. 18), "the gates of *hell*," replaced by "the gates of *hades*." Accordingly, I have retained this word in IX. 312 and elsewhere, regardless of V.'s ex-

ample, who, with true German fidelity, sacrifices the poetical force of his translation in that passage to its scholarly accuracy.

VER. 3.—*Stout heroic soul.*

Ψυχὰς ἡρώων. Whatever the etymology of the word ἥρως be (Passow compares *Herr*, Ἥρα, on which Donaldson, *N. C.* 329, enlarges), it is certain that at a very early period of the Greek language, it signified a race of demigods, of a dignity intermediate between man and god, expressly mentioned by Hesiod (*Op. et Di.* 159), and alluded to, without the word ἥρως, in XII. 23. In Plato's time the graduated distinction between ἄνθρωπος, ἥρως, δαίμων, and θεός was distinctly understood (*Crat.* 397 D). These heroes, strictly so called, had generally a god either for their father or their mother. In Homer, however, as in the present passage, the word is often used very loosely, pretty much as the word "*Rechen*" in the Niebelungen lay (see Richter's *Real.*, 146). To the word "hero" among the Greeks, the word "saint" in the Christian Church affords a perfect parallel. Applied at first to all the members of the Christian Church, it was gradually confined to the small section of canonized mortals, corresponding to the ἡμίθεοι of Hesiod and Plato. The special views on this word stated in *Phil. Mus.* ii. p. 90, seem to me more erudite than necessary, and more curious than sound. The article in L. and S. is excellent.

VER. 5.—*To dogs and vultures.*

1 Sam. xvii. 44, 46; 1 Kings xiv. 11, xvi. 4, xxi. 24; Jer. vii. 33, xix. 7. There is a peculiarity in the phraseology of the original here—

ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν
ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν—

where the word *souls* is not contrasted with *bodies*, but with αὐτοὺς —"*their very selves.*" So, in Voss, "*sie selber.*" This manner of expression is not without interest, as marking the realism of

Homer's method of conception, contrasted with the ultra-spiritualism afterwards asserted by Plato and his successors, who make common cause in this matter with the asceticism and monachism which so early made themselves felt in the history of the Christian Church. Homer's heroes are never ashamed of their bodies.

VER. 5.—*Thus the will of mightiest Jove was done.*

In these words a most important element in the conduct of the Iliad is enunciated. Modern critics of the French school were wont to talk of the part played by the gods in heroic poems as a sort of mere machinery got up by the poet to add dignity to the human actors, and for the sake of variety. But Homer's conception of the position of the gods was very different. He was not ashamed—as indeed no popular poetry is—of the old healthy notion, that all things which happen in the world, much more all great and important matters, are managed and controlled by the Supreme Disposer of all events. This supreme disposer in his phraseology was Ζεὺς (Lat. *Deus*, *divus*, *dies*), who therefore constantly appears in the Iliad as the great steward of the war (ταμίης πολέμοιο), and director of all its movements. In this respect Granville Penn is quite right when he says that "the will of Jupiter prescribes the rule of the action of Achilles, and is the efficient agency of the main action of the poem." That the father of gods and men with this high position does not appear so often upon the stage, but sits apart (xx. 22), is in no respect to the detriment of his controlling power, but in perfect consistency with the very natural and true idea, that a great sovereign acts generally through his subordinates, and only on rare occasions personally seizes the helm. This very obvious relationship of the Olympian powers is not properly appreciated by Glad. (ii. 119), who, with a chaste chivalry, seems eager to plant Minerva on the supreme seat, as the Romanists do the Virgin Mary; and then Jove becomes, of course, only an omnipotent debauchee, or a "*caput mortuum*" (ii. 174). Nothing could possibly be more heterodox in Homeric theology than such a notion.

VER. 7.—*Peleus' godlike son.*

Δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς. I have no doubt P., if he had any thoughts at all on such matters, imagined that he had improved on Ch. by changing "godlike" into "great." V. also, and D. have "*edel*," which corresponds to our word "*noble*;" but the Germans must have been led into the use of this word from a convenience of rhythm, as it is quite contrary to the philosophical principles of translation established in their practice to substitute general modern epithets for ancient ones having a special significance. That δῖος, ἀντίθεος, θεῖος, and all such, are characteristic expressions, and strongly tinged with the peculiar colour of ancient Greek religious sentiment, cannot be doubted. The ancient Hellenes had souls deeply pervaded with the true feeling, so beautifully expressed by the apostle James, that "every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights." For which reason all men of great endowments and extraordinary accomplishments are, in their language, most justly and significantly named "godlike" or "divine," as reflecting somewhat of the divine glory, in the splendour of their personal excellence. And as not only men, but the whole creation, is, justly considered, as only one great and magnificent exhibition of this excellence, therefore the pious phraseology of the Homeric age calls the earth "sacred," and the sea "divine" (ver. 141, *infra*), and views all terrestrial beauty and power as merely the outward expression of one internal, all-pervading divine activity. To transmute these phrases into the stale epithets of modern conversation, is to present the coin with the image and superscription erased, in which condition, indeed, it may be equally valuable to the Jew and the goldsmith, but is utterly devoid of significance to the numismatist and the archæologist. The occasional use of such epithets by the moderns—as when Spenser (*F. Q.* III. 5. 32) talks of "divine tobacco"—is quite a different thing from the engrained habit of thought which the Hellenic phraseology indicates.

VER. 9.—*Latona's son.*

The universal opinion of the ancients, that is, of all those who reflected on such matters, with regard to this god, is, that he was "the Sun," or at least, to use the language of Preller, "the glorious, awe-inspiring, and divine element of Light." This traditional view of his nature was rudely disturbed by no less notable a champion than Otfried Müller; but, as is wont to be the case in such outbursts of revolutionary negation, the highest German authorities on this subject—Welcker, Preller, and Gerhard—have now returned, with one consenting voice, to the old orthodox belief. This belief stands upon the surest grounds. As a starting-point, we may assume as certain, what the philosophy of Plato (*Crat.* 397 D) divined, and the poetic instinct of Wordsworth (*Excurs.* IV.) recognised, that the most ancient Greeks worshipped the sun, the moon, the sea, the earth, and the sky, and other elemental aspects and powers, like all the "barbarians." This being so, and it being manifest that the original elemental welkin was, in the anthromorphic period, represented by Jove, the original ocean by Neptune, the original earth by Ceres, and so on, a presumption arises that such striking and significant heavenly powers as the sun and moon must also have undergone a similar transmutation, and are to be sought for among some of the twelve greater deities recognised in after times both by Greece and Rome. This natural, and, in the particular case of Greece, almost necessary presumption, is changed into fact when we discover that there is not a single attribute of Apollo, which may not be explained in the most obvious way, by assuming the sun, or the gladdening and vivifying power of light, as the original significance of his godhead. And not only so, but his names and titles, and the seasons of the year when his feasts were observed, and other pregnant facts, all tally most exactly with this theory. The Doric people of the island of Thera, for instance, worshipped him as αἰγλήτης (Str. x. 484 c), that is, the *glancer*, while in Chios he was known as the Φαναῖος, or *shiner* (Hesy.) The same is the signification of the familiar word Φοίβος,

which the lexicographers explain by λαμπρός and ἁγνός, that is, *bright*, *clear*, and which (υ and β being cognate letters) is manifestly connected with φαύω, an old form of φαίνω, of which φαῦσις (Gen. i. 15, οἱ ο') is a remnant. His most familiar character in Homer, that of an archer-god (ἑκατήβολος, ἕκατος, ἑκάεργος), who shoots his arrows from afar, is the necessary consequence of an anthropomorphic conception of the powerful influence of the sun in hot countries. "The sun of Greece," says an intelligent modern traveller, "pierces the air with rays so keen and penetrating, that you understand at once the ancient metaphor, which likened them to the darts of Apollo. It is no longer the weak wavering radiance of the North, but a quiver full of arrows from an immortal bow" (*Mount Athos.* By G. F. Bowen; London, 1852). In fact, there is no Hellenic god whose original elemental nature shines more distinctly at once, and more poetically, through his anthropomorphic disguise, than his physical significance speaks through Apollo. For the proof, see Welck. *g. l.*; Prell. *Myth.*; Gerhard's *Myth.*

With regard to the position occupied by this god in the Iliad, as a divine agent in the Trojan legends, this matter stands on a footing altogether independent of his original elemental significance. What we see of the activity of Apollo in the Iliad may no doubt in a great measure be referred to his solar character; but it does not in anywise follow that Homer at all understood his identity with that sun-god, whose separate existence he recognises (III. 277; *Od.* XII. 374), and from whom he keeps him as distinct as Ocean from Neptune. It is undeniable, for instance, that in warm countries, the sun is the author of agues, fevers, pestilence, in the hottest and most insalubrious season of the year, a fact which the Egyptians (Clem. *Strom.* v. 671 P) and the ancients generally had cause enough to recognise. That a pestilence of this kind should have arisen sometime during the ten years that the Greeks were encamped on the flat and marshy ground before Troy, was the most natural thing in the world; but we are not therefore to suppose that Apollo appears on the stage of Trojan warfare for any such reason. The consciousness that the anthro-

pomorphic gods were originally elemental had evidently passed away from the mind of Greece long before the age of Homer. If the Greeks suffered from fever and pestilence before the "breezy Troy," it was, in their view, because they had in some way or other sinned against the great patron deity of the country, the natural protector of its besieged towns.—(Compare Williams' *South Sea Missions*, ch. iii.; Alison's *Europe*, 1815–52, ii. p. 208.) The worship of Apollo was dominant over the whole coast of Asia Minor, and especially in the Troad (Müller, *Dor.* ii. 2, 3); and it is in this character that he appears in the Iliad as the special protector of Troy. I have only further to add, that the name "Apollo," by which we designate this deity, has nothing to do with *Apollyon*, or ἀπόλλυμι, to *destroy;* for though the ancients, always fond of a play on words, sometimes pun the name of this god as a destroyer (Æschyl. *Agam.* 1045), his destructive functions were by no means so prominent as to justify the imposition of such a designation. On the contrary, the root of the epithet seems rather to lie in an old verb, ἀπέλλειν (E. M. in ἀπειλή), with which the oldest form of the name of the god, Ἀπέλλων, corresponds (W. *g. l.* i. p. 460), signifying to *avert* or *drive away* (Lat. *pello*). This title of averter, or ἀλεξίκακος, belonged to all the gods, but especially to Apollo, who, though essentially joyous and beneficent, might in his anger scourge mankind with the most terrible calamities, plague, fever, etc., as we have seen, and as delivering from which he fell naturally to be invoked under the title of "the Averter." The people of Phigalia denominated this same god ἐπικούριος, or "*helper*," because he delivered them from the plague (Paus. VIII. 41. 5.) Welcker thinks that the title ἑκάεργος comes from ἑκάς and εἴργω in the same sense; but this seems doubtful.

VER. 14.—*He on a golden staff*, etc.

I incline to think that Wr., Drb., and the Germans are right in retaining the original meaning of the word σκῆπτρον "staff," not "sceptre," as more consistent with the simplicity of the Homeric times. As to στέμμα, Ch. has "crown," P. "laurel crown," Wr.

"chaplet," V. "*Lorbeerschmuck*," Br. "wreath." The sceptre or staff, as the general ensign of authority among the ancients, belonged not only to kings and judges, but also to priests and diviners. So in Hades, the soul of the Theban soothsayer, Teiresias, appears to Ulysses holding "a golden staff" in his hand (*Od.* XI. 91); and in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, Cassandra, about to die, flings away her staff and the divining-wreath (σκῆπτρα καὶ μαντεῖα στέφη) which she wore about her neck; on which passage, see Stanley's note. Hesychius, under the word ἰθυντήριον, says that the soothsayer's staff was made of laurel, as the tree sacred to Apollo, the god of divination. Poets, as being a kindred race, were honoured with the same ensign of dignity (Hes. *Theog.* 30). As to the στέμμα, it may have been merely a laurel chaplet characteristic of the priest of Apollo, as Eust. and the schol. seem to think, or more specially a woollen wreath wound round the tips of branches, which suppliants were in the habit of holding in their hands when they claimed protection, or a combination of both. Of this custom of suppliants mention is often made in the ancient writers: see particularly Æsch. *Supp.* 22; *Choëph.* 1025; *Eumen.* 43, 44; Soph. *Œd. Tyr.* 3; Plutarch, *Thes.* 18; Plato, *Republic*, III. 398, compared with Suid. ἐρίῳ στέψαντες. The "*infula Apollinis*" was a wreath of wool which adorned the head of the priests of Apollo. Virg. *Æn.* II. 430; X. 538; Festus, in voce *infulæ*; Isidor. *Orig.* XIX. 30.

VER. 17.—*Greeks with burnished greaves.*

The greaves, to which this epithet refers, are constantly seen on the shins of warriors in the painted figures of Greek vases. Real greaves may be seen in the Bronze chamber of the British Museum, and other collections of the same kind.

VER. 37.—*Tenedos, Chrysè, and Cilla.*

Tenedos, an island twelve miles south of the mouth of the Dardanelles (Plin. *N. H.* V. 31), forming a natural breakwater to the coast of the Troad, south of Troy, pretty much as Kerrera does to

the Oban district of Argyllshire, famous in ancient times for its fair women (Athen. XIII. 609) and for its firm adherence to Athens (Thuc. VII. 57; Xen. *Hist.* v. 1, 6), whose owl is sometimes seen upon its coins (Mionnet, vol. ii. p. 671). Its principal god was the Sminthian Apollo (Str. XIII. 604), and the many proverbs (Τενέδιος πέλεκυς, for a rigorous merciless way of doing things, etc.) in which its name occurs testify to the early celebrity of the Æolians who colonized it (see Leutsch, *Paroem. Gr. Index;* Müller, *Dor.* vol. i. p. 377). The importance of *Chrysè* springs altogether out of its place in the Trojan story. It was a small town on the coast of the Troad; but as there were two bearing that name, the one on the coast of the Ægean, a little south of *Alexandria Troas*, and the other at the head of the Adramyttian Gulf, south of Ida, near Antandros, the ancients disputed about their respective claims to be the genuine Homeric *Chrysè*, or, as the Germans would say, *Goldheim*. To me the arguments of Strabo (XIII. 613) in favour of the latter seem quite satisfactory. Cilla, one of the eleven old Æolian cities (Hdt. I. 149), is placed by Strabo, and appears in Kiepert's map close beside Chrysè. It had a temple of Apollo, and was washed by a stream flowing down from Ida.

VER. 39.—*Smintheus,*

That is, according to Apion and Strabo (XIII. 613), *god of mice*, or *god that protects from rats and mice* (Apoll. *Lex. Hom.* and E. M. *in voce* Σμινθεύς, Clem. Al. *Prot.* II. 34 P). So Jupiter was called ἀπόμυιος in Olympia, from having protected Hercules from these troublesome animals when performing sacrifices to him on the banks of the Alpheus (Paus. v. 14. 2). For a similar reason Baal was worshipped, with the addition of *Zebub* (2 Kings i. 2), that is, *god of flies* (Gesen. זְבוּב. 5). Quite analogous are the epithets ἐρυθίβιος and παρνοπίων given to Apollo (Str. XIII. 613). The extraordinary fecundity of field-mice (hence perhaps this animal Priapean, Payne Knight, *Symbol*, 128), and the ravages often made by them on the hopes of the farmer, are prominently mentioned by Aristotle (*H. A.* VI. 30). The

country about Troy in ancient times seems to have been peculiarly exposed to their depredations (Pliny, *N. H.* x. 65). Strabo (XIII. 604 and 18) informs us that the name Smintheus was not confined to one district of the Troad, but was of very general use in various parts of Asia Minor; and that in the town of Chrysa, near Troy, there was a temple of the Sminthian Apollo, in which the significance of the epithet was made manifest to the eye by a mouse sculptured, beneath the foot of the statue of the god; and in the coins of Alexandria, in the Troad, a similar emblem occurs. It is noticeable that the geographer, on occasion of this Sminthian Apollo, narrates a story of a troop of field-mice having in a single night devoured all the leather of the arms of the Cretan settlers in the Troad, a narrative which recalls the curious history in Herodotus (II. 141). Welcker, to whose paragraph on this subject (*g. l.* i. p. 482) I am largely indebted, mentions that in the very dry summer of 1821, in Germany, he himself saw the people in the neighbourhood of Bonn kneeling before a crucifix in the metropolitan church, and praying fervently, *O Lord, destroy the mice! destroy the mice!* In Klausen's *Æneas und die Pen.* (i. 557) will be found a curious church formula used in the middle ages for exorcising the Norway rats, whose ravages are well known. The temple of Apollo Smintheus has, I find in my interleaved Homer, recently been discovered by Spratt, but I cannot give the exact reference.

VER. 50.—*The nimble dogs.*

The scholiasts, who have seldom any judgment, say ἀργούς = ταχεῖς or λευκούς; but common sense, one should think, might in this passage have preserved Köp. and Br. from following Eust. in choosing the latter rendering for this passage. Unquestionably "*white*" is the common meaning of the root ἀργός, as it appears in many words both Greek and Latin (Curt. 121). But here we have manifestly a different word, which may indeed by a little ingenuity be traced to the same root (see Passow, and after him L. and S.), but for practical purposes stands distinct. Passow's idea might be expressed by the word *flickering-footed*, as "*mico*" in Latin signifies

both to *move quickly* and to *twinkle brightly*. Whether Passow is right in his ingenious attempt to unite the two ideas of *swift* and *white* in the common notion of a bright flickering motion, may remain doubtful.

VER. 63.—*Or one that readeth dreams.*

Not only in Homer's time, but in the middle ages (see King Arthur, c. 7), and even in ages of grave history, we find the soothsayer and dream-reader persons of no small importance in public life. Alexander the Great always carried one about with him in his camp, of whom Arrian reports that, being present at the circumscription of the boundary line of Alexandria, he prophesied the future prosperity of the town from a remarkable incident (*Anab.* III. 2). As to the special method of arriving at a knowledge of futurity through means of dreams, this was universally practised by the ancients (Num. xii. 6; 1 Sam. xxviii. 6; Tuch on Genesis xv. 1; Ewald, *Ges. des Is. Volks*, i. p. 121; Herm., *Rel. Alt.* 41, 2-22). It was, however, never regarded as of equal authority with a distinct declaration of the Divine will by an oracle (compare Numbers xii. 6, 7). As to the source of dreams, they could only come from Jove, as the supreme moral governor of the world. He accordingly sends the dream in the beginning of the next book of this poem; and in perfect consistency with this we find that the function of prophecy and divination which afterwards became more peculiarly characteristic of Apollo was exercised by him only through delegation from his all-wise father (Æsch. *Eum.* 19).

VER. 66.—*Sheep and goats full grown and fair*, τελείων, *i.e.*, *perfect;* that is, complete in respect of age, growth, parts, and proportions, as in the offerings of the Old Testament. The Schol. Ven. Lips. says, ἡλικίᾳ ὁλοκλήρων, λελωβημένον γὰρ οὐ θύεται.

VER. 69.—*Calchas the son of Thestor.*

It is remarkable that this famous soothsayer, whose interpretation of the wrath of Apollo is the cause of the plot of the Iliad.

appears nowhere else in the action, and is only incidentally mentioned in one or two places. The part he played at Aulis (II. 300) supplied good materials to the tragedians, but does not belong to the action of the Iliad. He was a native of Megara, or at least was dwelling there at the time when the Trojan expedition set out (Paus. I. 43). After the war was ended, he did not return to Troy along with the other Greeks, but found his way on foot to the great shrine of his inspiring god at Claros, near Colophon, where he died. Strange and significant stories were told of his death (Str. XIV. 642), which have lately been made to bud out into new life in the garden of English poetry, by the graceful and versatile genius of Sir E. Bulwer Lytton (*Lost Tales of Miletus*, 1866).

VER. 73.—*He with a friendly mien uprose.*

This is one of the commonplaces of Homer, whenever a speaker is not particularly passionate or excited, in which case his phrase is μέγ' ὀχθήσας, or somewhat to that effect. C. has here "intelligent;" and Nits. (*Od.* II. 160) says that ἐϋφρονέων in the frequently recurring formula, signifies the "wise recognition of what is to be done in the existing emergency." Now, there is no doubt that the phrase εὖ φρονεῖν has frequently this meaning, as in Ar. *Ran.* 1485, where it is equivalent to συνετός; but in Homer, I agree with Näg. and W., that the formula should generally be interpreted of that kindly tone and persuasive manner which is the best recommendation of every public speaker.

VER. 80.—*Strong is a king.*

The word βασιλεὺς (מֶלֶךְ), afterwards applied to all foreign despotic monarchs, is with Homer a designation of the highest chiefs or thanes of any country, or district of a country; for even in the little rocky Ithaca there are many "kings" (*Od.* I. 394.) Compare Genesis xiv. 10. Not all the chiefs, however, were entitled to this title (Glad. iii. p. 25). The common title, "king of men," by which Agamemnon is known to English readers, is not a translation of βασιλεὺς, but of ἄναξ, a word signifying *lord*, or *ruler*, and con-

nected with *ἀνάσσω*, as the Latin *dominus* is with *dominor*. The Sanscrit *Narpati* exactly corresponds. In XXIII. 517 Drb. is wrong in translating *ἄνακτα royal*. It is merely the *master* or *lord* of the car.

VER. 98.—*The maid with quick and glancing eyes.*

Ἑλικώπιδα κούρην, "black-eyed." Ch., P., Br., "dark-eyed." Soth., Wr., the "maid of glancing eye." N., the "curl-eyed maid." V., "*freudig-blickend*." D., "*das Kind mit den leuchtenden Augen*." The Lat. have all "*nigros oculos habens*." So, *infra* 389, of all the Greeks, ἑλίκωπες Ἀχαιοί. The ancients speak doubtfully about this word; but the weight of their authority is in favour of "black-eyed." But the more scientific philologers of the present century have seen reason to reject this tradition. The point stands thus:—There is no vestige of a trace, beyond an unguaranteed assertion of one of the scholiasts, that the root ἕλικ, or ἕλι, means *black*. On the other hand, we have a well-recognised family of words in the Arian languages, containing *volvo* in Latin, *wheel* in English, *welt* in German, and in Greek, ἴλλω, ἑλίσσω, ἕλιξ, expressing the idea of a quick rotatory, or at least irregular curved motion. That ἑλικῶπις belongs to this same family is the natural inference, if the etymon yields a good sense, and if there is no authority to the contrary. Now, as the compound adjective ἑλικόρροος applied to a stream, signifies almost the same as δινήεις, that is, *full of wreathed swirls and eddies*, so ἑλικῶπις, applied to the eyes, yields the natural and expressive sense of *easily-rolling*, *quick-moving*, *rapid-glancing*, —generally, *lively*, *keen*, and *bright* eyes, as opposed to eyes with a fixed, dull, heavy stare. (See Spencer's *Circassia*, ii. p. 243, on the singular animation of the Circassian eye.) In a certain sense of the word, "rolling eyes," indeed, belong only to mad or vacant-minded people; but, in another sense, an easy wreathed volubility of motion in the eyes is certainly a beauty. However, I should not wish to incur the responsibility of translating ἑλικῶπις "rolling eye," as the expression is not free from ludicrous associations; but that "a rolling eye" of a certain kind is popularly considered a

beauty, the oldest edition of the beautiful Scotch song, of "Annie Laurie," bears ample testimony:—

"She 's backit like a peacock,
She 's breastit like a swan,
She 's jimp about the middle,
Her waist ye weel may span;
Her waist ye weel may span;
She has a rolling e'e,
And for bonnie Annie Laurie
I 'd lay me doon and dee!"[1]

If the eyes of the Greeks were, as there is good reason to believe, generally black or dark, the quick and glancing vividness of these dark eyes would naturally come to be confounded with the blackness of which it was generally the accompaniment, and so ἑλικῶπις would receive the traditionary meaning of "black-eyed" which we have noted. Similarly, in modern poetry:—

"A strappin', gracefu', blithesome queen,
Wi' coal-black hair and glancing een,"

as Mrs. Janet Hamilton sings.

VER. 106.—*Prophet of harm*, etc.

Compare what the King of Israel said to Jehoshaphat about Micaiah, the son of Imlah (1 Kings xxii. 8). All quite natural; for the grand use of prophets in the world is to speak the truth, and this is generally most necessary at those critical periods when persons in authority are least willing to hear it. Calchas, in the connexion of Homer's story, performs the same part as the blind old Teiresias does in the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles. Both speak the truth, and earn hatred by doing so; as, on the other hand, a pleasant jugglery with convenient lies is often the great passport to popular favour and applause.

VER. 113.—*Her I prize even more than Clytemnestra's worth.*

Concubinage seems always to have been common in the East (Gen. xvi. 1, iv. 19, though this last is rather regular bigamy, as in

[1] Aytoun's *Ballads*, vol. i. p. 144.

1 Sam. i. 2), at least in high places; and ancient Greece, which was half an Oriental country, seemed to have tolerated this as well as Palestine. Dryden, in the famous opening lines to his *Absalom and Achitophel*, expresses himself rather sympathetically in reference to those "pious times" before polygamy was made a sin:—

> "When Nature prompted, and no law denied
> Promiscuous use of concubine and bride."

But whatever a vigorous poet, with a sarcastic scourge in his hand, may be allowed to rhyme on such matters, experience has amply proved the wisdom of the New Testament restriction concerning the intercourse of the sexes; and indeed Aristotle, with the ancients generally—except Plato, who had his crotchets,—saw and said clearly that marriage is one of the grand institutions which separates civilized man from the savage, and that with this institution as the germ of that great social monad, the family, monogamy is necessarily connected.

VER. 144.—*And let some counsellor sail with you.*

An ἀνὴρ βουληφόρος was a chief who belonged to the βουλή or privy council of the king, and who in the later stages of Greek and Roman history keeps his place as a senator, opposed to those who vote in the popular assembly.

VER. 146.—*Hard to handle.*

ἔκπαγλος is a very impracticable word, pretty much as σχέτλιος, and I have rendered it here boldly to avoid commonplace. In other places I kept myself more close to the routine version.

VER. 154.—*No oxen from my stalls*, etc.

Note here the obvious analogy of our moss-troopers, so well known from the writings of Scott; and compare Nestor's long account of a border foray into Elis (XI. 670).

VER. 165.—*The tempest of the war.*

The root of the word πολυάϊξ is ἀΐσσω, to *rush*. In other parts of my version I have expressed it by various compounds.

VER. 167.—*No equal portion of the spoil.*

Compare the just Jewish law on this subject, Numbers xxxi. 26.

VER. 169.—*The curved ships.*

The epithet κορωνίς here applied to the ship is fundamentally the same as κορώνη, from which comes the Latin *corona*, and our word *crown*. Originally the crude form, κορ (κόραξ, a crow) is formed by phonic imitation from the cry of that family of birds; and hooked or crooked things, from a likeness to their bent bills, were called *crows*. Through all the various applications, the idea of *bent*, *curved*, and then *rounded*, is plainly to be traced. So the horns of oxen (Theoc.) It may be doubted in the present case whether the epithet refers to the curved ornaments which rose up at the bow and poop of the ancient ships, or generally to the shape of the prow and stern. Br. is quite wrong in translating "*beaked*," because this is to confound κορωνίς with ἔμβολον, of which no scholar will dream.

VER. 175.—*Great Jove, whose counsel sways high heaven.*

I have here expanded the epithet μητίετα, *counsellor* or adviser, which belongs peculiarly to Jove as the all-wise ruler of the universe. This epithet belongs to him so essentially that in the old theology (Hes. *Theog.* 886) Μῆτις or Counsel was assigned to him as his first wife.

VER. 176.—*Jove-born kings.*

διοτρεφεῖς βασιλῆες, literally *Jove-bred, Jove-nursed;* but we have also διογενής (II. 173), which means practically the same thing. The most illustrious families among the Greeks were wont to trace

their lineage back, through a chain of heroes, which always led to Jove, as the natural and rightful source of all true nobility. There was a certain theological truth in this, corresponding with that expressed in Luke iii. 38.

VER. 181.

Down to this verse there is a translation of this book, in Walter Scott's measure, by Morehead (Edinburgh, 1813), an example which might deserve imitation.

VER. 189.—*His shaggy breast.*

στήθεσσιν λασίοισι. (So again II. 851, and XVI. 554.) This is one of those characteristic words which test the quality of the translators of Homer. To represent the hero of a sublime epic poem as having a rough breast, all shaggy with hair, like a Newcastle coal-heaver or an Aberdeen street-porter, were an offence against all the established laws of epic propriety. Therefore P., C., and Soth. omitted it; and even Ch. turns the epithet into an action, and thereby, losing no force, hides the offence to dainty stomachs—

> "Thetis' son at this stood vext, *his heart*
> *Bristled his bosom.*"

There are other expressions in Homer of a like nature, at which the ultra-refinement of our modern saloon-gentlemanship will sniff fastidiously; this may last for a day; but Nature and Homer are strong, and will certainly triumph over all such pruderies. Ariosto was quite Homeric in such matters (*O. F.* XXIII. 133).

VER. 197.—*Seized his yellow hair.*

This, not "auburn locks," is the proper version, according to the analogy of ballad poetry, of ξανθῆς κόμης. As to the matter, the yellow hair of Achilles (Pindar, *Nem.* III. 75), Menelaus, and Apollo, is the natural accompaniment of youth, joy, and brightness, and is especially admired among all those nations where, from climatic influences, it generally becomes a great rarity. As already

stated under ἑλίκωψ, I see no reason to doubt that the ancient Greeks were generally dark, as the modern Greeks, Italians, and Spaniards are. The golden hue of Titian's beauties is familiar to all the world; Tasso gives "*biondo crine*" to Clorinda and Armida, and Erminia and the angel Gabriel, for the same reason that the ancients gave it to Apollo; and in the Scottish ballads and songs the favourite hero is always "a yellow-haired laddie." So of Gil Morrice, whose "gay beautie" is celebrated, we read—

"But when he to the greenwood came,
Naebody saw he there,
But Gil Morrice sitting on a stane
Kaiming his yellow hair."[1]

VER. 198.—*Unseen by all save only him.*

This is a natural and frequently-recurring trait in the apparition of the gods. Every theophany is the result of a special supersensible relation between the mortal and the god, and falls under the same law as the apparition of ghosts, who are not and who cannot be visible to any persons except those with whom they stand in a certain spiritual relationship. If it be asked why Minerva specially appears at this moment as the guardian-angel of Achilles, the answer is that Pallas, as the armed maiden daughter of Jove, who combines force with wisdom, is the natural guardian of all Jove-born heroes on all great occasions, and as such appears constantly in the Homeric poems, and behind Hercules and other heroes in the painted vases. (See the Vase rooms of the British Museum, *passim*.)

VER. 200.—*Pallas.*

The word Παλλάς is in all probability, as Pas. suggested, only another form of πάλλαξ, which received a peculiar meaning in the Latin *pellex*, and has been confined to the male sex, in the familiar modern Greek diminutive παλλικάρι. It signifies a young person, a maid. In Homer, Ἀθήνη is generally joined with it, of which the

[1] Aytoun, vol. i. p. 152.

etymology is uncertain. The town of Athens likely derived its name from the shrine of the goddess in the Acropolis.

VER. 202.—*Daughter of ægis-bearing Jove.*

That she is the daughter of Jove, the only-begotten offspring of the supreme, and in the government of the world in fact his right hand, is the special dignity of Minerva. Hence her familiar epithet ὀβριμοπάτρη (v. 747), which I have translated literally "strong-fathered." She alone of all the gods was entitled to take into her hands the terrible thunderbolt (Æsch. *Eum.* 790), and to wear the ægis (v. 738), though this latter was sometimes assumed by Apollo (XVIII. 204). This divine shield, or more properly goat-skin slung across the breast over the shield (Yates in *Sm. D. A. ægis*), clad with terror, is by the German mythologists and philologers interpreted as symbolical of "the dark-rushing thunder-clouds" of which Jove is lord (compare ἐπαιγίζω, II. 148), the etymon being ἀΐσσω, with which is connected αἴξ, a goat, a springing or rushing animal, and the Ægean or rushing sea; and I see no reason to question either the poetical beauty or the scientific accuracy of the etymology.

VER. 206.—*Athenè, goddess with the flashing eyne.*

The vulgate "*blue-eyed*," retained by V., Drb., and others, has given way in D. to "*hellaügig*," in Wr. to "bright-eyed," in Glad. (*Translations*, 1861, p. 81), to "starry-eyed," and edit. 1863 to "flashing-eyed," the very epithet on which, after long consideration, I finally fixed, and had for many years delivered to my students in public teaching. N. has "grey-eyed," which Kingsley also in his *Andromeda* has stamped with an authority in such matters not to be despised. The adjective in the word γλαυκῶπις belongs to a very widely-extended family, of which some of the most familiar members are the Greek λεύσσω, the Latin *luceo*, the English *look*, the Sanscrit *luch*, and the Scotch *glaik*, which has retained the guttural, and comes in signification nearest to the Greek γλαυκός. Jameson explains the Scotch word as *a glance of the*

eye, a reflected gleam, or glance in general, which is precisely the signification of the adjective γλαυκὸς, as it will be found deduced with masterly detail by Lucas in his *Quæstiones Lexilog.* (Bonn, 1835). That this is the fundamental idea of the word was perfectly well known to the ancients, from whom, instead of many passages, we may select that most comprehensive and clenching one in Apollonius Rhodius, I. 1280, where the lines occur—

> Ἦμος δ' οὐρανόθεν χαροπὴ ὑπολάμπεται ἠὼς
> Ἐκ περάτης ἀνιοῦσα, διαγλαύσσουσι δ' ἀταρποί,

on which the scholiast has this remark—"The words γλαυκός and χαροπός are synonymous; both mean λαμπρός, that is, *bright*. Whence also Minerva is called γλαυκῶπις, and the *pupil of the eye is called* γλήνη. Euripides applied the term γλαυκῶπις to the moon." The word χαροπός, which is here declared identical with γλαυκός, is frequently applied to lions and other wild beasts, which have a fierce flare or glare in their eye, as any one may see in a common cat—

> "*Against the Capitol I met a lion,*
> *Who* GLARED *upon me and went surly by.*"[1]

And in Chaucer's portrait of the Pardoner we have—

> "*Suche glaryng eyghen hadde he as an hare;*"

and Homer, in fact, uses both words of the king of wild beasts, χαροποὶ λέοντες, in *Od.* XI. 611; and the verb γλαυκιόω in the splendid passage, XX. 172, which, as Glad. well remarks (iii. 474), expresses "the brightening flash of the eye under the influence of passion."

So much for the primitive and proper meaning of the word. Let us now see with what special significance it can be applied to Pallas Athenè, and on what principles we are to convey this significance to the English reader. In the first place, it is not denied that γλαυκός does often mean "*blue*" or "*bluish-green*," "*glaucous*," as the botanists say; but it means this accidentally only,

[1] *Julius Cæsar*, Act i. Scene 3.

inasmuch as the peculiar *glare* or *flare* which it implies belongs naturally to light-coloured eyes, and not to dark eyes. Therefore γλαυκός, in a famous passage of Aristotle (*De Gener. Anim.* v. 1), and elsewhere, is opposed to μέλας, and may be translated "*blue*," or "*bluish-grey*." But in the special case of Minerva it cannot be doubted that the common rendering, "*blue-eyed*," leads to a conception of the character of the goddess which is fundamentally false; and in this case an accurate translator has no alternative. For what is the association which the English reader naturally has with the epithet "blue-eyed," whether applied to a modern lady or to a goddess? Unquestionably the idea of a sunny juvenile hilarity, or of a deep thoughtful mildness, such as may naturally belong to the goddess of wisdom. Some idea of this kind was floating, no doubt, in Dunbar's mind, when he says so positively, in the third edition of his Dictionary, that it is "altogether inconsistent with the character of the goddess to translate γλαυκῶπις, as some have done, '*fierce-eyed*.'" But, though this translation would be too strong, it is undoubted that a certain degree of fierceness, or at least terrible irresistible brightness, very closely allied to fierceness, was associated with the epithet γλαυκῶπις as applied to Minerva. Her eyes, in line 200, are called δεινώ; and in a significant passage in Lucian (*Dial. Deor.* 19) she is described as φοβερὰ καὶ χαροπὴ καὶ δεινῶς ἀνδρική, "*terrible, and glaring like a lion, and awfully masculine*;" the word χαροπή here used being, as we have seen, synonymous with γλαυκός. Exactly to the same effect is a passage in the eighth dialogue, where Vulcan describes the wonderful maiden whom he has with his axe struck out of the brain of the father—"She shakes her spear, and dances a war-dance, and is wild with martial vigour, but, most astonishing of all, she is handsome, and full-grown from the very moment of her birth; and, though γλαυκῶπις, yet even this expression in her eye becomes a grace, from the warlike helmet on her head." This method of speaking indicates distinctly enough that, except in a woman of masculine and commanding character, the colour and expression of eye implied in γλαυκῶπις was esteemed not at all attractive, but rather repulsive.

There cannot, therefore, be the slightest doubt that the common English associations with the epithet "blue-eyed" lead necessarily to a false conception of the character of the Athenian goddess; though, independently of this association, the mere blueness of the eye is not inconsistent with the terrible glare which shot from it. Anna Comnena, in her description of Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum, says, "his eyes were blue, and full of wrath and fierceness" (Panizzi, Ariosto, vol. i. p. 17). And a great living novelist, in *The Last of the Barons* (vii. 5), has this sentence: "Edward started, and his eyes flashed that cold cruel fire, which make eyes of a light colour so far more expressive of terrible passion than the quicker and warmer heat of dark orbs." My version, "flashing-eyed," is meant as a proper medium between the fierce savage blue eye here described and the altogether innocent epithet, "bright-eyed." It remains only to ask how and why this goddess was characterized by this terrible brilliancy of eye, and what connexion such an expression has with her mythological genius and character. On this point a very few words will suffice. Minerva, like most of the Greek gods, has a twofold significance: first, as an impersonated physical element; second, as an anthropomorphic spiritual power and agency. In the first view I entirely agree with Welcker, in the *g. l.*, that, as the daughter of the cloud-compelling Jove, that is, of the stormy, energetic, masculine element of the welkin, she can be nothing but the bright, clear, unclouded phasis of the same, that is, the celestial light, or the empyrean clearness in all its varieties. In this respect γλαυκῶπις was her fitting epithet, just as γλαυκός was applied to the moon. As an anthropomorphized spiritual power, she is the daughter of supreme celestial wisdom; and as the highest wisdom is always practical, and practice in this world of diverse interests implies struggle, the wise goddess is primarily a warlike goddess, and the highest type of perfect manly energy and effectiveness. She is thus contrasted with Mars, who is the mere blind passion of indiscriminate hostility. In this character she appears clad with a divine power, and radiant with a terror scarcely inferior to that

which encircles the presence of her omnipotent sire. In the Iliad she is on the side of the Greeks for the same reason that Jove himself is, at least in the final issue, on the same side. They are the superior party, by the agency of whom divine providence is carrying out its mighty plan; and the goddess of practical wisdom cannot be otherwise than on the side of those, the wisdom of whose counsels is proved by their success. On the character of Pallas Athenè generally much might be said to justify the highest eulogies of her most devoted worshippers (Lucas, *Quæst. Lex.* 81). She will almost bear a favourable comparison with the Virgin Mary. Gladstone even exalts her into an identity with the divine λόγος of the apostle John; but such analogies are slippery, and the historical foundation on which they are attempted to be raised fallacious. The altogether contrary and unduly severe portraiture of this goddess drawn by Hayman (*Od.* App. E. 4) will be commented on more fittingly, XXII. 247.

VER. 218.—*Whoso fears the gods is wise*, etc.

"*Piissima sententia*," said Professor Duport, "if you merely change θεοί into θεός." I think it is equally pious without the change. Does piety depend on orthodoxy? Does the spirit of John ix. 31 include those only who are within the pale of a strictly monotheistic creed?

VER. 220.—*And in the scabbard plunged the weighty sword.*

I took this "*plunged*" from Dryden; and it is beyond all question the best word for the expressive ὦσε of the original, being as good and a little better than the Greek, as our vigorous monosyllables not seldom are. On the significant contrast between "glorious John" here, and Pope's "returned the shining blade to its sheath," see some excellent remarks by Leigh Hunt (*Stories in Verse*, 1855, p. 43). The scene is represented in a Pompeian painting; Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, p. 383, Plate XVI. 1.

VER. 234.—*Even by this baton.*

A staff, baton, or sceptre, as we have seen already in the case of the priest, was the emblem of authority in the hands of kings, of judges, of the heads of tribes, shepherds, etc., among all ancient nations. See Gesenius *in voce* שֵׁבֶט, and the Hindoo *Prem-sagar*, ch. 23. But in the present passage, as is manifest from what is said a few lines below, the baton is referred to not as the symbol of royal authority generally, but of that authority exercised in the enforcement of public law and natural right, to which Achilles, as an injured man, may now with all reason make his appeal. This right of administering the laws in the heroic times belonged inherently to the kings (Arist. *Pol.* III. 14, Hes. *Theog.* 85); and no doubt they always retained this right for the most important cases; but inferior matters they in all probability left to be adjudged by inferior local authorities, such as the γέροντες, or elders, in the shield of Achilles (XVIII. 505), and the δικάσπολοι ἄνδρες in this passage (ver. 238), who are not spoken of as if they were identical with the kings. It must be further observed, that the kings and inferior judges, as administrators of the law, acted with a solemn responsibility as delegates of Jove, the supreme moral governor of the universe. The δίκης τάλαντα, or scales of justice, belong specially to the son of Kronos (*Hymn. Herm.* 324). All public assemblies where laws were made, were specially under the protection of Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος (Æsch. *Eum.* 931), of whom Themis (*Od.* II. 68), the personified goddess of the Θέμιστες (ver. 238 of this passage), is the legitimate assessor.

VER. 250.—*Word-moulding.*

Literally "*voice-dividing*," "*articulately-speaking*." I owe my compound to George MacDonald, the poet (see Arnold *On Translating Homer*, p. 89). To this traditional rendering of μέροψ there is the objection that compound adjectives with this termination almost always signify some variety of *look* or *face*, or what we call *expression*, from ὄπτομαι, to see. For this reason, Donaldson

(*New Crat.* sec. 95, note), in this agreeing with certain Germans, chooses to translate μέροψ, *bright, or shining-faced*, as if from μαρμαίρω, a reduplicated root. But such fancies have no scientific value. Besides, the contrast between black and bright men, assumed by Donaldson, is not indicated by Homer; and a wise man in such cases will prefer to stand on the Alexandrian tradition, which shows at least how the Greeks understood the phrase. A received interpretation is always a historical fact; an ingenious conjecture is nothing at all.

VER. 263.—*Centaurs and Lapithæ.*

The Lapithæ and the Centaurs belong to that dim borderland between mythology and history, where nothing is more difficult than to declare certainly whether any huge mass looming in the distance be a mountain or a cloud. In this region the interpreters of fantastic old tradition have followed two opposite methods of interpretation, as their natural genius or acquired tendencies may have led them to favour the significance of idealistic conception, or the distinctness of terrestrial fact. To the former, the Centaurs, with their shaggy exterior, and their wild, unruly, boisterous nature, naturally appear as personifications of mountain-torrents rushing violently down into the fertile plain from the land of clouds, where they had their birth. So Prell. (*Myth.* vol. ii. p. 13), who quotes Virgil (*Æn.* VII. 674) as evidently harmonizing with this idea. To the other class of interpreters the Centaurs are merely men metamorphosed into monsters by that active fancy which always finds its favourite field in the region of earliest and least authenticated tradition. "The Lapithæ," says Duncker, (*Gesch. des Alt.* vol. iii. p. 63), "were inhabitants of the Thessalian plain in the neighbourhood of the ancient Larissa, who had to maintain their ground and protect their cornfields against the predatory inhabitants of the mountains, the dwellers on the southern slopes of Olympus, the Dorians, the men of Ossa and Pelion, the Centaurs, the shaggy mountain-haunting wild beasts, as Homer describes them." Between these two views it will always be, in

many cases, impossible to mediate. In the present case, however, I must say that the traditions which connect the Lapithæ with Theseus and Attica (see Suidas, *περιθοῖδαι*, and Steph. Byz. *φιλαΐδαι*) give to that people at least a decidedly historical aspect. Whether the Centaurs may not be something more than the exaggerated expression of primeval horsemanship practised by the wild moss-troopers of Pelasgic Thessaly, may for ever remain undecided. Certain it is that, whatever their origin might be, they were afterwards elevated by the Greek imagination into a perfect kinship with the Satyrs, Pans, and other prick-eared followers of the wine-loving Dionysus. Their connexion, through the Lapithæ, with Theseus, brought them prominently into Attic legend, from which they were transferred to Attic sculpture, of which the decorations of the temple of Theseus, the Parthenon, and the Phigalian marbles, are instances to the present hour. With regard to Homer himself, there can be no doubt that he looked on the Lapithæ at least as substantial men in every respect, as much as Ajax and Agamemnon (II. 740, XII. 129); and nothing would have astonished him more than the transcendental idea of Uschold (*Vorhalle*, vol. i. p. 64), that Peirithoös, the chief of the Lapithæ, and Eurytion the Centaur, were originally only different epithets of one and the same god, afterwards degraded into solid men and hostile kings by the materializing stupidity of the popular imagination. Müller (*Orchom.* p. 191) is no less rational than erudite and ingenious on the Lapithæ, whom he holds to be a sturdy Thessalian race, closely allied to, perhaps identical with, the Phlegyæ, and these again only a warlike section of the famous commercial race of the Minyans of Orchomenos.

VER. 265.—Θησέα τ' Αἰγείδην ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν.

"*Hic versus a plerisque probatis libris abest: neque eum ullus scholiastes nec Eustathius usquam agnoscit, ut sero adscriptum putes ex scuto Herculis*, 182" (Wolf, *Prolegom.* p. xxvii.) No doubt, as Heyne remarks, it is quoted by Chrysostom (*Or.* LVII.); but the silence of the scholiasts on a point of this kind, on which they

could not fail to have enlarged, is sufficient to throw discredit on the line. The fact is that Theseus, the favourite hero of the Athenians, has no position in the Iliad, and is mentioned only once incidentally in *Od.* xi. 322. In the catalogue (ii. 546, Plut. *Cim.* 7), where the Athenian forces are recounted, it is not the great national hero, but Menestheus, the son of Peteus, who commands them. The temptation to interpolate here, springing from the national vanity of the Athenians, was great, and has no doubt been exercised. My version, therefore, does not acknowledge the line.

Ver. 270.—*From Pylus, from a distant land.*

Br., Wr., Glad., and N., translate ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης, "*from the Apian land,*" or the land of Apis, *i.e.*, the Peloponnesus, so called from a famous old physician of that name (Æsch. *Suppl.* 265; Theoc. xxv. 183). But the application of this old physician's name to the Homeric adjective ἄπιος is demonstrably false. The authority of Homer himself is sufficient to settle this point, for the very phrase, τηλόθεν ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης occurs twice (*Od.* xvi. 18, and vii. 25) in a connexion where, to make it signify the Peloponnesus, would be to produce utter nonsense. As little can this phrase signify the Peloponnesus in the well-known passage of Sophocles (*O. C.* 1685), πῶς γὰρ ἤ τιν' ἀπίαν γᾶν ἤ πόντιον κλύδων' ἁλώμεναι. Add to this that Strabo (371) says distinctly that ἄπιος in Homer is simply πόρρω; with whom Hesy. and the Ven. schol., A., and B., agree, as also Apollonius, who, with the decision of a man who knows the truth, says, that the notion of applying ἄπιος to the Peloponnesus was κακῶς, in fact, only a fancy of the more modern commentators, of whose style of erudite drivelling we have a fair specimen in the *E. M.*, under this very word. The fact is, that learned men are peculiarly liable to a disease of judgment which leads them to prefer what is recondite to what is true; and as anybody might at once imagine that ἄπιος meant distant, while only a learned man could know anything about an antediluvian old physician called Apis, the interpretation of the word in Homer the most remote from vulgar apprehension was preferred. Some interpreters also may

have been moved by the tautology of the phrase τηλόθεν ἐξ ἀπίης; but tautology is characteristic of Homer, and in all languages, means, in many cases, only the superlative degree.

It has only to be mentioned farther that the first syllable of the name of the physician Ἄπις, and the adjectival form derived from it when applied to the Peloponnesus, is always long, whereas in Homer the antepenult of ἄπιος is short. If this proof is not complete, there is nothing in the whole compass of philological research that can deserve the name of science.

VER. 272.—*As men now are.*

οἳ νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν. This frequently recurring formula in Homer (see XII. 383, and elsewhere) deserves to be noted, as indicating that the bard considered himself as living in an age considerably removed in point of time from the heroes whose deeds he celebrated. The desire to represent the men of former ages as giants in comparison with the puny mannikins of the present day, is natural to the human heart, and thence easily finds its way into all popular poetry. Sometimes this desire feeds upon pure conceits, as in the case of the devout imaginations in which Puseyites and other retrospective sentimentalists indulge with regard to the supreme blessedness of the middle ages; but sometimes also, no doubt, this natural tendency finds only too much real food to feast on, as in all ages of decadence and over-refinement. In Homer's time, though the human frame was still sturdy and vigorous, and a divine hero might show a "shaggy breast" without offence, yet refinement on the luxuriant coast of Asia Minor might have proceeded so far as to warrant a feeling that former generations of men were more distinguished for muscle, and all feats of bodily strength. It is impossible, however, to say exactly what period of time may, under different circumstances, be necessary for the growth of a popular impression of this kind. In Scotland, at the present day, it might most justly be said, with regard to the capacity for drinking, that a moderate toper fifty years ago, in the days so ably described in Lord Cockburn's Memoirs, could, without the slightest injury to

his health, drink twice or thrice, or even four times as much, as any wine-bibber, *οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν*, such as wine-bibbers now are. Compare Glad. (I. 37), who agrees with me in refusing to believe, with Vell. Pat. (I. 5), that the phrase implies a long interval.

VER. 303.—*Thy purple life-stream flow,*

—in the original, *κελαινὸν*, *black* or *dark*, which I changed into *purple* only for the sake of the rhythm; and I note the point merely to show how little the Homeric epithets, unlike our modern ones, were generally attached to words, with any special regard to their propriety at the particular place where they are used. Here it is manifestly most unsuitable to call blood "black," or even "dark," at the very moment when it is streaming out from the spear-point infixed in the body. But the phrase *black* or *dark blood* had evidently become a commonplace, like "the swift-footed Achilles," which the poet might use as a whole, without meaning more than the simple word *αἷμα* would have implied. The reader may note here, that, though in my translation I make ample use of epithets, I allow myself Homer's own license of using them promiscuously, as the music of the line may demand, knowing that they have no value in reference to the special passage where they occur.

VER. 313.—*Then Agamemnon king enjoined the host to make ablution.*

The Greeks used lustration at all sacrifices, after evil dreams (Æsch. *Pers.* 203; Ar. *Ran.* 1338), and on other occasions (Soph. *Ajax*, 655; Eurip. *Iphig. Taur.* 1160; Paus. VIII. 41-2). Here manifestly there is a general purification or cleansing of the host from the guilt which Agamemnon had incurred against Apollo (see Näg. *Hom. Theol.* p. 305). A similar *καθαρμὸς*, or general religious purification of the army, is mentioned by Xenophon in the *Anab.* (V. 7. 35.) In Cromwell's time there would have been a fast-day and a preaching. That the Jews sometimes used water in the same way is obvious from 1 Sam. vii. 6.

VER. 316.—*The waste unfertile sea.*

ἁλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο—literally, the *sea from which there is no vintage, from which no harvest can be gathered;* an epithet having so direct a reference to the wants of "food-eating mortals," that one would almost think a farmer had made it, not a poet. On this utilitarian element in Homer, see *Dissertations*, p. 148. So Pindar of the air (*Ol.* I. 10).

VER. 334.—*Hail messengers of gods and men, brave heralds!*

The office and dignity of heralds, κήρυκες (*criers*, from γηρύω, to *speak* or *cry* out), in Homer is very high, and there is no passage in which the respect paid to them appears so gracefully as in that which is now before us. Glad. (iii. 48) is quite right in saying that Achilles here and on similar occasions (IX. 197) comports himself as much according to our idea of "a gentleman" as it was possible for a Homeric hero with such a free range of tongue to do. Only on the present occasion, the politeness, no doubt, proceeds less from the character of the man than from the universal respect paid to the functionaries whom he addresses. These officers were peculiarly under the patronage of Jove as supreme, and Hermes as the herald of the gods (Æsch. *Agam.* 498); and Plato, in the *Laws* (941 A), enacts, that if any herald should, by giving false messages, or otherwise, abuse his sacred trust, an indictment shall lie against him, "as having acted impiously, and contrary to law, against the ordinances of Mercury and of Jove." In Homer, the heralds perform various functions, both of a private and public nature. They act as butlers and waiters at table, and as masters of ceremonies or stewards (*Od.* I. 109, 153); as grooms or equerries (XXIV. 282). They attend the ἀγορά, or public assembly, and keep order there (II. 50, 96), and perform similar duties at public worship (IX. 170).

VER. 350.—*The purple tide.*

οἶνοπα πόντον—literally, "wine-faced," or "looking like wine." With reference to the various reading, ἀπείρονα, Sp. says—"*Quid*

Aristarchum impulerit ut ἐπ' ἀπείρονα anteferret non video. Vulgatum enim tum huic loco aptum est, tum Homero perquam familiare, ἀπείρονα πόντον semel tantum in Od. IV. 510 *legitur*," with which I agree. As to the colour here attributed to the sea, a sensible man need scarcely be reminded that the colour of the sea varies constantly with its depth, with the play of light and shade, and with the quality of its bottom. Generally in Homer the various living play of colour is described, not specimens on a pattern-sheet. On this subject, Glad. (iii. 490) is excellent.

VER. 357.—*His mother with quick ear his plaint did gather.*

The mother of Achilles is the sea-goddess Thetis, the daughter of Nereus, "the hoary old man of the sea," and "the beautiful-haired Doris, the daughter of Ocean," "the perfect river," as Hes. has it (*Theog.* 242). Like all the sea-goddesses, she is very beautiful—for what is more lovely than the sun-lit waves of ocean?—and is called by Catullus "*pulcherrima Neptunina;*" for Neptune, who took the place of Oceanus, was her grandfather. Her common epithet in Homer is ἀργυρόπεζα, *silver-footed*, or it may be, *silver-shooned*, or *silver-sandalled*, of course referring to the beautiful tips of the foam-crested waves. Her connexion with the other gods is very intimate, and she is recorded to have placed several of them under great obligations, as Jupiter (396, *infra*), and Dionysus (VI. 135), and Vulcan (XVIII. 394). Her marriage with the hero Peleus, from which union Achilles sprang, is one of the best known of the Thessalian legends, and has been celebrated in a well-known poem by Catullus. She was worshipped principally in the Θετιδεῖον, on the banks of the Enipeus, near Pharsalus (schol. Pindar, *Nem.* IV. 81, Eurip. *Androm.* 19); also in Messenia (Paus. III. 14. 4).

VER. 366.—*To sacred Thebes we marched.*

The position of this town, the capital of the rich plain of the same name, is well known from its being described both in the famous march of Xerxes (Herod. VII. 42), and in that of Xenophon, in the last act of his famous expedition (*Anab.* VII. 8. 7). It lies

in the vicinity of Adramyttium, at the head of the bay of the same name, to the north-east of Antandrus, under a mountain called Placos. The people were a Cilician tribe (VI. 396). It belongs therefore to the same district as Cilla and Chryse. (Above, ver. 38. See also XXII. 479, and Str. XIII. 612).

VER. 371.—*The Greeks well cased in copper mail.*

χαλκοχίτωνες—*copper-coated*, a very common epithet of the Greek soldiers in the Iliad; in reference to which the question is forced on us, what this χαλκός really was, whether simple COPPER, as I translate it in this passage, or an alloy, such as BRASS. Now, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the original meaning of χαλκός is *copper*, for, if it does not mean copper, there is no word for this metal in the Greek language. But, in fact, χαλκός is always spoken of, both in Homer (XVIII. 474) and elsewhere, as a simple metal, along with other simple metals; and in IX. 365, the poet gives it distinctly that epithet (ἐρυθρός) which belongs to pure copper. It must be borne in mind also, that among the most ancient nations, *copper* and *gold* were two of the most abundant metals (Herod. I. 215), the most easily worked, often found in their virgin state, and therefore generally used for purposes to which the more perfect metallurgy of future times enabled men to apply iron. This fact, well known to the ancients, Lucretius (v. 1285) repeats after Hesiod (*Op.* 151)—

χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο· μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος,

for which reason the word χαλκεύς, which properly signifies a *copper-smith*, was afterwards used to signify a *smith* generally. There seems, however, amongst translators, to have been a general tendency to translate the word χαλκός by *brass* rather than by copper (see Judg. xvi. 21, 1 Kings iv. 13, and Ges. *in voce* נְחֹשֶׁת), perhaps to bring out the idea of hardness, on which principle, indeed, I have often used the word *brass* in this translation. But there is something characteristic in this early and general use of COPPER, which it is not at all right to conceal from an intelligent reader. Who, for instance, would wish to change *copper* into *brass* in the following extract from

Barth's Travels in Africa, which I take from the *Edinburgh Review*, April 1859, p. 345:—"At Agades, the most important town of Eastern Negroland, the traveller was accosted by two horsemen, well dressed and mounted, with stirrups and bridle ornaments of *copper*." So much for the propriety of translation. With regard to the fact, it may still remain doubtful whether the Greeks in Homer's time, when considerable advances in metallurgy had been made, did not actually use their copper with a certain amount of alloy, and yet retain for the compound the name which, in strictness, belonged only to the predominant metal. But whether this be so or not, it is quite certain that ancient writers talk of hardening copper by some process, so as to make it as serviceable as iron (Eust. *Il.* I. 236; and Proclus, on the passage of Hesiod just quoted, *διὰ τίνος βαφῆς τὸν χαλκὸν στερροποιοῦντες ὄντα φύσει μαλακόν*; both passages quoted by Millin in his *Minéralogie Homérique*, Paris, 1816, p. 129, to whose work I refer the student generally; as also to Goguet's *Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences*, Edinburgh, 1761, B. II. ch. 4). I have only further to remark, that the word *βάπτω*, used in reference to this matter both by Eustathius and Proclus, ought to remove all difficulty from a much-bespoken passage in Æschylus (*Agam.* 595), which I confess, in common with many others, to have misunderstood and mistranslated, where Clytemnestra says simply, "*Of other men I know no more than I know of the art of dipping and hardening copper;*" *that is, I am as ignorant of the one as of the other.* See likewise, on the prevalence of copper in early metallurgy, Mommsen, *Röm. Ges.* vol. i. p. 179; and Bischoff, *das Kupfer und seine Legirungen*, Berlin, 1865.

VER. 399.

What time the Olympians did conspire his puissant strength to bind.

Here we have a remarkable instance of those wars among the gods, which gave such offence to Plato (*Rep.* II. 378 B), which are so prominent in the Iliad (XX. XXI.), but which, perhaps, reach their climax in this very singular passage; for in no other part of this poem does there appear any indication of an actual rebellion

of the other gods against Jupiter; the claims of Neptune in Book XIII. being brought forward only, as it would appear, for the purpose of being set aside. We have, in fact, in the present story, a very old, probably Pelasgic, legend, relating to an antediluvian age, before the dynasty of Jove was finally established. The familiar legend of Prometheus is a fragment from the massive blocks of the same period.[1] What are we to make of these stories? To answer this question, we must bear in mind that strifes and struggles, battles, victories, and defeats among the gods are nothing peculiar to Greek mythology, but are found among the ancient Egyptians (see Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*, passim), and among the modern Hindus (see the *Vishnu Purana*; Wilson, ch. ix.) In explaining these legends, some people have supposed that they are the mythical embodiments of actual physical revolutions, a theory likely to find special favour with the amateurs of the now so fashionable science of geology, and which has accordingly found a sturdy and thoroughgoing champion in Forchhammer; and to a certain extent, no doubt, it is true, in so far as myths about giants and Titans are often found connected with districts where certain violent powers of subterranean heat were in ancient times (Paus. VIII. 29. 1, 2; Dodwell's *Greece*, ii. p. 380), or are even now in action, as that of Typhon with Cilicia. Such ideas of physical revolutions are recognised in certain myths also by Müller (*Proleg.* 77), as they had been by Heyne before him (*ad Apollodor. init.*) These legends, so long as they have a well-marked volcanic locality, may, with Welcker, be considered as "*ein Bild wilder Kräfte im Naturreich.*" Another class of minds may be inclined to consider the wars of the gods as only the transplanting to a celestial stage of certain religious contests in which their worshippers were engaged below; as if, for instance, the Reformation of religion in the sixteenth century were represented as a war in heaven between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost on the one side, and the Virgin Mary, with the

[1] "*Le dottrine Giapetiche contengono i vestigi di un culto più antico in parte distrutto, e in parte conservato da esse, e quindi di un sincretismo hieratico fra due diversi systemi.*"—GIOBERTI, *del Buono*, IV.

saints on the other. Thus a religious revolution below would appear as a change of dynasty above. That this theory should not be allowed to fall out of view seems quite plain; but, so far as Greece is concerned, on account of the lack of early historical record, we can make little practical use of it. A third theory which I will now propose, without excluding the other two, takes a much wider range. Strife in one form or another—opposition—collision—hostility—war—is a phenomenon of such universal presentation in the world, that almost all theological speculations have in some form or other been forced to admit it. If fire fights with water, heat with cold, winter with summer, light with darkness, love with hatred, and not only all sorts of wild animals with one another, but every nation regularly with its neighbour, a polytheistic religion, which assumes a separate god for every separate power, must suppose the heaven to be as full of wars as the earth; for as is the effect, so must be the cause. The gods, therefore, as representing opposite energies, are naturally always at war. But as this state of things, if allowed to go on without check, could continue only through mutual destruction, and end in utter annihilation, the strong conservative power which manifestly rules the world is always conceived as superior to the elements of strife; and this power is represented in Greek mythology by the sovereignty of the legitimate lord of heaven, viz., Jove. Against him, especially in the green age of the world, the other gods, or a part of them, may indeed be conceived, as in the present passage, to rebel, but they cannot possibly overcome him. The feeling of a divine order of things is too deeply seated in the human mind to allow of that; even against such a powerful coalition as Herè, Poseidon, and Pallas Athenè, Jupiter will as surely triumph as the eternal Father of all triumphs against Lucifer and his angels in the empyrean battles of *Paradise Lost*. It was this pious conviction which kept the Athenian audience quite easy, when, in the play of Æschylus, the Titan flouted the Thunderer with such proud words of impious defiance. They felt that the dethronement of Jove was a thing to be talked about, but not to be achieved. This is the

general view which I am inclined to take of these strifes of the gods; and to specialize further in the present instance would not lead to much. Briareus is evidently a water-giant, or the power of water, called by a sea-goddess to co-operate with the lord of the watery sky, in order to save the system of things from convulsion. The name by which he is known among the gods signifies the *strong one*, from *βριάω*, *βρύω*, while his earthly name *Αἰγαίων*, as above remarked (165), signifies the *rusher*, a most appropriate name for a water-god. He, with his two brothers, Gyes and Cottos, are represented by Apollodorus (I. 1) as the oldest progeny of Uranus and Gee. No wonder, therefore, he was strong, if the eternal Heavens and the firm-seated Earth were his parents. He was, in fact, by a whole generation, nearer to the eternal great unknown source of all power, both human and divine, than Jupiter himself.

VER. 424.—*With blameless Ethiop men.*

In this remarkable connexion, as living in a special relationship to the gods, the Ethiopians are mentioned several times in Homer. So particularly *Od.* I. 22 (where see Nitzsch and Hayman). Here it is to be noted that these Ethiopians, like Virgil's Morini (*Æn.* VIII. 727), are represented, and in XIII. 205, as living at the end of the world—"*ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν.*" But as the Morini of the Roman poet, though called the "*extremi hominum*," were no farther off than Picardy—the geographical ideas of the ancients being limited,—so we are not to seek for the Ethiopians in any district more remote than where they were afterwards found, viz., in the immediate neighbourhood of Egypt and the Red Sea. Homer, in fact, himself (*Od.* IV. 84) mentions them in a connexion which shows that they are to be sought for at no very remote distance, according to our ideas, from his own fatherland, Smyrna:—

"To Cyprus and Phœnicia then, and the Egyptian land,
I came, to the far Ethiop men, and the Sidonian strand,
To the Erembians, and to Libya, where the ripening ray
Makes little white-fleeced lambs full soon the lusty horn display."

And when Neptune, in the Odyssey (v. 283), on his return from the Ethiopians, passes behind the Solymi, it is just the very route which a bird would take, flying from the shores of the Red Sea in a north-westerly direction towards Troy and the Black Sea. All this agrees exactly with the notices of this people given afterwards by historical writers; as by Herod. (III. 17, IV. 197). Strabo, besides the civilized Ethiopians in the kingdom of Meröe, enumerates a great number of savage or semi-savage tribes, so named, on the west coast of the Red Sea, under the curious names of *Fish-eaters*, *Root-eaters*, *Ostrich-eaters*, *Locust-eaters*, *Turtle-eaters*, *Dog-milkers*, and *Marsh-men;* and, what is more to the point, distinctly mentions the other great section of the Ethiopians to the west of Egypt, beside the Lotus-eaters; οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαυρουσίας οἰκοῦντες πρὸς τοῖς ἑσπερίοις Αἰθίοψι Λωτοφάγοι (III. 157, II. 120). As for the remarkable partiality which the gods are represented as having cherished for this people, we can only say that "far birds have fair feathers," and men have always been in the habit of painting some race of people at a very remote distance in time or space, as more holy, and therefore more near to the gods than ourselves, and the very imperfect creatures with whom we hold daily intercourse. Pausanias (VIII. 2) says that "the most ancient men who lived in Arcadia had the gods for guests, and sat at the same table with them, on account of their justice and piety." The Hyperboreans in the extreme North had the same fragrance of piety about them (XIII. 1). On these antediluvian god-favoured races generally, see Gerhard, *Myth.* 634, Nitzsch, *Od.* VII. 201-6, from which passage of the Odyssey it is plain enough that their nearness to the gods did not always consist in their extraordinary piety, but only in their uncommon strength and superhuman energy. Whether the connexion of the sun with extreme south, east, and west, or, again, the great power of the priesthood in some of the Ethiopian nations (Diod. III. 6), may not have been the origin of the reputed sanctity of that people, may deserve consideration.

VER. 426.—*The copper-pavèd hall.*

So conceived, I imagine, only to express the solidity of the eternal heavens; just as the רָקִיעַ of the Hebrews was translated στερέωμα by the Hellenizing Jews, and literally rendered into Latin by the word *firmamentum*, which we have adopted. Compare σιδήρεος οὐρανός (*Od.* XV. 329).

VER. 433.—*The sails they lower*, etc.

There are only a very few points with regard to the ships of the ancients which the readers of the Iliad require to notice. Some of the details in *Od.* v. 252 might require discussion; but for our present purpose it will suffice to remark that the "well-poised ships," in what is called the heroic age, seem to have been vessels of very humble pretensions; in their moderate tackle and gear, and method of management, more like what we call *boats* and *skiffs* than *ships* proper. It does not appear that they had more than one mast—though no doubt vessels of a larger build, with several masts, were afterwards introduced (*Poll.* I. 91); and this mast was regularly taken down at landing, and put up when the craft went out to sea. As little had they a complete or proper deck; for Thucydides says expressly that the ships built even in Themistocles' day had not full decks (I. 14); and Pliny (VII. 56) has left the notice, "*Naves longas tectas* THASII *invenerunt: antea ex prora tantum et puppi pugnabant.*" The simplicity of the rest of the equipment will appear from the description of Homer.

VER. 447.

Then round the well-built altar of the god they piled the hecatomb.

The word *hecatomb*, originally signifying an *hundred oxen*, is used in Homer vaguely of any great public sacrifice. The most complete description of the rite of sacrifice in the heroic age, occurs in *Od.* III. 418-472, on occasion of the entertainment to Telemachus by the venerable patriarch of Pylos. That passage, compared with the present (which, however, is only in two points

less complete), brings out the following ten points of sacrificial procedure as they occur in order :—(1.) The hands are washed with water, χερνίψαντο, according to the precept of Hesiod (*Op. et Di.* 724), with which the words of Hector agree (VI. 266). So amongst the Jews (Exod. xxx. 18-21, Lev. xvi. 24). (2.) The οὐλόχυται, or οὐλαί, that is, *coarse-ground barley* (see Butmann, *Lexil.*), is taken up in order to be in readiness for immediate use. (3.) A prayer is offered up by the priest, standing with uplifted hands. (4.) The victim is brought forward, of which the horns had previously been gilded (X. 294); the topmost hairs are plucked from between its horns, and thrown into the fire; its neck is drawn up by the officiating ministers; a knife is plunged into its throat; and it is flayed. (5.) The thighs are then cut out and coiled in a double ply of fat. (6.) Small pieces of raw flesh, taken from various parts of the body, are laid above the fat, as representatives of the whole body, that the gods may appear to have at least a tasting of all (*Od.* XIV. 427.) (7.) The thighs are then burnt on the altar, accompanied by libations of wine, while youths attend with forks in their hands, to see that the whole is duly consumed. (8.) They taste the *inwards*, σπλάχν' ἐπάσαντο, a practice the nature and significance of which I do not understand. (9.) The remainder is roasted. (10.) The sacrificial feast takes place, in which all the worshippers join with jollity, and pious hymns are mingled with generous potations. This is the practice of mingling social enjoyment with religious services to which St. Paul alludes (1 Cor. xi. 26). So much for the detail. With regard to the significance of the religious act in the present case, it was evidently a sacrifice of atonement on account of sins committed against the gods, in order to propitiate their favour and avert their wrath. The Jewish idea of vicarious substitution does not appear in Homer; but there is a voluntary giving up to the god of what was most valuable to the possessor—viz., his flocks, and herds—as a symbolical reparation for the offence committed by the mortal in contravention of the divine law.

VER. 481.—*Full blew the gale in the sounding sail.*

I have here ventured to paint out the idea which appears to lie at the root of the verb πρήθω, and the family to which it belongs. The subject has been fully discussed by Butmann. I suppose that the two significations of the word ἐμπυρίζω and φυσῶ given in the *E. M.* are fundamentally the same—a strong blast naturally producing heat.

VER. 498.—*When the far-seeing god she found, remote from all.*

The word εὐρύοπα, here used, falls under the general observation made above, that adjectives ending in ὀψ, ὀπα, or ὤπος, generally come from ὤψ, the *look*, and not from ὄψ, the *voice* (see Lucas, *Quæst. Lexil.* 81). The idea, therefore, is the same as that of Ovid in the *Fasti*, when he says,

Jupiter arce suâ, totum cum spectat in orbem,
Nil nisi Romanum quod tueatur habet.

Jove dwells aloft, and from his starry home
Looks east and west, and all he sees is ROME.

VER. 500.

And knelt her down before the god, and suppliant seized his knee.

This is the common form of supplication, of which we have frequent examples among the ancients. Hence the formula so common in Homer—ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται (XVII. 514),—*these things lie on the knees of the gods, i.e.*, depend on the divine will—a phrase which I have purposely retained in my version, though it will no doubt sound strange to an English ear. Characteristic expressions of this kind ought not to be washed over with a colourless modern generality.

VER. 528.

Thus he ; and with his eyebrow dark the Father bowed assent.

This nod of Jupiter was famous among the ancients, ἔσεισε κόμαν (Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1276), and the three lines in which Homer describes it were justly celebrated, not only for their own sublime

simplicity, but from the fact that Phidias received from them the first hint of his greatest work, the colossal statue of Zeus in the temple at Elis, of which so accurate a description is given by Pausanias (v. 11; Str. VIII. 354). And indeed there are few passages in Greek poetry where the good effect is more manifest of that σωφροσύνη or sound-minded moderation by which all the poets of Greece, even in their highest flights of inspiration, were habitually controlled. If the effect of the nod described in the last line, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον, had been spread out into greater detail, such as we find, for example, in the *Vishnu Purana*, ch. xii., the effect would have been much injured. With regard to the dark eyebrows, we may mention that the word κυάνεος is the same that in v. 345 is used of a cloud; and in fact the dark eyes of the thunder-god, brought back to their elemental signification, are nothing but the dark-rolled thunder-clouds of which the lord of the elements is the ruler. In the same way Neptune is κυανοχαίτης, from the *dark* or *dark-blue* colour of the ocean. The *Prem-sagar* (ch. xlii.) tells of "Krishnu, of the dark-blue cloud-like form," which almost looks like as if the Hindu Apollo had stolen a trick of feature from Indra, who represents Jove.

VER. 551.—*The large-eyed queenly Herè.*

That a large full-orbed eye, as opposed to a small, meagre, pink eye, is an element of the highest beauty, requires no proof.

> "Here let me lie and look on your great eyes;
> 'Twill do me good; all beauty must be healing."

The word βοῶπις signifies literally *having the eyes of a cow;* and how large, full, deep, and liquid they are any one may know who will look into the eyes of that stupid but motherly animal. It is not, however, to be imagined that the Greeks in later ages actually had this living idea of the cow's eye before them when they called the queen of heaven βοῶπις; for the word βοῦς, or *ox*, came to be used in compound words to signify magnitude, as βούπαις an "ox-boy," that is, a "big boy;" βουλιμία, *ox-hunger*, that is, an immo-

derately large appetite; just as we say an "ox-daisy." Among the famous beauties of antiquity we may notice that Aspasia, the mistress of the younger Cyrus, is described as having "auburn locks very soft and smooth, a nose somewhat hooked, and *very large eyes*" (Æl. *V. H.* XII. 1). Among the Orientals indeed, generally, large, full, open eyes were esteemed so essential to beauty that they used to apply a certain tincture round their eyes, which had the effect of distending them and making them look larger" (Jer. iv. 30; Gesen. *in voce* קְרֶן). In the Sanscrit poetry large full eyes are the constant subject of eulogium—"eyes round and large as the lotus-flower" (*Prem-sagar*, ch. xxv.) The literal translation of this word, "ox-eyed," or "*cow-eyed*," I avoid, for reasons that will be obvious to a man of taste. Lord Derby's transmutation into "stag-eyed" is a leap more to be commended for its boldness than for its wisdom. It is making the poet tell a lie in order that the translator may avoid an awkwardness.

With regard to the other epithet of Juno, πότνια, which generally accompanies βοῶπις, there can be little doubt, as well from the frequent use of the same root in Sanscrit compounds (*Pati*), as from those cases where in Greek it governs the genitive (XXI. 470; Pind. *Pyth.* IV. 380), that it is equivalent to δέσποινα or *mistress*; and some have even supposed that the common name of the goddess, Ἥρα, is only the Greek form of the Latin *herus*, the German *herr*, and our *sir*. As to the mythological significance of this goddess, as wife of Jove, who is the representative of Uranus, the welkin, she should be only one of two things,—either the anthropomorphic form of *Gee*, the earth, the wife of Uranus, or the female aspect of the sky, Jove being its male aspect; just as Neptune and Amphitrite represent the same briny element under opposite aspects in a system of elemental sexualism. A modification of this latter view, to the effect that Juno represented the lower part of the atmosphere, of which Jove is the upper, acquired considerable currency among the ancients, principally through the influence of the Stoics, and has been patronized in modern times by Prell (i. p. 104). But the other view, supported by so early and so high

an authority as Empedocles (Diog. Laert. VIII. 76) is in every respect the most satisfactory, and has accordingly commanded the assent of Welcker, *g. l.* 362; of Gerhard, *Myth.* 222; Rink. *Rel. Hell.* 41; Hartung, *Rel. Gr.*, Part iii. p. 77. Demeter in fact is no proper representative of the old earth in the original elemental theology; and there is no goddess except Juno who under the Jovian dynasty can so fitly represent the Rhea of the old theology. No trace of a division of the air into two belts appears in the popular mythology of the Greeks; and the importance of the Earth in all polytheistic systems demands imperatively that she should be the wife of Zeus, the representative of Uranus. The sacred marriage of Zeus and Herè (XIV. 346) finds its full physical significance, as well as its poetic beauty, only on the supposition that Juno means the earth; and the epithet βοῶπις, though to the translator it can only mean "large-eyed," in the oldest Pelasgic theology, I agree with Paley, may very probably have had its origin in the consecration of the cow, through all the ancient mythologies, as a symbol of the earth.

VER. 561.—*Nay, woman!*

The word δαιμονίη is curious, and might form the text to a long theological discourse. There are two words in Homer commonly used to designate the gods, δαίμων and θεός, between which not a shade of difference is observable. The one is most naturally derived from δαίω, to *divide* or *portion out*, so that δαίμονες are the supreme Powers, who divide to each man his earthly lot or portion; the other, θεός, of which the Latin *Divus* is the oldest form, is identical with the Sanscrit *Deva*, which comes from a root signifying to *shine;* so that θεοί are the *bright or shining ones.* Between these two words, however, time and theological speculation gradually created a great gulf of separation, which appears as early as the time of Hesiod (*Op. et Di.* 121, with Göttling's note), was moulded into system by Plato, received a dark shade from the Jews, and stands out complete in the modern English use of the word *demon.* It is remarkable, however, that this degradation of

the word δαίμων is to a certain extent anticipated even by Homer, in the familiar use made by him of the adjective δαιμόνιος, of which we have an example in the present passage. This was noticed long ago by Plutarch (*Isis and Osiris*, 26), who observes with perfect truth that nothing similar takes place in the adjectives θεῖος, ἀντίθεος, etc., derived from θεός. This distinction, of course, must be acknowledged by all who affect to translate Homer with characteristic accuracy. And it amounts practically to this, that, while θεῖος or δῖος ἀνήρ is always "godlike or divine," in virtue of some extraordinary quality which excites our admiration, one may be called δαιμόνιος when he behaves in such a way as to excite peculiar attention, and to raise the suspicion that such conduct is not without the extraordinary influence of some superhuman power (see particularly Herodot. IV. 126, and VIII. 84); pretty much as if we should say in English, *The fellow is bewitched, he behaves as if he were possessed by an evil spirit* (in Scotch, He is *fey*). In perfect accordance with this original force of δαιμόνιος, Newman translates here "*O elf-possessed wight!*" but to this rendering there are two objections: *first*, that *elf* is a word which, like *fairy*, cannot be shaken free from mediæval and romance associations; *second*, that the Greeks themselves had, even in Homer's time, distinctly lost the full etymological meaning of δαιμόνιος; and V. is much nearer the actual Homeric force of the word, when he translates in this passage *Du wunderbare!* D., I find, agrees with me in not caring to give any greater emphasis to the word in this passage that what lies in the German *Weib!* In fact, the adjective came to be used in Greek with as little conscious recognition of its original force, as there is of the meaning of the word ὁ διάβολος, when I say in English, *What the devil are you about?* which in Homeric Greek would be—δαιμόνιε τί πράττεις;

VER. 584.—*A tway-cupped beaker.*

ἀμφικύπελλον. The root of this word is just our English word *cup* (Lat. *cupa*), with which *scoop* and *skiff* are connected. The preposition ἀμφὶ, as opposed to περὶ (with which, however, it is

often confounded), signifies *on both sides* (Lat. *ambo*), and here, accordingly, the compound should mean a *bowl with a cup at both ends, grasped by the hand in the middle;* and that the word was actually so understood by the ancients, Butmann has proved by a reference to Aristotle (*Hist. An.* IX. 27. 4).

VER. 591.—*Me by the foot he hent.*

This story about the precipitation of Vulcan from heaven into the island of Lemnos is not without interest in several views. Similar stories are found in all mythologies: as when the Hindus, for example, make Prahlada, a pious worshipper of Vishnu, be cast down from heaven by *Hiraya Kasipu;* but he falls uninjured, and sound in every bone, whereas the celestial smith of the Hellenes is lamed for life. The lameness, indeed, of Hephæstus is, if I am not much mistaken, the origin of the whole myth; and why the smith is lame, it is not difficult to see, since those who work mainly with their arms naturally have slender shanks (see below, XVIII. 411), and from tenuity of the lower extremities to actual halting, the leap to the popular imagination is not great. Vulcan, therefore, was lame because he was a smith, and he is cast down from heaven to give an air of dignity to such a vulgar accident. There is, however, an elemental explanation of the same legend, more poetical (Duncker, *Ges. Alt.* III. 46). It is remarkable that the Egyptian Pthah, who corresponds to Vulcan, was, if not lame, deformed and dwarfish (Herodot. III. 37, with Baehr's note). The connexion of the fire-god with Lemnos finds its obvious explanation in the fact that this island is essentially of volcanic origin; that it contained a volcano called Mosychlos (Schol. Nicander, *Ther.* 472; Welcker, *Tril.* p. 7); that it was for this reason called Αἰθάλη, or the *glowing island* (*E. M., in voce*). Here then is a plain physical reason why Lemnos should be "the dearest of all places of the earth" to Vulcan (*Od.* VIII. 284), who is therefore called "*Lemnius pater*" by the great Roman poet (*Æn.* VIII. 454). The earliest inhabitants of this island were emigrants who crossed from Thrace (Str. XII. 549), and were, no doubt, of a sufficiently rough

and wild character; for, though they treated the god well after his fall, the poet calls them ἀγριόφωνοι (which is worse than βαρβαρόφωνοι), in *Od.* VIII. 294; and in mythical story, their conduct was on many occasions so atrocious, as to give rise to the familiar proverb, Λήμνια ἔργα, for crimes of remarkable cruelty. On the inextinguishable laughter of the gods, with which the lame god's ministrant services (ver. 599) were greeted, Glad. (ii. 340) comments with too severe a curiousness.

VER. 600.—*Skinker.*

The old word "*skinker*," which I have used here, seems to me to suit well with the general humorous tone of the passage. It is used by Tickell in his translation of this book.

At the present day, "*schencke*" is the common German word for a vintner's shop, and *einschenken* is to *pour in*.

VER. 604.—*The rich responsive song.*

ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ. Here we have the earliest indication that I know, of that fondness for composition in corresponding stanzas curiously balanced against one another, which, under the name of *strophe* and *antistrophe*, often plays such a prominent part in the lyrical poetry of the Greeks. The parallelism of Hebrew poetry, and the antiphonal chants of Christian cathedrals, contain the same very natural and pleasing element.

BOOK II.

VER. 1.—*Steed-compelling,*

free for ἱπποκορυσταί, literally, *horse-harnessing*, or, it may be, following the analogy of χαλκοκορυστής, *provided with steeds—gaul-gerüstet* (V.) The fancy of Apion, that the word meant "*men wearing a helmet, of which the crest was made of horsetails,*" was

condemned by Porphyry, in his ζητήματα (15), and deservedly, for it is supported by no Homeric analogy, and besides, "*horse-helmeted*" would be a very clumsy and inadequate way of expressing such an idea.

VER. 3.—*The sweet sleep.*

νήδυμος. I agree entirely with But. and Sp. that this is only a different abnormal form of ἥδυμος, used exactly in the same way by the author of the Homeric hymns (Merc. 241, and other ancient poets). Aristarchus, amongst the ancients, seems to have stood alone in supposing the words to be altogether different; but we are not justified in inventing an altogether new etymology to a word, and changing its traditional meaning, merely because there is something anomalous in its form. All language is full of anomalies, especially early unprinted language. Bek., who is fond of bold measures, goes so far, in Butmann's track, as to write νήδυμος with a digamma, from which the ν was produced by one of those blunders so common in the speech of uncultivated people.

VER. 6.—*Baneful Dream.*

Passow's attempt, followed by L. and S., to reduce all the meanings of the adjective οὖλος to one, is one of the most remarkable instances that I know of that spirit of perverted ingenuity by which philologers are peculiarly liable to be possessed. But. is quite right in not endeavouring to juggle into one idea significations so radically different as *whole*, *woolly*, and *pernicious*. The objections which Pas., with L. and S., make to the received epithet, as given to dream, are utterly worthless; because, in the first place, there is no apparition of a *dream-god* here at all, but only of a dream, which Jove, the father of dreams, sends as his servant. I have printed with a capital D, merely to assist the imagination of the modern reader. On this subject, see particularly Näg., *Hom. Theol.* IV. 26, 29. The same sensible writer, in his notes to this passage, quotes from Lucian (*Jup. Trag.* 40) the words Ζεὺς ἐξαπατᾷ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ὄνειρόν τινα ψευδῆ ἐπιπέμψας, which cer-

tainly show that this author had no idea of Passow's "*handgreiflicher leibhafter* Traum-Gott *selber*." But further, even supposing the incarnate Dream-god himself (of whom Homer knows nothing) really were here introduced, he might well be called *baneful*, by reason of the harm done by the frequent delusion belonging to dreams, though dreams, of course, according to the idea of the ancients, are often true, and contain a direct divine revelation.

On the circumstance that Jupiter, the supreme moral governor of the universe, should have practised such a deceit on Agamemnon's mind, most writers, from Plato downwards (*Pol.* II. 383 A), handle the poet severely. Now, there can be little doubt that to lay down as a formal dogma that God may, systematically, and with deliberate consciousness, lead his creatures to their destruction, by a deceitful show, is to undermine the foundations of all human piety. But, taking the matter in a more loose and general way, the fact cannot be denied that imperfect creatures like man, must, by the very necessity of their finite natures, fall into delusions and disappointments of all sorts (Goethe says, "*die Natur freut sich an der Illusion*); and as these delusions are the necessary result of the constitution of the creature, acted upon by a certain disposal of circumstances, that is, of two God-ordained factors, there is nothing impious in saying, with regard to such matters, as the Greeks generally did, that "a god deceived us." Hegel (*Phil. Ges.*) says, it is a "*list*," or trick of the Reason, which governs the world, to use the passions of individuals for the purpose of obtaining higher objects. With regard to dreams specially, as they were all sent by Jove, if a Greek was on any occasion signally led astray, by putting faith in a striking vision, he could not do otherwise than say, that "*Jove had deceived him*," as he certainly did not deceive himself, and he had in his theological system no devil, to whom he could impute the unhappy issue of delusive dreams. And it appears to be quite plain, that in all systems of theology, where an independent evil Spirit is not recognised, both moral and physical evil must be attributed, either directly or indirectly, to the Supreme Being. That there is a logical necessity, at least, for some sort of theore-

tical Fatalism, has been acknowledged by the greatest thinkers (Mansel, *Bampton Lectures*, ii. Note 18). And accordingly, in the Old Testament, where the devil is almost ignored, we find that "the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart," and that "*the Lord sent forth a lying spirit in the mouth of all the prophets of Ahab*" (1 Kings xxii. 22, 23). And it is noticeable that the same act which in the Book of Samuel is attributed to God (2 Sam. xxiv. 1) is in Chronicles (1 Chron. xxi. 1) attributed to *Satan*. Irreligious men, who want an excuse for their bad ways, may of course readily abuse such passages to their own destruction; but the same God who ordained delusion to finite mortals, as the result of certain conduct or certain circumstances, devised the conscience or practical reason also, as a strong light shining in a dark place, which no man is entitled with a suicidal hand to extinguish. And the sound-minded worshippers of Jove, we may depend upon it, in Homer's time, because the omnipotent god might occasionally, for a special purpose, send a delusive dream, never drew the sweeping conclusion that they were entitled on all occasions, and for every selfish purpose, to violate the laws of truth, and fear no stroke of retributive vengeance from Ζεὺς ὅρκιος. The decrees of God, he knew well, belong to one sphere, the duties of men to another, and a totally different sphere.

Ver. 11.—*The long-haired Greeks.*

καρηκομόωντας. That a rich growth of hair is a great beauty, which, as in the case of many natural graces, has been sacrificed to convenience or convention, is quite plain; and the evidence of the Homeric epithet with regard to the practice of the most ancient Greeks in this matter is amply confirmed, both by the pictures on the vases (see British Museum), and by the testimony of the ancients, that the Spartans, who were the most conservative of ancient fashions, in their best days always wore long hair. Plutarch has told us that Lycurgus said aptly on this point, that "a good head of hair made the beautiful more beautiful, and added a certain savage terror to the ugly (*Apoth. Reg.*, p. 189 D. Xyl.) And the

same author states that the statue of Lysander, in Delphi, had *very long hair*, εὖ μάλα κομῶν, and a goodly beard (πώγωνα γενναῖον, Lys. I.) In fact, we know from Aristotle (*Rhet.* I. 9), that in Sparta, the nobility distinguished themselves from the servile class by the length of their hair, just as the Cavaliers in the time of our religious wars were distinguished from the Roundheads. That the Spartans afterwards discontinued this practice is certain (Paus. XVII. 14. 2); but the constantly noted contrast between the antique fashion and the new (Philost. *Vit. Apoll.* III. 15), only serves to make the propriety of the Homeric epithet more obvious. On the whole subject, see Bek. *Char. Exc.* III. to sc. xi.; Müll. *Dor.* vol. ii. p. 287; and the art. *Coma*, in Smith's *Dict. Antiq.*, and Fried. *Real.* § 68.

VER. 23.—*Son of the warlike-minded Atreus.*

Warlike-minded, δαίφρων; "*feurig*," V.; "*skilful-hearted*," N.; "*erfahren*," D. The most recent translators are by no means agreed on the translation of this epithet. We have to choose between two meanings, derived from the roots δάημι, *to know*, and δάϊς, *war*, respectively. Both these meanings are recognised by the ancients, and specially by the Venetian schol., Lips., who says, that when applied to Penelope, in the Odyssey, the word signifies συνετός, but when applied to Tydeus, in the Iliad, it signifies πολεμικός. To this verdict But. adheres; but N. and D. manifestly act on the principle of carrying into the Iliad the signification which it is admitted on all sides must rule the Odyssey, and which Hayman (*Od.* I. 48) thinks may have been the original one. Now, what are the principles that ought to guide us in such a doubtful matter? Shall we say absolutely that the same poet can in no wise be allowed to use the same epithet in different senses? Such a limitation evidently cannot be made; the usage of language exercises a wide despotism in such matters. Homer may have found the epithet δαίφρων, from δάημι, in the popular ballads which he used as materials in composing the Odyssey, and though perfectly conscious that it had a different sense in the Iliad, nevertheless,

with that fidelity to local colour which is characteristic of his poetry, refused to model the phraseology of the one poem after that of the other. I am inclined therefore to follow the tradition of the ancients in this matter; and though in Iliad XXIV. 325 I have made an exception, it was by no means a necessary one. In Homer's days "warlike" was a title which belonged to all men of respectable character.

VER. 42-44.

To the common dress of the Greeks there is not much special allusion in the Iliad, as the warlike character of the work naturally leads to the detailed description only of armour and the garniture of war. But the little that Homer does give us, when describing the common articles of clothing in his day, is perfectly in accordance with what we know of the dressing habits of the Greeks from the authors of a later period. The great mildness of the climate in that favoured part of the world, allowed of a style of clothing much more simple and light than what we are accustomed to in this region of bitter winters and biting springs. The Greeks in general wore only two very simple garments, the χιτών, or *tunic*, and the ἱμάτιον, *mantle* or *cloak*; the one a sort of smock or kirtle, *into which the body*, so to speak, *went* (ἔνδυνε); the other an ample square or oblong cloth, like a Scotch plaid, *thrown round the body* (ἐπιβάλλω, or, as in ver. 43, περιβάλλω). Both these were not always worn. Working men found it more convenient to content themselves with the tunic (οἰοχίτων, *Od.* XIV. 489), which, for their purposes, was often so made that the right arm stood out free for action, without a vestige of a sleeve; as, on the other hand, the Spartans, and others who affected severe manners, often contented themselves with the simple ἱμάτιον both in winter and summer (Plut. *Lycurg.* 16). So Socrates (Xen. *Mem.* I. 6), and Agesilaus (Ælian, *V. H.* VII. 13). In Homer, the word ἱμάτιον does not appear; but instead of it we have χλαῖνα (thrown off when the wearer wished to run, 183, *infra*), and φᾶρος, which latter, from the epithet μέγα generally attached to it (VIII. 221), appears to have been a larger form of the χλαῖνα; so large indeed

that it could, when required, be drawn down from the head, so as to cover the face (*Od.* VIII. 84), which could scarcely be done with a mere scarf.

The same simplicity and severity of costume was observed in respect of the feet. It was not at all a universal habit among the ancients to wear shoes; though from the great praise given by Xenophon (*Rep. Lac.* 2) to the Spartan custom of going abroad unshod, it is to be presumed that the Athenians in his time generally wore shoes. The practice of Socrates, who went unshod through the frostiest days of winter, was noted as one of his oddities (Plato, *Sympos.* 220 B). In Homer certainly, we find that the kings and heroes always put on their πέδιλα (this word always, not ὑπόδημα) before they go out. Whether they went barefoot within doors, or wore slippers, we cannot say. What the exact character of the πέδιλον was, whether a *light, slipper-like shoe* (σανδάλιον, *solea*), or a κοῖλον ὑπόδημα, a *full, hollow shoe*, like those we wear out of doors, there are no means of deciding.

VER. 51-53.

The contrasted mention made in these lines (repeated in Odyssey II. 6) of the ἀγορή, *congregation* or *assembly*, and the βουλή or *privy council* of the elders, presents to us the germ of the political system as it afterwards grew up in the Greek States, and more generally, indeed, the rudimentary type of all political government containing that just balance of forces in which the only safety of the social organism lies. The three forces which compose this balance are KING, ARISTOCRACY, and PEOPLE, the combination of which Homer exhibits in their rudest, the British constitution in their ripest form. Of the power of the king we shall speak presently; on the relations of the ἀγορά and the βουλή a few remarks will suffice. The word ἀγορά, from ἀγείρω, to *collect* or *gather together*, signifies the *congregation or assembly of the people*, corresponding to the עֵדָה, συναγωγή (οἱ ο′) of the Old Testament, and the ἐκκλησία of Athens and the early Christian Church. The word βουλή—Lat. *volo*, Germ. *wollen*—signifies *will, purpose, plan, counsel*, and

thence *council*. In the heroic times, the usual method of conducting public affairs on any emergency was that the monarch should call together the more notable chiefs or elders who formed his privy council (x. 195), and, after advising with them, lay the matter before the assembly of the people. That the people had the power of rejecting the proposition thus laid before them is not to be doubted (*Od.* III. 149-50; *Il.* I. 22); and if they generally contented themselves with approving by acclamation (I. 22, *supra*, and IX. 50), that was only because the king, with his council, had sense enough not to propose anything which was likely to run counter to the inclinations of the body to whom it was addressed. (Fried. *Real.* § 134, on this point properly qualifies the strong statement of Wachsmuth, vol. i. § 18.)

The mutual relations of king, council, and congregation in the Homeric ages, were, with a few modifications, faithfully preserved by the conservatism of the Spartans, the excellent nature of whose constitution, as containing all the just elements of a well-balanced government, has been praised by Aristotle in a well-known passage (*Pol.* II. 6). The strongest element of the Spartan constitution was unquestionably the γερουσία or assembly of the elders, men who held their office for life, and who could not be elected till they had reached their sixtieth year (Plut. *Lycurg.* 26); and in the same way the aristocratic element prevails so far even in the Greek camp, that Achilles (I. 54) convokes the ἀγορά, *proprio motu*, without thinking it necessary to say a single word to Agamemnon. In the irregular government of the early Israelites it seems to have been competent for any person who had suffered a grievous wrong to convoke the people (Judges xx. 1). The fact of the matter is that the power of the various bodies of the State was in those early days very ill defined; but one thing stands out quite clear, that the power of the king depended almost entirely on his position as generalissimo of the forces. The predominant element of the governing power in the Homeric times was unquestionably the βασιλῆες, and γέροντες, the most influential chiefs and elders, under the salutary check always of a possible appeal to the people. The βουλή

of the Athenians was an altogether different matter, being in fact only a standing committee of the δῆμος for special purposes.

VER. 85.

And all the sceptred kings behind the people's shepherd go.

The designation ποιμένι λαῶν, "*shepherd of the people*," is characteristic of the patriarchal times, and ought not to be smoothed away into some unmeaning modern generality. Compare Æschyl. *Pers.* 7; and on the pastoral element in language, see Max Müller in the Oxford Essays for 1856, p. 18.

VER. 93.—*Rumour, messenger of Jove.*—

An example of one of those poetical personifications which, with a little more culture, might easily have grown into complete persons in the Greek mythology. Ὄσσα, *voice* or *rumour*, is not a god, any more than Ὄνειρος, *dream;* they are rather an intangible, indefinite something, whose method of operation we cannot trace in detail, but of which the effects are sometimes distinct and startling enough. But these influences necessarily come from Jove; and indeed all things ultimately come from God, and are naturally conceived of as "messengers of Jove," with a more distinct personality than the fire and the winds in Psalm civ. 4, only because with the Greeks anthropomorphism in theology was a fixed habit, with the Hebrews a passing method of conception. Compare *Od.* XXIV. 413, and I. 282, Hesiod, *Op.* 762, where φήμη is called formally "a goddess." But Hesiod often versifies a dogma of the fancy, Homer always portrays sketches from the life.

VER. 101.—*A sceptre which Hephæstus made with curious sleight.*

The minute account of the transmission of this sacred emblem of authority is very characteristic. It indicates the wandering minstrel, who, living in the midst of popular tradition, treasured in his memory with reverential fidelity, the history, the story of all family

greatness, and the symbols of that greatness, which were the key-stone of social order in those times. Pausanias (IX. 40. 6), in his notice of the antiquities of Chæronea, in Bœotia, mentions the curious fact that the inhabitants of this city had come into the possession of the sceptre of Agamemnon here described, and that they worshipped it as a god, and offered sacrifices to it every day, and placed cakes and flesh upon a table that stood before it.

VER. 103.—*The message-speeding Argus-slaying god.*

The two constant epithets of Hermes in this line, διάκτορος Ἀργειφόντης, were both doubtful to the ancients, and can scarcely be said to be yet clear to us. That the received meaning of the former word, from the Alexandrians downwards, was a *messenger*, *minister*, or *manager*, seems to me certain. Whether it might not have originally meant *a guide*, or *one who leads across*, in allusion to a well-known function of the god, must remain doubtful. No man, certainly, is entitled to assert that the idea of "messenger," ὁ διάγων τὰς ἀγγελίας, is not Homeric. In the Odyssey, Hermes is the regular messenger of Jove; and, if he is not so in the Iliad, the nature of Homeric epithets forbids us to say that they have any special relation to the poem in which they are used. The observations of But. (*Lexil.*) on this word are fanciful. I hold, therefore, by the common tradition. As to Ἀργειφόντης, I shall be willing to adopt the meaning of "bright shiner" (Hayman, *Od.* App. c 2, and Schol. Ven. L.), as soon as I see any distinct proof that Hermes was originally a god of light so characteristically as to entitle him to an epithet that seems suitable only for Apollo. In the meantime I remain conservative, with Nitzsch (*Od.* I. 38).

VER. 104.—*Pelops.*

As this is the only passage in which Homer mentions the great founder of the family of which Agamemnon was the most distinguished member, it would have been gratifying had he affixed some descriptive epithet to his name, by which it might appear whether he believed him to be a European Greek or an Asiatic.

As it is, his mere silence indicates nothing, and the main stream of classical tradition brings him as a colonist from the region of Mount Sipylus in Lydia (Pindar, *Ol.* I. 38; IX. 15; Thucyd. I. 9). Other accounts (Schol. Pindar, *l. c.*), make him a native Greek; and we are not, at this time of day, in a condition to reconcile such traditions. There is not, however, the slightest presumption against the historical reality of a Lydian colony in the Peloponnesus.

VER. 112.—*Harsh lord of heaven.*

It was a pious maxim of the ancients to keep their tongue when they spoke of the gods—

ἔστι δ' ἀνδρὶ φάμεν ἐοικὸς ἀμφὶ δαιμόνων καλά,

as Pindar has it,—nevertheless, we are not seldom struck, in Homer at least, with a certain irreverential and almost rude way of talking of the celestial beings, which contrasts strangely with the careful and scrupulous language of Christian piety. In the present passage, Agamemnon accuses Jove roundly of having practised against him an "evil deceit," and calls him σχέτλιος (V. *grausam;* N. *cruel*). The different meanings of this word all flow from the single idea of *holding on*, which the etymology from σχέω, an old form of ἔχω, reveals. A σχέτλιος is a tough fellow, who, where he has a grip, holds on tenaciously, whom nothing will drive from his purpose—a kind of character very common in Scotland, and specially in Aberdeen,—thence an unconscionable fellow; one who sticks to his purpose, and carries out his plan, regardless of other persons' feelings or hostility. So, in a good sense, old Nestor is called a σχέτλιος, from his indefatigable perseverance in working when other people are asleep (X. 164); but with a considerable admixture of asperity Jove is called σχέτλιος in the present passage; and in XXIV. 33, all the gods are called σχέτλιοι δηλήμονες, because, with pitiless severity, they stretch the destroying hand against the dearest objects of human affection, and seem almost to sport with mortal misery. To the feelings which give rise to such language Job i. 21 supplies the proper remedy.

VER. 145.—*The Icarian sea.*

A part of the Ægean, in the vicinity of Icarus, a small island lying west of Samos, of which it was a dependency (Str. XIV. 639). It was barren, and used only for pasture (Str. X. 488). The ancients believed that it received this name from Icarus, the son of Dædalus, who, flying from Crete upon wings denied to mortals, was precipitated on this rock, or into the sea.

VER. 157.—*Unvanquished maid.*

ἀτρυτώνη, from ἄτρυτος—literally, *not to be rubbed down, unwearied*, so Wr.; "*invincibile*," Monti.

VER. 165.—νῆας ἀμφιελίσσας,

"*equal-oared*," literally, with "*oars on both sides.*" How strikingly this epithet brings before us the simplicity of the age, when, though ships were provided with sails, or at least with one sail, the epithet which describes their motive machinery still refers only to that instrument which belongs to the lowest kind of boat or wherry!

VER. 169.—*Ulysses, in council like to Jove.*

In the Book of Job it is said, "God is wise in heart, and mighty in strength" (ix. 4), and accordingly, we find that wisdom and strength are the two most prominent attributes of Ζεύς in Homer. Wisdom particularly belongs to him; for Neptune also is strong, but Jove is the only counsellor, μητίετα. Hence a very wise man in the Iliad is said to be Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος, a match to Jove for counsel. In conformity with this feeling, the first wife of the supreme god in the old theology was Μῆτις, or *counsel*. See I. 175.

VER. 190.—*O shame!*

The word here is δαιμόνιε, concerning which, see above, I. 560. That this word is used here with the entire pregnancy of its etymological meaning there cannot be the slightest doubt. Ulysses uses

the same form of address to the people immediately below (ver. 200), and in the same sense, for both were acting unreasonably and unaccountably, and as if possessed by a δαίμων. I cannot agree, therefore, with those translators who, for the sake of politeness I presume, give a softer English in the first passage. V. has "*seltsamer*" in both cases. Δαιμόνιος is a word that, like σχέτλιος, always requires the most delicate treatment, and which, more than any other, shows how far wrong the literal system may lead a scrupulous translator.

VER. 204.—*Ill fares the state where numbers rule.*

It is by no means an easy thing accurately to state the relation between the different elements of the state in the Homeric age, and particularly to define the position of the monarch. On this point we have the weighty testimony of Thucydides and Aristotle. The former (I. 13), contrasting the "tyrants" of later times with the ancient kings, says that "formerly there were hereditary monarchies, with definite rights;" but this account of the Homeric monarchies is only true generally, and in contrast with the "tyranny," or absolute kingship acquired by force; for assuredly in early monarchies the hereditary succession was more a matter of custom than of acknowledged right; so the conduct of Telemachus in the Odyssey clearly indicates, and the rights and privileges of the monarch remained for a long time extremely vague. Aristotle (*Pol.* I. 2, with which compare Brougham, *Pol. Philos.* c. iii.) says, that "all states were originally governed by kings." The same great philosopher (III. 14), describing the different kinds of monarchy, says, "in the heroic ages, the monarchies were *with the good-will and consent of the people, by descent from father to son, and according to law;*" that is, in our modern language, hereditary constitutional monarchies, as opposed to unlimited despotism. These descriptions, however, leave verge enough for doubt as to what was the real authority possessed by the Homeric kings; and notwithstanding the strong language used here by Ulysses, it seems very certain, from the whole tone and tenor of proceedings in the Iliad,

that the form of government in the Homeric times was practically much more of an aristocracy than a monarchy. With regard to this matter, I entirely agree with Müller (*Dor.* iii. 1), that the most important feature of the Homeric form of government is "the sharp demarcation between the nobles and the people." The chief ruler himself was properly of equal rank with the other nobles, and was only raised above them by the authority intrusted to him as president in the council and commander in the field. There were no ῥητὰ γέρατα, or definite royal privileges, defined by Magna Charta. His influence depended mainly on his resources, and, not least, on the religious sanction belonging to his office. For the Homeric monarch was emphatically a king "by divine right" (ver. 197), not indeed according to any subtle theory of courtly doctors of theology, but in virtue of a deep religious feeling in the breasts of the people. On the whole, we may safely conclude that, while the authority of the Homeric kings was in theory extremely weak, it was strong enough in practice, when combined with the great weight of a patriarchal aristocracy, to suppress insurrection, and to answer all the ends of a good government.

Ver. 217.—φολκὸς ἔην.

The traditional rendering of this word, "*he squinted*," was first disturbed by But.; and the new explanation which he started finding favour with Passow, has passed, through L. and S., into some recent English versions. φολκός, according to him, is only another form of the Lat. *valgus*, "*bandy-legged*." But this is mere conjecture. The tradition is pretty uniform—a tradition, of course, which has a value quite independent of any untenable etymologies with which it may have been connected,—that φολκός is στραβός; and the only objection brought to shake the authority of this witness of the Alexandrian schools is the alleged capriciousness by which Homer is thus made to commence the description of this type of ugliness with the eye, then going down at once to the leg, and then coming up again to the head. But the fancy of poets is not to be tied down by the strict laws of mechanical succession. In the present

case, nothing could be, poetically, more effective than to commence the description of the most ill-favoured man in the Greek camp by saying that he "squinted with one eye, and was lame of one leg." He is thus twisted both above and below, which makes him altogether a distortion. Of the history of this personage we know little beyond what Homer here tells us. In the Iliad he does not appear again. He was by birth an Ætolian, the son of Agrius, who was uncle to Diomede (Apollod. *Bib.* I. 8); and he found his death soon after the funeral of Hector, from the fist of Achilles, as a reward for the unchivalrous manner in which he treated the dead body of Penthesilea (Q. Smyrn. I. 722, 823; Tretz. *Lycoph.* 999). In the transmigrations of a future state, he was believed to have entered the body of an ape (Plat. *Rep.* 620 c.) He has also had the honour of being handled by Shakspeare, and, along with Demetrius the silversmith, will be handed down to distant ages as a striking illustration of the spirit and genius of democracy.

VER. 254-256.

These three lines, discredited by the ancients, bracketed by Wolf, and ejected by Bek., might no doubt be spared. The repeated clauses commencing with τῷ may well be supposed, as in other cases, to indicate a double version, which the conservative feeling of the Pisistratidan editors led them to combine. See *Dissertations*, p. 347. But no presumption of this kind is strong enough to justify a translator in omitting the lines. With Homer, as with the lawyers, the maxim often holds, *superflua non nocent*. Blemishes that require microscopes to expose them may even pass for beauties.

VER. 302.—*Death's dark ministers.*

Κῆρες θανάτοιο. The κῆρες, or *shearers*, according to the most probable etymology from κείρω, a widely-extended root in the Aryan languages, are mythological personages caught in the very act of formation, so to speak, and cut short in that act before they can assert for themselves an independent existence, much less claim a

recognised place in the Pantheon of the religious system to which they belong. Welcker (*g. l.* i. 708) calls them merely "poetical passing personifications;" but they are in fact a little more, and exhibit a constant tendency to assume a higher development. Among them he enumerates, besides the κῆρες, Ἄτη, and the Λιταί, the WINDS, STRIFE, FEAR, κυδοιμός, SLEEP, DEATH, DREAM, and RUMOUR (above, II. 93). These personifications set before our eyes the living process by means of which all mythologies were originally produced. It may be remarked that the confounding of the κῆρες with the *Fates* is a phraseology characteristic of Q. Smyrn. and the Alexandrian Epos.

VER. 302.

The phrase χθιζά τε καὶ πρώϊζ' means *a short while ago—only the other day, only yesterday*, as we say; a most extraordinary way to talk of an event which happened nine years ago. My version is purposely devised to show by what trick of the imagination such a phraseology might arise. An abuse of adverbial expressions referring to time is not uncommon in language; and the exact contrary to our present example is contained in the well-known colloquial use of πάλαι—*anciently, formerly*,—for *a few minutes ago, quite recently*.

VER. 303.—*Aulis' rocky bay.*

The assembly of the Achæan fleet at Aulis, in Bœotia, opposite Eubœa, is an event which received great prominence in the future handling of the Trojan cycle. The young scholar will at once recall the *Iphigenia* of Euripides and the opening chorus of the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus. It is remarkable that Homer does not say a single word about the sacrifice of Iphigenia. That the great popular minstrel would have been silent on such a theme when the course of his narrative directly called on him to mention it, is not probable. We therefore conclude that here, as in not a few other cases, the versions of many popular legends current in the days of the tragedians were invented in the period between their age and

the age of Homer. There was ample time for the inventive faculty to disport itself, and no disinclination to use it.

Ver. 308.

A snake whose shining back was glowing with bloody spots.

There is no animal which plays a more prominent part in all early religious symbolism than the serpent. On this subject I cannot do better than translate the remarks of Welcker, in his *g. l.* i. § 13, short, but learned and sensible :—"The serpent, the most significant of all animals, was applied in various ways by the Greeks, so that Justin Martyr says, 'The serpent belongs to all your gods as a great symbol and mystery' (*Apol.* 70 E.) In the oldest Hellenic worship this animal is most important in connexion with the Delphian snake, with the earth, and with Æsculapius. The serpent is 'the most fiery and spiritual of all animals,' and moves itself without limbs, but with the greatest quickness and dexterity; and from its keen piercing eyes received from the Greeks the names of ὄφις (ὄπτομαι) and δράκων (δέρκομαι). The Cretans called it δίβαν, that is, δῖαν, *divine* (Hesych.) This agrees with the Sosipolis of the Eleans, and the protecting genius called *Agathodæmon*. As with the most ancient Hebrews the serpent represented unsanctified intellect, and the insolence of knowledge without love, so with the Greeks, this animal, as a symbol, not of physical, but of intellectual power, represents the highest wisdom, delivers oracles, and is therefore called οἰωνός. Accordingly, in the Ἠοῖαι, a lost poem of Hesiod, we find that a serpent licked the ears of Melampus and communicated the gift of divination to him, as happened also to Helenus, Cassandra, and other seers, and as we find represented in a beautiful bronze head of Æsculapius in Caylus (II. 77). In Pindar, the ancestors of the prophetic family of the Jamides keep two snakes, which they feed with honey. Connected with this is the use of snakes by jugglers and magicians in all countries. In the earliest ages the medical art also was closely connected with divination; and Æsculapius himself appeared

to have been produced from a snake to which therapeutic virtues were attributed. Independent of this circle of ideas, we find that the serpent signifies production from the earth, because this animal seems specially bound to the earth, and leaps up suddenly from the soil. For this reason Cecrops and the giants are serpent-footed; and the Cadmean Autochthons spring from the sown teeth of a serpent. On account of the terror inspired by large snakes, this animal in some myths performs the part of a guard or watch. All rude people, indeed, acknowledge somewhat of a mystic power in the serpent. In Haiti the members of a secret association dance round a sacred snake from Congo."

On the religious significance of the serpent generally, see P. Knight, *Symbol.* 25; Schwartz, *Ursprung der Mythol.*, Berlin, 1860, and Faber's special work.

Ver. 318.

The god that rules Olympus showed that he had sent the sign.

It is quite evident from Cicero's translation of this passage (*De Divinat.* II. 30),

> "Qui luci ediderat genitor Saturnius idem
> Abdidit, et duro formavit tegmina saxo,"

that some ancient copies must have read αἴδηλον or some cognate form, not ἀρίζηλον; but as this latter is the reading which appears without variation in our MSS., and as it gives a perfectly good sense, there seems no use in discussing the probabilities or possibilities as to how the discrepancy in the text might have arisen. The merit of preserving the old reading, ἀρίζηλον, and with it, as a necessary consequence, the following verse, seems to belong to Zenodotus (Düntzer, p. 157). The long discussion in But. leads to no result; and Sp. and Näg. agree with me in taking the text as we find it. As to the mythological legend that Jupiter turned the serpent into a stone, this naturally arose from a stone having been seen in that neighbourhood shaped like a serpent. The legend of Niobe arose in the same way (XXIV. 602. See also *Od.* XIII. 163).

VER. 321.—*Cunning-counselled Kronos.*

Notwithstanding the pious attempts of Eustathius and some of the other ancients to interpret a more respectful meaning into this familiar epithet of the father of Jove, I am afraid we must remain content with the simplicity of the ancient popular conception, growing up as it did in times and among a people with whom cunning (σοφία) was never accounted an ignoble quality. The fact that the same epithet is distinctly given by Hesiod (*Op. et Di.* 48) to Prometheus, in giving an account of the deceit practised by him against Jove, is sufficient to exclude the idea of profound and hidden wisdom from this passage. V.'s "*verborgen*" seems to allude to Κρόνος as identical with χρόνος, *time;* but all interpretations of this sort are to be avoided, when they do not lie obviously in the popular conception. D. has "*verschlagen.*" Drb. "deep-designing." Welcker (§ 56) agrees with me, and thinks there is an allusion to the insidious manner in which, according to the old legend, the son deprived the father of the organs of generation.

VER. 362.—*Marshal the host in tribes and brotherhoods.*

This passage is extremely interesting, as recognising that grand principle of political subdivision which is so prominent in the whole social life of the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews. That the family is the great social monad out of which the political body grew, was recognised by the ancients as clearly as a modern naturalist sees in a madrepore or other spongy aggregate the result of the living processes of an infinite number of animal units (see particularly Plato, *Laws*, III. 680 E; with Stallbaum's note). There is this difference, however, between the two cases, that the higher nature of man demands not only a larger aggregate, but a higher organization, with a new head or centre of order (see Arist. *Pol.* I. 2). In following out the principle of the family, the Greek philosophers recognised in the State a triple gradation, the one always expanding above the other in a sort of higher metamorphosis, like the leafy development of a plant. Of these the first

was πάτρα, or a *fathership;* the second, φράτρα, or *brotherhood;* and the third, φυλή, or φῦλον, which, like φύλλον, *a leaf*, seems to be connected with φύω, to *grow*. See the well-known passage from Dicæarchus in Steph. Byz., article πάτρα. As society increased, the original germ of the whole growth, the πάτρα, of course disappeared, and only the φυλή and the φράτρα retained their social importance, and were subdivided into γένη (*gens*, γίγνομαι, *kin*, Sans. *jan*). But this division of the members of a numerous social body on such a narrow principle as that of family, could not be maintained pure in any large and prosperous community. The family name, however, and certain family rites, remained as a social bond long after kinship by blood had ceased to be curiously inquired after (*Poll.* VIII. 111; Harpoc. γεννῆται; Cic. *Top.* 6; and Niebuhr, *R. G.* vol. i. *die Geschlechter und Curien*, who sees the nearest modern realization of the ancient system of social organization by blood in the little band of the Suliotes in Albania, so famous in the Greek war of liberation). I have myself seen perhaps the last remnant of ancient "paternal rule by families and tribes," as Milton calls it, still existing in a remote corner of the Isle of Skye, under the headship of a branch of the noble clan of Macdonald. In democratic Athens we find that the word φυλή, after the time of Cleisthenes, became a merely topographical division, like our counties, subdivided into δῆμοι, or parishes. Even in aristocratic Rome the same thing took place to a certain extent under Servius Tullius, whose constitution, according to the express testimony of Dionysius (IV. 14), was based on the principle of substituting *local* for *family* tribes; but the old organism by family and clanship, as is well known, remained alongside of it for certain purposes. These changes of course were made with the greatest distinctness and decision. Nevertheless, so firmly fixed was the idea of blood-relationship among the members of the State in the Athenian mind, that the φρατρίαι or brotherhoods still existed as the necessary condition of all citizenship. As in Homer (IX. 63) old Nestor declares that he will hold no communion with a rebel, but count him as ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, and ἀνέστιος, an *outlaw*, so in

Aristophanes, a foreigner who had not been able to get himself naturalized in Athens is laughed at for not having φράτορας, that is, for not having been admitted into a φράτρα and received the kinship of the State. The same fundamental principle was regularly recognised in the Attic feast of the Ἀπατούρια; on the third day of which all children born within the year were taken to the assembled heads of the political brotherhoods, and publicly enrolled in a register, which registration remained the only legal evidence of their citizenship.

We may remark further with regard to this passage, that Nestor's object in dividing the army according to their clans was evidently to excite their feeling of honour, and respect for one another's opinion (αἰδώς, xv. 561); the clannish sentiment, as among our Highlanders, being evidently a much stronger spur to noble conduct than the feeling of loyalty to their monarch, or the modern catholic bond of cash payment.

Ver. 455.

Here commences a series of similes, heaped up one above another like a race of mounting waves, which must be regarded as a striking peculiarity in Homeric poetry. The Wolfians, sharp as paid pleaders to pick a flaw, of course look on these as proofs of a combination of different similes, of which one was sufficient for the occasion, originally made by different minstrels, and afterwards strung together by the conservative instinct alluded to above, p. 61. On this ground, I presume, Bek., in his arbitrary way, has ejected three of them. But to this the reply is easy, that these similes, not being inconsistent with each other, but distinctly marking different stages or aspects of a great critical moment of the action, are part of the idiosyncrasy of the poet. Nitzsch (*Sag. Poes.* i. 33 and 95) has expressed this view with strong emphasis for his own countrymen; for us practical-minded islanders, our broad national common sense, and the judicious criticism of Mure (ii. 91) will act as a sufficient safeguard against the disintegrating tendencies of the German school.

VER. 461.—*By Caÿster's flow.*

Here the bard is evidently painting scenes as familiar to his eye as the whirr of the partridge on Tweedside was to the ear of Walter Scott. The Caÿster, which flows into the Ægean at Ephesus, is the first great river that the traveller has to cross south of Smyrna, the poet's birthplace; and the Asian meadow mentioned along with it is manifestly the swampy alluvial land about the mouth of this river, which gave occasion to the ancients indulging some favourite speculations on the growth of plains, in which we see the germs of the geological philosophy of our great countryman, Lyell (Str. XIII. 621, XV. 691; Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, vol. i. p. 540). The word ἄσις means *mud* (XXI. 321).

VER. 478-9.

The points of comparison here are too obvious to require comment. Neptune is broad-breasted, like the earth, to express magnitude and strength. See his statues in the Museum.

VER. 484.

The Muses in Homer, like the Furies and the Fates, are a mighty power, but kept very vague and distant. Only in one place (*Od.* XXIV. 60) is their future orthodox number, Nine, mentioned; in Bœotia, a principal seat of their worship, they were three (Paus. IX. 29). Their generation from Jove (James i. 17) and Memory (Hes. *Theog.* 53) is a fine example of the suggestiveness so deeply rooted in the Greek myths. Not less full of significance and instruction were their three Bœotian names, DILIGENCE, MEMORY, and SONG. In these old Hellenic fancies we have poetry, piety, and philosophy combined. How much wiser is it sometimes to be a polytheist than a positivist!

VER. 494.

The general questions with regard to the catalogue have been discussed in the Dissertations. We shall now review the details

—a process somewhat irksome, no doubt, but which will throw a strong light on the firm basis of reality on which the popular poetry of the Hellenes rested.

Bœotia, in point of topographical conformation, forms a caldron, surrounded by mountains on all sides, and containing in the middle a lake of considerable size, through which its principal river flows, but finds no outlet into the sea, except by certain subterranean chasms (*καταβόθρα*) in the limestone mountain barrier. To the north, its mountain border separates it from Thessaly; on the west, Parnassus divides it from Phocis; and in its south district, Mount Helicon, with its slopes, stretches down to the shores of the Corinthian Gulf; while Cithæron and Parnes separate it on the same side from Megaris and Attica. On the side of the Eubœan Sea it is shut in by a verge of hills, coming down along the coast from the south of Thessaly, of which Ptoon is the chief. Its most habitable region is twofold: *first*, the great plain, through which the river Cephissus flows from the north slopes of Parnassus into the great lake Copais; and, *second*, a plain of less extent, west of Helicon, and skirting the northern base of Cithæron, through which the river Asopus flows eastward into the Eubœan Sea. The land in these districts is rich and loamy, to a degree that justly made it famous among the Greeks, dwelling as they did in a land of hard rocks, meagre rivers, and, in some places, very thin soil. Hence the praise of the Bœotians—

Βοιωτοὶ μάλα πίονα δῆμον ἔχοντες,

in v. 710, with special reference to the country near to Lake Copais. In one of these two plains the most famous Bœotian cities here mentioned will naturally lie. The first place, named HYRIA, lies in the Asopian plain, half way between Thebes and Tanagra, and not far from Aulis, along with which it is mentioned by the poet. Hyria was a city of some note in the early legends of Bœotia (Müll. *Orchom.* 92). The "rocky Aulis" takes its name from *αὐλός*, a *channel*—properly the narrow channel between Bœotia and Eubœa, opposite Chalcis, a few miles to the south of which it was situated (Liv. XLV. 27). The situation is described by

Strabo (403), and has been identified by modern travellers (Leake, *N. G.* ii. 263, Wordsworth, *Ath. and Att.* p. 7). Its prominence in the Trojan story afterwards commended it specially to the genius of Euripides and Æschylus (*Iphig. Aul.* 120, and *Agam.* 184).

VER. 497.—*Schœnus*,

(σχοῖνος, a *rush*), on a river of the same name, is placed by Strabo (IX. 408) six miles from Thebes, on the road to Anthedon; and its situation is accordingly conjectured, with probability, by both L. (ii. 321) and Ulrichs (258). SCOLOS, again (Str. *ibid.*), lies in a different district, south of Thebes, on the banks of the Asopus, beneath Cithæron; that is, manifestly, somewhere near the famous town of Platææ, to which neighbourhood it is more certainly fixed by the distinct statement of Pausanias (IX. 4. 3; L. ii. 331). ETEONOS follows immediately in Strabo, as a city of the Asopian strath, afterwards named *Scarphe*, and was one of the townships dependent on Platææ—not on Thebes,—and therefore to be sought for close to Scolos, on the Attic border. L. explains the epithet πολύκνημος ("hilly slopes"), applied here to this place, of the narrow defile through which the Asopus flows before emerging into the plain of Tanagra. THESPIÆ, famous in the history of tragic art, lies between Thebes and Helicon, just under that mountain to the east (Paus. IX. 26. 3). It was famous for the worship of Cupid (of whom Praxiteles made for them his famous statue) and the Muses. In the time of Strabo, Tanagra and Thespiæ were the only two Bœotian cities that belonged to the living world. All the rest were in ruins, or had left mere names behind. GRÆA is placed by Strabo (404) near Oropus; and as both this town and Tanagra (Steph. Byz. *in voce*) laid claims to having inherited its site, it likely lay not far from these cities, on the Asopus, behind Mount Parnes (Müller, *Orchom.* 480). Whether in the name Γραῖα there may not exist the only Homeric trace of the *Graii* and *Græci* of the Romans (Glad. i. 99, 124), must be left undecided. MYCALESSUS, a place well known in the history of the Peloponnesian war, lay in the territory of Tanagra, on the road from Thebes to

Chalcis (Str. 404); and this is confirmed by Pausanias (IX. 19), who goes from Thebes to Chalcis by Teumessus, Glisas, Harma, and Mycalessus, which, according to this reference, must be near the sea, especially as the temple of the Mycalessian Demeter, which he mentions immediately afterwards, is on the sea. So also Thucyd. (VII. 29.) On the supposed situation of this town, see L. ii. p. 252. The epithet εὐρύχορος—whatever speculations may be indulged in as to the original connexion between χορός and χῶρος—certainly in actual usage has nothing to do with *dancing;* and the vacillation between ο and ω is a matter familiar to all scholars. See Lucas on ἰόμωρος.

VER. 499.

HARMA—(ἅρμα, a *chariot*),—in the Tanagræan district (Str. 404), of which Pausanias, in the passage just quoted, saw the ruins. The Greeks, with their pet trick of fanciful etymology, connected this name with the chariot of Amphiaraus. (On its probable situation see L. iii. 251, Ulrichs, p. 261). EILESION, unknown. ERYTHRÆ, a place well known to the Greeks, from its having formed one of the ends of the camp of Mardonius in the celebrated battle of Platææ (Herod. IX. 15, Paus. IX. 2, and Eurip. *Bacch.* 751). On its probable site at Katzúla, see L. ii. 328. The first town in ver. 500, ELEON (a *place of marshes*, from ἕλος), is placed by Strabo in the district of Tanagra, but its exact site is unknown. HYLE (ὕλη, *wood*—mentioned again, v. 708, and VII. 221), bears the same name as the small lake HYLIKE, immediately east of Copais, near which it must have been situated; though I do not suppose that by the "Cephissian lake" in v. 709, Homer meant the lake of Hyle, and not rather the Copais. Hyle may have been so situated as to belong in a manner to both adjacent lakes; or the reputation of the larger lake may have altogether overwhelmed the smaller one, in the imagination of the minstrel. The exact site of H. is not known. PETEON, a village of the Thebaid district, near the Anthedon road (Str. 410). In ver. 501, OKALEA, on the banks of a brook of the same name, is placed by Strabo (410) on the south side of the lake

Copais, half way between Haliartus and Alalcomenæ (L. ii. 206). MEDEON, another of the Copaic towns, lay not far from Onchestus, near the Phœnician mount (Str. 410). COPÆ (κώπη, an *oar*, from which the lake took its name, is on its north shore (Str. 410), and is generally considered to be identical with TOPOLI, which Ulrichs (p. 216) remarks is even now the only place on the lake where there is a ferry with boats. Pausanias (IX. 24) places it exactly opposite the mouth of the Cephissus, and the route that he describes agrees well with this site. EUTRESIS, the next place, is a little village in the Thespian district (Str. 411). The next town, THISBE, is under the south base of Helicon, near the sea, with a harbour, whence there is a passage to Sicyon, seven or eight miles across. At *Kakosia*, which the minute description of Pausanias (IX. 32. 2) has enabled L. (ii. 508) to identify with Thisbe, the doves are still as abundant as they were in the days of Homer. The next town, CORONEA, to be carefully distinguished from Plutarch's birthplace, Chæronea, is well known in the history of Greece as the scene of two battles, the one B.C. 447, fatal to Attic ascendency in Bœotia, the other, B.C. 394, in which Agesilaus again asserted the Spartan supremacy in those parts. The site of this famous town is to be sought on a hill under Helicon, on the south side of the Copais (Str. 411), with a plain beneath, on which was the temple of the Itonian Athena, famous in the traditions of the Thessalian Minyans (*Ap. Rh.* I. 551), and the consecrated seat of the common council of the Bœotian States. The detailed topographical reference in Paus. (IX. 32-34) led L. (ii. 134) to assign a hill east of Lebadea, and opposite Orchomenus, as the site of Coronea. A town of the same name in Thessaly is one of the many facts which prove the early civilisation of Greece from the inhabitants, originally Pelasgi, of that broad and fertile plain. See the genealogy in Paus. (IX. 34-5). The position of HALIARTUS, towards the south-east corner of the lake, in a narrow gorge between the lake and the mountain, is strongly marked by Strabo (411), and is illustrated by Plutarch, in his life of Lysander (28), who was slain here, and pointed out by L. (ii. 206.) The epithet ποιήεντα, "grassy" (*Hym. Hom. Apoll.* 243), refers to the

rich meadow-ground on the borders of the lake, where the reeds grew from which the famous Bœotian flutes were made. In the next line, 504, PLATÆÆ, a name as well known as Waterloo, lies beneath Cithæron, to the north, near the source of the Asopus, on the Attic border. GLISAS, as above mentioned, occurs in Pausanias, on the route from Thebes to Chalcis, and is more specially noticed in Str. (412, and Herod. IX. 43.) HYPOTHEBÆ, in ver. 505 (*i.e. under* Thebes, ὑπὸ) certainly seems to indicate that at the time of the Trojan war, according to the popular tradition, upper Thebes or the Cadméa, as it was called, was not inhabited, and only the people dwelling in the low ground beneath the Acropolis sent a contingent to Troy (Str. 412). The city of THEBES, however, the great city, the "seven-gated city," is alluded to by the poet under its well-known name in other places (IV. 406, and *Od.* XI. 263). In the Iliad, however, the inhabitants are never called Thebans, but Cadmeans (IV. 385). The ONCHESTUS of the next line was one of the famous seats of the worship of Poseidon (Apoll. *Rhod.* III. 1239). The honour paid to the water-god in this district is easily explained, either by the presence of the element of which he was patron, by the known commercial enterprise of Orchomenus, and other Bœotian cities, or by the breeding of horses—the sea-god's favourite animal,—to which the rich meadows on the banks of the Copais were peculiarly favourable. Its situation in the territory of Haliartus, on the lake, but considerably more towards Thebes, and farther from Helicon, is pretty accurately indicated both by Pausanias (IX. 26. 3) and Strabo (412), with which compare L. ii. 214. ARNE in the next line is remarkable for being the name of the Thessalian home of the great colony of Bœotians, who, about sixty years after the Trojan war, were driven from their native seats by an irruption of wild Thessalians, who effected a permanent settlement in the rich plains of the Cephissus and the Asopus (Thucyd. I. 12). About the site of the Bœotian Arne, the ancients were altogether in the dark. Zenodotus wishing, naturally enough, to see the city of Hesiod, in the roll of famous Bœotian towns, or perhaps desirous to save the poet's reputation from the impeachment of

having named a city as participant of the Trojan expedition, which did not exist until sixty years afterwards, read it Ἄσκρη in this line (*vide* Sp.), not mindful of the character which the old theologer gives to the climate of this place (*Op.* 638), certainly anything but favourable to the cultivation of the vine. MIDEA is another city of the Copais, of which all memory was lost. Strabo (413) says that both it and Arne were swallowed up by the lake, which, on account of the want of any proper outlet, was subject to strange inundations, and had occupied different levels at different times. NISA (ver. 508), or, as Strabo (405) will have it, *Nysa* (Νῦσα), was a village on Helicon. The occurrence of this name in Thrace, and in various parts of the East, seems to indicate the westward progress of some Indo-European tribe, with whom Dionysus was a principal object of worship; for all the legends about the Dionysiac worship point to its foreign origin, and in all of them the name of *Nisa* or *Nysa* plays a notable part. The epithet ζαθέη, like ἱερά, evidently refers to the worship of this god. The Bœotian roll ends with ANTHEDON, which is properly called ἐσχατόωσα, as being situated far from the centre of the country on the north-east coast. It was at all times a remote semi-civilized sort of place, occupied principally by fishermen and boatmen, pilots and shipwrights, according to the curious account of Dicæarchus (Fuhr, p. 145); their great local saint was also a fisherman, called Glaucus, or *Sea-green*.

VER. 412.

ORCHOMENUS, of whose architectural grandeur some massive slabs, well known to tourists, still remain, was a famous city on the north-west corner of Lake Copais, at the mouth of the Cephissus. It was the principal site of the Minyans, a race of enterprising nobles originally from the south-east corner of Thessaly, who made themselves famous in the earliest ages of Greek civilisation by the great voyage which they made to the Black Sea—the destined seat of so many Greek colonies,—commonly called the Argonautic expedition. The importance of this place in the Homeric age is evident, from

its not being named with the other Bœotian towns, but receiving a separate paragraph for itself; and specially also from the manner in which it is mentioned along with Egyptian Thebes in IX. 381. The worship of the Graces, for which it was famous, evidently arose from the growth of intellectual refinement, which again sprang from the extraordinary agricultural and commercial prosperity of the place. The importance of this city in the early history of Greece has been vividly brought before the world in the present age by Otfried Müller, in his *Orchomenus und die Minyer*, a work which, for extent and accuracy of research, fertility of combination, and a graceful command of materials, has no superior among the most esteemed products of the rich and brilliant erudition of Germany. ASPLEDON, the town mentioned next, lay about two and a half miles from Orchomenus; exact site unknown.

VER. 517.

We now come to PHOCIS, a mountainous district, to the west and south-west of Bœotia, which may indeed be said to be altogether made up of Parnassus, from the head to "the forefeet" of that celebrated mountain. The inhabitants were a stout-souled race, so resolute, that to dare like a Phocian became a proverb among the Greeks for every deed of lofty fearlessness (Paus. x. 1. 3). Of the Phocian cities, the most famous was Delphi, anciently called PYTHO (ver. 519); mentioned again in the Iliad (IX. 405), where the great wealth of that early seat of an influential hierarchy is particularly specified. The epithet πετρήεσσα, *rocky*, is peculiarly suitable to Delphi, which lies, in fact, so close beneath a high upright wall of rock—a part of the great flat southern ledge from which Parnassus rises,—that the traveller, descending from above by a steep winding path, is long before he can catch a glimpse of the spot to which he is approaching. CRISSA, in the next line, is a little south-west of Delphi, near the Corinthian gulf, to which a domain of sacred or church lands was attached, belonging to Delphi. With Leake and Ulrichs, I assume that *Crissa* and *Cirrha* were two distinct places, standing in the same relation that Edinburgh

does to Leith, because it is more easy to suppose an occasional confusion of two places so closely connected, than to explain how Strabo (IX. 418) should have laid down two, if there was only one. Of CYPARISSUS nothing is recorded, and the site is disputed. The context here plainly leads us to place it, with Strabo (IX. 423), under *Lycorea*, on Parnassus. DAULIS, which retains its ancient name, and is situated high on the shoulder of Parnassus, as you cross from the valley of the Cephissus to the ravine of Delphi, was a remarkably strong place (Liv. XXXII. 18). Its nightingale-haunted woods long maintained a prominent place in the well-known legend of Procne and Philomela. I have a lively recollection of the green gardens of pomegranates, and of the rich runnels of water that came bickering down the steep, as I passed the village on my way to Delphi. The next town, PANOPEUS, situated close on the Bœotian boundary, was famous in legendary history (*Od.* XI. 576), and remarkable historically as the seat of the Congress of the Phocian states (Paus. X. 4). In the next line, ANEMOREA, situated on a windy height, on the borders of the Delphian and Phocian territory (Str. 423), is of no celebrity; but HYAMPOLIS (a contraction for Ὑάντων πόλις, the city of the Hyantes, the earliest known inhabitants of Bœotia, Str. IX. 401), receives frequent mention in history, from its occupying a position in a narrow pass, through which it was often necessary or convenient for armies to pass from Locris into the rich plain of Orchomenus (Paus. X. 35. 4; Str. IX. 424; L. ii. 167). The CEPHISSUS (ver. 521), one of the few reputable rivers of Greece, is justly called δῖος; for a river that did not dry up in summer was, in those hot countries, justly felt to be fraught with a peculiar blessing. It springs from the northern slopes of Parnassus, near a town called LILÆA by the ancients, and flows east into the Copais. Its fountains, known at present by the significant popular name of κεφαλοβρύσι—*well-heads*,—have been traced by L. (ii. 71), as also the ruins of the adjacent Lilæa.

Ver. 527.

The only Locrians known to Homer occupy a narrow mountain strip of land, stretching from Thermopylæ along the Maliac bay, and Eubœan Firth to the north border of Bœotia. Its inhabitants are singular in Homer for their dexterity in the use of the bow (XIII. 715; Q. Smyrn. IV. 187), that being rather an Oriental than a European weapon (Paus. I. 23. 3). Their principal town was OPUS (ver. 531), from which the whole people were often called Opuntians, to distinguish them from the other Locrians. It is situated at one end of a rich plain, about nine miles long (Bursian, i. 190), a short distance from the sea, and is famous in Homer as the birthplace of Patroclus (XXIII. 85). KYNOS, near the promontory which fronts Eubœa, at the north end of the rich plain, is the naval station of Opus, and famous as the city of Deucalion, the Noah of the great Bœotian flood, of which Parnassus was the Ararat (Str. IX. 425). CALLIARUS, BESSA, and AUGEIÆ had left no stone in Strabo's days (Str. 426). SCARPHE, on the other hand, was a well-known place even down to the days of the Roman emperors (Bursian, i. 189), and its situation may be decided by a pretty accurate approximation (Str. 426; L. ii. 178). Quite certain also, from an inscription as old as the good Bishop Miletius, is the site of THRONIUM (L. ii. 178). Both these places are in the western division of Locris, towards Thermopylæ, the one on the coast, the other inland about twenty stadia, on the river BOAGRIUS. This stream was a mere channel in summer, over which a person could pass with dry shoes, but in the rainy season it came down suddenly and savagely, with a wild roar, whence its name (*βοή* and *ἄγριος*).

Ver. 536.

Next in due order comes EUBŒA, an island stretching opposite the Maliac, Locrian, Bœotian, and Attic coast to a length of some ninety miles, but with a very disproportionate breadth—hence anciently called Μάκρις, or the *long island* (Str. x. 445). It was

also called in ancient times Ἀβαντίς, from its oldest inhabitants, called in this passage Ἄβαντες (Herod. I. 146). The character of the island is decidedly mountainous and rocky; so much so, that on the eastern coast, south of Cerinthus, which is near the north end, there is not a single town mentioned by Homer; and the southern portion of it was as notorious for shipwrecks among the Greeks (Γεραιστὸς, *Od.* III. 177) as the Acroceraunian mountains. It possessed only two large plains, one on the north, and the other on the west coast. The northern one, over-against Thessaly, contained the town of HISTIÆA (ver. 537), afterwards called OREOS (Str. X. 445), important by its position, and famous in military history. The other plain stretches out exactly opposite Bœotia, at the place where the strait is so narrow as to be bridged over; and exactly at this point lies CHALCIS, the metropolis, in a sense, of the island (Str. 447), while ERETRIA stands on the coast, at the southern end of the same plain. Of these towns, the former, governed by a wealthy and enterprising aristocracy (Ar. *Pol.* IV. 3), was the mother of many famous colonies, while the latter lent its name to a school of philosophy, of which Menedemus was the founder. CERINTHUS (ver. 538) was a small place on the north-east coast of the island (Str. 446), and DIUM, on the north-west coast, near the Cenæan promontory, which runs out right against Cape Cnemides, on the Locrian coast. The other two towns (ver. 539) are less favourably situated, near Mount OCHE, at the south-west end of the island: the one, CARYSTUS, was noted for its marble and asbestos (Str. 446); while the other, STYRA, proved itself to be a place of some consequence by the part it took in the Persian war (Herod. VIII. 1), and the tribute which it paid to Athens (Thucyd. VII. 57).

VER. 546.

In remarkable contrast to the numerous display of towns made by Bœotia, comes Attica, with its single ATHENS. The simple explanation of this is, that in those times the city of the dread goddess with the blue-gleaming eyes was of small importance in the

Greek world, and of little or none in the Argive legends that formed the materials of Homer's great poem. "Athenians" appear again in IV. 328, XIII. 196 and 689, and XV. 337, but with no particular circumstances of distinction.

VER. 547.

The mighty-hearted Erechtheus, king of Athens, spoken of in this passage, seems, on the most natural interpretation of his mysterious birth, in which Hephæstus, Athenè, and Gee are the agents, originally to have been a sort of Athenian Adam, or primæval man, created by the union of celestial fire with terrestrial clay (see Preller, ii. p. 91, and Welcker, ii. 284). To Erechtheus the institution of the Panathenaic games is ascribed (Mar. Par. *Ep.* 10), and his well-compacted house on the Acropolis (*Od.* VII. 81) is now, along with the Parthenon, the chaste coronet of one of the most famous little rocky citadels in the history of the world. For the mythical story of Erechtheus, see Apoll. *Bibl.* III. 14. 6; Plato, *Timæ.* 23 D. *schol.;* and Paus. I. 2. 6, and 26. 6. The meaning of the word δῆμος in this place is manifestly *district, land,* and has nothing to do with *democracy.* The dogmatic assertion of O. Müller (*Dor.* ii. p. 73)—a trick by which even the best Germans will juggle themselves,—that this verse is as late at least as the age of Solon, has been sufficiently refuted by Clinton (Introd. ix. p. 9). It is time to have done with this system of raising suspicions, and then, by a strong assertive faculty, passing them off for proofs.

VER. 557.

SALAMIS, the famous island of destiny to the human race, lies over-against Athens pretty much as Inchkeith does before Edinburgh, while Ægina, which appears below in the Argive muster-roll, corresponds to the Isle of May, only that Salamis is much closer to the Attic coast than our Scottish island is to the sands of Leith and Portobello. The next line, στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἵν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες, is a well-known forgery to support the Athenian claims

on Salamis (Plut. *Sol.* 10, and Str. IX. 394), and therefore does not appear in my version.

VER. 559.

In leaving northern for southern Greece, we shall find several striking proofs of the divergence of the early Homeric geography from the divisions, ethnological and political, current in later times. MYCENÆ and ARGOS are here the chief cities of two independent kingdoms, of which the one belongs to Agamemnon, the other to Diomede. The whole of this district, as has been well set forth by Curtius (*Pel.* II. 335), stands naturally apart from Arcadia and Lacedæmon, from which it is separated by stony mountain ridges; while internally it falls into three districts, the one composed of the valleys, through which the streams run that empty themselves into the Corinthian gulf; the other the irregular rocky peninsula that fronts Attica, with the Saronic gulf between, as Fife faces the Lothian coast; and the third, the great plain of Argos, with a semicircular sweep at the head of the Saronic gulf. This plain is Argos, strictly so called; for that the word Ἄργος signifies an arable plain—an old form of ἀγρός—seems pretty certain, both from the feeling of the ancients (Str. VIII. 372; Müller, *Orchom.* p. 119), and from the more important fact that this word, like many others of the oldest mint, is still preserved in common use in the topography of those islands in the Archipelago of which the population is most purely Greek (Ross, *Gr. Insel.* ii. 79, and iii. 47). Glad, in an elaborate discussion, comes independently to the same conclusion (i. 384). This plain afforded rich ground for breeding horses; hence the epithet, ἱπποβότος (ver. 287, *supra*), so common in Homer. In the present passage, ARGOS obviously means the town, the strong fort of Diomede, situated on the high conical hill at the other end of the low ground, seen north-west from Nauplia, the landing-place of the steam-boats which sail to this part of Greece. This hill fort, as in the case of Athens, afterwards became the mere acropolis, or Larissa, as it was called, of the town in the plain. TIRYNS, famous in the legends of Hercules and Bellerophon, and

well known to travellers and readers by its Cyclopean galleries, stands on a low, flat, oblong knoll (κλιτύς, Soph. *Trach.* 271), on the road to Argos, a few miles from Nauplia. The epithet, τειχιόεσσα, is well explained by Mure (*Tour*, ii. 173).

Ver. 560–1.

The towns in these verses are all in the eastern peninsula, in which direction alone the realm of Diomede could extend, without encroaching on the domain of the great king. Hermione, at the extreme south of the peninsula, was an old settlement of Dryopes, of whose hoar religious legends of subterranean Ceres, and Jove of the Cuckoo, Pausanias tells some curious details (II. 35-6). Near this was a descent to hell. This town stands exactly opposite to the island of Hydra, whose enterprising sea-captains played such a brilliant part in the Liberation war of 1821. Asine is another sea-town in the same district, but more towards Nauplia. It was destroyed by the Argives (Str. VIII. 373; Paus. II. 36. 5). The site of Asine is determined approximately by Strabo placing it near Nauplia, and Homer in 'a deep bay.' Such a bay is the bay of Tolon, the first large bend of the sea which the traveller encounters when going south from the city of Palamedes; and Curtius (II. 466) has put his finger on old polygonal remains at this place, giving certainty to the divinations of L. Next follows Trœzen—ver. 561—a well-known city in the south-east corner of the peninsula, close to the remarkable little volcanic peninsula of Methana, famous for the worship of Poseidon and Hippolytus, and a close legendary connexion with Attica, inwoven into the life of Theseus (Paus. II. 32). Eiones, a small village on the coast; site unknown (Str. 373). Epidaurus, which still retains its ancient name Πίδαυρο, with the ancient accent, which the English so perversely transfer to the penult—lies considerably to the north of Trœzen, on the same coast, in a recess of the Saronic gulf, shut in by mountains (Str. VIII. 374). Its celebrity belonged less to itself than to the famous temple of Æsculapius, a few miles inland, of whose medico-religious curiosities Pausanias has left us an interesting description

(II. 26). In verse 562 follows ÆGINA, an island famous alike for its legendary celebrity, its commercial enterprise, and its precious relics of antique sculpture now in Munich. The only remaining town is MASES, opposite Trœzen, on the Argolic gulf, which the people of that city used as a harbour (Paus. II. 36) to save themselves, in those days of timid navigation, from the necessity of doubling the extreme south-west corner of the peninsula. For its site see the well-reasoned account of Curt. (ii. 462).

VER. 569.

We now come to the kingdom of Agamemnon, though its whole extent is not fully indicated here, as we may see from ver. 108, *supra*, and IX. 149; but these may be regarded in the light of outlying dependencies; or the king of Mycenæ may have had a right to dispose of some of them, as belonging to Sparta, from an arrangement with Menelaus. Of Agamemnon's kingdom the capital is MYCENÆ, the "gold-abounding Mycenæ" (VII. 180), a strongly fortified town on the slope of the mountains that sink down from the north towards the plain of Argos. It is situated about two hours' walk from Argos, on the direct road to Corinth, by Tretus and Nemea. The solitary grandeur of its mountain site, the massive strength of its Cyclopean walls (Eur. *Iphig. Aul.*), and the severe antique stateliness of its "gate of lions" still bear ample witness to the early power of the king of men, on which the whole fabric of the Iliad rests. This ancient city, now as desert as Babylon, and as hoary as the pyramids, long maintained a separate existence against the rising dominancy of Argos (Herod. VII. 202; IX. 28), but in the year 468 its jealous neighbour finally rased it to the ground, starving out the stout inhabitants whom it could not conquer by force of arms (Paus. VII. 25. 3). In verse 570 follows CORINTH, anciently called EPHYRA (VI. 152), whose happy situation between two seas made it for a long time the emporium of trade between the east and the west. It is significant that Homer even at his early age should allude to its wealth rather than to its strongly-fortified acropolis, a mighty bulwark, more than twice the

height of Arthur Seat, rather too large, however, for the purposes of military defence. There can be no doubt that this city had taken its position as the destined Liverpool of Greece at a very early period. Its connexion with the Phœnicians is undoubted (Steph. Byz. *φοινίκαιον*; Tzet. *Lycoph.* 658). CLEONÆ lies on the right of the traveller going northward shortly after descending from Nemea, on the road to Corinth, by the Tretus pass. It derived its chief notability from its connexion with the Nemean games (*ἀγὼν Κλεωναῖος*; Pind. *Nem.* IV. 27; on its modern state see Curt. ii. 510). ORNEÆ (ver. 571), long maintaining an independent position against Argos (Thucyd. VI. 7), was situated among the mountains on the borders of the Phliasian territory, about fifteen miles north-west from Argos (Paus. II. 25. 4; Curt. ii. 478). Following one of the feeders of the Asopus down from this place, we arrive at the broad and rich mountain basin of Phlius, famous for its wine (Athen. I. 27 D), still praised, a full-bodied Burgundy (Curt. ii. 470), and the worship of Dionysus connected therewith. The principal city of this state, which long maintained an independent and dignified position (Herod. VII. 22, IX. 28; Thucyd. V. 57), was by some supposed to be the Homeric ARÆTHUREA of this verse; but Strabo (VIII. 382) and Pausanias (II. 12. 4) plainly point to an ancient Aræthuria at the sources of the Asopus, whose inhabitants afterwards swarmed off down the glen into the Phliasian basin. The next town, SICYON (ver. 572), belonging to the same natural district, and situated on the Corinthian gulf, at the mouth of the Asopus, on a rich plain a few miles west of Corinth, is a very ancient city, of considerable legendary and historical celebrity. By its ancient name, *Μηκώνη* (Str. VIII. 382) it is well known in the myth of Prometheus; Sisyphus, one of its earliest kings, is mentioned in VI. 153; and its school of art, of painting, and sculpture, headed by the names of Eupompus, Pamphilus, Apelles, Canachus, and Lysippus, forms an epoch in the history of art. ADRASTUS, here mentioned as one of its early kings, and who occurs again in XIV. 121, was by birth a prince of the royal house of Argos, transferred to Sicyon for a season only by one of those feuds so

common in those times, and who afterwards resumed his native throne, and became famous as one of the seven chiefs who engaged in the great war against Thebes in the generation before the Trojan war (Paus. II. 6; Apoll. III. 6. 1; Pind. *Nem.* IX. 20; *ibique schol.*) He also took part in the war of the *Epigoni*, and died at Megara on his way home (Paus. I. 43. 1). He received divine honours at Sicyon (Herod. V. 67). He was famous as a chariot-racer, and the speed of his divine steed Arion is celebrated below (XXIII. 347, on which Pausanias enlarges, VIII. 25; and Welcker, *Ep. Cyc.* i. 67).

VER. 573.

The next verse (573) brings us into the western division of that thin rocky strip of land, afterwards called Achaia, the mere rim of Northern Arcadia; and the first town that the poet mentions here is HYPERESIA, afterwards called Ægeira, minutely described by Polybius (IV. 57) as situated on "strong and inaccessible heights, between Sicyon and Ægium, about a mile from the shore looking right north towards Parnassus." The account of its peculiar religious creed and customs in Pausanias (VII. 26. 2) is exceedingly interesting and curious. On its modern side at *μαῦρα λιθάρια*, L. iii. 387, and Curt. i. 474, both agree. GONOESSA, which Pausanias (VII. 26. 6) says was properly *Δονόεσσα*, but mis-spelt by the ignorance of the scribes of Pisistratus, lay on the road between Ægeira and Pellene, close on the border of the territory of the Sicyonians, by whom it was taken and rased to the ground (Paus. VII. 26. 6). The epithet *αἰπεινή* used by the poet agrees admirably with the high-peaked hill now called *κορυφὴ τῆς Παναγίας*, or the *peak of the Virgin Mary*, above two thousand feet high, and a conspicuous object from many parts of the Corinthian gulf at its widest part (L. iii. 385; Curt. i. 484). Next comes PELLENE, the first town in Achæa towards the eastern border, in a rough mountain district, famous for its woollen cloaks (*Poll.* VII. 67), and for the decided position which it took in the Peloponnesian war on the Spartan side (Thucyd. II. 9). ÆGIUM, the next town mentioned.

bringing us back by a sudden leap westward more than half way to Patras, was a town of great importance even in the time of Pausanias (VII. 24. 2), when the common council (*συνέδριον*) of the Achæans assembled here, with what shadow of power the Romans had thought fit to leave them. The site of Ægium is now occupied by VOSTIZZA, the best harbour in Achæa east of Patras, and well known to many travellers by its beautiful plane-tree, forty-five feet in girth (Clark, *Pel.* p. 290), and by its vicinity to the monastery of *Megalospili* (L. iii. 182; Hettner, *Reiseskizzen*, 253). In verse 575 the introduction of the general name of the country, Αἰγιαλός, *coast* or *shore*, in the midst of the towns which belong to it, seems rather strange; but I find no trace of a town called ÆGIALUS, and translate it therefore as a general descriptive word, though in all likelihood in Homer's time there was a city or district so named. The last Achæan town is HELICE, between Ægium and Ægeira, as you sail towards Sicyon, a town of the greatest antiquity, and celebrated in Homer as one of the chief seats of the worship of Poseidon (*Il.* VIII. 203, XX. 404). In the year 373 B.C. this city disappeared from the face of things by one of the most violent earthquakes ever recorded. This happened in the dead of night, and was accompanied by a sudden rise of the sea, which drowned those who had not been crushed (Diod. Sic. XV. 48; Paus. VII. 24. 3). After the catastrophe the whole town was found under water, and so continued, except the tips of a few trees belonging to the sacred grove of Poseidon. This event occasioned much speculation to thoughtful persons, whether it should be attributed to necessary physical causes or to a special exercise of divine retribution for some flagrant sin of which the people of the town had been guilty. It was noticed also by the curious (Ælian, *Hist. An.* XI. 19) that animals, who are often wiser than men, seemed to have had a presentiment of the calamity. For some days before the earthquake a whole army of rats and cats, snakes, beetles, and millipeds were seen marching out of the town, to the great astonishment, but not to the effective admonition of the inhabitants.

VER. 581

brings us to LACEDÆMON, the kingdom of Menelaus. It is called "hollow," like the hollow Syria, the hollow Elis, and in our own country, "the howe o' the Mearns," because the habitable part of the country consists almost entirely of the valley of the Eurotas, about forty miles long, within which almost all the towns are contained that play a notable part in Homer and history. Glad.'s "channelled" Laconia (i. 103), adopted by Wr., is not good. There is no need of an odd word to express a common thing. V. has "*umhügelt*," from the old schol., an expression which I have adopted. The epithet κητώεσσα, in accordance with the existing laws of etymological science, can mean nothing but "full of clefts, chasms, or deep hollows," an interpretation which is amply justified by the physical conformation of the country (Curt. ii. 205). As to Glad.'s "*abounding in wild beasts*," it is not Greek, unless with reference to those diluvian times in which whales and seals and other animated wind-bags may have been disporting in that region. My rhyme, I perceive, has given the word the slip altogether. V. is wrong in adopting μεγάλη (*gross*) from the schol., as if κητώεις could be the same as μεγακήτης. On the right bank of this river, about half-way from its source in the Arcadian mountains, is SPARTA, near the modern *Mistra*, sole representative to ancient Greece of the monarchical principle and aristocratic policy of the Homeric age, and symbol to all the world of an energetic though one-sided manhood, founded on the two ideas of physical culture and military discipline. The site of PHARIS, which Pausanias (III. 20. 3) places south from Amyclæ towards the sea, is supposed by Curt. (ii. 248) to be indicated by certain remarkable remains, similar to the treasuries of Mycenæ and Orchomenus, which were discovered by Gropius in 1805, and described by Mure (ii. 246), at the deserted village of Bafió, near RIZI. MESSE is a harbour on the Tænarian promontory, in the country of the Maniotes (Paus. III. 25. 7), and recognised by Curt. (ii. 282), in the modern bay of *Mezapon*, about the rocks of which the pigeons are still seen

fluttering. BRYSEÆ (ver. 583)—which, like the modern Greek *βρίσι*, signifies *wells* (from *βρύω*)—seems, from Pausanias' description (III. 20. 3), to be somewhere near Amyclæ, towards Taygetus. Of AUGEÆ "the lovely" there is no trace, unless indeed it be ÆGIÆ (Paus. III. 21. 5; Curt. ii. 268), near the ancient Gythium and the modern Marathonisi, on the sea, a short distance south-west from the mouth of the Eurotas. AMYCLÆ (ver. 584), the most famous name on the roll, next to that of Sparta itself, the abode of Castor and Pollux, was situated (Polyb. v. 19) about two and a half miles south of Sparta, on the same side of the river (L. i. 138; Curt. ii. 245). HELOS—of which the name *ἕλος*, *marsh*, indicates the site—lay on the fertile marshy plain at the mouth of the Eurotas, of which the Helotes were the cultivators, though their name probably signifies *captives*, from *ἑλεῖν* (Paus. III. 20. 6). The next town, LAAS (ver. 585; Scyla. x.; Paus. III. 24. 5), is recognised by L. (i. 256, and Curt. ii. 273) at *Passavá*, near the bay called *Bathý*, a few miles south of Marathonisi. The last town in the Laconian list, *Οἴτυλος* (Paus. III. 25. 7), sometimes pronounced with a labial consonant, *βοίτυλος* (Str. VIII. 360), survives in the modern VITULI, on the gulf of Messene, about half way from Cape Matapan to Kalamata (Curt. ii. 283; L. i. 313).

VER. 591.

The country to the west of Laconia, afterwards known under the name of Messenia, is in topographical features a duplicate of Sparta, with this difference, however, that the western land is of a more gentle and mild character than the eastern; a physical contrast with which the moral character of the respective inhabitants was in perfect agreement. The name MESSENE occurs in *Od.* XXI. 15, but rather in connexion with Sparta than as a separate country. This agrees with *Il.* IX. 150, where Agamemnon treats several cities in this country as his own. The western coast-line of this division, bounded on the north by the river Neda, forms a district called Pylos, with a town of the same name; a region famous in ancient times by the capture of the Spartans in the island of Sphacteria,

during the Peloponnesian war, and by the battle of Navarino, in the year 1827,—so notable a moment in the history of modern Greece. Beyond this river a district extends north to the Alpheus, called by the ancients TRIPHYLIA, or the country of the three tribes, Epeans, Eleans, and Minyans, or Arcadians (Str. 337). This district is topographically a part of Arcadia, as, indeed, historically it wavers between Arcadia and Elis, formed as it is by a ridge of mountains, which runs out from that country about half way between the Neda and the Alpheus. All this district—the Messenian and the Triphylian west coast—forms what in the twelve verses of the catalogue (591-602) constitutes the kingdom of Nestor. And here the first important question that arises is, Where is the Pylus of Nestor? for the ancients name three cities so called; one on the coast of Messenia, already mentioned, one in the Triphylia, and the other considerably to the north, in the district of Elis and the river Peneus. The claim of this last town to be the capital of the Neleid kingdom—though treated seriously by the ancients, who had personal interests to warp their judgment—may be dismissed without consideration. The claim of the Triphylian town rests on the strong ground, that in v. 545 the Alpheus is characterized as the river that runs through the Pylian territory; in perfect consistency with which, the foray of Nestor, minutely described in XI. 712, makes a distinct impression on every unprejudiced reader, as it did upon Strabo (VIII. 352. 3), that the district from which that raid proceeded was north of the river Neda; that is, Triphylia. On the other hand, the account of the travels of Telemachus (not to mention the epithet ἠμαθόεις, *sandy*) is, if possible, more distinct, to the effect that the Pylos of the Neleïds was in Messenia, at Navarino, as was the opinion of Pausanias (IV. 36. 1), and indeed of the ancients generally. Here, therefore, we are in a dilemma. The poet of the Iliad contradicts the poet of the Odyssey. What is the legitimate conclusion? The ancients, in their great reverence for the accuracy of the poet, made no conclusion, but denied the premises; for in their opinion it was the duty of a Homeric critic, as of a modern Churchman, either to believe that their doctor

was incapable of error, or at least to deny that he ever had erred. They accordingly asserted one side of the case or the other, as their inclination or their judgment led. Certain modern critics, on the other hand, would find in this contradiction a strong argument to prove that the Iliad and the Odyssey were written by different authors. But the principles laid down in the introductory discourses, if sound, exhibit this inference as hasty and unauthorized. My view of the case is this :—Homer, when composing the Iliad, found ballad materials, which represented the kingdom of Neleus as seated principally on the Alpheus. These he used without being curious about the exact situation of the town of Pylos; though it seems pretty evident that he held the western half at least of the territory of the future Messenia to belong either to Neleus, or to nobody. A popular poet, indeed, though his topography will generally be right, and never absurd, has no object to gain by minute topographical any more than chronological accuracy, and therefore may occasionally make a small slip. In the ballads of the νόστοι, again, the poet—who, it must always be borne in mind, was an Asiatic Greek, and in all probability knew no more of the Pylian coast from personal inspection than Strabo himself knew of the plain of Troy,—in the materials of the Odyssey, I say, Homer found the topography of Pylos so laid down, as that a person travelling almost due east, must touch at Pheræ (Kalamati), as a half-way house, in an easy day's journey. This account he adopted, without curious scrutiny, as inwoven with the whole Telemachean story; and if it did not exactly harmonize with the impression made by the recital of Nestor in Iliad XI., it was a matter of no practical consequence either to himself or to his hearers; for the contradiction was not of an apparent or prominent kind, but such as required a curious microscopic criticism to expose, of which at that time, and in that place, we may be assured, there was none. As to the real state of the case, I have little doubt that both the traditions are founded on fact, to this extent at least, that at one period, or at various periods, the Neleid kingdom occupied the whole coast of Messenia and Triphylia, up to and even beyond the

Alpheus. On the other hand, I cannot but think Curt. (ii. 173) is right in reverting to the general opinion of the ancients, that the original settlement of Neleus, on his arrival from Thessaly, must have been at Navarino; for it is a most improbable thing that, on a coast particularly barren of good harbours, a situation so favourable, both for shelter and defence, should have been overlooked. On this whole subject there is a most complete and judicious note in Nitzsch (*Od.* III. 4). Hayman (I. *App.* D 4) follows the true instinct of a commentator of the Odyssey, in deciding for the Pylos which is nearest to Sparta. Of the Pylian towns which follow, the identification was more than usually difficult to the ancients, and is equally so to us. Of the lovely "ARENE," neither Elians nor Messenians could tell Pausanias anything trustworthy (V. 6. 2). It seemed, however, probable to that antiquarian tourist, that Arene was identical with SAMICUM, a fortified place of which remarkable ruins still remain, on the broad top of a promontory, about halfway between the Alpheus and the Neda (Curt. ii. 78).

VER. 592.

The situation of THRYUM is strongly marked by nature, on a hill at the ford of a river (XI. 711), and its importance as a military post (Xen. *Hell.* III. 2. 29), has enabled both ancient and modern writers easily to identify it with EPITALIUM, near the mouth of the Alpheus, on its south bank (Str. VIII. 349; L. ii. 199). Of AEPY the ancients knew nothing; but the supposition that it must be the same as EPEUM, a remarkable fortress on a lofty situation on the road between HERAEA in Arcadia and Macistus (Xen. *Hell.* III. 2. 30) is plausible. CYPARISSEIS (ver. 593), which gives its name to the broad-sweeping bay of Cyparissia, is identified both by L. (i. 69) and Curtius (ii. 184), though, as appears to me, not on very sure grounds, with a town that through the middle ages bore the name of ARCADIA, and which is beautifully situated on a rocky promontory, a little north of Cape PLATAMODES. AMPHIGENIA, according to Strabo (VIII. 349), is in MACISTUS, a district of the Triphylia, between Lepreon and the Alpheus (Xen.

Hell. III. 2. 25). On PTELEON, HELOS, and DORIUM, the geographer is dumb; though with regard to the last the antiquarian was more fortunate (Paus. IV. 33. 7). On the mention of this town (Steph. Byz. *voce Dorium*), the poet interrupts his dry register of places, by a short digression on the legendary history of the minstrel THAMYRIS. This son of the Muses, failing, like Dr. Bentley, in the cardinal grace of modesty, roused not only the wrath of mortal men, as the Cambridge Doctor did, but the wrath of the celestial powers also against him; and the consequences were what might have been expected. The Muses struck him blind; bad enough; but, what was worse, they did not leave him the consolation which to blind musicians specially belongs, for they deprived him of his musical skill. That "*blind*" was the true popular meaning of the word πηρόν, is evident from Apoll. (*Bib.* I. 3), and Paus. (IX. 30. 2); nor was the super-subtle conceit of the νεώτεροι in the Venetian Schol. A, that blindness was no part of his punishment, worthy of being revived by Glad. (ii. 91). Thamyris was a Thracian; by which it is not meant that he was not a Greek; only it is certain that all the early poetry of Greece came from Thrace (Diod. Sic. III. 67), and nothing was more natural than that the Hellenic tribes who first migrated from the East should cross the Hellespont, and settle on the southern shores of Thrace and Macedonia. In after times, no account of kinship and blood having been preserved, those early Greeks inhabiting that northern region would simply be called Thracians, and spoken of as if they belonged to a different nation.

VER. 603.

ARCADIA is, like Bœotia, a land completely encased by mountains, only the one is like a round caldron, the other like a square camp. Another point of resemblance to Bœotia is found in the peculiarity that the principal rivers, whether flowing from the north-eastern corner, as the LADON, or the south-east, as the ALPHEIUS, have only one grand outlet near the south-west corner, at Heræa, where the Elean and Triphylian border meets. Those few waters, which do

not find an egress by this great natural channel, escape, as in Bœotia, through subterranean channels, beneath the soil of Argolis, into the sea. The eastern district, out of which these waters flow, is separated from the rest of Arcadia by the long ridge of MÆNALUS, and from its being shut in on all sides by high land, possesses several lochs on its table land, but none of any large extent. Such is the general configuration of the country, whose inhabitants, belonging to an era of population beyond the reach even of Greek legend, boasted that they were "older than the moon," and lived in sinless simplicity, in the golden age, "eating acorns among the mountains" (*Ap. Rh.* IV. 263). They were, like the modern Swiss, sturdy mountaineers and good soldiers (ver. 611), and always defied the ambition of Sparta to reduce them to bondage. Like the Swiss also, they often served other states for pay (Thucyd. VI. 57; Suidas Ἄρκαδας μιμούμενοι). Their greatest virtue was that, among a most musical people, they were pre-eminent lovers of music; and to this their favourite god, Hermes, bears testimony in the myth of the shell of the tortoise, which he turned into a lyre.

VER. 604.

ÆPYTUS was a legendary hero of Arcadia, whose tomb, in the usual form, a mound with a circular basement of regular masonry. Pausanias saw on a mountain called SEPIA, close to Cyllene (VIII. 16. 2). PHENEOS (ver. 605) lies in the same district, to the south-west of Cyllene, a town remarkable both in ancient and modern times for those sudden changes of level in the water of the adjacent lake, noticed above in the history of the great Bœotian lake (Paus. VIII. 14. 1; Str. VIII. 389; Plin. *N. H.* XXXI. 5; Clark, *Pel.* p. 315). The sheep-abounding ORCHOMENUS, now *Kalpaki*, is in the same eastern division of Arcadia, and remarkable for its kingly acropolis, nearly three thousand feet high, famous in the most ancient times (Paus. VIII. 3. 1), and often mentioned in the later history of Greece. In the days of Pausanias (VIII. 13), its importance, like that of so many other Greek towns under the Romans, had ceased. Its ruins are described by Dodwell (ii. 427, and L.

iii. 100). In ver. 606, RHIPE, STRATIE, and ENISPE are, to use the words of Strabo (VIII. 388), "difficult to find, and of no use if they were found, for the whole country is waste and barrenness." TEGEA (ver. 607) is in the south-east corner of Arcadia, near the Spartan border, and the sources of the Alpheus, renowned for its sturdy and successful opposition to Sparta (Herodot. I. 65). MANTINEA is a place of great note in history, having been the scene of several very remarkable and decisive warlike encounters. This military celebrity, like Leipzig in modern times, it owes unquestionably to its position; for it lies in a great plain, about twenty miles long, and, being on the great road from the Argolis district to Sparta, it stands exactly where a great shock between Sparta and its dependencies and any hostile power would naturally take place. Homer calls it "lovely," but it is at present "a bare, marshy, depopulated plain, cold in winter, hot in summer, and unhealthy at all seasons" (Curt. i. 235). The classical traveller, however, is rewarded by an inspection of its walls and ditches, which present curious points in ancient fortification (Mure, ii. 208; Curt. i. 236). STYMPHALUS, well known in the mythological history of Hercules, —lake and town,—is situated in the extreme north-east corner of Arcadia, on the high road from Corinth to Orchomenus, and from Corinth to Olympus. In its topography, it repeats the adjacent PHENEOS on a smaller scale, and presents similar hydrographic phenomena. Paus. (VIII. 22. 3) found no lake, only a stream; and Clark (p. 319) says, "as at Pheneos we expected to see a fen, and found a lake, so in Stymphalus we expected a lake, and found a field." Paus. (VIII. 22. 6) and Str. (VIII. 389) tell strange stories about the hydrography of this region. PARRHASIA (ver. 608), on the Messenian border, is the country of one of the most ancient divisions of the Arcadian people (Str. VIII. 388). The Agapenor who leads this Arcadian troop finds honourable mention in Paus. among the early kings of his country (VIII. 5), and forms to Glad. (i. 138) a text for some Pelasgic speculations which appear to me rather slippery.

VER. 615.

We now round off the Peloponnesus by the mention of a few cities belonging to a people whom the poet calls EPEANS (here and XI. 694), but who were afterwards called, from their city, ELEANS (XI. 671). The natural boundaries of this country, from the Neda northward to the mouth of the Corinthian gulf, are indicated by the course of the rivers, all flowing west from Arcadia, and by the broad open slopes of the hills, as contrasted with the abrupt steepness of the eastern side of the Peloponnesus; and the flat coast, studded with lagoons, produced malaria and mosquitoes, to defend from whose assaults Ζεὺς ἀπόμυιος (Paus. v. 14. 1), *Jove, the averter of flies*, was frequently invoked. On the other hand, a large extent of arable and pasture land of the best quality gave Elis a character quite singular in Greece for agricultural activity and the enjoyments of a country life (Polyb. IV. 73). Its horses are celebrated by Homer (*Od.* IV. 635, XXI. 346). The oxen of Augeas, king of Elis, supplied one of the twelve labours to Hercules; and the soil had the enviable boast alone in Greece of producing the βύσσος or fine flax so often mentioned in Scripture (Paus. v. 5. 2). In politics the Eleans never played any prominent part; but their possession of the grand national temple of Jove at Olympia, on the banks of the Alpheius (hence, no doubt, the epithet δῖαν, ver. 615), always gave them great consideration among the shifting alliances and collisions of the loosely-united Greek States. The cities of this country mentioned by Homer are few, and of these few the fewest possess any celebrity. PISA, the sacred city of Jove, so sublimely besung in after times by Pindar, does not appear at all. The first on the list, BUPRASIUM (XXIII. 631), which Homer (XI. 756) calls "wheat-abounding," was gone without a trace in Strabo's day; but the country between the town of Elis and DYME, in Achæa, still retained the old Homeric name of the town (Str. VIII. 340). ELIS, the capital of the district, and vested with the presidency of the Olympic games—an honour which it wrested from the more ancient Pisa.—is situated on the banks of the

PENEIUS. It is placed by Pausanias about fourteen miles from the harbour of Cyllene, on an acropolis, which was recognised by Dodwell (ii. 316), L. (i. 4), and Curt. (ii. 22) in the peaked hill called Καλοσκοπί or *Fair-view*, on the south side of the river.

The situation of HYRMINE on the sea-coast depends on that of CYLLENE, which is a disputed point (Str. VIII. 341); but if Curtius is right in his sequence of important points on this part of the Elean coast, following Ptolemy (III. 16), as to me seems a firm basis to stand on, then HYRMINE must be set farther north than it appears in Kiepert's map. MYRSINUS, or MYRTUNTIUM, as it was called in Strabo's time, was nine miles north of Elis, on the road to DYME. The "Olenian rock" (XI. 757) was merely guessed by the ancients to be the same as SCOLLIS, a rocky mountain on the Dymean and Elean border (Str. VIII. 341); for they distinctly avoid confounding it with the town of Olenus, on the Achæan coast (Str. 386). The last town on the Elean list is ALEISIUM (XI. 757), on the mountain road from Elis south-east to Olympia (Str. 341).

VER. 625.

We now come to the ISLANDS. The ECHINADES, so called from ἐχῖνος, a *hedgehog*, as some of them were also called ὀξεῖαι, or the *sharp islands*,—are situated, as Homer says, right opposite the north coast of Elis, to the north-east, at the mouth of the ACHELOUS (XXI. 194). They are small, sharp, rocky islands, some of them mere rocks, with a meagre soil, or quite barren, without population; why called "sacred" in the text I do not know; probably from some old shrine or temple. They attracted particularly the attention of the ancients, raising in their brains certain geological speculations about the encroaching of the mainland upon the sea (Thucyd. II. 102; Paus. VIII. 24. 5), which, however, have not yet become facts. The Homeric DULICHIUM Strabo (458) had no difficulty in identifying with one of those islands called δολίχα; which indeed seems a very fair use of etymology, as the word δολιχός signifies *long*, and the island so named had this shape. But unfortunately Homer in one place (*Od.* XVI. 396)

calls it "wheat-abounding and grassy," an epithet quite inconsistent with the character which these islands ever could have sustained. Either therefore the poet has been too free with his favourite epithets of πολύπυρος and ποιήεις, which is by no means impossible, or, as has been suggested (L. iii. 51) it is not absolutely necessary in the grammatical structure of this verse to suppose that Dulichium is an island at all; but it may represent some of the rich fat land on the Ætolian mainland, at the mouth of the river, which in popular tradition might easily have been confounded with the closely adjacent islands. Hayman's idea (*Od.* I. *App.* D. 7,) that "lying beyond the sea, *i.e.*, the Crissean gulf, under the land, and probably flat, its form might easily blend with that of the continent, and an unduly large space have been ascribed to it," is not at all bad.

VER. 631.

By the Cephalonians in this line, the poet seems to include generally the inhabitants of the modern island of Cephalonia, the largest of the group, and its dependencies, *Ithaca* and *Zante*, forming together the realm of Ulysses. Its ancient name was SAME, or SAMOS, a name afterwards known, and still retained, as the appellation of its principal city (L. iii. 55). The name of Cephalenia, now Cephalonia, applied to the island, appears first in Herod. (IX. 28.) It is an island of considerable size, being above thirty miles long (M'Culloch, *Geog. Dict.*), but the mass of it is a mighty mountain, as high as Ben Nevis, which towers majestically over the broad firth at the mouth of the Corinthian gulf. The stout inhabitants of Same achieved no small celebrity in the declining days of Greek glory, by standing a siege of four months against the Romans (Liv. XXXVIII. 29). ITHACA (ver. 632) lies alongside the north half of Cephalonia, to the east separated by a narrow firth. It is a long mountain ridge, about half the length of Cephalonia, cut in the middle by a large gulf on the east side, leaving an isthmus of only a mile broad to connect the two halves of the island. On the right hand, that is to the north, as you sail into this gulf,

runs the mighty mountain of Ἀνωγῆ, which by its height alone is naturally recognised as the NERITUM of this verse. This description agrees well with the epithet κραναή, ROCKY, applied to the island in III. 201. But how to reconcile the true aspect of the island, and its geographical site with the much-debated lines in the Odyssey (IX. 25, 26) baffles my powers, and is happily no part of my business here. Were I commenting on the Odyssey, I should take with me first of all Mure's sensible remark that "a poet is not a land-surveyor" (*Journal*, i. 60), and ought not to be treated as such. As to the notion of certain learned Germans (Völcker, *Hom. Geog.* p. 46), that the modern Θιάκι, though bearing the same name, and accented on the same syllable as the ancient Ἰθάκη, and generally agreeing strikingly with the main features of the landscape, is, after all, not the same island; this is a fancy which could only have been bred in the brains of a bookish people, who, by the continued exercise of an unpractical speculation, have acquired a wonderful faculty either of making something out of nothing, or of turning something into nothing, as whim may dictate or occasion demand. The sites of *Ægilips* and *Crocylea* (ver. 633) are both laid down in L.'s map of Ithaca, on that sort of conjecture which minute topographical knowledge only can sometimes make very nearly equivalent to a proof. There remains ZANTE—Ζάκυνθος,—south of Cephalonia, and considerably less in size, but much more famous for beauty and fertility. Καλὰ πόλις ἁ Ζάκυνθος, says Theocritus (IV. 32) of its chief town, on a fine open semicircular bay, with a lofty mountain, Monte Σκοπό (*Viewmount*), looking out from its south side; and "*il fiore de Levante*" is a well-known epithet given by the Italians to the whole island.

VER. 637.—*Ships with vermeil prows,*

—μιλτοπάρῃοι. This is the only passage of the Iliad in which ships are so described; a peculiarity which would furnish a German with a strong argument for the interpolated character of the catalogue. The epithet occurs also in Od. IX. 125. Dacier translates "*admirablement bien peintes*," which I merely quote as a curious

instance of a false principle which long prevailed in the French and Anglo-French school of taste, that in order to achieve the beautiful we must abolish the characteristic.

Ver. 638.

Seen from the lofty summit of Parnassus, the whole country to the west and north-west appears one vast sea of mountains. This region is Ætolia, a country whose rough wildness is varied by only two plains of any extent, as its rivers also are only two, the Evenus (Celtic, *Avon?*) eastward towards Parnassus, and the Acheloüs (*aqua?*) on the west, which separates it from Acarnania. The two plains are that on the south, between the mouth of those two rivers, in which region are all the known towns mentioned by Homer, and that to the north, inland beyond the mountains. The original inhabitants of this region were not in the popular sense Greeks, but a race called Curetes (Str. x. 465), who appear in Homer (ix. 529), and are apparently to be classed with those Leleges, Caucones, Pelasgi, and other tribes, who peopled early Greece before the Hellenes gave a new impulse to civilisation and a new name to the people. Afterwards, in the more accessible parts of this district, a genuine Hellenic race prevailed (Str. x. 464), but the people still preserved a wild and semi-barbarous type (*μιξοβάρβαρον*, Eurip. *Phœn.*, and Thucyd. i. 5, iii. 94; Herod. vii. 126).

Ver. 639.

Pleuron, the chief city of the Curetes (ix. 529; Str. x. 451), lay in the great plain of the Evenus, between Calydon and the Acheloüs (Pseudo Dicæarchus *ἀναγραφὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 58; Thucyd. iii. 102); but there were properly two towns of this name, the more ancient low in the plain, and the more recent higher up towards the ridge of Aracynthus (Str. x. 451). The ruins of the ancient city have been traced by L. (i. 115) at Mount *Ζυγό*, about an hour's drive from Missolonghi (Mure, i. 140). Olenos was near new Pleuron (Str. x. 451). Pylene, the same writer says, shared a similar fate with Pleuron, and was transferred from the low

country up the hill to PROSCHIUM. CHALCIS (ver. 640) was on the shore, near the river Evenus, at the foot of a mountain of the same name (Str. x. 451; Thucyd. II. 83; L. i. 111); and CALYDON, from the mythological legend of the boar-hunt, by far the most famous city of the group, was in the same district between Pleuron and Chalcis (Str. x. 451, 460). Calydon plays no prominent part in history; and in the year B.C. 31 disappears altogether, Augustus having transferred its inhabitants to Nicopolis, the new city which he founded to celebrate his crowning victory on the Ambracian gulf.

VER. 645.

CRETE, the largest, the most celebrated, and the most ill-fated island of the Mediterranean, lies in a fine central position, at the mouth of the Ægean, with its north-west wing turned towards Sparta, and its north-east to Rhodes. In mythology it is supreme in glory as the birthplace of Jove, and the scene of his marriage with Hera (Diod. Sic. v. 72). In Homer's time the fame of its hundred cities (ver. 649) filled the Mediterranean. Its most ancient legislation and constitution was very much praised by certain philosophical writers of antiquity, particularly by Plato, who felt a strong revulsion from democracy as exhibited in Athens; but its inhabitants had a bad repute as pirates, liars, and sensualists. Their three chief cities were GNOSSUS, GORTYNA, and CYDONIA, of which the last is mentioned by Homer in the Odyssey (III. 292), and the other two in the present passage. GNOSSUS, situated on the north side, in a plain between LYCTUS and Gortyna, a few miles from the sea, opposite the island of DIA (Str. x. 476; *Stadiasm. Mar. Magn.* 348; Müller), was the capital of the kingdom of Minos, and the accredited seat of the famous labyrinth, of which the image appears on its coins. It is now called μακροτείχο, or the long wall, and lies near the modern town of *Megalo-kastron* (Pashley, i. 203). GORTYNA and PHÆSTUS (ver. 648) are in our sources of geographical knowledge dependent on one another, and on another town, Matala or Matalon, not mentioned by Homer. For the lines in the

Odyssey (III. 292-296) show that PHÆSTUS was on the south side of the island, near the coast, and in the Gortynian district. This agrees with Strabo (479), who places Phæstus at sixty stadia from Gortyna, and twenty from the sea, while the naval station belonging to it, *Matalum*, was forty stadia distant. This Matalum still retains its name, and stands in the anonymous periplus of the Mediterranean (*Stadiasm. Mar. Magn.* 323), in a due sequence from the Samonian promontory, in the north-east corner of the island as you proceed along the east end, and then along the south coast westward. A simple inspection of the map will show how, in the broad open bay westward of the broadest part of the island, that is, about the middle, the south wind will send in as surging a sea as the west at Bude in the north of Cornwall (*Od.* III. 295). These are the principal data on which, so far as I can see, Pashley and his predecessors have fixed the site of GORTYN, at a spot in the large plain south-east of Ida, where ruins are found (Pash. i. ch. 18, 19). Not far from PHÆSTUS, famous as the birthplace of Epimenides, comes RHYTIUM, which Strabo mentions as being in the Gortynian district, in which connexion also it appears in Nonnus (XIII. 235). Of the three towns which follow, LYCASTUS (Str. x. 479; Polyb. XXIII. 15) seems to have been somewhere between Gnossus and Gortyna, where it appears in Kiepert's map; but Pashley places it much farther to the east. MILETUS, which was razed to the ground by the people of LYCTUS, seems from Pashley's map to have retained its ancient name, and is spoken of by that traveller as an ascertained site; but his grounds are not stated at length (i. 269). It lies near the sea, about thirty miles east of Gnossus. Lastly, LYCTUS, a place of more note inland (Scylax), under the Ægean mountain, where Jove was born (Hes. *Theog.* 476), with a harbour, *Chersonesus*, on the north coast (Str. 479), westward of Gnossus, both easily identified by their names (Pash. i. 268).

VER. 653.

RHODES, of which we next speak, is perhaps the most illustrious island, for its size, in the history of the world. It is little more than forty miles long, and composed, like Crete, principally of a long ridge of rocky mountains, of which the highest summit is said to be above 4000 feet in elevation. This island, with its three towns here mentioned, formed, along with Cos, Halicarnassus, and Cnidus, a sort of political brotherhood, called the Hexapolis, all of Dorian extraction (Herod. I. 145). The city of Rhodes, as much admired by the ancients as Edinburgh is by the moderns, is a comparatively recent town (Str. XIV. 652-4); but the enterprise of the Rhodians in early times had made the island prominent in colonizing the Mediterranean. Their early wealth, alluded to by Homer (ver. 670—a line which I see no good reason for suspecting), was embodied in the legend that Jove had rained gold upon it; and the beautiful sunniness of their climate was symbolized in the Heliads, or *sons of the Sun*, to whom Jupiter early gave the island in possession (Pind. *Ol.* 7); and their early excellence in the arts was quaintly stereotyped in the old legends about the Telchins. In after ages, while their valour defied the successors of Alexander, their policy courted the alliance of the Romans; their maritime laws were incorporated into the Digest (XIV. 2), and their philosophers taught the rulers of the world (Strabo 655, Sueton., Jul.) Of the three cities named by the poet, the first, LINDUS, situated on a promontory in the middle of the south side of the island, still bears the same name, and exhibits notable sepulchral and other remains. The second, IALYSUS, dwindled to a village in Strabo's time, was on the north side, near the north-east promontory, a short distance south of the picturesque site afterwards occupied by Rhodes; and CAMEIRUS, on the same side of the island, was on the promontory of Monolithos, a little south-west of the Atabyrian mount, recognisable, as Ross says (though he does not seem personally to have visited the spot), plainly by its white rocks, which Homer characterizes by the epithet ἀργινόεις (*Insel Reisen*, iii. 103). The number THREE,

by which these ancient cities are grouped, was a favourite with the Dorians (*Od.* XIX. 177; Müller, *Dor.* ii. p. 78; Niebuhr, *Röm. Ges.* 1833, i. 314). For TLEPOLEMUS, see v. 628.

VER. 671.

The islands which follow, all of inferior size and consequence, belong to the south-west or Carian corner of Asia Minor, and naturally follow in the wake of Rhodes. The first, SYME, lies between that island and the long Carian peninsula in which Cnidus was situated, rocky and bare, but full of bays, and with a population, in 1845, of about 7000 souls, occupied principally in sponge-fishing (Ross, *Ins.* iii. 123). Like other islands in this corner of the Ægean, after some stiff struggles with the Carians, it came permanently into the possession of Doric settlers from the Peloponnesus (Diod. Sic. v. 53). As for NIREUS, he owes all his immortality to the present passage, and may take his place along with that Philip of Crotona, whom Herodotus mentions (v. 47), as a striking proof of that quick instinct for beauty which was the peculiar gift of God to the Hellenic race; though I cannot help thinking that the observations of Gladstone (iii. 406) on this special passage are more subtle than sound. The repetition of the name of Nireus—if indeed all the lines are genuine—is a common enough trick of poets (see Tasso, II. 1), and has no particular significance.

VER. 676.

NISYROS, which mythology fabled to have been a fragment torn from Cos, which Neptune flung upon an impious giant (Str. x. 489), lies between that island and the Cnidian promontory, a little to the south. There was truth, as usual, at the bottom of the fable, for the island is one of the most striking of the volcanic products of the Mediterranean, and at the present day throws out hot fumes and sulphurous scum (Ross, *Ins.* ii. 78). Next follows CRAPATHUS, or CARPATHUS, which gave its name to the adjacent part of the Ægean (Hor. *Od.*), and was situated midway between Crete and the south-east corner of Rhodes. Anciently it belonged to Minos

(Diod. Sic. v. 54), and is an island of considerable size, very rocky and inaccessible, but in some parts fruitful (Ross, iii. 50). Casos is a small rocky island, lying off the south end of Carpathus towards Crete (Ross, iii. 32). Cos (ver. 677), situated in the mouth of the great Carian gulf, to the north of the Cnidian peninsula, now called *Stanco* (*'σ τὰν κῶ*), about twenty-three miles long (Smith, *Dict.*), and celebrated in antiquity for its medical school (*τὸ 'Ασκληπιεῖον*, Str. xiv. 657), its delicate silken fabrics, and its wine (Athen. i., Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4. 29), which travellers yet declare to be "very good" (Ross, iii. 127). The "Calydnian Islands" group lies a little to the north of Cos, as you sail towards Miletus. The largest of the group is now called "Kalymnos," a form of the Homeric designation familiar to the ancients; for Strabo (x. 489) has *Κάλυμναν*. Some interesting notices of the state of society in this place will be found in Ross (ii. 94), a traveller to whom scholars are largely indebted for the fresh and original manner in which he has connected the study of the classical remains of antiquity in Greece with the character, habits, and language of the existing inhabitants. Would that some of our energetic young British scholars would follow his example, and not continue isolating themselves from the living Greek world by that barbarous and unauthorized fashion of pronouncing the Greek language, which, with such unreasoning persistency, they practise!

Ver. 681.

We now come to the country afterwards called Thessaly, which, so far as it had a common name in Homer's day, I entirely agree with Glad. (i. 101), seems indicated here by the phrase, "the Pelasgic Argos," that is, the great plain peopled by the Pelasgi, between the Cambunian mountains, the southern boundary of Macedonia, and the long ridge of Othrys, which runs across from the mountain country on the Epirotic border, in a line almost due east, to the Ægean sea. The other boundaries of this great plain are Mount Pindus on the west, and the ridge of mountains which, starting from Olympus, the highest mountain in Greece, runs along the

coast of the Ægean till it ends in a long peninsula, whose south-eastern promontory, *Sepias*, fronts the north-eastern promontory of Eubœa. This narrow eastern strip of Thessaly along the coast was called MAGNESIA (ver. 756), and the whole land thus presents the aspect of an immense enclosed space, having, like Arcadia, only one outlet for its waters through the romantic defile of TEMPE, between Olympus and Ossa. That the word ARGOS, though sometimes used by Homer for a town (IV. 52) means here the whole Thessalian plain, seems to be quite evident, both from the other considerations mentioned by Mr. Gladstone, and specially from the use of the ARTICLE in a manner not peculiar to Greek, but belonging to all languages. Towns, no doubt, may in special cases have the article; as αἱ Ἀθῆναι, that is, *the* city of Athena, or of the Athenians; but generally, in all languages, it is the country which has the demonstrative prefix, while the town is left without emphasis. So in German: *die Tyrol*, *die Schweiz*, but not *die Breslau*, *die Innspruck*. The same in Scotland: *the Carse of Gowrie*, *the Lothians*, *the Howe o' the Mearns*, but not *the Edinburgh*, *the Aberdeen*. In a wider sense Thessaly may be said to include the vale of the Spercheius, that is, the district between the ridge of OTHRYS on the north and ŒTA on the south. This was the country of the ÆNIANES (ver. 749), a tribe evidently of some note in Homer's time, but who afterwards disappeared (Str. IX. 427). The whole Thessalian region was one of the most rich and highly favoured in Greece, having a favourable outlet to the sea on the south-east, large rivers, the largest plain in Greece, and a strong well-defined natural boundary; but notwithstanding all these advantages, it never possessed politically that unity to which its topographical configuration so naturally led. In Homer's time it was evidently as much divided into different clanships, or dynasties—so Strabo calls them,—as any country occupied by Greek races; and when, at a later period, the Hellenic and Pelasgic tribes described in the catalogue were overpowered by an irruption of Thessalians from Epirus (Thucyd. I. 12; Herod. VII. 176), and driven southward to cause a redistribution of territory in the Peloponnesus, we do not

find that these new occupiers of the land were able to command it from a central metropolis, but they remained contented with an ineffective sort of independence, under various lordly families, of which the Scopadæ and the Aleuadæ are familiar to the readers of Greek history.

The first district of Thessaly described by Homer is what was anciently called ACHÆA, or PHTHIOTIS (Str. IX. 429-433; Thucyd. VIII. 3; Xen. *Ages.* II. 5, in Scylax, between the Μαλιεῖς and Thessaly), with boundary somewhat vague, but which may be taken generally as that part of Thessaly in the south-east corner, between the head of the Pagasean gulf and the lower valley of the Spercheius; one part of this district was called by the afterwards glorious name of "HELLAS" (ver. 683, and IX. 447), a name still extant in *Hellada*, the modern appellation of the Spercheius; and the whole constituted the paternal domain of Achilles, though the word "Phthiote" is undoubtedly so used (XIII. 685; Str. IX. 432) by the poet as to include also the followers of Protesilaus and Philoctetes. The names in verse 684 exhibit the operation of a general principle in early history, in virtue of which the designations of particular tribes, sometimes small and unimportant, are in the course of time transferred to designate large composite masses. So the English, from the Angli; and the general Greek people, from the small Thessalian district where some of their most stirring and adventurous tribes were originally settled. All history indeed points to Thrace and Thessaly as the cradle of Greece. In the time of Homer the local designation, Ἀχαιοί, had already passed into a general term for all the Greeks, specially for those under Agamemnon. The transference of the Achæan name to Peloponnesus is accounted for by Pausanias, as usual, by a pedigree and family history (VII. 1); Dionysius (*Arch.* I. 17) traces the affinity backward, and makes the Achæans migrate from Argos to Thessaly. As for the "HELLENES," the ancient writers knew well that, as a general designation for the Greek people, this name was unknown to Homer; for which reason the verse 530 above, which mentions "Panhellenes and Achæans," is noted by some of them as spurious

(Thuc. I. 3 *schol.*; Str. VIII. 370). The same composite term occurs in Hesiod (*Op.* 528); and there is a use of Ἑλλάς in the Odyssey, καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος (I. 344), which seems at first sight to give to Hellas a wider significance than what strictly belongs to it in the Iliad. It may be, however, as Nitzsch says, that Homer by this expression only means to designate the whole by two extreme points, north and south. On the gradual extension of the Hellenes, see Clinton (i. p. 45). As to DANAANS, the only other common name by which the Greeks are designated in Homer, that was, like Achæans, only a synonyme for Argives, which their mythographers deduced from a king named Danaus, of Egypto-Phœnician extraction (Apoll. II. 1; Paus. II. 19. 3; Herod. II. 91). ALOS (ver. 682): this town was on the end of the ridge of Othrys, overlooking the plain of Crocion, and watered by the river Amphrysus, on whose banks Apollo fed the kine of Admetus (Str. IX. 433; L. iv. 336). The next place, ALOPE, must be somewhere near the Maliac gulf, as its position is determined by that of ECHINUS (Steph. Byz. Ἀλόπη), which is minutely described by Polybius (IX. 41), and still preserves its ancient name (L. ii. 20). TRACHIS, *i.e.*, the rough rocky district, from τραχύς (on which, however, see Forchhammer, *Hellen.* p. 11), is a town, not strictly in the Phthian district, some five miles west of Thermopylæ, where there is a pass through the Œtean ridge of not more than fifty feet wide (Herod. VII. 176), of great celebrity in mythical history, as the scene of the death of Hercules, and of no less strategical importance.

VER. 690.—*Lyrnessus*,

a town in the territory of Adramyttium, quite close to the Thebes of the Troad, I. 366, which see *supra* (Str. XIII. 612).

VER. 695.

We now come to the domain of Protesilaus, a part of Phthiotis, on the Maliac gulf, and northward, adjacent to the country of Achilles (Str. IX. 435), PHYLACE—φυλακή, the *guard* or *ward* (as Largo-*ward*, in Fifeshire?), frequently mentioned in Homer (XIII.

696, xv. 335), but otherwise of no significance. Strabo (ix. 433) seems to place it inland, between the Pharsalian district and the Phthiotis; but the passage is somewhat confused. Leake (iv. 331) finds it at *Ghidek*, on a height commanding a fine view of the gulf of Volo. Pyrasus (πυρός, wheat), ver. 695, was on the shore of the Pagasean bay, with a good harbour, twenty stadia from the Phthiotic Thebes, a town which, from the data furnished by Polybius (v. 99) and Strabo (ix. 435), it is plain must have been on the north-east corner of Phthiotis, not far from the Magnesian border, near the sea (L. iv. 359). The "shrine," or, more strictly, "consecrated ground of Demeter," which seems to have been a synonyme for Pyrasus, gave rise to the name Demetrium, by which the place was afterwards known. Iton (ver. 697), placed by Strabo (ix. 433) about eight miles from Halus, and by Leake (ii. 357) in a pastoral district of the highlands of Othrys, to which the epithet, "mother of flocks," is most appropriate, was famous in the early history of Greece as the seat of the worship of the Itonian Athenè, which the Bœotians, when they left Thessaly, took with them into their new country (Apoll. Rh. i. 551 *schol.*; Müller, *Orchom.* 384). Antron (ver. 697) is a coast-town in the south-east coast of Phthiotis, opposite Eubœa, so called from its caverns (ἄντρον),—like Wemyss, in Fifeshire,—whose situation is indicated in Strabo (ix. 435) by its position in his periplus northward of the island of Myonnesus, and is recognised accordingly by L. (iv. 348) in the modern *Fanó*. This place, like Pyrasus, was famous for the worship of Demeter (*Hymn. Dem.* 491), so characteristic of the Pelasgi (*infra*, ver. 840). Lastly, Pteleon, though destroyed by the Romans in their wars with the Macedonians (Liv. xlii. 67), still survives in a wretched Turkish village called Φτελιό, looking down upon the entrance to the gulf of Volo. The marsh below the town, where a brook descends into the sea, no doubt under more civilized management, produced the grassy meadows to which the poet's epithet λεχεποίην points (L. iv. 341). These are the cities of Protesilaus. As for that hero himself (xiii. 681, xv. 705), he is one of those mortals, not rare in the history of the world, who

have gained more celebrity by a well-commemorated mishap, than they might have achieved by the most brilliant success. He was a prominent figure in the representations of ancient art connected with the Trojan war (Paus. x. 30. 1); and in modern times, the faithful attachment between him and his wife Laodamia has furnished to Wordsworth one of the few themes of Grecian story that has been happily transplanted into the soil of English poetry. This misfortuned chief was buried at Eleus, in the Thracian Chersonesus, where divine honours were paid him (Str. XIII. 595; Paus. I. 34. 2; Tzet. *Lycoph.* 532).

VER. 711

carries us beyond Pthiotis, northward into a region lying immediately behind the Magnesian mountain-ridge, to the north of the Pagasean gulf. The first city here, PHERÆ, famous afterwards in the history of Thessalian tyrannies, was situated near the Bœbean lake, ninety stadia from Pagasæ, which served it for a naval station (Str. IV. 436). L. (iv. 437) recognises it in the modern VELESTINIO. The Bœbean lake, now *Karla*, is a long narrow sheet of water, whose supply of water is extremely irregular, and which is frequently mentioned by ancient writers (Eurip. *Alc.* 590). Of GLAPHYRÆ I can find no mention elsewhere. But IOLCOS, eastward from Pagasæ, at the head of the Pagasean gulf, near the foot of Mount Pelion (Pind. *Nem.* IV. 88), is famous in mythological history as the seat of the enterprising race of Minyans, that made the Bœotian Orchomenus so famous (ver. 511, *supra*, and Str. IX. 414), and as the harbour, whence the Argonautic expedition set out. On its site, see L. iv. 379.

The EUMELUS who is mentioned here as chief of these Minyans, appears again as a vigorous, but not successful combatant in the chariot race (XXIII. 354). His father, Admetus, and mother, Alcestis, are familiar in the play of Euripides. On ADMETUS, see the speculations of Müller, *Dor.* vol. i. p. 339, *Engl.*

Ver. 716.

The country of Philoctetes next described is a part of the Magnesian peninsula, and contains only four cities, of no great significance:—(1.) Methone, placed by Scylax the first town south of Iolcos, not to be confounded with the Macedonian and Messenian cities of the same name; (2.) Thaumacia, of which we know nothing beyond what the context of Homer leads us to suppose, viz., that it was situated somewhere on the Magnesian coast; (3.) Melibœa, familiar to the classical ear from its sea purple (Virgil, *Æn.* v. 251), and placed by Strabo (ix. 443) in the middle of the broad bay that the maps exhibit between Pelion on the south, and Ossa on the north of the Magnesian district; (4.) Olizon, opposite Artemisium, in Eubœa (Plut. *Them.* 8), that is, on the extreme south coast of Magnesia. As for the chief who commanded the ships of these four cities—Philoctetes,—he is one of those heroes who make a prominent figure in the post-Homeric legendary history of the Trojan war, and in the Greek drama, but, as he does not appear again in the Iliad, may pass without large comment here. From the Odyssey we learn that the glorious son of Poias,—for this was his patronymic,—returned safe from Troy (*Od.* iii. 190), to whose capture he had contributed, as Pindar says (*Pyth.* i. 97), with his sore leg more than others had done with their sound arm; and his skill in archery was such that even Ulysses confesses himself his inferior in the use of the deadly bow (*Od.* viii. 219).

Ver. 729.

The poet now leaves the coast, and throws himself, by a leap, far into the interior of Thessaly, a district originally called Doris, afterwards Histiæotis (Str. ix. 437), where the town that he first names is Tricca, situated at the west end of the great valley of the Peneius, near the place where that river, coming down from the mountains into the plain, makes a sudden bend in its course from south to east, famous in ancient times as one of the great seats of the worship of Æsculapius, thence transferred to Epidaurus in

Argolis (Str. VIII. 374; IX. 437). Here the trees and gardens on the banks of the river, still the favourite retreat of invalids from all parts of Greece, refresh the eye of the traveller as he plods his dusty way beneath the hot sun of that cloudless climate (Ussing, *Gr. Reisen*, p. 65). ITHOME is placed by Strabo (437) in the same district, in the middle of a sort of quadrangle formed by the four cities of Tricca, Metropolis, Pelinnæum, and Gomphi, and by L. identified with Fanari, in the district south of the Peneus (iv. 509). Of ŒCHALIA, in the same district, I find no nearer specification (Str. IX. 438). As in the case of Pylus, there were several places of this name, and as one had received a prominent place in the Heracleid legends, the ancients, of course, had their pretty quarrels about it. So far as the Iliad is concerned, however, here, and ver. 596 *supra*, the Thessalian town is the Œchalia of Eurytus, and therefore of Hercules. On the two "sons of Æsculapius," see IV. 191, and XI. 832.

VERS. 734-737.

With regard to the places mentioned in this section, I entirely agree with L., that Str. (IX. 438) must be quite wrong in making any of them in the Magnesian district, which the poet has already exhausted. We must therefore suppose an ORMENION, site unknown, somewhere in the district between Tricca and Larissa, in which direction the poet's description is proceeding. ASTERION is said by Stephanus to be identical with PIRESIA, and this the Alexandrian poets place near the confluence of the APIDANUS and ENIPEUS, two well-known southern tributaries of the Peneius (Apoll. Rhod. I. 35). On this indication L. (iv. 323) identifies it with *Vlokhó*, "which, by its abruptness, insulated situation, and white rocks, attracts the spectator's notice from every part of the surrounding country." The white rocks, of course, indicate at the same time the site of the adjacent TITANUS, the Τιτάνοιο λευκὰ κάρηνα of the poet—TITANUS in Greek meaning white earth, *chalk*, *lime*, or *gypsum*. The fountain HYPERIA follows the fortunes of Ormenium. On Eurypylus, see below (VII. 167).

VER. 738.

We now reach the lower vale of the Peneius, originally inhabited by the PERRHÆBIANS (Str. IX. 439); and the situation of the first city here, ARGISSA, called Ἄργουρα by Strabo and Stephanus, is fixed by that of ATRAX (Str. IX. 438, 440, Liv. XXXII. 15). GYRTONE, near LARISSA (*Schol.* Apoll. Rh. 40), the original country of the PHLEGYÆ (Str. IX. 442), was a prosperous place in the days of Apollonius (*Argon.* I. 57), and is mentioned by Livy in his account of the Macedonian wars (XXXVI. 10). ORTHE—ver. 739, Strabo (440) speaks with a certain indecision—was thought by some to be identical with Phalana, a well-known town of the PERRHÆBI on the Peneius, near Tempe. The other two cities, ELONE and OLOOSSON, were both in the same district (Str. IX. 440). The latter still retains its old name, in the accusative case, Ελασσόνα, displays the white argillaceous soil from which it takes its Homeric epithet, contains about four hundred families, and possesses a monastery containing many good editions of the classics, which none of the monks can read (L. iii. 347). On PIRITHOUS and the LAPITHÆ, see I. 263; his representative in the Trojan story is of course POLYPŒTES (VI. 29), who performs an important part in the defence of the rampart against Hector and Sarpedon (XII. 129), and figures bravely in the Games (XXIII. 836), and with his countryman Leonteus is said to have survived the capture of Troy, and founded Aspendus (Eust. p. 334). The ÆTHICES (ver. 744, where *eastward* in my version is a misprint for *westward*) are classed by Strabo (VII. 326, 327) with the MOLOSSIANS and other wild mountain tribes in EPIRUS, or on the Epirotic border. CYPHUS was at the foot of Mount Olympus (Str. IX. 441). To the ÆNIANES we have been already (p. 104) introduced; as also to the PERRHÆBI, who possessed the plains beneath Olympus (Str. IX. 440). On DODONA, mentioned in the next line, see XVI. 234. The TITARESIUS (Str. 441) is a river which, flowing from Mount Titarius, one of the Olympian range, disembogues into the Peneius, a little above Tempe, under the modern name of ELASSONITIKO

(L. iii. 396). The phenomenon of the two waters refusing to mingle, is, according to L.'s observations, nothing more than the "pellucid Titaresius slowly uniting with the turbid Peneius." The poet, therefore, has committed an impropriety, which misled Strabo (441), by calling this river "silver-eddying," because this implies the idea of clearness, which nullifies the contrast with the fair-flowing waters of the Titaresius. But this is only another instance of the general law as to epithets, specifically distinctive of minstrel poetry. It was only a piece of pardonable poetical flattery to call the white Peneius silvery; and the epithet once given was retained, even when the contrast of another really clear bright river made it impertinent. On the Styx, see VIII. 369. The MAGNESIANS, with whom the long muster finishes, were evidently a distinct tribe, living scattered without any great town, in that part of the Magnesian district which lay to the north of the domain of Philoctetes.

VER. 761–785.

I cannot but think there is something disorderly in this special paragraph about the horsemen, after the whole catalogue is complete. The notice about Achilles also is perfectly superfluous, when the same thing had been already said at ver. 688 a little before. I am inclined to think that if, after ver. 760, we attach immediately ver. 786, Τρωσὶν δ' ἄγγελος, κ.τ.λ., we have a more natural connexion. The intervening lines were probably put in here just because there was no other place for them. If we do not suppose some patchwork of this kind occasionally, we give Pisistratus and his editors really very little to do.

VER. 764.

As this is a Thessalian, not a Macedonian or Thracian legend, the reading Πηρείῃ (Θεσσαλίας χωρίον, Steph. Byz.), is unquestionably to be preferred to Πιερίῃ, which Clarke and the older editions have.

VER. 776.—*Lotus.*

This has nothing to do with the lotus of the lotus-eaters in the Odyssey, but is only the common Greek name for clover. The botanical authorities, Fraas and Lenz, agree in taking the *trifolium frugiferum*, frequent in moist meadows of Asia and Greece, for the Homeric λωτός. They also pronounce the σέλινον to be not our parsley, but *apium graveolens*, celery, for which horses, I am told, can acquire a relish.

VER. 783.—*Where prone Typhoeus lies in Arimi.*

That Typhon, the "hundred-headed Cilician portent" (Æschyl. *Prom.* 361), is, like the Chimera, only an imaginative representation of certain volcanic phenomena, for which these regions were in early times, and partly still are, remarkable, I think no sane mythologist will doubt. The very name, τύφω, implies a hot-smoking hill, such as the Solfatara, near Naples, or a hot desolating wind (Welcker, *g. l.* i. 791; Duncker, *Ges. Alt.* iii. 577). About the "ARIMI" the ancients were not agreed—some placing it in Cilicia, some in other parts of the volcanic region of Asia Minor (Str. XIII. 627). It was afterwards transferred to the volcanic islands on the Neapolitan coast, out of which the Roman poets, by a foolish blunder, made *Inarime* (Virg. *Æn.* IX. 716), like *Stanco* for ἐσ τὰν Κῶ. Hesiod agrees with Homer in this matter (*Theog.* 304), and Gesenius, in his *Heb. Dict.*, is of opinion that the root is Semitic, אֶרֶם signifying a hill country; likely enough, as the Phœnicians were the earliest settlers in those parts.

VER. 793.—*The lofty mound where old Æsyetes buried lay.*

This mound has been dragged in to perform a prominent part in the great topographical controversy about the site of ancient Troy. Strabo (XIII. 599) argues from the barrow as a known point; and so no less the moderns (Le Chevalier, p. 94, Prokesch, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Orient*, vol. i. 182); but I much fear the ancients had as little sure ground to go upon in this matter as the

moderns. The POLITES who figures here appears again in XIII. 533 and XXIV. 250, and had the honour of being slain by the son of Achilles (Virg. *Æn.* II. 526).

VER. 811.—*Before the city doth rise a mound,*

—κολώνη, Lat. *collis*, a hill, or hillock,—the tomb of some light-footed Amazon (*Schol. Ven.*) of the sisterhood of the famous Penthesilea, who appears on the stage of the Trojan story, immediately after the death of Hector. With regard to the double name—the human and the divine—by which this place was known, I have little doubt that Lobeck (*Agla.* p. 858), Nitzsch (*Od.* x. 305), and Göttling (*Hes.* introd. xxx.), are right in saying that by the language of men in such cases is understood the popular or vulgar name, by the language of the gods, the sacerdotal, oracular, or poetical designation. The arguments adduced by these authors, as well as the *primâ facie* probability of the case, seem sufficient to overthrow the mere historical interpretation which refers the divine appellation to the Pelasgi, as the oldest inhabitants of those parts. The same peculiarity of phraseology is used in I. 403, XIV. 291, XX. 74.

VER. 819.

We now come to the muster-roll of the Trojans and their allies, the Τρωικὸς διάκοσμος, sixty lines, on which Demetrius of Skepsis, an archæologist of the district (about 250 B.C.) wrote more than twenty books. First we meet with the name of the DARDANS, as a distinct subdivision of the Trojan race. To understand their relative position, we must start with a general conception of the region called the Troad, or the kingdom of Priam, as exhibited in Homer. This country forms a well-marked territory in the north-west corner of Asia Minor, washed on three sides by the sea. Its boundaries are determined by the range of Mount Ida—the back-bone of the district,—and the rivers flowing thence in a westerly and north-easterly direction into the sea. Of the streams flowing west, the Scamander is by far the largest; while

on the east side the Æsepus marks off the kingdom subject to Priam from the rest of Mysia. Though of small dimensions—a mere corner of Asia Minor,—this country contained nine petty dynasties (Str. XIII. 584), viz., Lyrnessus, Thebes, the Leleges, the Dardans, the Trojans proper, the Lycians, the dwellers between the Æsepus and Abydus, Percote, and Adrasteia. And, in the first place, DARDANIA is distinctly described (Str. XIII. 596, 602) as a district on the north side of the Scamander, interposed between Cebrene on the south side, and the district of Carysene, towards Zeleia and the north-east; and so it stands in Kiepert's maps In the next place (ver. 824), we have ZELEIA, properly described by the poet as under the lowest foot of Ida, near the mouth of the Æsepus; for Ida ends there to the north-east, as distinctly as in the promontory of Lectum to the south-west. In IV. 103 it is called a "sacred town." As it lies on the line of march betwixt the Æsepus and the Granicus, it naturally formed the headquarters of the Persian army on the evening before the famous battle which virtually decided the fate of the Persian empire (Arr. *Anab.* I. 12). Strabo (XIII. 587) talks of it as a place still existing. The *ἀφνειοί* in the next line, he writes with a capital A, and refers to a neighbouring lake, otherwise called the Dascylites. This seems a mere erudite conceit. The *Ἀδρήστεια* of ver. 828 is a plain through which the river Granicus runs, the poet's description going on regularly from east to west. This district was principally famous for a temple of Nemesis, of whom the poet Antimachus wrote that she is "a mighty goddess, to whom Adrastus first erected an altar beside the river Æsepus, where she is worshipped under the name of Adrastea" (Str. XIII. 588). The APÆSOS of this verse, called *Παισός* in v. 612—omitting the initial unaccented syllable as in modern Greek, *πίσω*, for *ὀπίσω*,—was a town betwixt Parion and Lampsacus, colonized from Miletus (Str. 589). PITYEIA (*pine town*), ver. 829, lies between Parion and Priapus, on the coast. The mountain of TEREIA is near Lampsacus, where there was a temple of the mother of the gods (Str. 589). The river PRACTIUS (ver. 835) flows into the Sea of Marmora, between Abydos and Lampsacus.

The relative situation of the two towns PERCOTE and ARISBE appears clearly from the account of Alexander's march in Arrian (I. 12), on his way from the field of Troy to the Granicus. "He came first to Arisbe," says the historian, "where all his army had encamped after crossing the Hellespont, and the next day to Percote; and on the day after that, leaving Lampsacus on his left, he encamped on the river Practios." In Strabo's time these places had entirely disappeared. Percote occurs again in XV. 548. Arisbe, on the river Σελλήεις, occurs again, VI. 13, XII. 96, and XXI. 43, where it is honoured with the epithet δῖα. Strabo remarks that the names *Arisbe* and *Asios* are both Thracian; but ἄσις is certainly Greek (XXI. 321). The list of cities in this district is closed by the well-known towns of SESTOS and ABYDOS, one on the European, and the other on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles, at the narrowest part of the strait. Abydos, though no doubt originally a Thracian settlement, was latterly colonized from Miletus (Thucyd. VIII. 61). The loves of Hero and Leander, the passage of Xerxes, and the famous swimming feat of Lord Byron, have given to these places a celebrity such as not even the song of Homer could confer.

VER. 840

brings us to the far-travelled μέγα ἔθνος, "*mighty people*," of the PELASGI, as Strabo calls them, concerning whom what can or cannot be known may be shortly stated as follows:—That a people so named before the times of the Homeric traditions were found occupying various fertile districts on the coasts and islands of the Ægean and the Propontis, may be regarded as one of the best-attested facts of ancient history. They existed in those regions so late as the days of Herodotus and Thucydides; and their language and character formed a subject of curious speculation to archæologists (Herod. I. 56-58; Thucyd. IV. 109). Their principal settlements were in Thessaly, specially in that part called from them Πελασγιῶτις (Str. V. 221; and ver. 681 *supra*), in the part of Macedonia between the mouths of the Axius and the Strymon, in Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace, on the west coast of Asia Minor

(Str. XIII. 621), in Argos (Æsch. *Supp.*), in Attica, and in Epirus (Str. VII. 327). They form the principal element in the old confederation of the Amphictyons (Clinton, i. p. 65). In fact there are few parts of ancient Greece in which traces of them may not be found; they appear to crop out everywhere, as the geologists say, like portions of some underlying stratum; whence Pelasgic latterly came to be used for old Hellenic, and in the Roman writers was merely a poetical word for Greek. This extension of the term makes it necessary to use great caution in historical inference wherever it occurs; and if Arcadia is always referred to as one of the oldest seats of Pelasgic influence, this may be a mere invention of the genealogizing λογογράφοι—whose wits in such matters were always awake, and their conscience always asleep—to express the extreme antiquity which the Greeks universally conceded to that people. As to the Pelasgi in Italy, of whom Dionysius of Halicarnassus makes so much, Schwegler (*Röm. Ges.* i. 156) has perhaps done wisely in relegating them into the limbo of historical theories clad with unsubstantial personality by the fertile inventiveness of "*Græcia mendax.*" Who then were these people,—Greeks or barbarians? Barbarians unquestionably, by the united testimony of antiquity; but this word marks only a people foreign in language, and not living in recognised social communion with the Hellenic body. But a foreign language may be a closely cognate language, as Dutch is to English, or a language of an entirely different stock, as Phœnician is to Latin. That the Pelasgi were βαρβαρόφωνοι in the estimation of Herodotus proves therefore nothing as to the important question whether they belonged to the Hellenic stock; and, as there are no extant monuments of their language, we have no strictly scientific instrument by which we might test the truth of the opinion maintained so strongly by Dionysius and Marsh (*Hor. Pel.* 1815) that the Pelasgi were Greeks. Nevertheless there are certain grounds of judging in this matter, leading to historical probabilities, which will unquestionably be nearer the truth than the absolute scepticism of Grote. For, in the first place, if the Pelasgi had been a race differing from the Greeks, one does not see how they should

have disappeared from the scene in so short a time, leaving so little trace of their existence. Had they been an altogether uncultivated and uncivilized people, such a result might possibly have taken place, exactly in the same way as the Sclavonians and other wild tribes were absorbed by the Greeks of the Byzantine empire in the middle ages; but that this was not the relation in which they stood to the Hellenes we shall see presently; the legitimate inference therefore seems to be that they were lost in the Hellenes, as the various tribes of the ancient Teuts, Goths, Vandals, Lombards, etc., were in the great nation of the Germans, as a species disappears in a genus, or, more properly, a subordinate species in a dominant species. The Welsh, as Clinton justly remarks (i. p. 93), form an example of a people of an entirely different race, and with a certain amount of traditional culture, resisting such absorbing influences successfully. We shall therefore say wisely that the Pelasgic dialect stood in somewhat the same relation to the Hellenic that the Mœso-Gothic does to the modern High German; and this hypothesis will explain the entire homogeneousness of the Greek language, which cannot be resolved into two elements like English. In the second place, nothing is more certain than that the Greeks derived a great part of their religion from the Pelasgi (Herod. II. 51). Achilles himself, a native of the region Ἑλλάς, in Thessaly, from which the Hellenes afterwards took their name, invokes the Pelasgic Jove (XVI. 233); and this Pelasgic Jove was looked on by the early Greeks with as much reverence as Delphi in after times; and those very people whom Herodotus notes as speaking a barbarous language, are in Homer called δῖοι (*Od.* XIX. 177), and give to the national Ζεύς one of his best-known appellatives. That the Greeks should have taken their religion from a set of wandering gipsy tribes talking a language essentially non-Hellenic is in the highest degree improbable. I conclude, therefore, with Duncker, Thirlwall, Rawlinson, Welcker, Müller, Clinton, and other names of the highest authority, that the significance of the word Pelasgi belongs more to chronology than to ethnography; and that this people were Greeks in the same sense that the Anglo-Saxons

were English. The only other noteworthy point with regard to them is that they are generally believed to have been principally devoted to agriculture, and this, so far as I can see, for three reasons—(1.) because they are found occupying the richest and most fertile plains; (2.) because the worship of Demeter was Pelasgic in its origin (Paus. II. 22. 2; Duncker, *Ges. Alt.* iii. 25); (3.) because they so easily yielded before the Dorians and other Hellenes, whose military character is sufficiently prominent. Their advancement in the arts is testified by the strong-built walls which bore their name in Athens and other parts of Greece where their presence is well attested.

VER. 841.

The name LARISSA always indicates a Pelasgic settlement. Steph. Byz. mentions twelve cities of this name. The one here is one of those on the coast of Mysia, afterwards the seat of the Æolic settlements, of which Strabo (XIII. 620) mentions three.

VER. 844.

The THRACIANS were an extensive tribe of semi-civilized mountaineers, who inhabited the wild district between the Strymon on the west to the shores of the Euxine on the east. Their boundaries towards the north are extremely vague; however, the Balkan and the sources of the Hebrus form a natural boundary between the Thracians proper and the dwellers on the rich plains on the south side the Danube. The Greek colonists on the Euxine and the Ægean, who no doubt suffered much from their irregular habits, paint their character with no very amiable traits, making them notable chiefly for fighting, drinking, lying, polygamy, rapine, and all sorts of atrocity. In Homer they appear quite respectable as the allies of Priam; and though their climate was no doubt much rougher than what the Greeks generally enjoyed, yet they had fine pastures and rich meadows (XI. 222), grew excellent wine (IX. 71), and had an admirable breed of horses, whence their epithet ἱπποπόλοι (XIII. 4, XIV. 227, X. 436). The snow-white horses

of this last passage appear afterwards in history (Xen. *Anab.* VII. 3. 26), and the kings of Thrace were always able to bring a great force of cavalry into the field (Thucyd. II. 98). In their ethnological relations they go along with the Trojans and other tribes dwelling in the north-western section of Asia Minor, to whom the Hellespont does not so much present a barrier as invite a passage. The similarity in topographical terminology and manners between Thrace, Troy, and the adjoining districts in the north-west of Asia Minor, was noted by Strabo (XII. 564, 542, XIII. 590), and Rawlinson (Herod. vol. i. p. 545) includes all these peoples with the Pelasgi, in the great Indo-European family of the Thracians, as connected with the earliest history of Greek civilisation. See above, ver. 595.

VER. 845.

The epithet ἀγάρροος is peculiarly applicable to the Hellespont, from the very strong current which naturally runs through the great outlet of the Black Sea and the Propontis towards the Mediterranean (Forchhammer, *Die Ebene von Troja*, p. 17).

VER. 847.

The CICONES are a subdivision of the Thracians on the coast of the Ægean, well known to the readers of the Odyssey (IX. 39). Their territory lay immediately west of the mouth of the Hebrus, and had accordingly to be traversed by Xerxes shortly after his famous passage of the Hellespont (Herod. VII. 59).

VER. 848.

The PÆONIANS are another tribe of the same people, whose locality is plainly pointed out by the poet on the banks of the great river AXIUS (*Vardhari*), which rises in Mount Scardus, between the Mœsian Dardania and Dalmatia, and flows through the middle of Macedonia into the Thermaic gulf, between Thessalonica and Berœa. Of the name *Macedonia* Homer knows nothing. As to the extraordinary praise here given by the poet to the waters of the

Axius, Strabo (VII. *Frag.* 21, 23) knows nothing of it, but says directly the contrary, viz., that the waters of this river are muddy and turbidi (θολερός). Strange devices seem to have been fallen upon by the ancient critics to save the poet from this inconsistency; but, if we cannot muster courage to say that the "good Homer" was "nodding" here, or his interpolator blundering or lying, we may get out of the difficulty in an easy way by saying that the river is clear in its upper course, where it bickers over gravel, but muddy below, where it rolls through loam. The Pæonians in Homer appear as archers, and, like the Thracians generally, are great horsemen (XVI. 287). They remained to a late period on the stage of history, with mighty pretensions, saying that they were Teucrians from Troy (Herod. v. 13), and their final subjection to the Macedonian sceptre was one of the first military exploits of the future conqueror of the east (Diod. Sic. XVII. 8).

The town AMYDON (ver. 849), called Ἀβυδών in Strabo's time (VII. 330), was known as a dismantled stronghold.

VER. 851.

The PAPHLAGONIANS, whose country extends along the south shore of the Euxine, from the Halys to the Parthenius, whose principal town in historic times was Sinope, were a semi-civilized people, classed by Strabo with the Cappadocians (XII. 553). Their river, PARTHENIUS—the virgin stream,—had this name, according to Strabo (XII. 543), from the flowery meads through which it flows, and the softness and purity of its waters, as the poets sing (Q. Smyrn. VI. 466; Ap. Rh. II. 939). Homer mentions the Paphlagonians in the Iliad several times, but with no distinctive epithets. In history they appear as strong in cavalry (Xen. *Anab.* v. 6. 8), and quaintly clad (Herod. VII. 72). The HENETI, one of their tribes, are placed by the geographer (XII. 543) to the east of the Parthenius, though they had disappeared entirely from that quarter, and were generally supposed to have migrated westwards after the Trojan war, and founded Venice. How far they had anything to do, either with the Veneti of the Hadriatic, or with the strong sea-

faring people at Quiberon in France, who with their shallow seas and flat-bottomed ships gave Julius Cæsar so much trouble, must be left undecided. The Venedi of Tacitus (*Germ.* 46), were unquestionably a Slavonian tribe, of whom, under the name of *Wends*, fragments still exist in remote parts of Germany. Of the towns named in the following verses, all on or near the coast, and west of Cape Carambis, CYTORUS was notable as an emporium of the Sinopians, and produced highly valued box-wood, while SESAMUS was swallowed up by Amastris, a new city founded by a princess of the Persian family, shortly after the death of Alexander the Great. To the same new foundation the population of Cytorus and CROMNE was transferred. ÆGIALUS, as the name implies (αἰγιαλός), was a stretch of shore about twelve miles long, with a village of the same name. The lofty ERYTHINI were two rocks of a red colour, as the name implies (Str. XII. 545).

VERS. 856-7.

The ALIZONES were not known certainly to the ancients. The name Ἀλύβη, so like χαλύβη, the distance implied in τηλόθεν, and the celebrity of the mines, led Strabo to think that nothing could be intended here but the country of the CHALYBES, near Trebizond, famous for its iron mines, and from which the Greek word χάλυψ, for *steel*, is supposed to come. But I find no proof that *silver* was ever found there. The long discussion in the Geographer (XII. 549), against Demetrius of Skepsis, Apollodorus, and other topographical critics, has no small philological interest, as showing how ready a certain class of ancients were to tinker the text of Homer to suit their own crotchets; but the authority of the received text seemed in this as in other cases, to have been too strong for them.

VER. 858.

MYSIA is a country that makes little figure in the Iliad, as in fact the Troad was the notable part of what afterwards went under that name, and for its inhabitants the title Trojans was appropriated.

Its boundaries from west to east were from the river Æsepus to the Rhyndacus and Mount Olympus (Str. XII. 564), which towers so majestically beyond the beautiful Turkish town of Brusa (Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i. 71). Southward, it stretched towards the Caicus and the Hermus, in which direction the district of Teuthrania lies, celebrated in the Trojan legend as the country of Telephus, whose son Eurypylus plays such a prominent part in the events which preceded the taking of Troy (*Od.* XI. 520; Quint. Smyrn. VI. and VII.; Str. XII. 576). With regard to the Μυσοί, it is remarkable, as in the case of the Thracians and the Pelasgi, that their name occurs with the slight modification Μοισοί, on both sides of the Hellespont; the Mœsians between the Macedonian mountains and the Danube being familiar to the modern ear, through the old German dialect, the Mœso-Gothic, so called from the German tribes who afterwards occupied those parts. Strabo, who notices their relationship, calling them all *Thracians* (VII. 295) remarks also—what we shall see afterwards—that these European Mysians are plainly alluded to by the poet in the curious passage, XIII. 5.

VER. 862.

The PHRYGIANS, called in poetry sometimes *Mygdonians* (III. 186; Paus. X. 27. 1; Str. XII. 575), from one of their tribes, were one of the most widely spread peoples of the ancient world, and contended for antiquity with the Egyptians, as the Argives did with the Athenians (Paus. I. 14). Like the Pelasgi and the Thracians, they are found on both sides of the Dardanelles. Those who dwelt in Macedonia were called Βρίγες (Herod. VII. 73); historical facts agreeing entirely with the old mythical tradition of the Lydian or Phrygian colony of Pelops in the Peloponnesus, where indeed, as Athenæus (XIV. 625) expressly witnesses, great barrows or mounds (χώματα μεγάλα) were pointed out by the people, under the name of "*the tombs of the Phrygians.*" Their ethnological connexion with the Greeks was recognised by Plato (*Crat.* 410). But though thus widely scattered in the most ancient times, their great central seat, even in Homer's time, was the central table-land of Asia

Minor, between the Halys and the districts on the Ægean Sea, occupied by Æolic, Ionic, and Doric settlers. The Taurus bounds them on the south, while Mount Olympus marks the high ridge which separates them from the Bithynians and Paphlagonians on the north. Their principal river is the SANGARIUS (III. 187, XVI. 719, Hes. *Theog.* 344), their produce in wool (*φρυγίων ἐρίων*, Suid.; *Φρυγίη πολύμηλος*, Q. Smyrn. x. 126) and wine was famous, this latter being specially mentioned by Homer in the epithet *ἀμπελόεσσαν* (III. 184), which he gives to the country. This fertility in wine is indicated also by the fervid worship which they paid to Dionysus under the name of *Sabazius* (Ar. *Av.* 875, *Schol.*)

The ASCANIA of ver. 863 is a town and lake at the east end of the Sea of Marmora, on the borders of Mysia and Bithynia, evidently in Homer's days a fort of Phrygia, where the famous town of *Nicæa*, so notable in the history of the Christian creed, afterwards stood. This place is mentioned again (XIII. 793); for I do not think that Strabo (XII. 565) has any sufficient reason for supposing that the poet must have had two different places in his eye.

VER. 864.

The luxurious LYDIANS, the *ἁβροδίαιτοι* of Æschylus, and the later Greeks, have no place in Homer; part of their future territory is occupied by a people called MÆONES, who, even after the appearance of the Lydians, do not entirely leave the scene; for Ptolemy (v. 2. 21) mentions a *Mœonia* as a distinct subdivision of Asia Minor, "on the borders of Mysia, and Lydia, and Phrygia." The locality mentioned by Homer is the rich district in the valley of the Hermus, where the famous city of Sardes stood, with Mount TMOLUS nodding over it on the south, and the GYGEAN LAKE at no great distance on the north side of the river (Str. XIII. 626).

VER. 867.

The CARIANS (X. 428, and IV. 142) were a people at a very early period settled in the south-west corner of Asia Minor and the adjoining islands. They were distinguished from the Greeks by

language, armour, and other customs, and were well known in all parts of the Mediterranean from their habit of serving as mercenaries (Herod. I. 171; Thucyd. I. 4. 8; Str. XIV. 661). The epithet *βαρβαροφώνων* here applied to them, was the subject of comment to the ancients, but it may mean either *speaking a language which the Greeks did not understand*, unquestionably the original meaning of the word *βάρβαρος*—or *speaking corrupt Greek;* their language certainly contained many Greek words (Philip. *Theang.;* Müller, *Histor.* IV. 474). In either case the frequency of their intercourse with the Greeks, as Strabo remarks, was sufficient to attach such an epithet to them. Their boundaries, as they appear on the current maps, and as they are given in this passage, are interesting; for Homer pushes them considerably to the north of what we afterwards recognise as their boundary. In fact, they or their congeners, the Leleges and Pelasgi, originally occupied almost all the towns that were afterwards peopled by the great Ionic migration (Paus. VII. 2. 3, 5, 7, and 3. 1, 2, 3), and accordingly they stand here prominently as connected with the town of MILETUS, though the population of this city was Ionian. Their natural boundary to the north was evidently not the MÆANDER which passes Miletus, but the ridge Messogis, which separates the Carian valley of the Mæander from the Lydian valley of the Caÿster. This same Mount Messogis, running out into the sea, forms a long headland opposite Samos, the MYCALE of this passage, and of the famous battle which established the Athenian ascendency in those seas, B.C. 479. The mention of Miletus in this passage corresponds strikingly with the remarkable colonizing activity of that city at a period of Greek history not much later than Homer (Str. XIV. 635).

The *ὄρος Φθειρῶν* or *Φθιρῶν* is either LATMOS or GRIUS (Str. XIV. 636), both of which overhang the district.

VER. 876.

The LYCIANS, in the persons of Sarpedon and Glaucus, perform such a prominent part in the Iliad, that one may feel surprised to see their country dismissed here with only two lines, and without

the naming of a single city. But Homer was a Greek to the backbone, and no sensible man will expect historical justice from a popular minstrel. No Homeric region excepting the Troad has attracted more attention in modern times than Lycia, since the enterprise of the late Sir Charles Fellowes enriched this country with those singular ancient monuments which now occupy a separate chamber in the British Museum. The country of Lycia borders on Caria, from which it is separated by the river Calbis or Indus, and is bounded on the east by the mountains of the Solymi. As the Calbis is more properly a Carian stream, the principal river of Lycia is the XANTHUS, which flows almost due south from the Phrygian borders, through the most westerly section of the country, and empties itself into the sea, where there is a town of the same name, near Patara, so famous for the worship of Apollo. The lower district of the Xanthus was the scene of the adventures of Bellerophon, in Iliad VI.

The Lycians were a peculiar people, whose proper name was TERMILÆ (Herod. I. 173). Their language, of which Sir Charles Fellowes brought remarkable monuments to light, has been analysed by Lassen, and declared, whether on good grounds or not I cannot say, to be Indo-European, but very distantly connected with Greek (Rawlinson, Herod. I. 247 and 549).

BOOK III.

VER. 6.—*Pigmies.*

The word *pigmy* (from πυγμή, *pugnus*, *Daümling*—Tom Thumb) is no doubt an exaggerated expression of a well-known fact, that there are races of men considerably beneath, as there are others—like the ancient Germans—considerably above the normal size of human beings. For not only Herodotus (IV. 43) and

Pliny (*N. H.* VI. 19), but the accurate Aristotle (*Hist. An.* VIII. 14) asserts that the pigmies were a diminutive people in the upper parts of Egypt, who lived in caves, and whose horses were of a similar small stature. Strabo, however, delivers himself in this matter, like an Edinburgh reviewer, rather sceptically (XVII. 821). Donaldson, again, in the *N. C.*, 81, indicates an opinion that the whole account of the pigmies is to be attributed to the vanity of "the Greeks, who described the negroes of Africa as pigmies, or Cercopes, because they differed in form and stature from themselves, or as Virey would class the Hottentot with the baboon;" an opinion that may well stand for part of the truth. Why should we not say also that baboons or gorillas may sometimes have been mistaken for men? (see Tyson *On Pygmies*, London, 1751.) As to the warlike encounters which this "small infantry" are said to have carried on with cranes migrating from Thrace and the north of Europe, perhaps the fact may really have been, as suggested by Köp., that the cranes, when they alighted on the new-sown fat fields of the Nile, in the month of November, were not always welcome visitors, and that it was the Egyptians who made war on them, not they who made war on the Egyptians.

VER. 7.

And wake the fight with grim delight, when the morning mist is grey.

I here unite the two ideas which different authorities give for ἠέριοι, *mist* and *morning*, merely because it is convenient. On the philological question, whether ἠέριος should not always in Homer be interpreted *misty*, or *hazy*, I stand decidedly on the conservative side. The old scholiasts and glossaries distinctly say ἠέριοι = ἑωθινοὶ, ὀρθρινοί; and with this the usage of Homer generally, and specially in *Od.* IX. 52, corresponds, where Nitzsch has *in der ersten Frühe*. No doubt it is possible to translate ἠέριοι in this passage also, *thick as air, in a dark mass;* and this is what Ameis actually does. But if we abandon the firm ground of ancient tradition on every occasion when the ingenuity of academic brains can suggest something

possible, or even probable, which suits better with some etymological theory, we shall deceive ourselves with a jugglery of flattering imaginations, which will render philology altogether unworthy of the name of a science. In dealing with a text like the Homeric, of which the history is so obscure, and the form in some cases so uncertain, we have no right to stand on etymologies, as we might in the case of words whose anatomy is certain, and whose growth and metamorphosis can be accurately traced.

VER. 8.—*Breathing silent strength.*

So IV. 429. Köp. has a good note here. A contrast is plainly intended between the Trojan method of marching to battle and the Greek; but we must note carefully the points of time to which the contrast applies. It seems, on the one hand, altogether improbable that an excitable people like the Greeks should advance to combat in perfect silence. The remark of Cæsar (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 92) on this point, applies to all times and places:—"*Neque frustra antiquitus institutum ut clamorem universi tollerent;*" and it is quite certain, both from Homer (IV. 421-428, XIII. 835) and Xenophon (*Anab.* VI. 5, 26, IV. 2, 7), and other Greek writers, that the Greeks raised an ἀλαλαγμός, or war-shout, as well as the Trojans, when commencing battle (compare Ariosto, *O. F.* XVI. 40, 42). We must therefore take the ἴσαν of this passage in the strict sense of the march before the immediate clash of conflict, which the ancient Greeks must have prided themselves in conducting in a more quiet and orderly way than the barbarians (see particularly Paus. x. 21. 2); just as they talked of "drinking like Scythians" (σκυθίζειν), and "drinking like Greeks;" that is to say, doing the same thing in a more wild and uproarious, and in a more mild and gentlemanly fashion.

VER. 56.—*Thou hadst worn a coat of stone.*

This is a literal version of one of those homely proverbial expressions in which all truly popular poetry delights. Pope, with

his usual blindness or indifference to anything of this kind, gives the sounding generality—

> "Troy yet may wake, and one avenging blow
> Crush the dire author of his country's woe;"

and in so doing shows, more distinctly than a long treatise would, the essential difference between poetry and rhetoric. Stoning is a method of punishment very characteristic of the untamed fierceness of peoples not softened by the higher stages of civilisation (see 1 Kings xii. 18, xxi. 13; Soph. *Ant.* 36; *Ajax*, 254; Paus. *Arcad.* VIII. 5. 8, and 23. 5).

VER. 65.—*Let none the glorious gifts despise*, etc.

I call attention to these two beautiful lines, as containing one of those maxims of proverbial wisdom which so frequently occur in Homer. Another such maxim occurs immediately (ver. 108). Such wise sayings form an essential part of all popular literature; and, while they often give rise to a separate style of poetry, the gnomic, of which in Greek, as well as in Semitic and Sanscrit literature, we have notable examples, are never neglected by a popular minstrel of such a high type as Homer. We must observe further, that youth and beauty were looked upon by the Greeks not merely with admiration, as with us, but with a genuine religious regard, of which feeling a very curious instance is recorded by Pausanias in his account of the town of Ægium in Achaia (VII. 24. 2), where there was a priesthood of Jove, which could only be held by a young man in the bloom of youth the most distinguished for beauty.

VER. 103.—*Ye to the Sun a white ram bring*, etc.

On the gods invoked in adjuration, see below, ver. 278. Here we note only that the animals sacrificed to the gods are, like everything in the Greek mythology, symbolical. To the Sun as bright and strong, a white male naturally belongs; to the Earth, as the universal mother, sending up her wonderful births from darkness, a black female (compare *Od.* III. 6; *Il.* XXI. 131; Virg. *Æn.* III. 120).

Ver. 127.

Of horse-subduing Trojan men, and brave Greeks copper-coated.

The frequent occurrence of this line in the Iliad seems to indicate, what we might naturally have expected, that the Trojans, as being on their own continent, and having the command of the inland country, would probably be superior to the invading army in cavalry. The epithet ἱππόδαμος, however, is not confined to them, and is applied to Diomede, Nestor, and other Greek heroes, as the most befitting epithet for a great warrior. For in the heroic as in the mediæval times, those who fought on foot were always looked on as a decidedly inferior class to the cavalry. Hence the social dignity of the Roman "Equites." See Ar. *Pol.* iv. 3, on ἱπποτροφία; also *Id.* iv. 13 and vi. 7; and compare the characteristic passage about the knightly excellence of horsemen in *King Arthur*, ii. 133.

Ver. 144.

Even Pittheus' daughter, Æthra, and the full-eyed Clymene.

Æthra, the daughter of Pittheus, can be no other person than the mother of Theseus, so well known in Attic legends. Now it certainly does appear strange that she should have a place here as one of Helen's ἀμφίπολοι, or female attendants; for Theseus, according to the legend, had carried Helen off to Aphidna, in Attica, as a young woman; and his mother would certainly be rather old to perform the part of ἀμφίπολος to her afterwards in Troy. But, as Heyne remarks, "*In fabulis priscarum stirpium tam justi temporis ratio non habetur.*" It is certain that the person of Æthra was, somehow or other, mixed up in the popular imagination with the beautiful Helen, and the one accompanies the other in her Trojan wanderings (Paus. v. 19. 1; Plut. *Thes.* 34; Apoll. iii. 10. 7); but the line may nevertheless be an Attic interpolation.

VER. 145.

The Scæan gates (σκαιαὶ πύλαι) mean the "*gates on the left*" (Lat. with the digamma *scævus*, *Scævola*). These gates led most directly from Troy to the Greek camp (VI. 393), and are therefore frequently mentioned in the poem. Beyond this nothing is known or knowable.

VER. 149.—*These elders sat beside the gate.*

In the δημογέροντες (literally, *old men of the people*) we have the natural germ of the Spartan γερουσία, of the Roman *Senatus*, and in fact of every natural and healthy aristocracy. The high dignity belonging to the word δημογέρων, in Homer, is manifest from its use in XI. 372.

VER. 152.—*Like the blithe cricket on the tree.*

Here Ch. gives,

> "And as in well-grown woods, in trees, cold spiny grasshoppers
> Sit chirping, and send voices out that scarce can pierce our ears
> For softness, and their weak faint sounds; so talking on the tower
> These seniors of the people sat,"

in which notion he is followed by P., C., and even N., as if the main idea in Homer's mind had been like that of Tennyson in the *Princess*—

> "His name was Gama; cracked and small his voice;
> A little dry old man."

But all this is founded on a complete mistake; a mistake, no doubt, as old as Eustathius, who talks of τέττιγες ἄναιμοι καὶ ψυχροὶ τὴν κρᾶσιν καθὰ οἱ γέροντες, but not the less false, and essentially un-Hellenic. The real idea intended here of a pleasant agreeable flow of melodious talk, is sufficiently indicated in the well-known passage of Plato's *Phædrus*, 259 A., and 262 D. where the *cicale* or *tree-crickets* are called "prophets of the Muses." So also Hes. *Op.* 580, Scut. 393, and the excellent note in Barter's Iliad (Lond.

1854). It will be observed that I purposely eschew the Italian word, as quite unsuitable to the genius of Homeric or minstrel poetry.

VER. 180.—*If e'er such name from blushless me he knew,*

—κυνώπιδος—a very strong word, which I have in other places translated literally, but have judged right to soften a little here. Gladstone, who is as rapturously enamoured of the dead Helen as Paris was of the living, finds here an example of her "humble demeanour, and self-stabbing language," quite sufficient for a Christian divine to make a sermon on; but the fact is that this is only another example of the loose use of epithets in ballad poetry, without special reference to the occasion when they were used. The "blushless Helen" was a descriptive compound, as completely one in the language of Greek minstrel poetry as the swift-footed Achilles or the strong-lunged Diomede. With regard to Helen generally, as a commentator on Homer I am glad that I have not much to say. She seems upon the whole to comport herself with great tact and propriety, making herself agreeable (with a slight seasoning of connubial banter) to her Trojan husband in the Iliad, and to her Greek one in the Odyssey (IV.), as occasion requires. The Germans (Prell. *Myth.* ii. 73; Hartung, *Rel. der Gr.* iii. p. 117) indeed think that she was not a mortal woman at all, but a goddess of light, perhaps the moon, and thus becomes the worthy sister of her brothers, the "*lucida sidera*," on whose shining the fate of storm-tossed mariners depends. But as I think the Trojan war was a real war, I am bound in consistency to believe that the Trojan Helen was a real woman. After the taking of Troy, she followed her original husband first to Egypt, and then to Sparta, where she died, and divine honours of the first class were paid to her (Herod. VI. 61; Isoc. *Encom. Hel.* 63).

The best commentary on the peculiar Homeric phrase εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε, is found in the words of Queen Katherine in *Henry VIII.* (Act II. sc. 4)—

> "But thinking that
> We are a queen—we long have dreamed so—certain
> The daughter of a king."

VER. 164.—*Not thou, but the immortal powers divine have marred my mortal lot.*

This fashion of throwing back all evil on the gods is characteristic of the ancient Greeks, and occurs XIX. 86 *infra*, and many other places. So Virgil (*Æn.* II. 601). The Hindus, whose theology glories in denying freedom, often express themselves very strongly on this point (Mullens, *Hindoo Philos.* Lond. 1860, p. 20). There is a great truth as well as a great falsehood involved in this popular conception. The truth is, that there is often observable in human affairs a strong under-current, as it were, of divine destiny, against which no mortal skill can prevail. This, when recognised, is a pious feeling, and inclines a man to charitable judgment of his neighbour's shortcomings, as in the present instance. On the other hand, it is manifest that a maxim of this kind, if made a motive of human conduct and habitually acted on, would excuse any sort of crime, and annihilate every possibility of human virtue (Plat. *Rep.* X. 617 E.) The old minstrel saw clearly how near this abuse lay, and has taken care to protest strongly against it:—

> "O shame that mortal men should blame the gods, and say that we
> Are authors of all harm; but they with sin infatuate
> Shape sorrow for themselves beyond the righteous law of Fate."[1]

The belief that the gods are the authors of evil naturally justifies the habit of reproaching them to their face, when events take place contrary to our expectations. So ver. 365 *infra*, and XXII. 15. In Williams' *South Sea Missions*, chap. v., there is a curious account of certain idolaters who were "bitterly enraged against their gods for not answering their prayers, and had almost come to a determination to burn them!" The root of this absurdity lies deep in human nature; so that a Christian maiden under the strong excitement of passion may cry,

> "Alack, alack, that Heaven should practise stratagems
> Upon so soft a subject as myself."[2]

[1] *Odyssey*, I. 32.

[2] *Romeo and Juliet*.

Our Christian heroes and heroines curse their stars and their destinies; the Homeric Greeks blame the gods; they with more logic, we with more decency; both without reason.

VER. 202.

A subtle wit he boasts, well versed in every curious wile.

Cunning is a quality of mind generally pretty well developed among all nations in an early stage of civilisation, where there is often much use for this vulpine function of the human being. In certain departments of social action, as in politics and diplomacy, it continues to play the principal part even amongst the most civilized nations. It is very seldom that a people rises into that high pride and lofty sense of honour, characteristic of the English, which makes its possessor look on cunning as an altogether low and contemptible quality. On the cunning of the Circassians, see Spencer (vol. ii. p. 258). Among the ancient Hebrews the patriarch Jacob represents this quality very notably. Gladstone is obliged to observe with sorrow this moral weakness even in the perfect Athenè, who with him is one of the grand bearers of the Messianic traditions. The fact is, cunning was a character of mind peculiarly Greek, and ran to seed sometimes in the most glaring falsehood and treachery, as the examples of Themistocles, Alcibiades, and Pausanias sufficiently declare.

VER. 224.—*Not then for how he stood we cared.*

The advocates of the digamma either omit this line, as P. Knight, declare it an interpolation, as Heyne, or modify it, as Brandreth, who uses no accents, thus:—"τον δε τοθ' ὡς τε ϑεον ηγασσαμεθ' εισοροωντες." But Heyne is quite wrong in saying, "*Redundat versus et nexu caret.*" Brandreth's proposed reading makes perhaps more obvious sense than the received one; but the common rendering, which comes down to us from the scholiasts, and which has been rendered by P., in his smart antithetic style,

"*Our ears refute the censure of our eyes.*"

is not in the slightest degree obnoxious to the remark of Brandreth —"*A mente poetæ prorsus alienum est.*"

VER. 243.—*The life-sustaining earth.*

On the epithet φυσίζοος here, Ruskin, always brilliant, often unsound, has some supersubtle remarks, on which Arnold (*On Translat. Hom.* p. 8) wisely comments. The epithet is a fixture, and means, in reference to this passage, nothing at all. (See Cope, *Cambridge Essays*, 1856, p. 131.) As for CASTOR and POLLUX, they belong, in the Greek epic cycle, to the Cypria, not to the Iliad (Welcker, *Ep. Cyc.* ii. 92-97). They occur in the Odyssey (XI. 298). On them compare Clinton (vol. i. p. 76), and Duncker (*Ges. Alt.* iii. 37).

VER. 271.—*Agamemnon then drew forth the knife.*

Here, as in II. 402, we have a very remarkable instance of the patriarchal simplicity of the early Greek religion, and their entire freedom from the influence of an order of priests exercising exclusive functions. The same freedom existed in the earliest or Vedic form of the Hindu religion (Wilson's preface to *Vishnu Purana*, p. 2; Mullens on *Hindoo Philosophy*, part I. p. 21). But had such a solemn religious act been performed in ancient Egypt, or in India when thoroughly Brahminized, or in modern England, or even in Presbyterian Scotland, where there is properly no *sacerdotium*, unquestionably it would not have been performed by a layman. But the Greeks in Homer's time still preserved that purely popular form of worship, in which every head of a family, and the king as head of the great state family, was entitled, or rather bound, to perform the religious services which the family required. With the ancient Hebrews, in the time when Melchisedec was both priest and king, the same simplicity prevailed (see Tuch on Gen. xiv. 17). So Virgil (*Æn.* III. 80) mentions "*Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos.*" But the sacerdotal polity of the Jews, as of the Egyptians, though it still gave the supreme magistrate the right of offering sacrifices for the people, did so only

in his character of priest. The right of laymen to exercise religious functions was completely absorbed in that of the priesthood; so that when in Judea, on the erection of the monarchy, the priest ceased to be a king, he retained his exclusive right to exercise sacred functions, and the king, as a mere layman, could not intermeddle with any sacred rite—the mere offering of public prayer (1 Kings viii. 22) not being looked upon in this light. This appears from 1 Sam. viii. 20—where a king is demanded only to perform judicial and military functions,—compared with what happened to Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 16-18). The case of David seems to have been exceptional (Stanley in Smith's *Dict. Bib.* i. p. 410). Such a quarrel as that with Uzziah could never have arisen between a Greek magistrate and a Greek priest. The Spartan king always retained the right of performing sacrifice in behalf of the people (Xen. *Rep. Lac.* 15; Herod. vi. 56). And when monarchy was abolished in Athens, we find that the three principal archons of the year retained and exercised sacerdotal functions of the highest importance (Poll. viii. 91). Nay more, we constantly read of private persons performing sacrifice (Ar. *Pax.* 973; Plut. *Nic.* 4), assisted only perhaps by a μάντις, not at all to be confounded with a regular ἱερεύς, or priest (Hermann, *Rel. Alt.* § 33), and a very great range of liberty was allowed to private individuals in erecting temples and altars for their own private devotional use, against which Plato in the *Laws* (x. 16), in his rage for turning all society into a machine, thinks it necessary to make some very severe enactments. The fact of the matter is, there never was any regular body or corporation of priests in Greece; but individual priests or priestesses were attached to the local service of some god, and their privileges were purely local. The contrast of Egypt in this respect is strongly stated by Diod. (i. 73), and it was this freedom from the control of an overruling body with exclusive privileges, which enabled first the Greek philosophy with that grand luxuriance which we admire, and the gospel afterwards to be preached in Athens, as well as in Rome, where the same principles were acknowledged, with a general liberty, to

which occasional persecutions gave only a beneficial stimulus. Paul was only sneered at, not put into prison, when he preached Christ on the hill of Mars. How different would be the fate of a modern Paul, preaching without the sanction of the police in the *Prater* of Vienna, or the *Thiergarten* in Berlin!

VER. 275-6.—*Father on Ida throned supreme.*

There are two things to be noted here. *First*, the mingling in this prayer of the anthropomorphic dynasty of gods represented by Jove, with the original undisguised elemental gods—SUN, EARTH, and RIVERS. With regard to the position which these original elemental gods afterwards held alongside of the gods of the Jovian dynasty, there is no doubt a certain truth in what Gladstone (ii. 216) says, that "Γαῖα is but the exhausted residue of a tradition from which the higher life has escaped." But we must bear in mind also that the Greek mind was at all times strongly impressed with the faith that all nature is essentially divine, and constantly exhibiting the divinest functions (Ar. *Eth. Nic.* VI. 7. 4), a feeling which, so long as it lasted, would prevent such mythological figures as EARTH, the SUN, etc., from assuming the merely negative character of the "exhausted residue of a tradition." The tendency to believe in the heavenly bodies as real individual gods appeared afterwards even in the philosophy of the intellectual Stoics; we are not, therefore, in anywise at liberty to underrate the influence of such elemental gods in the early age of Homer. In the Odyssey, the Sun especially appears as a most potent and effective completely individualized god; and in the present passage he is appealed to with all the solemnity which belongs to Ζεὺς ὅρκιος himself. The *second* point to be noticed is the choice of gods appealed to in the present solemn adjuration. The first power invoked is, of course, JOVE, in whom the whole moral government of the world is centred; the second is HELIOS, as the great universal, all-beholding fountain of life and gladness, from whose far-darting glance nothing can be hid; the third is EARTH, as the general mother, out of whom we all come, and into whose

bosom we shall all return. Earth, besides, has a special propriety here, as comprehending those subterranean regions, in which the dread powers dwell who after death inflict on the guilty offender the punishment which he may have escaped here. These powers are the FURIES (XIX. 259). As to the RIVERS, I do not know that they have anything to do here, except as a notable part of the Earth, adding a sort of descriptive beauty to the generality of Γαῖα. The special sacredness of rivers, however, as the generators of fertility, was universally felt by the ancients, and it is remarkable that in the famous oath of Hannibal, preserved by Polybius (VII. 9), along with certain personal Phœnician gods, "the Sun, the Moon, the Rivers, the Meadows, and the Waters," are prominently named.

VER. 292.—*He spake, and pierced the victim's throat.*

It is interesting to observe here the rites practised in undertaking a solemn obligation. First, it is noticeable that *blood* in some shape or other must flow.

"Blood is a fluid of quite peculiar virtue."
Faust.

Of the Arabian practice in such cases, Herodotus gives us a very curious notice (III. 8). The blood generally flowed from the veins of a sacrificial victim, as in the present case, thus making the oath a part of the most solemn religious act. See Gen. xv. 9-17; Jer. xxxiv. 18, 19. Compare ὅρκια τέμνειν, *icere fœdus*, and כָּרַת בְּרִית. The form of imprecation in ver. 300 finds a perfect parallel in Livy I. 24.

The symbolical acted drama of these passages belongs to all nations in which the use of written and printed documents has not superseded the vivid gesticulations of living address. See 1 Sam. xi. 7; 1 Kings xxii. 11; 2 Kings xiii. 15-19.

VER. 310.—*The lambs upon the car he laid.*

Animals sacrificed as a part of a sworn and solemn bond were not feasted on by the parties present as at a common sacrifice:

and Priam may have taken them back to Troy as evidence to all the citizens of the completed pact, and then disposed of them according to use and wont in such cases. See Eustathius.

VER. 320.—*O Jove most glorious*, etc.

Köchly's (*Dissert.* iv. 13) remark that verses 320-3, 298-301, 351-354, and 365-368 run in quatrains, involves a principle of symmetry that goes deep into the structure of all Greek poetry; but one may acknowledge it when it occurs without making a hobby-horse of it, and riding about perilously on its back in the wild fashion so common with German scholars.

VER. 328.—*Then Paris, spouse of Helen, buckled his armour on.*

We may mass together shortly here the principal details relative to the armour and weapons of the Homeric heroes as they occur in the Iliad, shortening our work materially by the aid of the articles *Arma*, *Ocreæ*, etc., by Yates in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, and Friedrich's *Realien*, 120. The process of arming in Homer includes in regular succession six points:—(1.) The GREAVES (κνημῖδες) are bound round the shins (I. 17 *supra*). In Homer they are made of tin, in what may be regarded as a model case (XVIII. 610), but more commonly perhaps of copper (VII. 41). Those of leather, like our boots, were not for military use (*Od.* XXIV. 229). In the second place comes the θώραξ, the CUIRASS, composed of two hollow pieces (γύαλα—V. 99; XV. 530), one behind and the other before, clasped together by buckles. In the time of Pausanias this Homeric fashion had become a piece of antiquity, so that he describes it minutely, as seen painted on the pictures of Polygnotus at Delphi (X. 26. 2). When the Greeks are called χαλκοχίτωνες, or *copper-coated*, this seems merely a use of χιτών for the θώραξ which was put on above it. So in II. 416 and XIII. 439, the χιτών is spoken of as defending the life. The use of a θώραξ of lint is mentioned in II. 529 and 830; but it was plainly exceptive, and was rather a barbarian characteristic (Herod. III. 47; Paus. VI. 19. 4; Xen. *Cyr.* VI. 4. 2). Attached to the θώραξ was the ζωστήρ or BELT

(IV. 132). The στρεπτὸς χιτών in V. 113 seems to have been flexible, and formed of brass rings plaited together. Beneath the belt, and close to the skin, as a protection for the lowest part of the trunk, was the μίτρη (IV. 187), which, according to the Schol. Ven. on that passage, was a plate of brass, with soft wool beneath (see the plate in Smith, Art. *Zona*). After buckling on his cuirass, the Homeric warrior then flung his SWORD over his right shoulder, by a belt from which it depended on his left side. The sword of the Greek, as it appears in vases, is short and strong, so that the epithet μέγα (V. 146) is either exceptive, or must be taken relatively (see the figure in Smith, *Arma*). Fourthly came the SHIELD. This, in the case of the Homeric heroes, was always round,—quite round (ver. 347),—round as the lamp of Phœbus (Virg. *Æn.* III. 637). Whether the circle may not have been drawn out sometimes into an oval, the epithets τερμιόεσσα (XVI. 803) and ποδηνεκής (XV. 646) have led some persons to doubt (Glad. iii. 335), but the shields in the Etruscan vases are generally, if not always, quite round. It was made of several distinct plies of leather, and various metals (XII. 295). The shield of Ajax (VII. 220) had seven plies of leather and an eighth of copper. The shield of Achilles—a rare example, no doubt—was made altogether of plates of different metals (XX. 270). The rim was called ἄντυξ (XVIII. 479), and it had a boss (ὀμφαλός) in the middle. The Homeric heroes seem also to have supported their shields with a thong or belt, τελαμών (II. 388; V. 796). In XIV. 404, the sword-belt and the shield-belt are expressly distinguished. Herodotus (I. 171) speaks as if these belts suspended across the neck and the left shoulder were the only instrument used for wielding the shield, till the Carians invented ὄχανα. And this is no doubt quite true; but the τελαμών did not stand alone, and served principally, I presume, to support the shield, when the warriors were on the march; for the Homeric shields certainly had handles called κανόνες (VIII. 193; XIII. 407). An idea of the manner in which the shield was grasped may be got from the figure in Smith, *Dict. Ant., Clipeus*. See also the figure of a handle running across the circular shield

like a diameter, in Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*, 1855 (vol. i. p. 75). Next in order comes the HELMET. This in Homer's time seems usually to have been made of dog-skin (κυνέη), or weasel skin (κτιδέη), or other hide, strengthened and adorned in part by copper or other metals, sometimes altogether of copper—πάγχαλκος (*Od.* XVIII. 378). The inside was padded with felt—πῖλος (X. 265). Sometimes it was plain and low, exhibiting outwardly the exact shape of the head (X. 258), called καταῖτυξ. Oftener, however, it had various elevations, knobs, bosses, or plates, φάλος (III. 362), λαμπρὸς ἦλος (Apion) on the surface, for the purpose either of supporting the crest or breaking the stroke of a sword. Hence the epithets ἀμφίφαλος (XI. 41), τετράφαλος (XII. 384). And τρυφάλεια (XI. 352), notwithstanding the positive assertion of But. (*Lexil.*), appears most naturally to be interpreted as only a corruption for τριφάλεια (Welck. *Ep. Cyc.* i. p. 219; v. 743, and XI. 41, where the additional epithet τετραφάληρος is a great puzzle). There occurs also φάλαρα (XVI. 106), which the scholiasts interpret *cheek-pieces*. The only other term requiring explanation is αὐλῶπις (V. 182; XI. 353), about which the ancients were not agreed; but the explication in Hesych. (περιμήκεις ἔχουσα τὰς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὀπάς), as applying to a striking external feature, and well consistent with the etymology, is given in my version. Last in order comes the main weapon of offence, the LANCE or spear, made of wood, often ash (XIX. 390), and tipped with copper. The Iliad supplies abundance of instances of the manner in which this weapon was used, both as flung from a distance and when used in close thrust. The butt-end of the spear, with an iron or copper spike to fix in the ground, is called by Homer σαυρωτήρ (X. 153), and οὐρίαχος. When the warriors go out to fight, they have generally two lances in their hands, as may be seen in many ancient drawings (III. 18; Smith, *Dict. Ant.*, *Arma*). The order of fighting was to throw the lance first, and then come to stern work, if necessary, with the sword. When the warrior returned home, he put his spear in a spear-case (XIX. 387). very prominent in the Odyssey (I. 128).

VER. 445.—*Craggy Cranäe.*

The word κρανάη, as the scholiasts tell us, means *rough, rocky*, and if so, there were islands enough in the Greek seas to which such an epithet would be most suitable. The island here spoken of is said by Pausanias (III. 22. 1) to be a small island in front of Gythium, on the south coast of Sparta. Strabo again (IX. 399) places it on the coast of Attica.

BOOK IV.

VER. 2.—*The blooming Hebe.*

Though there can be little doubt of the original connexion of the Greek πότνια with the Sanscrit *patis* (Curt. 377), *lord, master, sovereign*, and though in conformity with this etymology I have translated this epithet "queenly," when applied to Herè, yet it is manifest from the present passage, where it is applied to a goddess of such inferior rank and power as Hebe, that the peculiar significance of the word was soon lost in a very general notion; and in this case a translator is justified in substituting such an epithet as may be most suitable to the person and to the verse. HEBE is one of those mythological personages whose significance, as originally a mere personification of a well-known quality (ἥβη —*youth, puberty*), is so plain that it cannot be mistaken. As a daughter of Jupiter and Herè (*Od.* XI. 604), that is, of Heaven and Earth, she represents properly that miraculous power of rejuvenescence which the system of the world, ever old and ever young, exhibits, and as such was early taken into the list of the perfectly anthropomorphized natural agencies (Hes. *Theog.* 17). In the fertile mountain district of Phlius, in the north-east corner of the Peloponnesus, this goddess received peculiar worship, descending from the most ancient times, and here, as well as in the neighbour-

ing district of Sicyon, she was known under the names of Γαννμήδα (*joyful counsel*), and Δῖα, the *divine* (Paus. II. 13. 3; Str. VIII. 382). In the present passage the part which she plays as cupbearer to the gods is significant enough; but her performances in v. 722 and 905 are only incidental to her character as daughter of Herè and sister of Mars. In the Odyssey (XI. 603), she appears most appropriately as the spouse of Hercules.

VER. 8.—*Pallas, queen of Alalcomenæ.*

As in modern times the epithets of the Virgin Mary, so anciently the designations of the gods were often taken from the localities which were the seat of some famous image, or of some peculiar worship. Here the allusion is to a city on the south shore of the Lake Copais, in Bœotia (Str. VIII. 413), near the Telphousian fountain, where Teiresias died. Welcker (*g. l.* i. p. 316) expresses the opinion that the name of the town, which signifies *strength and defence*, was originally an epithet of the goddess, and from her transferred to her favourite town.

VER. 10.—*Smile-diffusing Aphroditè.*

φιλομμειδής is a constant epithet of Venus, which L. and S., Wr. and Drb. should not have translated "*laughter-loving*," because, in the first place, such an epithet belongs rather to Bacchus or Momus than to Aphroditè; and, in the second place, though γελάω may sometimes mean to *smile*, μειδιάω certainly never can mean to *laugh*. C. has "smile-loving Venus;" V., with all the pregnant beauty of the German compound words, "*holdanlächelnde Kypris*," which D. has not improved by changing it into "*huldreichlächelnde*."

VER. 77.—*A meteor star.*

I cannot think that P. was at all justified in translating ἀστήρ here a "*comet*," for a comet is a thing that appears permanently for a considerable season—weeks or months in the sky, whereas here a momentary rapidly shooting light is evidently implied.

The σπινθῆρες, or *sparks*, certainly cannot mean the tail of a comet, though this may have occasioned Pope's mistake, if indeed it is ever necessary to seek for any cause of error in him beyond the poetic desire of saying something grand. The Germans translate the Greek noun by its simple German equivalent *stern*. That the ἀστήρ here was a mere meteor or "shooting-star" (ἀστὴρ διάσσων) cannot be doubted, though I must confess I never saw them casting out sparks as here described; but that they often do so is manifest from the account of them given by Lardner in his *Museum of Science and Art*, London, 1854, vol. i. p. 141. See an account of one which appeared at the death of Alexander of Russia, in Alison's *History of Europe from* 1815 *to* 1852, vol. ii. p. 215.

VER. 101.—*Phœbus, lord of light,*

—Ἀπόλλωνι λυκηγενέϊ. This epithet has been interpreted in three ways—(1.) as referring to Lycia, where Apollo was much worshipped; (2.) as connected with λύκος, a wolf, an animal much used in the religious symbolism of the ancients; (3.) as a compound from the old root of *lux* (Macrob. *Sat.* i. 17), which appears in the Greek word λυκάβας (*Od.* XIV. 161), *the path of light, the year*. Against the first interpretation, the philological objection urged by Welcker (*g. l.* i. 81) must certainly weigh something, that the word ought in this case to have been Λυκιηγενής, besides that there is no proof that in the religion of the early Greeks the worship of Apollo was so connected with *Lycia* as to justify the derivation of the epithets λύκιος, and λύκειος, and λυκηγενής from that locality. To suppose that Lycia is here meant, because Minerva makes the appeal to Pandarus, a Lycian, is to assume a curious propriety in the use of epithets, of which Homer had no conception. Against the second interpretation, it appears sufficient to remark that, though it may explain the epithet λύκειος, according to a sense well known among the later Greeks (Paus. II. 9. 7; Æschyl. *Sept. Theb.* 132, and the coins of Argos stamped with a wolf), it certainly does not explain the present compound λυκηγενής; for though the heat of the sun in the dog-days might well be

compared to a raging wolf, it is pressing this analogy too far to call the sun-god for this reason *born of a wolf*. It rather appears, therefore, that in interpreting this word, we ought to revert to those earliest times, when that popular elemental theology was formed, of which Homer adopted the phraseology, without always understanding its significance; and as there can be no question whatsoever, with men capable of forming an opinion on such subjects, that Apollo originally meant the Sun, so I can have little hesitation in transferring Damm's suggestion to my version, though without adopting literally his Latin "*genitor lucis*," the Hellenism of which is doubtful, as Διογενής, and other compounds of this kind have all a passive signification.

VER. 105.—*Then in his hand the bow he took.*

The bow was peculiarly an Asiatic weapon (Herod. VII. 61-80; Æschyl. *Pers.* 26), and appears with great propriety here in the hands of that Trojan whose perfidy renewed the great fight between the contending parties. Of the Greek bow as here described (for Homer is not curious of distinguishing between Asiatic and European arms), with a double curvature, and a flat central band in the middle, an account will be found by Yates in Smith's *Dict. Arcus*, where it is contrasted with the large semicircular Scythian bow, which the Greeks compared to the old Σ, written like our C. Mr. Muir, of Archers' Hall, Edinburgh, who did what he could with all courtesy to clear up my ideas on ver. 111, showed me several bows after the exact pattern of the Homeric one in this passage, made of two horns joined together in the middle, principally Chinese and Oriental. As to κορώνη, Yates says, but I know not on what authority, that it means here a ring which fastened the two horns together. But the Schol. Ven. says expressly, κορώνη τὸ ἐπικαμπὲς ἄκρον τοῦ τόξου, ὅθεν ἀπήρτηται ἡ νευρά; and this seems to me to agree better with the general meaning of κορώνη and κορωνίς in other applications. Perhaps my version might be improved thus—

"*And tipped the horn, to crown the work, with a cap of golden shine.*"

For not being myself an archer, or familiar with the terms used by those who practise that most English of gymnastic sports, I cannot but feel great uncertainty as to the exact propriety of the phraseology used in my translation. Compare Virgil's imitation of this passage (*Æn.* xi. 858).

VER. 128.

The epithet ἀγελείη, given to Athenè in this line, especially when taken along with λητις in x. 460, evidently means "*carrying off spoil, or booty*," "huntress of the spoil;" an epithet most appropriate to a warlike goddess. This is also Wolf's opinion, and Welcker's (*g. l.* i. 317).

VER. 141.—*As when a Carian or Mœonian maid.*

The manufacturing refinements and general luxury of the Lydians are well known. Their excellence in the arts of dyeing and staining is often alluded to (Plin. *N. H.* VIII. 56; Ar. *Acharn.* 113; Dunck. *Ges. Alt.* i. p. 589) The illustrating of nature from art is characteristic of early popular poetry, and of an age when objects of elegant workmanship were not to be seen in every shop-window.

VER. 151.—*When he saw both cord and barb,* etc.

By νεῦρον is properly meant a string, or thong, or cord, or sinew, ᾧ δέδεται τὸ σίδηρον τοῦ βέλους πρὸς τὸν κάλαμον, as the scholiast says, a cord or string by which the iron point of the arrow was sometimes fastened to the reed. Mr. Muir, of Archers' Hall, showed me several arrows in which the pile is fastened with "sinew," exactly as Homer here describes.

VER. 171.—*Argos' thirsty soil.*

How appropriate this epithet is to the Argive country, any one may assure himself by considering the present topography of that region, which in fact is nothing more than a sort of sloping eastern rampart of Arcadia, whose great waters flow all to the west. (See Curt. *Pelop.* ii. 558.) The other two interpretations, πολυπόθητος,

much desired (adopted by C.), and πολυίψιος, from ἵπτομαι (suggested by Strabo), *much harassed or oppressed by war*, seem to have had their origin either in the idea, as Curtius remarks, that Ἄργος must necessarily mean the whole Peloponnesus, or in that desire to fit the epithets curiously to the context which has possessed so many commentators and translators of Homer, ignorant as they were of the true nature of the popular epic, as distinguished from the epos of literary culture.

VER. 194.—*Son of Asclepius, blameless leech.*

It is remarkable that Homer never speaks of Æsculapius as a god, but as a man. That he was properly not a god, but only a deified mortal, Cicero also expressly testifies (*Nat. Deor.* II. 24). There is a growth in these matters, and a development well worthy of consideration. So the Virgin Mary is only a pious and well-behaved matron in the New Testament: in the canons of the Council of Trent, and in the creed of more than two-thirds of the Christian Church, she is the "Mother of God," and "the Queen of Heaven," and of immaculate conception. And not only time achieves great results in such matters, but place also. Hippolytus, who was a mere man at Athens, fit to be made by Euripides the hero of a love intrigue in a pathetic play of Athenian life, was a god across the firth at Trœzen, a place not farther from Athens than Largo is from Edinburgh (Paus. II. 32). The proper god of medicine in Homer (so far as he acknowledges a separate god for the healing function, which originally belonged to Apollo) is Παιήων, from whom all physicians are said to be descended (*Od.* IV. 232). That the knowledge of medicine came to the Greeks originally from Thessaly, one of the earliest seats of Hellenic civilisation, is evident from the pedigree of Coronis, the mother of Æsculapius, and from one form of the tradition, which says positively that the god was born at Tricca in Thessaly (Str. XIV. 647), a place mentioned above (II. 729) as the native place of Machaon. Chiron also, from whom Machaon derived his medical knowledge (ver. 219 *infra*), was a Thessalian.

VER. 235.

Them Father Jove will never help who help themselves with lies.

"Four short words," says Gladstone (ii. 383), "describe the props of human society—γάμος, ὅρκος, Θέμις, and Θεός;" and of these four words we find that the Greek Ζεύς is pre-eminently the last—that he has a direct superintendence over the second and third, and that his celestial consort, Ἥρα, presides over the first. The Platonic dictum (*Rep.* ii. p. 382), that "*a lie is naturally hateful both to gods and men*," and especially a deliberate lie with an oath, was accepted by the Greeks, in the main, as the basis of all human society. Nevertheless, as truthfulness is of all virtues the most difficult consistently to practise, and as the Greeks were anything but a remarkably veracious people, we need not be surprised at the gross theological contradiction in this book, where Athenè, with the permission of Jove, incites to the commission of a perjury, which the same Jove shall afterwards visit with condign retribution. Contradictions in theology—like that of free-will and necessity in our Westminster Confession of Faith—are always natural, and to be expected; and as the Greeks, as remarked above (p. 49), had no devil, but attributed all human actions directly to the gods, it could not be otherwise than that the same gods should sometimes appear as authorizing both good and bad actions. Strictly speaking, however, the contradiction here is not absolute. Athenè, as a party goddess, enlisted in the service of the Greeks, is entitled to have her own sphere of action, which her kind father would not deny her; and the boundaries of *wisdom* and *cunning* are, among a half-civilized people, so vague, that she who inspires the virtue may well be supposed to patronize the vice, especially in war, when man becomes a tiger or a fox, as necessity may require it, and casts his moral dignity aside. So in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles (133-4), Ulysses, who in point of cunning was a genuine Greek, practises most cruel treachery under the patronage of Ἑρμῆς δόλιος and Ἀθήνα, which is bringing the goddess of highest wisdom very disreputably into the company of the chosen patron

of thieves and footpads. Most unworthy of the character of Pallas as all this undoubtedly is, it is practically counterbalanced by the fact that Jove, though permitting these acts of perfidy, never actually commits them—a distinction which our theologians constantly draw, and of which, *valeat quantum valeat*, the polytheistic theology of the Greeks is certainly entitled to receive the full benefit.

VER. 242.—*Brave Greeks that fight with flying darts.*

The interpretation of the difficult word ἰόμωροι, it seems to me, ought to turn on two points, which must be admitted :—(1.) The word is used only twice in Homer, here and XIV. 479, and in both places is evidently a term of reproach. (2.) It is impossible to interpret this word without regard to the similar word ἐγχεσίμωροι, which is as plainly a term of praise as it is applied to the Myrmidons (*Od.* III. 188) and to the Arcadians (VII. 134), who were well known as first-rate soldiers. Whatever, therefore, be the exact meaning of the second element of both words, it is manifest that as the one compound implies praise for the dexterous use of the spear, the other must obviously be understood to mean blame for the use of the arrow. But what blame lies in the use of the arrow as opposed to the use of the spear? Plainly, as Eust. and the Schol. suggest, because archery was an inferior style of warfare, in which a coward might indulge at safe distance, as the Greek brigands do with rifles from behind a bush or a rock; and this feeling is plainly indicated by the contemptuous language used by Diomede to Paris in XI. 385 :—

Τοξότα, λωβητὴρ, κέρᾳ ἀγλαὲ, παρθενοπῖπα,

quoted by FAESI. The present is clearly a case where, as we are ignorant of the true etymology of the word, the sense indicated by the context ought to receive full weight. The "arrow-doomed," which Cowper took from certain ancients, is therefore bad, as not containing the true sting of the reproach. The objection that the first syllable of ἰός, *an arrow*, ought to be long, is, in the present case, entitled to little weight, because such a word as ἴσμῑνοι could not

possibly come into a hexameter verse, and therefore, like ἀθάνατος, and other known words, had its first syllable altered for the need. Since writing the above, I am glad to see the same view stated by Lucas, *De vocibus Homericis in* μωρος, Bonnæ, 1837—the author of the admirable tract on γλαυκῶπις, *supra*, p. 21.

VER. 275.—*As when a swain hath from a tower espied.*

In the Cambridge Essays for 1856, p. 128, there is a paper on "The Picturesque in Greek Poetry," by Mr. Cope, well worthy of perusal, in which he says of the present passage, that "there is not the least symptom in it of any feeling of pleasure or interest derivable from the contemplation of the gathering of the storm,—all is unmixed terror," and the concluding words, he adds, bear the plainest witness to what may be called "the *utilitarian* character of the Greek notions of scenery." I certainly agree with this writer, that the importance of this and similar passages (VIII. 255), in reference to what we call "the picturesque," has been vastly overrated by some admirers of the poet. Homer is removed from Ruskin nearly as far in sentiment as in chronology.

VER. 288.—*O Father Jove, Athenè, and Apollo!*

In this formula, if anywhere, we have the true GREEK TRINITY, as the Romans had a sort of Trinity in the Jupiter, Minerva, and Juno of the Capitol. Strictly speaking, however, neither the Greeks nor the Romans had any Trinity, that is, a plurality of persons, unified by the pervading influence of a common idea,—such a real Trinity as the Hindu Trimurti. What we have in the present passage is merely a familiar formula of prayer, in which the three favourite gods of the Greek race are mentioned with significant prominence. The parallel which Glad. has drawn between these three personages of the Hellenic Pantheon and the three persons of the Christian Trinity stands on no solid foundation. There is no hint of a Trinity in the Old Testament, any more than in Plato, though it has been lavishly fathered upon both; and even if there were such a doctrine in the Hebrew Scriptures, there is nothing so character-

istically striking in the points of likeness between the real Christian Trinity and the *quasi* Trinity of this passage, as to warrant the theory of a historical connexion between the one and the other. Of all things in the world, a sort of Trinity to the mere eye and the imagination arises most easily in the human mind; for three is the first number to which belongs Aristotle's definition of a perfect whole, having a beginning, a middle, and an end; and any central figure with two supporters, both by the natural instinct of the mind to form a whole, and by the very architectural structure of ancient temples and shrines, naturally produces this number. In this fashion arose a sort of Trinity also among the ancient Egyptians, as will be observed by those who consult the learned works of Wilkinson and Bunsen. To the same influence is to be ascribed the triple Herè, worshipped by the people of Stymphalus, in her three aspects as Παῖς, Τελεία, and Χήρα, mentioned by Paus. (VIII. 22. 2), the three gods whom Solon ordered the Athenians to swear by (Poll. VIII. 142), and scores of such triads in all religions and in all parts of the world. Compare Payne Knight, *Symbol.* 221, 229, on sacred duads and triads generally, in cases where they contain a real symbolism.

VER. 297.—*The knights of war he posted in the van.*

The order of battle here is founded on principles of common sense, which must ever be the strong foundation of the military art. Had the "brave Belgians," who ran back to Brussels to publish the loss of the battle before it was fairly begun, not been posted in the rear, they could not have run away; and in the large dispositions of modern tactics, it is no doubt often the case that many a man behaves valiantly, not from innate courage, but merely because he is so placed that he cannot find space for the fugitive use of his legs. As for the chariot-riders, they are manifestly destined by the wise old Pylian to perform the same function as Napoleon's cuirassiers at Waterloo, viz., to break the enemy's lines, and throw them into confusion, while the main strength of the battle lies in the infantry (as in our Highlanders at Waterloo), ready either to

advance in deadly ranks, should the chariots pave the way for them, or to receive the enemy's charge steadily, should the charge of the knights be repulsed.

Vers. 306-7.

The two lines—

> ὃς δέ κ' ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ ὧν ὀχέων ἕτερ' ἅρμαθ' ἵκηται,
> ἔγχει ὀρεξάσθω, ἐπειὴ πολὺ φέρτερον οὕτως—

are certainly not particularly clear. In determining the meaning of the passage, we must consider what is the main scope of the short advice given by Nestor to his knights, and what the words naturally mean. Now it is evident that the old horseman is talking of how to deal with the enemy, and that the phrase *ἀπὸ ὧν ὀχέων ἕτερ' ἅρμαθ' ἵκηται*, would, in this view, naturally be understood to mean, *coming up to the chariot of the enemy*. This is the first interpretation given by Eustathius, to which it is natural to suppose he gave the preference; nevertheless P. and C. have followed the other notion proposed by certain ancients, that the *ἕτερα ἅρματα* refers to the chariot of some other Greek. But it seems plain to me that Nestor would never, in so short an exhortation, have given an advice about the exceptive case of a man being dismounted from his own car, before he had taught his men generally how to deal with the enemy. I therefore think that the natural emphasis of the passage lies in *ἵκηται*, so as that this word shall mean "*coming* CLOSE *up to*," which meaning, perhaps, lies also in the word *ὀρεξάσθω*. The injunction therefore is, *not to fling at a distance, or at random*.

Ver. 354.—*The father of Telemachus.*

I think Ulysses is the only chief in the works of Homer, who, when his self-esteem is excited, delights to speak of himself, not as the son of a famous father, but as the father of a famous son. This peculiarity seems to arise from the prominent part which Telemachus plays in the Ithacan cycle of popular legends, from which the Odyssey was composed. Telemachus no doubt was the ideal model of a Greek son, just as Achilles was of a Greek hero.

VER. 375.—*Praised above all warrior-kings was Tydeus.*

The mythological story of Tydeus here alluded to is well known. We have here, in fact, a scrap of the Thebaid, as elsewhere of not a few others of the rich cycle of Greek romances which supplied Homer with materials (Nitzsch, *Sagenpoesie*, p. 111). With the quarrel about the supremacy of Thebes, which broke out between Eteocles and Polynices—a quarrel with which the pages of the tragic writers everywhere overbrim,—Tydeus had nothing naturally to do, being an Ætolian; but, like many godlike heroes in those violent times, having been forced to leave his country on account of accidental or culpable homicide, he found his way to Argos, and there marrying Deipylè, the daughter of Adrastus, became father of Diomede (Apollodor. I. 8. 3). To Adrastus also Polynices had fled; and thus Tydeus found himself participator in the glory and the misfortunes of the famous expedition against Thebes. As such he receives a prominent place in the graphic description of Æschylus, in his great war-breathing drama (*Sept. Theb.* 370). His conduct in the adventure told by Homer in the present passage, is mostly in the spirit of what is narrated of Rinaldo in the Carlovingian romances. As for Thebes, the capital of Bœotia, the student will perhaps remember the peculiarity in the catalogue, that not Thebes proper, but only Ὑποθήβας—*Lower Thebes*—is mentioned. It is called τεῖχος Ἄρειον (*infra*, ver. 407), because Mars was its great guardian god. The κέντορες ἵππων of 391 is in allusion to the Theban cavalry, which were very famous (Soph. *O. C.* 1062, *Ant.* 149; Pind. *Ol.* VI. 145). The κέντρον was either a regular goad, or some sharp metallic point put into the whip (Soph. *O. T.* 808; Xen. *Cyrop.* VII. 1. 29; Hesych. *in voce*, and *infra* XXIII. 387). Spurs at the heels in the modern fashion occur early in the Roman writers (Lucret. V. 1073), and perhaps also among the later Greeks (*vid.* Schneider's note to Xen. *Equitat.*, etc., on μύωψ). Of course such spurs cannot occur in Homer, where there are no riders in the proper sense of the word. In the translation of ver. 380, I find I have gone rather beyond my text; it should be, *they cried out*

that aid should be given, but Jove, by inauspicious signs, prevented their wishes from being carried into effect.

VER. 478.—*The nursing-fee.*

Θρέπτρα ἀπέδωκε (XVII. 302). This natural duty inherent in children to pay back by love and kindly services the labour and care bestowed upon them by their parents in the helpless years of their infancy, is often alluded to by the ancients. *Vid.* Æschyl. *Sept. Theb.* 472, τροφεῖον.

As a counterpart of this natural obligation on the part of the offspring, the Roman law established a legal right or claim on the part of the parents (*Digest*, Lib. XXI. tit. III.) from which the Scotch law of alimentation in the case of parents was borrowed.

VER. 514.—*The Tritonian maid.*

Τριτογένεια—literally, *Triton-born*. The grounds that may guide us to the probable meaning of this epithet—for certainty is out of the question—are these:—(1.) the word τρίτων has evidently something to do with *water*, for it is the name of a class of sea-gods, and of a stream that flows into the Copaic lake in Bœotia. (2.) Bœotia is a country which at an early period of Greek history played a prominent part, and it is reasonable to think that some of the epithets of the more famous gods should have come from that quarter. (3.) With respect to Athenè, there is this further reason to seek the origin of Τριτογένεια in the Bœotian stream, that she is actually called the goddess of *Alalcomenæ* by Homer in this very book (ver. 8), a town close by the river Triton. Having such a *prima facie* probability for a local Greek origin of the epithet of a Greek goddess, I see no reason for going to Egypt (Herod. IV. 180), or for taking refuge with Hayman in the unwarranted modern gloss of "third-born." The interpretation which appears to me so decidedly preferable is supported by Pausanias among the ancients (IX. 33-4), and Müller among the moderns (*Orchom.* 349). Compare Duncker, *Ges. Alt.* iii. 31.

VER. 520.—*Sea-washed Ænos.*

Many an English gentleman may perhaps recall here from his early studies the line

Æneadasque meo nomen de nomine fingo.[1]

The town is mentioned several times in the later history of Greece and Rome (Thucyd. VII. 5. 57; Liv. XXXI. 16), but makes no prominent figure. Pliny, in his description of Thrace, says, "Os Hebri, portus Stentoris, *oppidum Ænos liberum cum Polydori tumulo: Ciconum quondam regio.*"

VER. 527.—*The Ætolian Thoas.*

This Thoas is rather a prominent character in the Iliad (II. 638; VII. 168; XIII. 216; XV. 281), and is mentioned twice by Pausanias (V. 3. 4, and X. 38. 3); but there is nothing particular to be noted about him.

VER. 533.—*The Thracian troop with tufted crowns.*

About the meaning of the word ἀκρόκομοι, no man who knows Greek ought to have the slightest doubt. The only other possible meaning, "at the tip of the chin," is brought out in the passage from Polybius (Str. 208), by the addition ὑπὸ τῷ γενείῳ. The doubts expressed by some of the ancients arise from a bad habit which they had of doubting where there was no reason to doubt, and of asserting confidently, when, from the very nature of the case, confident assertion was impossible. Such fantastic methods of dealing with the hair are common with all sorts of savage and semi-civilized peoples. Glad. (ii. 230) instances the Suevi from Tacitus (*Mor. Ger.* I. 38); with which the fashion of the Abantes (II. 542) may be contrasted. See also Martial, *Spect.* III., of the Sicambri, and other barbarians, whose oddities of costume added a quaint grace to the Roman triumphal processions.

[1] Virgil, *Æn.* III. 18.

BOOK V.

The section of the Iliad contained in this book and the first half of the next was called by the ancients Διομήδεος ἀρίστεια, or the *prowess of Diomede.* Its importance in the plan of the poem is discussed in *Dissertations*, p. 250, with which compare P. Knight, *Prolegom.* 24. With regard to Diomede, Colonel Mure says of him, that "among the heroes of the Iliad, there is none who does so much and speaks so little," quite a man after Carlyle's own heart. His history, and that of his family, comes out pretty fully in various parts of the Iliad. He was by birth an Ætolian, but connected himself by marriage with the royal family of Argos, and thus came directly into the sphere of Agamemnon, and the chiefs who took part in the Trojan expedition (Apollodor. I. 8. 5). His fortune, history, and especially his robbery of the Palladium (Virg. *Æn.* II. 163, and Overbeck, *Gall.* p. 583), and his activity in the south of Italy (Str. VI. 284) form a large chapter in mythological tradition, but are not alluded to in the poems of Homer.

VER. 9.—*A priest of Vulcan, Dares hight.*

Two things with regard to the Greek priesthood are noteworthy here:—*First*, It is not accidental that the poet calls the priest of Vulcan a *wealthy* man, ἀφνειός; for, though among the Greeks there was no exclusion of any class from the high office of serving the gods (such as there was in Rome before the Ogulnian Law), there was no doubt a tendency to look upon the priesthood as a sort of ministry peculiarly aristocratic, and naturally belonging to the upper and wealthier classes of society. Aristotle (*Pol.* VIII. 9) says expressly, οὔτε γὰρ γεωργὸν οὔτε βάναυσον ἱερέα καταστατέον—*neither farmers nor tradesmen are to be made priests, for*, he adds, "*it is seemly that the gods receive honour from the citizens.*" Besides, even when not naturally wealthy, the priests attached to famous temples accumulated great riches from the offerings of the faithful

(Hom. *Hym. Apoll.* 537; Schol. Aristoph. *Ves.* 1446). It is interesting to contrast this old heathen idea with the practice of some modern Christian churches, where, as in Scotland, the ministry of the gospel has become a grand field of moral and intellectual ambition, constantly open to the poor, and the poorest classes of society, but generally considered beneath the ambition of the rich. *Second*, we observe that the ancient Trojans, whose manners in this respect are quite Hellenic, had no idea of an enforced celibacy of the ministers of religion. This idea indeed could never spring up in a country where, as in Greece, not only the conscience and the will, but every function of human and of universal nature, in its healthy and normal state, was esteemed divine and holy. To treat the flesh of man, with its feelings and functions as altogether an unholy thing, was an exaggeration of Christian purity, the natural product of that sickly devotionalism which appeared in various places of the Roman empire at the time of the spread of Christianity, as an extreme and violent reaction against the rank sensualism and grossness of the age. The only examples of religious celibacy that the life of ancient Greece presents, are confined to the service of particular deities, such as Diana and Minerva, who had voluntarily assumed the virgin character. To such virgin deities a virgin service was suitable; and in Arcadia, where the worship of Artemis was very general, we find a priestly celibacy of this kind particularly described by Pausanias (VIII. 5. 8, and 13. 1). The Greeks, however, were the last people in the world among whom the idea of any particular sanctitude inherent in celibacy could become popular; and we find accordingly that, where custom required that the ministers of any god or goddess should be unmarried, they were content with the fact that the priests should, at the actual time of ministry, be free from sexual connexion and family bonds; and it was sometimes particularly insisted on that a priestess should at no time have been the wife of more than one husband, that is, should not have been married a second time (Paus. VII. 25. 8). This is probably what St. Paul alludes to (1 Tim. iii. 2). See, on the whole subject, K. F. Hermann, *Rel. Alt.* § 34.

VER. 53 —*For dart-rejoicing Dian loved him well.*

"Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom is neither variableness nor shadow of turning." So the apostle James (i. 17) taught to the infant Christian Church; and the polytheistic Greeks had a deep sense of the same important truth, as appears constantly in Homer. If a man exhibits great skill in hunting, he receives his skill from Artemis, the huntress of the sky; if he is a cunning carpenter, Minerva has been his instructor (ver. 61), and so on. The same principle is recognised distinctly in Leviticus xxxv. 30. The error of the Greeks lay only in the assumed separate personality of the object of the feeling, not in the feeling itself, nor in the divine power to which that feeling had reference. All wisdom and all skill, as well as all higher inspiration of every kind, comes from the operation of the Divine Spirit. This is a fundamental doctrine of natural religion, and is nowhere denied, except in ages when the monstrous conceit of that knowledge which puffeth up, or the meagreness of that science which believes only in fingers and eyes, seeks to throw off the feeling of a living dependence on God as something barren and unprofitable. But it is never unprofitable for a man clearly to recognise his own true position in the system of things; and the true position of all finite things is a pious dependence on the Infinite.

VER. 77.—*Scamander's holy priest.*

All religion, as above remarked, is founded on the salutary feeling of dependence on a superior Power, and this feeling will naturally be most strongly exercised towards those objects on which the worshipping creature is most dependent. The most natural deities of a polytheistic people are the Sun and the Sky above, the Earth and the Waters, and of all waters, specially the Rivers, for on them the existence of animal life depends, and their course is, in fact, in all countries identical with the progress of civilisation. Among the Egyptians, the dependence of the whole country on the great river which virtually makes the land was so manifest, that mytho-

logical speculators were constantly in doubt whether their great beneficent god, Osiris, signified the Sun or the River. The reverence paid by the Hindus to the Ganges is of a similar description. Among the ancient Greeks, all rivers and all fountains were holy and sacred. So the Scamander in this place is holy, and has his priest; for in respect of religion the Trojans are everywhere treated by Homer as genuine Greeks, and there nowhere appears the shadow of a difference. Gladstone's ingenious arguments to the contrary, in his third volume, left me unconvinced.

VER. 91.—*When great Jove rains down his floods.*

Ζεύς, as the humanized impersonation of the old elemental Οὐρανός, is naturally worshipped as the giver of rain, and in this capacity was named ὑέτιος (Paus. II. 19. 7), or ὄμβριος by the Greeks, and *Pluvius* by the Romans. Rain indeed was, in the Greek mind, so habitually associated with Jupiter, that "the water coming down from the god" was often used as a circumlocution for rain (Paus. VIII. 7. 1). In dry countries, as in Argos, there were special altars, where, in times of drought, Jupiter (and with him sometimes Herè) was invoked (Paus. II. 25. 9). The "rain-making priests," among certain modern idolaters, are well known to the readers of Missionary Records; and Pausanias, in his chapter on the Lycæan Jupiter in Arcadia (VIII. 38. 3) gives an account of a similar process of pious rain-making which was practised by the inhabitants of that country, particularly conservative as it was of all old religious traditions and usages. "In times of long-continued drought," he says, "the priest of Lycæan Jove having prayed and sacrificed at the fountain called Hagno, dips an oaken branch into the fountain, and on the movement of the water there rises a slight mist, which, gradually attracting to itself the vapours of the atmosphere, forms clouds, and brings down rain on the land." There is a well-known image of *Jupiter Pluvius* on the column of Antoninus at Rome, in the shape of an old man with wings, long hair and beard streaming down, his arms also outstretched, with streams of rain falling from them also (Müller, *Denk.* i. 395).

VER. 127.—*Lo! from thy vision I remove the mist.*

There is a fine deep feeling of philosophical piety involved in the function here assigned to Minerva, as the patron goddess of the strong-voiced Ætolian hero. She removes the mist from his eyes, and then, and not till then, does he see the superhuman agency which is mixed up with the battle, apparently conducted only by mortal men. So the case is, in fact, in every-day life, in science, in art, and in all provinces of human activity. We all go about busy and bustling enough, peeping at all things, and fingering all things, but seeing only what is obvious and superficial; till some day, as the reward of deep thought, honest prayer, and heroic struggle, God removes the veil of human conventions, phrases, and formulas from our eyes, and we begin to see God in all things, and cherish a kindly reverence for the Divine significance of the most common events, and learn with an infallible touch to discriminate between what is substantial and what is accidental, what is permanent and transitory in phenomena.

VER. 153.—*The sons of Phœnops, dear as life to him.*

τηλύγετος,—I do not think that either Buttmann or Passow, or any other modern philologer, has added anything to our real knowledge of this word, as we have it from the E. M. and other ancients. They make it equivalent to ὀψίγονος, that is, *born late*, born *far on in point of time;* hence, by a natural transition, *dearly-beloved*, in the manner of Benjamin; and hence, further, *tender*, *delicate*, *spoiled* (XIII. 470). The etymology may be right, or it may be wrong; but at all events it supplies a probable theory, which explains all the facts. That Homer used it with any distinct recognition of its original meaning I do not believe. With him it was only a strong phrase for ἀγαπητός; and the vague meaning which it had already acquired in his time, defies all attempts at being curious about its application in individual cases now.

VER. 158.—*A stranger heir his hoarded wealth possessed.*

It is happily of no consequence to the poetical significance and feeling of this passage, to determine the exact meaning of χηρωσταί, an old word, which occurs in exactly the same way in Hesiod (*Theog.* 606). Only legal writers will be sorry that we cannot inform them whether the οἱ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον προσήκοντες τῷ γένει of one of the scholiasts, or the οἱ μακρόθεν συγγενεῖς of Hesych., be the exact meaning. Perhaps the word was wide enough to include both what we call collateral relations, distant relations, or connexions by marriage, and total strangers, who, with the functions of judicial curators, were appointed by the legal authorities to manage property of which no natural heir appeared.

VER. 196.—*Champ spelt and barley grain.*

ὄλυρα, according to Lenz, is the *Triticum spelta* of Linnæus, the *spelta farro* and *grano farro* of the Italians. From Dioscorides (*Mat. Med.* II. 12 and 13) it is evident that ὄλυρα and ζειά were merely different species of the same thing; and it is notable, in this regard, that Homer, in a passage of the Odyssey (IV. 594), where various kinds of food for horses are enumerated, mentions ζειά along with white barley, in the same way that ὄλυρα is mentioned here, so that the two words seem practically identical. And Herodotus, in the curious place (II. 35) where he says that the Egyptians act in most things contrary to all mankind, gives, among other practices, the fact that spelt, ὄλυρα—or, as some call it, ζειά—is food for horses in Greece, and for men in Egypt.

VER. 241.—*Sthenelus.*

Sthenelus is the son of that impious Capaneus, the Argive chief, who marched against Thebes, in the famous expedition dramatized by Æschylus, and proudly boasted that he would take the city, Jove willing or Jove not willing. He was smitten by a thunderbolt while in the act of scaling the walls of the seven-gated city. His son seems to have been a much more pious and proper person,

and appears in the Iliad on all occasions as the modest, faithful, and brave attendant of Diomede. Above (IV. 405), we have his goodly vaunt that he had assisted in the taking of that Thebes which the previous generation had only besieged. At the taking of Troy he received as his part of the booty, among other spoils, the ancient image of the three-eyed Jove, which was afterwards consecrated at Argos. See *Dissertations*, p. 21.

VER. 330.—*He the queen of love did chase.*

The designation of Κύπρις, or "the Cyprian," by which Venus is mentioned three times in this book (here and 422 and 458), deserves particular notice as the earliest indication of that Oriental origin of the worship of Aphroditè, which the historians (Herod. I. 105) and archæologists of Greece (Paus. I. 14. 6) were afterwards so forward to acknowledge. The celestial Aphroditè of these passages was, beyond all question, the Μύλιττα of the Babylonians (Herod. I. 199; Hesychius on Μύληταν; Münter, *Religion der Babylonier*, 1827, p. 22). The early commercial intercourse between Phœnicia and Greece, to which the prophet Ezekiel alludes (xxx. 7)—whatever אֱלִישָׁה may mean, Ἥλις, or Ἑλλάς, or Αἰολεῖς—could not, in accordance with the fraternizing genius of polytheism, remain without leaving some very manifest traces of Syrian idolatry in the principal cities of the Greek coasts; and in fact Cyprus and Cythera stand out as plain stepping-stones, by which we may trace the journey of the Ἀφροδίτη οὐρανία from Sidon to Athens (Paus. *ubi supra*) and Corinth, where her votaries in the classical ages revelled so wantonly. At the same time, the Greeks always kept up a recognised distinction between the Phœnician Venus and their own proper Hellenic personation of the principle of love. Nay, Hesiod could show, by an ingenious myth (*Theog.* 195), how the daughter of Uranus found her principal seat of worship in Cyprus, without having known the coast of Tyre and Sidon; just in the same proud spirit of nationality in which it was afterwards attempted to be shown that the Egyptians had derived their Isis from the Greek Io, not the reverse; nor is there indeed the slightest historical autho-

rity for saying that the Hellenes, as a people, had no original symbolism of the power of procreant love in the system of things, independently of what they borrowed from the Phœnicians. As to the part which Venus plays in the Iliad, that appears to me to depend on no local element, but simply on the fact that the fascination exercised over Paris by the charms of the fair Spartan, could, consistently with the principles of polytheistic piety, be explained on no other principle than that the goddess of love patronizes all successful amorous passion, whether lawful or unlawful in its social aspects. With the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the intercourse between the sexes, Jupiter, the Fates, and the Furies have to do, not Venus. No doubt, the legends of Adonis and Anchises equally prove the original Asiatic haunts of the goddess; but before Homer's time she had been thoroughly naturalized as a European Greek, and the propriety of motives must have made her side with the Trojans, apart from all local traditions. The figure of Aphroditè in the Iliad, and the character which she exhibits, is exactly what she maintained through the many centuries which followed Homer, till the overthrow of heathenism in the early Christian centuries. As to her moral influence, of course, we cannot shut our eyes to the abuses in which her worship culminated at Corinth and other places (Str. VIII. 379, on the ἱερόδουλοι γυναῖκες). It was as easy to quote Venus to give a divine sanction to fornication as to invoke Bacchus to consecrate drunkenness. But there was always moral health enough in the Hellenic social atmosphere, to teach a well-constituted man how to worship the goddess of beauty without making himself a beast, and to revel in the cups of Dionysus without falling into a ditch. In fact, a sound-minded polytheist knew where to strike the balance between the claims of adverse deities, just as we do to make a compromise, when necessary, between our stern principles and our strong passions. Under the proper correction of higher and generally acknowledged principles, the worship of the golden Aphroditè upon the whole exercised a beneficial influence on the Greek mind, and tended to elevate and intensify amongst all classes that delight in the beautiful, graceful,

and attractive, which was so notable a trait in the Greek mind. A sensibility to beauty, as impersonated in fair women, has always been a prominent characteristic of the strongest characters, and the most richly endowed minds; and the Homeric narrative (XIV. 153), which makes even the all-wise Thunderer be deceived by the seductive power of the girdle of Venus, though seemingly undignified, carried no offence to a pious polytheist, and should not be without a certain deeper significancy to us. Of the idle tales of the mythologists, as of the perplexing embranglements of Providence, we may equally say,

> "All things are right when rightly understood,
> And when well used all evil things are good."

But there is a class of persons in the world who will always lay hold of the knife by its blade rather than by its handle; and these deservedly get their hands cut.

VER. 333.—*Enyo, town-destroyer.*

About Enyo, the female counterpart of Mars, there is very little to be found in the writings of the Greeks, beyond what appears on the face of the Iliad. She is certainly not a mere poetical simile, but a thoroughly individualized mythological personage, and as such had a statue along with Venus in the temple of Mars at Athens (Paus. I. 8. 5). From her, or from the etymon of her name, Mars received his well-known surname of *Enyalius*. For the rest, see Welcker, *g. l.* i. 124.

VER. 347.—*Strong-voiced Diomede.*

I decidedly protest against that prosaic principle of interpretation which would make βοή here mean anything else than a simple shout, roar, or loud cry. Donaldson (*N. C.* 284) quotes from the old lexicographers and grammarians, who made it a regular business in such matters to turn poetry into prose. Diomede was simply a lusty-lunged hero—a quality extremely useful whether on the battle-field or the hustings; and there is nothing more to be made of it, and nothing less.

VER. 370.—*Dionè's sacred feet, her mother.*

Dionè appears to us a very pale figure in the mythological gallery of Homer; and yet that she was a very important personage in the oldest religion of Greece, before her place was occupied by Herè, or other more modern deities, or names of one deity, is quite certain. Her appearance among the original six Titanesses of the Greek speculative theology (Apoll. I. 1) may indeed go for little; but that she was practically recognised as the spouse of Jupiter in the Pelasgic worship of Dodona is quite certain (Str. VII. 329, Schol. Od. Butt. iii. 91). We have therefore every reason to consider her, with Welcker (*g. l.* i. 353), as one of the oldest forms of Gee, or the Earth, with the designation of *the Divine*. As one of the most important heavenly personages, she appears, in the Delian hymn to Apollo (93), at the birth of that god. Her position in Homer, as the mother of Venus, is sufficiently dignified, and was no doubt practically recognised by the Greek mind; though we, through the influence of more modern poets, are more familiar with the pretty conceit that the goddess of beauty sprang originally from the foam of the sea—a conceit, however, which has a certain root in the fact, that through all Oriental mythologies the goddess of fecundity has to do with water and moisture, without which generation is impossible.

VER. 383.—*Not few the ills that gods borrow from mortal men.*

The note on I. 399 endeavoured to give some explanation of those remarkable accounts of wars among the gods, so common in all polytheistic mythologies. The present passage goes a step farther, and touches on the more human topic of hostility between gods and men, of which a somewhat different explanation has to be given. It must be observed, however, that the mortals who do violence to the gods on these occasions are not common mortals, but the sons either of Jove or of Neptune; exactly as we find in the well-known notice of antediluvian נְפִילִים (γίγαντες) in Gen. vi. 4. Nevertheless they partake of death, and must in any view be looked

on as representing man, his aspirations and his struggles, much more than Prometheus, who was in every respect a god, co-equal, so far as parentage went, with the supreme Jove. What then are we to understand by those sufferings which the immortal gods have to endure at the hands of mortals? No doubt generally there is a moral meaning in these traditions, directed against the pride and insolence of mighty men, who, glorying either in their physical strength, or in their advanced intelligence and the progress of the age, and so forth, think that they can defy the common laws of nature, and execute heaven-scaling schemes whether God will or whether he will not. Such vain imaginations and their results, are typified for all times in the Mosaic history of the tower of Babel, and Horace clearly recognised the same moral in the Greek legends about the battles of the giants (*Carm.* III. 4. 42). So far, these traditions spring out of a perfectly natural and healthy moral feeling; but there is a class of cases in which it is no less certain that the feeling which inspired the legend was essentially unhealthy, and founded on a cowardly and unproductive superstition. Pausanias, than whom no writer represents more accurately the general tone of Hellenic piety, in mentioning the attempt that had been made by the Emperor Nero to cut through the Isthmus of Corinth, and make the Morea an island, after instancing another futile attempt of the same kind at Mount Mimas, in Asia Minor, goes on to say that such attempts can never be expected to succeed: οὕτω χαλεπὸν ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ θεῖα βιάσασθαι (II. 1. 5)—*so difficult it is for mortal men to do violence to things divinely ordained.* According to this notion, the most impious persons in modern times are the engineers and railway-makers, who make tunnels and ignore the divinely-instituted plan and formation of inequalities of surface on the globe. Now, that some superstitious feeling of this kind was the true inspiration of some of the old stories of struggles between men and gods—that is, in modern language, between man and nature,—seems to me quite certain; for we find that Hercules, for instance, fights with the god Achelous in one place, and with the Lernæan Hydra in another, precisely in those parts of Greece where an inspection of the

ground shows distinctly that no agricultural improvement could have taken place without some such violence done to nature as is symbolized in the legend (see Mure's *Greece*, ii. 194). Taking this example of Hercules as a great agricultural improver for our guide, we may find good reason to agree with Preller (*Myth.* i. p. 69) and Nitzsch (*Od.* xi. 305-314), that in the legend of the Aloadæ we have the exaggerated portraits of some heroes of early civilisation, whose hearts were, perhaps, lifted up by their achievements, and thus incurred—as pride always does in some shape or other—the righteous indignation of the gods. In this case, as Preller well observes, the hostility between these champions of agricultural improvement and the god Ares, would only be the natural hostility between the arts of peace and war; and the probability of this view is made stronger by the fact that in the local traditions of Ascra in Bœotia, Otus and Ephialtes really were reverenced as early civilizers of the district, and were said to have introduced the worship of the Muses, long previous to the well-known influences which proceeded from Pieria and Thrace (Paus. ix. 29, and particularly Müller, *Orchom.* 380). These observations may satisfy the thoughtful reader that whatever explanation of these strange myths may seem the most probable, there is at least not the slightest necessity for interpolating into Greek mythology any hint of that monstrous power of mortal men over the immortal gods, which is so prominent a characteristic of the sacred poems of the Hindus.

Ver. 397.—*With the king of hell in combat strove at Pylos.*

The wonder-working strength of the Greek Samson could not be considered to have reached its proper climax till he should have joined combat with the immortal gods, and to a certain extent prevailed in the strife. Hence the collision of the son of Alcmena with Apollo, Poseidon, and Pluto, which Pindar sings and his scholiast expounds (*Ol.* ix. 40-50). The details of the expedition here mentioned, in which Hercules overcame the very god of death, will be found in the scholiast to Pindar and in Pausanias; the parti-

cular Pylus, of course, where so notable a feat took place, was a matter of dispute (II. 591), but the good citizens of Elis had surely a very strong claim to advance in favour of their city, if, as Pausanias reports (VI. 25. 3), they were the only Hellenic people who paid regular worship to the grim king of the infernal realm. Of course there were intermeddlers with the Homeric text, who, to display their ingenuity, or because they could not construe ἐν νεκύεσσι βαλών as I have done in the text, were forced to change Πύλῳ into Πύλῃ, *i.e.*, τῇ τῶν νεκρῶν; but, not to mention the violence thus done to popular tradition, the Homeric use imperatively requires that we speak of the *gates of hell* in the plural, as in IX. 312, not the singular. This is my view; but Drb. and D., in their version, have the high authority of Aristarchus and Spitzner on which to repose. Bekker prints with a capital.

VER. 401.—*Then Pæon dropt into his wound the juice.*

In this line, and ver. 899 below, we have a remarkable instance of the theology of Homer not being followed up by the usage of the Greek people. Generally speaking, Herodotus was right when (II. 53) he named Homer and Hesiod as the grand authorities in all matters of Greek theology; but with regard to Pæon both Homer and Hesiod (schol. *Od.* IV. 232) agree in laying down a distinction between this god and Phœbus Apollo, which the future religious doctrine of Greece did not recognise; and accordingly we find that a mark was placed at ver. 899 by the Alexandrian critics, on account of the singularity of making any other god than Apollo the heavenly physician;—for that Apollo was the great source of all healing power, though the practice was delegated by him to his son Æsculapius, cannot be doubted. He was the grand ἰατρόμαντις, physician and soothsayer in one, of the Greek religion (Æschyl. *Eum.* 62); he is often invoked by the name of Pæon (Hom. *Hym. Apoll.* 272; Eurip. *Ion*, 124); and παιάν, when it signifies a *hymn*, has a special application to Apollo (I. 473). It is quite certain, however, that in Homer there is no trace of Pæon being identical with Apollo. What the proper force of the word was is diffi-

cult to say. Παιώνιος afterwards became an adjective, signifying *healing* or *curative* generally (Æschyl. *Agam.* 98); but whether this was the original meaning of the phrase we cannot say with certainty. It seems, however, not improbable that the word Παιών or Παιάν was originally only an epithet given to Apollo as ἀκέσιος or the healer (Paus. VI. 24. 5), and that in some local worship this epithet might have assumed the prominence of a separate personality.

VER. 447.—*Latona.*

"Why," asks Gladstone (ii. 147), "has this pale and colourless figure such very high honours so jealously asserted for her?" and then he goes on to explain why, by a theory in harmony with his peculiar way of interpreting Greek mythology. The fact is, there is nothing strange about the matter, and nothing that requires to be explained by a reference to "the strong element of traditive theology in Homer," or any other profound cause. If she is comparatively pale and colourless among the bright array of the Olympian personages, it is for the same reason that the Virgin Mary has so little prominence given to her in the gospel history; simply because the progeny and not the parent is the grand object of interest. If, notwithstanding this pale and colourless personality, she nevertheless has certain high honours assigned to her, it is just for the same reason that similar honours of a much higher kind are paid to the Virgin Mary in the worship of the Roman Church. It seemed incongruous to worship the son and daughter, and to let the mother go altogether without notice. As to the significance of this maternity, I think there cannot be the slightest doubt that Welcker and other German mythologists are right in considering that Λητώ is connected with λανθάνω, λήθη, *lateo*, and means what is *secret* and *hidden*, *obscure* and *dark;* and it is consistent with the genius of all mythological genealogies, which proceed not on the notion of metaphysical causation, but on that of succession as observed by the senses, to make sun and moon, that is, Apollo and Artemis, born of Darkness, just as Cosmos comes out of Chaos. With this

significance the epithet κυανόπεπλος, *sable-vested*, given to the goddess in Hesiod (*Theog.* 406), completely corresponds.

VER. 500.—*Yellow Ceres.*

Δημήτηρ is, as Gladstone remarks, "a feeble luminary in the Homeric heavens." That she should be so, in the Iliad at least, is nothing strange, as in an essentially warlike poem there was no part to play for the principle of agricultural productiveness. In the Odyssey, no doubt, she might have been brought into prominence by Eumæus, the divine swineherd, had the poet so wished; but Homer had too much sense to be ever dragging gods and goddesses into his canvas, just to show that he knew something about them. As to the meaning of the word, there is a concurrent tradition of the ancients that Δᾶ (a root which occurs separately only in Hesych.) is an old Doric form of Γᾶ, the Earth (Æsch. *Prom.* 580, schol.; and Theoc. IV. 17, schol.), an etymology which gives a most natural and kindly significance—*mother Earth*,—to the power which causes flowers to blossom and corn to ripen. This doctrine of the ancients has been strongly defended by Welcker (*g. l.* i. 386), but as strongly controverted by Ahrens (*Dial. Dor.* p. 80), a high authority on such matters, and Schœmann on the passage of Æschylus just quoted. I do not feel my mind quite ripe for decision.

VER. 509.—*The golden-sworded Apollo.*

Though we are not accustomed to the idea of Apollo wearing a sword, yet the usage of Homer does not warrant us in translating χρυσάωρ otherwise than *golden-sworded*. That the word ἄορ signifies *a sword* in Homer, is manifest from many passages, and especially from *Od.* VIII. 403-6, where it is explained by ξίφος. The ensigns and badges of the gods in early times were by no means always the same as those by which they were uniformly distinguished in the palmy days of Grecian art (see Müller's *Dorians*, ii. 8, 17). We have even an ἔγχειος Ἀφροδίτη, a *spear-bearing Venus*, familiar to the ear of every Cyprian, but recovered by us only with dusty diligence out of a moth-eaten old lexicographer (Hesych. *in voce*);

and I cannot help agreeing with Passow, when he says, that with warlike nations the sword, generally, like the spear, was an emblem of authority and power, and might be given to Apollo or to Jove (Str. XIV. 660) as well as to the god of war. I do not, however, deny that in the popular imagination, when the epithet χρυσάορος was applied to Demeter, for instance, as in Hom. *Hym. Dem.* 4, it might be interpreted, *bearing a golden sickle*, while, when applied to Artemis (Herod. VIII. 77), it might seem to mean, *bearing a golden bow and arrow*, the more so that the word ἄορ etymologically signified not the sword, but the belt from which the sword was suspended, and might therefore be taken for any instrument suspended from a belt (compare English *hanger*). Newman, however, is not justified by such considerations in translating the word "golden-belted" in this passage, first, because there is a confusion thus introduced between ἄορ and ζωστήρ, and again, because, according to Homeric usage, ἄορ means a *sword*, and only a sword.

VER. 543.—*Whose sire in well-built Pheræ dwelt.*

There is no dispute now among the learned that the Homeric *Pheræ* is the modern Kalamata, a town at the head of the large bay which divides the southernmost district of Messene from the same district of Sparta. The ancient town, according to the accounts of Str. (VIII. 361), and Paus. (IV. 31. 1), was much nearer the sea than the modern one; but the gradual encroachment of the land upon the sea in certain flat situations at the mouths of rivers, a fact well known to the ancients (Paus. VIII. 24. 5), has been set forth by Lyell and other geologists with the certainty of a law. Kalamata retained its importance through the middle ages; it was the birthplace and favourite residence of William Villehardouin II., and played a prominent part also in the military movements of later times. In the Odyssey (III. 488), it is the resting place of Telemachus, in his journey from Pylus to Sparta. The discrepancies between the topographic possibilities of the distance between this place and Sparta, and the description of the journey of Telemachus in the Odyssey, do not concern us here;

but those who do not worship the mere letter of Homer will be glad to see them cleverly handled by Clark in his *Peloponnesus* (ch. xiii.), with whose view of the matter I entirely concur. That Homer is always a picturesque topographer there can be no doubt; but that he knew, or cared to know, every minute detail of the comprehensive geography which his works embrace, as well as Sir Walter Scott knew the braes of Tweeddale, or Robert Burns the banks of the Doon, I will believe when it is proved that Moses was a great astronomer, and not sooner.

VER. 612.—*Pæsus.*

The Παισός of this passage is by Strabo held to be a mere variation of Ἀπαισός (II. 828). This word is an excellent instance of the power of the accent in the living speech of the ancient Greeks, which our British scholars so unscientifically pervert; for there cannot be the slightest doubt, with those who know the history of language as a living organism, not as a dead tradition in a book, that this variation was caused principally by the force of the oxytone accentuation.

VER. 628.—*Hercules' son, Tlepolemus.*

This hero, to whom we were introduced above (II. 653), and whose story is there sufficiently told, represents to us the Doric element which peopled Rhodes, and the part taken by the Doric isles of the Ægean in the great Trojan war. The minute points in his history, with their legendary variations, as they may be seen in Clinton (i. 79) and Müller (*Dor.* I. 128), need not detain us. He has received a noble consecration from the genius of Pindar (*Ol.* VII.)

VER. 693.—*The green-spread oak.*

We are apt to translate φηγός *beech*, but Paus. (VIII. 12. 1) says distinctly that it was a kind of *oak*. Nothing is more difficult, in many cases, than to fix down to a particular species the loose descriptions of objects of natural history which we inherit from the

ancients; but when supplemented by the testimony of intelligent modern travellers, these accounts often supply a species of evidence which, to a reasonable mind, is quite satisfactory. On the φηγός, Curtius has the following remarks (*Pelop.* i. p. 157):—"Among the forest-trees of Arcadia, which owe their sturdy growth to the many mountain springs, the oaks are the more remarkable, that the traditions of the Arcadians connect them with the first beginnings of civilisation. Among the many species of oak indigenous to the south of Europe, there are some so free from acridness as to be useful for human food, either raw or roasted. It is extremely difficult to decide the exact species which was called φηγός by the Greeks, and honoured as a bread-tree by the Pelasgi, not only on account of the great similarity of the different kinds, but also because, according to the express testimony of Theophrastus, the names of the various species of oaks were used very loosely. According to Link the φηγός is the *quercus ægilops*, the most beautiful forest-tree of the Morea, of which the tooth-like leaves run out into a long point like a brush, and are renewed every year. Link's view is confirmed by the local tradition of the language; for the modern Greek name *Velanidia* is manifestly a diminutive from βάλανος, the name given by the ancients to the fruit of the φηγός. The tree is of great importance to the modern Greeks, on account of the extensive use of the cups of the flower, under the name of *Valonea*, for tanning, one of the most important exports of Greece." This evidence should certainly be held sufficient to establish a presumption that φηγός in Homer means *oak*, till some indications to the contrary shall appear.

VER. 749.—*The gates of heaven, kept by the Hours.*

The HOURS or Seasons are secondary or ministering goddesses, naturally belonging to the train of Jove, as the god of the skies, and for this reason represented by Phidias on the pedestal of the statue of the Olympian at Elis (Paus. v. 11. 2). In the present passage (and VIII. 393) they are assigned to Herè as the female Jove. Their significance is obvious enough. Originally they seem

to have been only two in number, and under the appropriate names of KARPO and THALLO (fruit and flower) were worshipped at Athens and elsewhere (Paus. IX. 35, III. 18. 7; Poll. VIII. 106). Though they were originally essentially physical, yet the moralizing and theologizing poets of Greece very soon introduced a moral element into their nature; and accordingly in Hesiod (*Theog.* 901) they appear as daughters of Jupiter and Themis, with the ethical designations of Eunomia, Dike, and Irene. This decided moral personality stands in instructive contrast to their purely physical character in the Iliad, and their utter want of all personality in the Odyssey; for in this poem, as Welcker justly remarks, there is no passage in which they appear with even the dignity of a personification; the Διὸς ὧραι in XXIV. 344 being no more distinct from Jove than the Διὸς μοῖρα is in some parts of the Iliad. Both the μοῖραι and the ὧραι, therefore, may stand as most interesting examples of the gradual development of ideas to which all popular religions are, by the law of growth, necessarily subject. The well-marked Fate of later writers is to be found in Homer just as little as the Hours of Hesiod are to be found in the Odyssey.

VER. 754.—*Sitting on many-ridged Olympus' topmost peak alone.*

In a spiritual religion like Christianity the word HEAVEN will always be kept as vague as possible; in an imaginative and sensuous religion, like the Greek, it must be localized. A Zeus with human shape and members must sit on a terrestrial seat; and the only seat proper for him is the highest mountain in the country to which he belongs. Now, as the original seat of the Greeks, when they rested from their long journey by the Caspian and Euxine westward, was the plains of Macedonia and Thessaly, the necessary locality for the throne of the Supreme God and the council of the Immortals was Olympus, the extreme east end of the long Cambunian range separating Thessaly from Macedonia, to the north of the Peneios and the defile of Tempe. This mountain rises from the coast of the Ægean to the height of 9000 feet. Its lower part is well wooded, but its top presents a long ridge, terminating in a

peak. The "wide welkin," or heaven, and "the long or steep Olympus," are distinctly contrasted in *infra*, 877, and xv. 192-3. The conception of the Greek Olympus as being, with its serene top, above the clouds and storms of this lower world, is beautifully given in Mr. Worsley's version of *Od.* VI. 41 :—

> "There, as they tell, the gods securely bide
> In regions where the rough winds never blow,
> Unvisited by mist or rain or snow,
> Veiled in a volant ether, ample, clear,
> Swept by the silver light's perpetual flow;
> Wherein the happy gods from year to year
> Quaff pleasure."

In modern times this mighty mountain has afforded a secure retreat to the wild Greek patriots, who, under the name of Klephts, carried on an unremitting warfare against the Turks.

> Ὅσοι κὶ ἂν ἤστε κλέφταις στὰ ψῆλὰ βουνὰ,
> Ὅλοι νὰ κατεβῆτε, ἀπὸ τὸν Ὄλυμπο
> Κὶ ὅλοι νὰ προσκυνῆστε τὸν Ἀλῆ πασᾶ,

as the ballad has it. On Olympus my authority is *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, par L. Heuzey: Paris, 1860.

VER. 845.—*Pluto's viewless helm.*

Jack the Giant-killer, if I recollect rightly, had a coat that made him invisible, and Fortunatus had a cap. Interesting that these fancies of our modern nursery-tales should rest on such grave authority as Hes. *Scut.* 227; Plato, *Rep.* x. 612 B; and this passage of Homer!

BOOK VI.

VER. 24.—*Born in secret love which law refused to own.*

It is interesting to observe how often illegitimacy occurs in the legendary history of old Greek heroes. We may thence conclude

that the general tone of public feeling—to adopt a modern phrase—in those times, was not pronounced very strongly against such connexions, any more than it is now in certain countries, and among certain classes. That the "*concubitus vagus*" of mere animal appetency has been wisely made subject to the restraints of marriage as they are now observed in all Christian countries, no philosopher can doubt. But the beneficial nature of all moral restraints is admitted long before they are practised; and the procreative impulses of nature are so strong as to have hitherto defied all the wisdom of the wisest, and all the goodness of the best, to make them submit in all cases to a salutary control. In such cases as we have here, the nymph who haunted any wood, or green slope, or river side, seems to have usurped in the popular imagination the place of the real human shepherdess—a metamorphosis which would readily happen when the son was a person of particularly gallant bearing and noble achievement.

VER. 34.—*Where Satnius rolls his flood.*

The Σατνιόεις, or *Satnius*, as I have shortened it, is a small river, or rather mountain-torrent, in the south part of the Troad, which Strabo introduces in his description going eastward from the promontory of Lectum to the town of Assos (XIII. 605).

VER. 39.—*A tamarisk-tree.*

Fraas makes the μυρίκη (X. 466, XXI. 18) the *Tamarix Africana*, but Lenz seems to make it the *articulata*. Both quote Dioscor. (*Mat. Med.* I. 116), who says that it grows in marshy places, produces catkins, and a fruit of the nature of gall-nuts.

VER. 76.—*Helenus, who scans each ominous bird.*

Helenus, according to the account given us by Pausanias (V. 22), was as famous for wisdom among the Trojans as Ulysses among the Greeks; but his wisdom, at least so far as it is shown in the Iliad, was of a different description, being manifested principally by his skill in the sacred art of divination. The prominence of

soothsayers and diviners in ancient history and poetry, must have struck even the most superficial observer of national characteristics, and is specially alluded to as a distinguishing mark of idolatrous peoples by the prophet Isaiah (ii. 6). This class of ministers of religion is carefully to be distinguished from the ἱερεύς, or priest, whose great function was prayer and sacrifice, and who was, moreover, generally confined in his influence to some particular locality where sacred tradition and hallowed habit had formed a focus for the devout feelings of a people towards some particular god. On the other hand, the μάντις, or soothsayer, as exercised with the interpretation of signs whieh might occur anywhere, was confined to no particular locality, and moved about with a man's household, with a royal suite, or with a military expedition, as an indispensable adjunct (Thucyd. VI. 69; Plut. *Nic.* 4). Though the dignity of the μάντις, therefore, might be less, yet his influence, except in the locality where a priest presided, was greater; exactly in the same way that the mendicant orders and travelling friars in the middle ages acquired an influence among the people superior to that of the resident clergy. The eager desire to pry into futurity, which has always been a disease of the human mind, made the services of these persons, who were a superior order of fortune-tellers, always necessary; and where, as in Rome, they formed a college of men of high birth and station, their craft of interpreting the divine will by signs asserted itself not seldom in such a way as to control the whole machinery of government (Liv. VIII. 23). The signs by which they pretended to read the divine will were various; but those derived from the flight and cries of birds—which have a certain foundation in nature—were so predominant, that a diviner by birds, as in the present passage—οἰωνοπόλος—gave name to the whole class. Of their importance in the Homeric times, various passages in the Iliad give sufficient indication (see particularly II. 308 and XIII. 70). Nevertheless their art, as one particularly liable to be abused by feeble or interested persons, was not allowed on all occasions to reign over the consciences of men without contradiction, of which the famous sentence of Hector

in XII. 243 is a good example; and so early as the days of Pericles (Plut. *Per.* 6) we find philosophy, in the person of Anaxagoras, coming in to explain the physical cause (αἰτία) of these portents, which could not fail to weaken considerably the faith of the intelligent in the τέλος, or final cause of their appearance on which the whole science of augury was based. The whole art of augury, as practised among the ancients, is one of the most instructive examples on record, of how far a morbid curiosity, acting along with uninstructed intellect, may go in elevating a pretentious nothing into the dignity of a grave something, which shall not only help the fool to look wise, but direct the destinies of states, make the wise man to forego his wisdom, and the strong man to lose the might of his right hand.

VER. 77.—*Æneas brave and Hector bold.*

After Hector, Æneas is the greatest and most prominent of the Trojan champions in the Iliad; for Sarpedon, who performs such great feats in Book XII., is a Lycian. The Achæans, according to Philostratus (*Her.* 13), used to say that Hector was the hand, and Æneas the mind of the Trojans, and the patriotic rage of the one did not achieve greater deeds than the sober valour of the other. In the Iliad, he is singled out as a worthy antagonist of Achilles, when that hero reappears in the battle, glowing with the fire of a terrible vengeance (XX. 175), but here, as on other occasions, with all his valour, he seems to make rather a poor figure, as the popular tradition forced the poet to save his life on each occasion by the special intervention of a god. For this tradition taught, that, when the gods had satiated their wrath on old Priam and his house, Æneas, the great-grandson of Tros, and nearly related to the royal family, should be spared to continue the race of Dardans in the region of Mount Ida, and give a local consecration to the memory of the ill-fated Priam (Dionysius realizes this in the person of Ascanius, *R. A.*, I. 47). This tradition Homer knew, and has specially mentioned (XX. 307), from which passage Mr. Gladstone, with certain ancients (D. H., *R. A.* I. 53) concludes, "in all pro-

bability the poet must have seen the grandchildren of Æneas reigning over the land of Priam," of which small remnant of the magnificent old kingdom of the Troad, there is indeed distinct historical evidence of the most unquestioned kind (Herod. v. 122). How from this relic of the royal line of Priam, divinely preserved in one of the defiles of Mount Ida, the magnificent legend grew, out of which Virgil constructed his great poem, has been very ingeniously explained by Müller (*Dor.* ii. 2, 4). Nothing, indeed, was more natural than that, when the great stream of emigration went from Greece to the south of Italy, traditions should in various ways arise connecting the most notable colonies of Magna Græcia with the most renowned heroes of the Trojan war; and when Rome rose in importance above all the Italian cities south of the Apennines, she would naturally claim her part in the heroic and divine ancestry which belonged to the whole region over which her influence extended. The faculty of lying, ingeniously employed in the service of real or imagined national affinities, in conscious and unconscious bosoms, is always waiting ready for such reputable uses. Homer knew nothing of an Æneas beyond the bounds of the Ægean sea, because the piety of his poem allowed him to rest content with the simple fact that a remnant of the royal house of Priam still survived in one of their native glens; but whosoever, with Rückert (*Troja*, 249), finds the legend of Æneas too deeply seated in the faith of the early Romans to have arisen without some real historical foundation, will believe nothing that is absurd or contrary to probability.

VER. 90.—*Thence let her take the richest robe.*

The πέπλος. It is extremely difficult to attempt giving anything like exactness to our conception of this word, as the ancients themselves (Poll. VII. 50) felt that there was a great vagueness in its use, and that it seemed to signify sometimes a garment like a shawl, thrown over the other garments, and sometimes what we call a gown, drawn closely over the body. These points, however, are certain—(1.) that Chapman was wrong in translating it "a veil,"

for though it might be employed to cover the head and face, and is often so represented in the monuments (see Smith, *Dict. Ant.*, *Peplum*), there cannot be the slightest doubt that whether in the shape of an ἔνδυμα or an ἐπίβλημα, it was large enough to cover the whole body. For (2.) that it was not a small garment of any kind, whether veil or light scarf, is obvious from its most general use in those passages of Homer where it signifies large cloths, quilts, or coverlets for covering chariots (v. 194) or couches (*Od.* VII. 96). (3.) It is quite certain also that in many passages of the Attic dramatists, it is used for that part of female dress which when torn displays the breast (Soph. *Trach.* 920). (4.) In Homer, it is exclusively a female garment, and in the famous passage (ver. 834), the πέπλος of Athenè seems expressly contrasted with the χιτών of Jove. (5.) With regard to this πέπλος of Athenè, as it was known in later times, it is expressly testified by Pollux (*ubi supra*), that it was an upper garment thrown over the under garment or gown, which was closely adapted to the body. (6.) The female figures in full dress, exhibited in works of ancient art, entirely justify Mr. Yates (Smith's *Dict. Ant.*) in stating that the large outer garment worn by these figures is the πέπλος, while the χιτών, tunic, or gown, distinctly appears below. But (7.) in reference to the oldest Homeric vestment, Eustathius may be quite right when, in his commentary on Iliad v. 734, and elsewhere, he maintains decidedly that the Homeric peplus is a γυναικεῖος χιτών ὅν οὐκ ἐνεδύοντο ἀλλ' ἐπερονῶντο; and such a primitive old Hellenic πέπλος=χιτών was in all likelihood that which we see represented in bronzes from Herculaneum (*Mus. Borb.* II. 4. 6; Bekker's *Char. Excurs.* i. *sc.* 11).

So much for the significance of the word. With regard to the action, the dressing of the gods, and the presentation of splendid robes to adorn their images, was a natural consequence of having gods made after the likeness of men; and accordingly we find that among the various ἀναθήματα, or votive gifts to the gods, splendidly embroidered robes were not the least notable (Eurip. *Ion*, 326). In some states it was the practice at sacred festivals

to present publicly an embroidered robe to the principal goddess, as to Herè every five years at Olympia (Paus. v. 16. 2). But the most celebrated presentation of this kind was that made to the patron goddess of Athens, at the feast of the Panathenæa, where the saffron πέπλος was beautifully embroidered with the battle of the giants, in which Pallas performed a similar part to that which belongs to St. Michael in Christian legend. This peplus was affixed to a pole or mast, and drawn through the streets of Athens in a vehicle, shaped like a ship, till it found its proper resting-place in the temple of Athena Polias in the Acropolis (see Smith, *Dict. Ant.*, *Donaria*). We have only to add, that on ver. 92, Strabo (XIII. 601) remarks properly, that according to the plain meaning of language, the statue of Pallas here alluded to must, like many of the Egyptian statues, have been in a sitting posture, though in later times the erect attitude for this goddess had become universal.

VER. 109.

A god, they said, with aid to Troy hath stooped from the sky.

Under a polytheistic system of religion the idea must always be present to the mind of pious believers that whenever any extraordinary display of power is made by a being in human shape, that being may perhaps be not a mere mortal, but a god in the disguise of a man. Of this tendency the well-known scene at Lystra and Derbe, Acts xiv. 11, is a familiar example; and an exactly similar scene is painted by Euripides in *Iphig. Taur.* 267.

VER 127.

For only sires of hopeless sons approach to borrow fear from me.

The thoughtful reader will not fail to note here and in other places (VII. 199) that a certain boastfulness and triumphant self-assertion is one of the moral characteristics of the Homeric heroes, a peculiarity which was noted as a gross fault in Homer's conception of the heroic character by De la Motte (*Discours sur Homère*, p. 31); but, in truth, though it may not be altogether free from blame, when measured by the highest standard, it is a far more

truthful, noble, and healthy thing than the artificial modesty and mock humility so much practised in these times. It is certain indeed that the value of humility has been not a little overrated by Christian moralists, so as seriously to interfere with the foundation of all excellence, truth, and nature. In the Psalms of David, with abundance of humiliation on all proper occasions, we have at the same time a tone of honest self-estimate and healthy self-esteem, which stands strongly contrasted with the exaggerated expressions of humility traditional among certain modern Christians; with regard to which spurious virtue one may say well, with an ingenious and learned Scotsman,[1] "that the humility which shuts its eyes when it ought to use them is stupid, and the humility which would constrain others to shut theirs is insolent." We must not suppose, however, that arrogance and vain self-exaltation was viewed as a harmless frame of mind even by the Greeks; on the contrary, ὕβρις is constantly characterized by them as not only a great sin, but as the mother of all great sins. In this doctrine the oldest ante-Homeric legends, as that of Capaneus, the language of our hero in this place (ver. 129-141), the gravest tragic wisdom of the later Greeks, and the sober conclusions of Socrates and Aristotle, conspicuously agree.

VER. 130.—*For even Dryas' kingly son, Lycurgus.*

This strange passage from the sacred legend of Dionysus was always a great stumbling-block in the way of those ancients who, like pious old Plutarch, exercised themselves in the laudable endeavour to reconcile the crude allegories of an elemental theology with the sober conclusions of ripe reason (Dionys. *Arch. Rom.* II. 19). And, indeed, like the legend of Briareus in Book I., it has more affinity with the exaggerated myths of the Hindus and ancient Egyptians (Plut. *Is. and Os.* 25) than with the natural and graceful mythology of the Greeks. Dionysus altogether, when we look beyond his superficial aspect as a mere wine-god, shows many fea-

[1] Dr. Ballantyne, First Three Chapters of Genesis, Sanscrit and English, London: 1860.

tures of Asiatic wildness and fierceness which do not harmonize well with the rhythmical and well-ordered worship of the Hellenic Apollo. Some of the most ancient usages and ceremonies practised in his worship, specially in Bœotia (Plut. *Quæst. Græc.* p. 299 Xyl.; Ant. Lib. 10—Μινυάδες; Paus. IX. 8. 1; Plut. *Them.* 13; Clem. Al. *Prot.* ch. 3), speak plainly of an age in the religious history of Greece when the sacred rage of infuriated devotees found a horrid gratification in the shedding of human blood; and though these savage traits are found occasionally in the worship of gods the most completely Hellenic, as in the well-known case of Lycæan Jove in Arcadia, nevertheless, in the present case, along with other significant circumstances, they may be taken as indications that the worship of Dionysus was originally foreign to the Hellenic religion, and was introduced at an early period from abroad, in the same manner that Cybele was brought from Phrygia to Rome at the time of the Punic wars. Two things are certain—(1.) that Herodotus not only classes Dionysus with such inferior deities or demigods as Hercules and Pan, but says distinctly that these three were the youngest of the gods (II. 145); (2.) that he never obtained a place among the proper Olympian gods of Greece, and is mentioned in Homer only twice in the Odyssey (XI. 325 and XXIV. 74) in the most incidental way, and in the Iliad only in the present remarkable passage. Here also it is to be noted that he does not figure on Greek, but on Thracian ground; and that the native seat of his worship was Thrace and Macedonia is a fact than which there is nothing better attested in the whole range of the most ancient Hellenic tradition (Herod. V. 7; Arrian, *Alex.* IV. 8; Plut. *Alex.* 2; Str. X. 471). Naxos, indeed, the great seat of Dionysiac worship, and whose coins were stamped with the face of the wine-god, was originally a Thracian colony (Diod. Sic. V. 50). If, with these distinct indications of an originally non-Hellenic character in the worship of this god, we venture to interpret the myth of Lycurgus and Dionysus in the plain historic sense of a fact in the history of religion, we shall surely not make ourselves liable to the reproach of a meagre imagination and a prosaic Euhemerism. That the strug-

gles of rival religions form a natural theme for mythological fiction in a mythological age cannot be denied, and is recognised by the interpreters of the Puranas in the most express terms (Wilson, *Vishnu Purana*, p. 61); and in the particular case of Dionysus it is not merely in this legend of the king of Thrace, but in the story of Orpheus, belonging to the same region, and in the Bœotian legend of Pentheus, that we seem to discover distinctly the traces of a great religious struggle and conflict caused by the intrusion of the wild Oriental worship of the wine-god into regions pre-occupied by devotion to more mild and sober deities. As to the real nature of the god who from such doubtful beginnings rose afterwards to share with Apollo and Demeter the highest honours of Hellenic piety, the prominence given to the *phallus* in the representative imagery of his worship leaves no room to doubt that the generative and procreant power of nature in its masculine function is the main idea represented by Dionysus, of which all-pervading and all-powerful principle wine of course is only an external and popular symbol. Why the wine-god, when suffering a momentary defeat from the Thracian monarch, retreats into the sea and is saved by Thetis, it is perhaps over curious to inquire; but there is no inconsistency in supposing, with Welcker, Gerhard, Mackay (*Progress of the Intellect*, i. 256), and others, that in his original character this god represented the principle of humidity generally, as that without which no growth and no life is possible. I need scarcely add that Uschold and other German transcendentalists find it easy work to transmute the king of Thrace into an epithet of the sun. According to these theorists there is no such thing as even the smallest historical nucleus at the bottom of the whole mass of old Greek religious and heroic tradition. Not only Lycurgus and Pentheus and Perseus, but Achilles and Diomede, and the king of men himself, are merely epithets of old Pelasgic or ante-Pelasgic gods, degraded into heroes with a human history by the ignorance and prejudice of more recent intrusive races. What particle of truth these fancies contain has been already indicated (*Dissertations*, p. 67). Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, v. p. 17) laments that the mythical mania raging in

Germany for two generations like a pestilence, has driven many ingenious and learned men to within a few degrees of absolute madness.

Ver. 152-210.—*Ephyre, Sisyphus, and Bellerophon.*

Ephyre is the old name of Corinth, and Sisyphus is the great local hero of that city, so early distinguished by maritime enterprise, commercial wealth, and Phœnician connexions (Curt. *Pel.* ii. 518 and 590). Whether his name has anything to do with σοφός, as naturally occurred to the ancients, were rash to assert; but certainly he stands forward in old tradition as one of the most prominent types of that practical wisdom, far-reaching foresight, and cunning, which the Greeks so much admired. The fables about him accordingly are wild enough, going even so far, according to Eustathius, as to give him the credit of fettering the king of terrors, and causing a temporary cessation of the work of death upon the earth;[1] but these marvellous exaggerations need not hinder us from accepting the historical significance of his name in the words of Professor Curtius, as follows:—"Among the mixed population of Corinth, a royal house of Æolian princes occurs. The founder of it, Sisyphus, the father of Porphyrion, the sea-purple man, and also the founder of the worship of Melicertes, is distinguished for cunning, love of gain, and wicked wiles; his character is identical with that of Palamedes, a type of the wandering, sharp-witted race of merchant-sailors, inhabitants of the coast, by whom the simple agriculturists of the inland districts were so often overreached." I am willing to go a step further, and say, that, though I could not sit down and give a serious history of the royal house of Sisyphus in Corinth, I think it quite as probable that he was a real king representing a class, as a mere type chosen to symbolize a class. With regard to Bellerophon, his blameless grandson, his story is told in Homer with a modest simplicity, that looks much more like reality than any of that solar or Neptunian

[1] See this part of the legend of Sisyphus admirably worked out by Sir E. Bulwer Lytton in his *Lost Tales of Miletus*.

symbolism so dear to the fancy-hunters and idea-mongers of Germany. The well-known legend of the winged horse, on which the Corinthian hero was mounted, and in the pride of aërial horsemanship attempted to assail Olympus (Pind. *Isth.* VII. 64), is manifestly the invention of a later age; as, indeed, all myths which can be historically traced through different stages exhibit a process of growth from the simple to the complex, from the natural to the marvellous. Surely from this simplicity of form in many of the most ancient mythological traditions, the Germans might have drawn an inference not at all favourable to their pet notion of recognising in all mythological personalities only religious symbols and types. Had Bellerophon been originally, as Uschold in his wild way will have it, a predicate of the sun, afterwards the sun himself, and then the same god degraded into a solar hero, or, had he been "a type of a very ancient Lycian worship of light," as Preller conceives (ii. 54), it would appear natural that the further we go back into his story, the more clearly the marvellous traces should appear of his winged horse, airy travels, and other signs of kinship with Phœbus Apollo. But the reverse is the case. Homer tells a plain human story with very little exaggeration, and the celestial embellishment comes afterwards. As for the Greeks themselves, they believed in Bellerophon precisely as we believe in St. Columba and divers saints of the middle ages, while to the Corinthians he was as much a reality as Theseus to the Athenians, and Æsculapius to the good people of Tricca, before their skilful mortal leech became a skill-imparting immortal god. In the Craneion, or public gardens of that voluptuous city, the grandson of Sisyphus had a shrine where he was worshipped as a demigod (Paus. II. 2. 4). On the coins of that city also his winged horse constantly appears; his exploits were painted on the vestibule of the temple of Delphi (Eurip. *Ion*, 204), and in many works of art; and now the remarkable connexion between Corinth and Lycia in the person of this hero, which Homer describes, has received an enduring testimony from the Xanthian marbles brought from Lycia by the late Sir Charles Fellowes, and now exhibited in a special

chamber of the British Museum. On these marbles the form of the dread CHIMERA is clearly seen, a mythological portent which is most naturally referred to the volcanic character of the country (Spratt and Forbes' *Travels in Lycia*, p. 159, and other authorities in Preller, ii. 58), though here also the perverse ingenuity of some mythological expositors has not been slow to seek for other and less obvious explanations (P. Knight, *Symbol.* 127; Forchhammer, *Hell.* 241). As for the SOLYMI, that a historical reality lies at the bottom of their contest with Bellerophon is clearly indicated by Herodotus in a familiar passage (I. 173). The Solymi were the original inhabitants of the plain, whom the intrusive Lycians, said to be of Cretan origin, drove back into the mountains. The third enemy with whom Bellerophon had to contend was the AMAZONS, whom Uschold as usual transmutes, by mythological jugglery, into an epithet of the moon-goddess, but the historical germ of whose fabulous history has been clearly pointed out by Welcker (*Anhang zur Trilogie*), and acknowledged by Gerhard (*Myth.* 865). There are a great number of accredited testimonies with regard to certain states in which the women, by law of succession and otherwise, asserted an allowed superiority. Aristotle makes distinct mention of these γυναικοκρατούμενοι (*Pol.* II. 9); Plutarch testifies the same with regard to the Celts, *De Virtute Mul.* p. 246, Xyl.) Polybius speaks indubitably with regard to the Locri Epizephyrii (XII. 5), and Herodotus of the Issedones (IV. 26). Diodorus mentions some usages of the same kind that prevailed in Egypt (I. 27), and Tacitus (*Germ.* 45) is not a little scandalized when he has to record, with regard to one of the German tribes, the Sitones, that FEMINA DOMINATUR. But these analogies need scarcely be cited now, when the explorations of recent African travellers have made the panoplied figures of the Dahomey Amazons familiar to every taster of the current literature of the hour.

Had the ancient Spartans, instead of dwelling next door to the Athenians, been a people living on the borders of the Black Sea, at the roots of Caucasus, the gymnastic exercises practised by their women would have furnished material enough for the growth of a

legion of Amazonian fables. The proper country of the Amazons lies on the coast of the Black Sea (Str. xi. 503; Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i. 283; Ap. Rhod. ii. 979), and if they are mentioned as being found in Africa and elsewhere, this is no confirmation of Uschold's wild notion that they merely represent the wanderings of the moon; but the name of Amazons, having once gained currency, would be transferred in mythological language to all countries where, in apparel, warlike dances, or otherwise, the female seemed to present herself with some part of that bellicose aspect which naturally belongs to the male.

These remarks, intended generally to vindicate the historical reality of the Amazons, though certainly not to advocate the acceptance of all their alleged achievements with a literal faith, as Gillies (ch. i.) following Arrian (vii. 13) seems to have done, do not, of course, preclude, but rather invite, any special explanation of so remarkable a phenomenon proceeding on a historical basis. Of these, by far the best is that which is largely set forth in one of the best books which we owe to the profound research and comprehensive speculation of the Germans, viz., Duncker's *Geschichte des Alterthums* (i. p. 232). This writer finds the origin of the Amazons in the worship of the war-goddess at Comona in Cappadocia, so well described by Strabo, himself a Cappadocian (xii. 535 and 557). The servants of this goddess would naturally be of the female sex, and of their worship the war-dance, with appropriate costume, would be a characteristic element. Accordingly we find that the Amazons, when in their progress westward they came to Ephesus, worshipped a goddess, whom the Greeks identified with their Artemis (Paus. vii. 2. 4), and that the principal part of the worship consisted of a Pyrrhic dance, described by Callimachus (*Hym. Dian.* 237). The strange apparition of these warlike priestesses, at various places where their religion might be carried, would be germ enough for the invention of all those fabulous expeditions, in which Hercules, Theseus, and old Priam (iii. 189) took so distinguished a part. So much for the great points of this beautiful legend of Bellerophon. One or two minor things remain to be noted. Ver. 169 has always

attracted attention, as being the only one in Homer where allusion is made to WRITING and written correspondence. But there cannot be a doubt that the words used are too vague to authorize any conclusion with regard to the use of writing in the poet's time; for neither does σῆμα mean γράμμα, nor does γράφω in such a loose connexion necessarily mean writing (VII. 187). In ver. 174, the reader will note the frank usage of ancient HOSPITALITY, the most sacred virtue in the ancient code of morals, whereby entertainment is given to the stranger for nine days before his name is asked (so in the *Gudrun* twelve days). Matters are now reversed. We must have the name and certification first, and not till then a warm reception and an open board. In ver. 200, the latter days of this brilliant hero are described with a simple truthfulness to which the ambitious melodramatic finale of the legend as afterwards embellished, forms a striking contrast. The lives of not a few remarkable characters, which, after being spent in the excitement of great and brilliant achievement, end, by a sort of collapse, in moody indifference and lonely melancholy, present a fine parallel (see particularly Plutarch's *Lysander*, 2). Of course, in the language of ancient polytheistic piety, a man who becomes the prey of melancholy, and finds no joy in his existence, is said to be "hated of all the gods." The beautiful phrase, ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, has been imitated by Spenser—

> "*He could not rest, but did his stout heart eat,*
> *And waste his inward gall with deep dispight.*"
>
> *F. Q.* I. c. 2.

In v. 201, the "ALEIAN PLAIN," whether it has anything to do with the root αλ, signifying to *wander*, or with the αλ in Ἀθήνη ἀλέα, signifying *hot* or *burning*, was well known to the ancients as a real Cilician plain (Herod. VI. 95; Str. XIV. 676). In ver. 205, the death of the hero's daughter by the arrow of the wrathful Artemis is to be explained of the sudden death of a young and beautiful person, which, not being in the usual course of nature, was attributed to the wrath of that goddess, to whom all female deaths of which no cause was obvious, were wont to be attributed. In

the case of a male, the sudden death was attributed to Apollo (see XXIV. 758; *Od.* III. 279; XV. 409). Notice further, in this beautiful episode, the peculiarly tender tie of hospitality established among the fierce old Hellenic warriors (ver. 215), and the custom of exchanging garments, familiar to the readers of the Old Testament (1 Sam. xviii. 4), and *King Arthur* (I. c. 81), and Spenser (*F. Q.* I. 9, 19). So also there is an exchange of gifts and good feeling in the most chivalrous fashion between Ajax and Hector (VII. 299).

VER. 234.—*Kronos' son in his wits did Glaucus fine.*

The Greeks had always a shrewd notion of the value of money; and here the minstrel shows his essential genus as a poet of the people by expressing sympathy rather with the utilitarian spectator than with the chivalrous actors in the scene. A modern poet would have done quite otherwise. In ver. 236 we observe that money value is not yet known; men and women are estimated only as being worth so many beeves (*Od.* I. 43). Every schoolboy knows that the Latin word *pecunia* comes from *pecus;* and it is plain from the series of quotations in Jamieson (*Fe*), that our own word *fee* can be traced back to the German word *Vieh*—cattle. The wealth of the patriarch Job (i. 3), and of rich Hebrews generally (1 Sam. xxv. 2; compare Gesen. in מִקְנֶה), is estimated in the same way. As a significant mythological expression of this change in the phraseology of value, we may take the god Hermes (XIV. 491), who was first an Arcadian god of sheep, and afterwards the protector of merchants and the patron of thieves and stockjobbers.

VER. 242.—*Hence to the palace straight he hied.*

The minute details of the Greek house belong to the Odyssey, where they form the most important part of the scenery. For our purpose, it will be sufficient to notice the matter as briefly as the incidental allusions in the Iliad demand. Between the Greek dwelling in days of Athenian refinement, and the same house in the age of Homeric simplicity, a marked difference will naturally be expected. Of the earliest form of the Greek house, the old Doric

temple—an oblong parallelogram—preserved in some respects a permanent type. The essential part of the building was the μέγαρον, or great hall, corresponding to our dining-room, and holding exactly the same relation to the whole structure that the nave of a cathedral does to the subordinate parts. This μέγαρον appears everywhere in the Odyssey, as, for all social and public purposes, substantially the house; the other parts are for private and special uses. No trace, I agree with Hayman, is to be found in either poem, of a division of this great public room into two great rooms —"a liberty-hall for the men, and a prison for the women,"— according to the arrangement of later times. A special ἀνδρῶν and γυναικωνῖτις—separate public rooms for men and women— would have been inconsistent equally with the simplicity of the Homeric life and the manners of the heroic age. Neither do we find in Homer any trace of the double αὐλή, or *open court*, both within the precincts of the house, which so prominently appear in later times. The Greek αὐλή of later times was an admirable contrivance both for securing good ventilation, and for always providing a due supply of shade or sunshine, according to the season, which the Bavarian architects, who built great part of modern Athens, would have done well to imitate. But of this internal αὐλή, so distinctly mentioned in Plut. *De gen. Soc.* 32, and other familiar places of the later classics, there is no vestige in Homer. On the contrary, his αὐλή is outside the house proper, and plainly nothing more than that quadrangular enclosure in front of the dwelling-place which is so natural an appendage to a farm-house. The places that mention the εὐερκὴς αὐλή, *or well-fenced court-yard in the front of the house*, are quite distinct (Odyssey XXII. 449, XVIII. 101, XIV. 5, with which the passage in the Iliad, IX. 472-6, where Phœnix describes his escape from his father's house, accurately corresponds). In the tent of Achilles, the αὐλή is ἀμφί his tent (XXIV. 459), which means *in front, and to a certain breadth on either side.* In the midst of this αὐλή there was an altar to Ζεὺς ἑρκεῖος, so called from the ἕρκος, *fence* or *wall* with which the court was surrounded. This sacred site of the family altar was

preserved in ancient times, when the αὐλή was transferred into the interior, as we see in Plato (*Rep.* I. 328). In this open court old Priam performs his sacrifice to Jove (XXIV. 304); and in the same manner Nestor describes Peleus as performing the rites of family piety in Thessaly (XI. 774). Within the αὐλή, in front of the house, or it may have been also all round the αὐλή, were certain long galleries, vestibules, corridors, or lobbies, corresponding to the πρόναος in the Greek temples, and the peculiar vestibule in Ely and other English cathedrals. These were called αἴθουσαι, *glowing*, or *shining*, because, as being in the front of the whole building, and opening to the court, they were full of light. The modern Greeks use this word for any hall or saloon; but in Homer it is either a place of assembly or sort of public open parlour (XX. 11), or it is turned into a sleeping-place for strangers who are to leave the house with sunrise (*Od.* III. 399). Hence it is frequently mentioned on occasion of the departure of guests; and in XXIV. 323, old Priam drives away ἐκ προθύροιο καὶ αἰθούσης ἐριδούπου. The epithet of *echoing*, or *sounding*, here and elsewhere given to it, naturally arose from the contrast between the quiet of the internal part of the house, and the clatter that often prevailed here; for, in all probability, in some of these front corridors were places for wains and chariots; and the ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα (VIII. 435) were the bright-polished or white-washed walls of the αἴθουσαι, against which the cars were leaned when the horses were unyoked. Opposed to the αἴθουσα was the μυχὸς δόμου, or *innermost chamber*, farthest from the door—"*far ben*," as we say in Scotch —where the master and mistress of the house had their private θάλαμος or sleeping-chamber (IX. 663, XXIV. 675). In these passages the disposition of the parts in the hut of Achilles is evidently the same as in the princely palace (*Od.* III. 402). The other θάλαμοι or *chambers*, of which there might be many or few as the family required, would naturally find their place, either in the wings of the μέγαρον, like the chapels of a cathedral, or perhaps, in large establishments, might form a range of building detached from the main pile in the αὐλή, as seems to be indicated in ver.

248 of this passage. Only two other points seem worth mentioning. There was unquestionably an upper storey sometimes in the Homeric house, or, if not a whole storey, at least a chamber or chambers in some part of the building to which the ascent was made by a stair. This was called ὑπερῷον and διῆρες (Poll. I. 84). A similar arrangement was used afterwards sometimes, especially in small houses, as appears from a well-known passage in Lysias (*Caed. Erat.* p. 92, Steph.) The ὑπερῷον in the Iliad (II. 514) and Odyssey (II. 358), and in the passage of Lysias, is manifestly a woman's chamber. As for the roofs, that they were generally flat may be presumed both from the common practice in that part of the world, and from special incidental notices (*Od.* x. 559, Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* II. 2. 1); but the comparison of the attitude of the wrestlers in XXIII. 712 (Poll. I. 82) suggests that the ἀμείβοντες or rafters of a house, leaning against one another with an acute angle, might naturally form a sloping roof. Of windows (θυρίδες) there is no mention in Homer. That they were used afterwards is certain (Ar. *Thesmoph.* 797). The materials of this note I owe principally to Pollux, Bekker's *Char. Excurs.* i. 3, and Hayman's *Odyss.* vol. i. App. F, who confesses his obligations to Rumpf's well-known treatises on this subject.

VER. 290.—*Riches from Sidon brought.*

Of all ancient non-Hellenic peoples, the Phœnicians are that one whose existence and activity is most distinctly appreciable both in the Iliad and the Odyssey. In this latter poem they figure as merchants, swindlers, and kidnappers (XIV. 288, XV. 415; and Herod. I. 1). In the Iliad they are mentioned more favourably as skilful manufacturers, both in woven tissues, as here, and in articles of gold, silver, and copper (XXIII. 742). These metals they brought home in their ships from the ends of the earth: copper from Cyprus, gold from Thasus, silver from Andalusia, and tin from Cornwall (Diod. Sic. v. 35; Str. III. 148; Eust. in Dionys. Perieg. 517). Their woven tissues are specially noted in various places of the Old Testament (2 Chron. ii. 14; Ezek. xxvii.); but whether

manufactured by the Sidonians themselves, or imported from the East, and merely dyed at Tyre, may be doubted. The most famous manufacture of Sidon was glass (Pliny, xxxvi. 26). It is a remarkable fact that Sidon only, and not Tyre, is named in Homer, as also in the books of Moses (Gen. x. 15, and xlix. 13); but the conclusion thence drawn that Sidon is the older city of the two, though probable, is by no means certain. All we can conclude from Homer is that in the parts of the Ægean with which he (or his authorities) was acquainted, Sidonian ships were better known, and the cunning workmanship of the Sidonians more famous. That Tyre was a famous city before the date usually assigned to Homer is quite certain; and the great Phœnician colonies in Africa and Spain always celebrated Tyre, and not Sidon, as their founder (Str. xvi. 756). Of the state of Phœnicia generally in the oldest Homeric and ante-Homeric times, there is an admirable sketch in Duncker (*Ges. Alt.* i. p. 299).

Ver. 299.—*Theano, spouse of Antenor.*

On the subject of celibacy among the ancient Greek priests and priestesses, see above on v. 9; and to the passages there quoted add Paus. ii. 33. 3, ix. 27. 5; Hesych. Παναΐα; Plut. *Num.* 9; Dionys. *Arch.* ii. 67. It is remarkable that the contrast between the ancient Greeks and Romans which the Chæronean here draws exists still in the modern Christian churches of the respective peoples. Roman priests, as all the world knows, practise celibacy; Greek priests marry. Note further that, according to the most natural interpretation of the word ἔθηκαν (ver. 300), the priestess of Athenè in Troy was, like the bishops in the early Christian Church, elected by the people, as was also the case at Pallenè, in Achaia, though the more honourable families had always a preference (Paus. vii. 27. 7). In many places of Greece proper, however, the priesthoods were hereditary (Hermann, *Rel. Alt.* 34. 18).

Ver. 326.—*Not wisely doth anger sway thy breast.*

There is something here certainly that might have been made

clearer. What the cause of the χόλος was we may guess, but never can know. The ancients appended their διπλῆ here, and Chapman indulges, after his fashion, in a sort of paraphrase altogether unjustifiable.

VER. 395.—*Æëtion's daughter fair.*

Of ANDROMACHE there is little to tell beyond what is to be found in the verses of the Iliad here and in Books XXII. 437 and XXIV. 723. On the taking of Troy, as most schoolboys have read in Virgil (*Æn.* III.), she fell into the hands of Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, with whom she went to Epirus, and became the mother of three sons. Afterwards she was joined in wedlock to Helenus, her first husband's brother. Tradition brought her back again to Troy, where she was honoured with a ἡρῷον or shrine (Paus. I. 142).

VER. 420.—*Oread nymphs, Jove's daughters.*

Those who lament the want of the element of the PICTURESQUE in classical poetry ought to remember that they possess a rich compensation for it in the mythological figures which peopled earth, sea, and sky to every Greek imagination, and which are in fact the sentiment of the picturesque elevated into the dignity of a person. Of those gods that represent our modern sentimental and descriptive poetry, the nymphs or maidens, in their various troops of sea nymphs, nymphs of the fountain and meadow, nymphs of the mountain, the forest, and the sparry cave, are the most typical examples. Whoever shall carefully consider the passages of the Odyssey in which these graceful and delicate conceptions of pious Hellenic fancy are made to walk before us, can scarcely fail to see that the people who habitually cherished such pictures, not as a matter of mere æsthetic sentiment, but of genuine practical piety, either possessed some fine appreciation of natural scenery, or something perhaps higher and better. See particularly *Od.* VI. 102, XII. 318, XIII. 102, 356, XVII. 211. The beautiful rural pictures which these passages present belong naturally and peculiarly to the Odyssey; but the conception of the nymphs was far too deeply

seated in the tenderest region of every Greek heart to be absent from the Iliad, which, from its preponderant warlike character, requires passages of pathos to be interwoven by way of contrast. So here; and again in a pathetic description, XXIV. 614. The high dignity assigned by the Greek imagination to the nymphs, notwithstanding their slight and semi-mortal texture, is evident from their presence at the great assembly of the gods in XX. 8. On the word *νύμφη* the article in L. and S. is full and instructive.

VER. 442.—*Long-trained Trojan women fair.*

The epithet *ἑλκεσίπεπλοι* is applied to the Trojan dames again (XXII. 105), and forms no doubt a part of that conception of luxury and delicacy with which the Greeks viewed the Orientals generally as opposed to the hardy European Greeks; so much so, that when the Athenians laid aside the plain old Doric dress, and adopted a *ποδήρη χιτῶνα*, they are universally agreed to have done so from an Asiatic infection (Herod. v. 88). Compare below on *ἑλκεχίτωνες* XIII. 685. *N.B.*—It is plain from this passage that *πέπλος* means a *gown* or *long robe*, not a shawl or scarf.

VER. 471.—*The father laughed, the mother smiled.*

There can be no doubt that the verb *γελάω*, as contrasted with *ὑπογελάω* and *μειδιάω*, properly means *to laugh*, and not *to smile*. There can be as little doubt, however, that there is a vagueness in the use of the word which does not belong to our English "laugh," and that even without the diminutive preposition it sometimes passes into the sense of *smile*, as in ver. 484 immediately below. There will therefore always be a difficulty in certain cases, whether the one or the other version is the proper one. In my translation of Æschylus (*Prom. Vinct.* ver. 90) I gave reasons which still appear satisfactory to me for translating the well-known *ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα* not "many-dimpled smile," but "multitudinous laughter." The present passage requires much more delicate handling. For not only have we the verb *γελάω*, but the compound *ἐκγελάω*, which is an intensive; and yet one would think a woman

in Andromache's situation would not laugh on such an occasion, but only smile. Cowper, with great faithfulness, has given "laughed," but, as if conscious of the impropriety just stated, he gives a note of the scholiast, φυσικόν τινα καὶ μέτριον γέλωτα. But if the English translation be wrong, the note of an old scholiast will not mend it. P. has "smiled;" V., "*lächelnd;*" D., like an etymologist rather than a poet, instead of smoothing down the original, has put up its bristles more stoutly by the rendering, "*laut auflachte.*" The good taste and sentiment inherent in every Frenchman made Montbel follow Pope, "le père *sourit*, ainsi que cette *tendre* mère," where the *tendre* is a peculiarly French version of πότνια invented specially for this passage. Ch. has altogether evaded the difficulty by leaving the lady out of the case, and saying very stupidly of the father, "*laughter affected the great sire.*" My translation is an attempt to hit the mean between the two extremes, and embrace both the meanings of γελάω. That the lusty father should laugh, and even laugh loudly, I have no objection; but that the "tender" mother in such a situation should "laugh loud out," or laugh at all in our broad sense of the word, is inconceivable. No poet would ever make such a blunder.

VER. 489.—*Their fixed forewoven doom.*

On the Homeric μοῖρα—*fate* or *destiny*—I have seen no reason to alter or modify the very decided opinion which I expressed on this point in my essay on "Homeric Theology," in the *Classical Museum*, vol. vii. p. 437. I shall therefore extract here the whole proposition (ix.) relating to this point, with the accompanying note:—

"Of an omnipotent Fortune, or all-controlling Fate, as a separate independent power, to which gods and men must equally yield, the practical theology of Homer knows nothing; nevertheless there are certain dim indications of an irreversible order of things—it is not said how arising—to which even the gods submit. This the later theology of the Greeks seems to have magnified into the idea of a separate independent divine power called FATE.

"The common idea, that the Greek theology represents the gods as subject to a superior power called Fate, or the Fates, is derived from the tragedians, and from later writers generally, certainly not from Homer. In the Homeric poems, Jove and the gods are the only prominent and all-controlling actors in the great drama of existence. None of Homer's pious heroes, when narrating their fortunes, set forth

'Fortuna Omnipotens et ineluctabile Fatum,'[1]

as the great authors of their bliss or bane. On the contrary, it is certain that μοῖρα or αἶσα is merely the lot or portion dealt out by the supreme providence of the gods, and that whatsoever is μόρσιμον or fated to a man, is so because it is θέσφατον, or spoken by the divine decree. These words are, in fact, identical (*Od.* IV. 561; X. 473). Zeus is especially named as the sender of a man's μοῖρα (*Od.* XI. 560), and in the same style occurs Διὸς αἶσα (*Il.* XVII. 321; IX. 608; *Od.* IX. 52), and θεοῦ μοῖρα (*Od.* XI. 291). And these passages come upon us, not only with their own distinct evidence, but with the whole weight of the general doctrine of the overruling providence of Θεοί and Ζεύς, which we find under every possible variety of shape in almost every page of the Homeric writings. There is no such sentiment in Homer as that in Herodotus, quoted by Nägelsbach,—Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατά ἐστι ἀπυφυγέειν καὶ θεῷ (Clio. 91), nor that which Æschylus puts into the mouth of Prometheus (v. 516)—

Οὔκουν ἂν ἐκφύγοι γε (*i.e.* Ζεὺς) τὴν πεπρωμένην·

and though it be quite true that the idea of μοῖρα, like that of Ἄτη and Κήρ is in some places impersonated (*Il.* XIX. 87; XX. 128; *Od.* VII. 197), I can see no proof that the poet looked upon this Αἶσα, the spinner of fatal threads, as any more substantial person than Ἄτη; much less can I see the slightest reason to exalt her above those very supreme rulers, of whose functions she is only a cloudy and half-developed incarnation. I say *half-developed*, because there is a great and marked difference in Homer

[1] Virgil, *Æn.* VIII. 334.

between the full-grown gods, clad with all the dignity of a person, and such personages as Ἄτη, Μοῖρα, and the Harpies, who, like the Egyptian frogs mentioned by Diodorus, if gods at all, have not yet acquired strength enough to shake themselves free from the slime out of which their complete physiognomy has to be shaped.

"Altogether, Homer is a poet of too sunny a complexion to deal much in the dark idea of a remorseless Fate; and if, on a sad occasion (*Il.* VI. 487), Hector comforts Andromache by saying, that no one can take away his life ὑπὲρ αἶσαν, and that no one can escape his μοῖρα, this manner of speaking is not Turkish any more than it is Calvinistic; it is only human. Such a thought occurs to all men under certain circumstances. That no man can escape death when his day is come (*Il.* XII. 326), is what any man may say as well as Sarpedon.

"But though I cannot allow that anything like a regular doctrine of Fate superior to Jove is taught by Homer, it is not to be denied that there are expressions and situations in his poems from which the Hellenic mind, if so inclined, might easily work out such a doctrine as the tragedians shaped forth from the idea of Ate. And there is nothing more obvious than the necessity of thought which led the Greeks to work out this idea of Fate to the stature which we find it has attained in that passage of Herodotus, and in the tragedians. For to the thoughtful mind, in reference to many things that daily happen in this world, the divine power being first postulated as unbounded, the question will always arise,—*if the Divine power* COULD *have made the world otherwise, why* DID *it not do so?* This question the Homeric men—if they had no tradition of the doctrine of Moses, that the world lies under a curse for the sin of the first man, and if they did not believe, as they certainly did not, in a Devil—could only answer by saying, *that things are what they are, and as they are, by some inherent necessity of nature*, and that not even a god could make them otherwise than they are made. That some dim idea of this kind may have hovered before Homer's mind is extremely probable, though he certainly has not worked it

up into any system which his reader can tangibly lay hold of. Homer, as the future proved, had said enough to feed the metaphysico-imaginative wit of his countrymen; and had dropt the seed out of which a regular personal Μοῖρα or Ἀνάγκη above Jove might grow; and if there were theological sects in ancient Greece inclined to wrangle about the comparative powers of Μοῖρα and Ζεύς, as our theologians draw swords about liberty and necessity, both parties, with that ingenuity of which religious sects are seldom void, would readily find in the Homeric bible texts sufficiently pliable to their several opinions." [1]

Since writing the above, I have noted in Pausanias two passages plainly showing the dependent and ministerial character of the Μοῖραι in reference to Ζεύς. In the wall of a portico beside the temple of the Δέσποινα in Arcadia, that pious old topographer found a bas-relief representing the Μοῖραι, with Ζεύς as Μοιραγέτης (VIII. 37. 1), evidently the same relation that subsists between the Muses and Apollo, with the well-known title Μουσαγέτης. And in narrating the legends about the black Demeter, the same author in the same book (42. 2), tells us that on one occasion "the Fates were sent to Demeter by Jupiter, and that she obeyed them," just as Iris and Hermes are ministrant messengers of the Thunderer in the Iliad and Odyssey. With regard to these notices, it must be borne in mind that they both relate to Arcadia, a country where the oldest religious notions were longest preserved; and they are to be taken generally as expressing the ancient Greek idea of the

[1] "Nägelsbach, after reviewing the passages which seem to speak for the independent functions of the Μοῖρα, with a more serious and favourable eye than I have been able to do in the text, concludes thus:—'The will which rules the Olympian commonwealth is not so absolute as that every existing might necessarily retreats before it. For the human mind is formed with an irrepressible desire to give a head to the multiform congregation of the gods, to provide a principle of unity, which shall hold together the articulated organism of the celestial society; and the product of this desire is the Μοῖρα, a power made superior to the gods; *another essay of the human mind to satisfy its innate longing for a monotheistic view of the universe*,' p. 127. I cannot see that Homer had anything so very definite in view when he talks of the Μοῖρα. It appears to me that he never conceived of it distinctly as anything independent of the will of the gods.'"

Μοῖραι as contrasted with what it afterwards became in the hands of the tragedians and later speculators. Quintus Smyrnæus, though a great imitator of Homer, differs from him in nothing so much as in his distinct and unqualified assertion of the superiority of Fate or the Fates to Jove (II. 172, XIII. 560, XIV. 98).

VER. 490.—*But go thou with quiet heart.*

The Greeks had a very decided notion,—a notion which the apostle Paul stamped with his apostolic authority (Tit. ii. 5),—that the proper sphere of women was in the house, and that "gadding abroad," or interfering in business, war, or politics, was altogether out of their orbit. See what Telemachus says to his mother (*Od.* I. 35, 36). Of the exaggeration, however, to which this sentiment was pushed by the later Athenians, we find no trace in Homer; he never couples "children, women, and slaves" in the same category of serene hopeless contempt which so often appears in Plato. Taking Hellenic culture, however, in its whole sweep, I do not think there is a vestige of truth in Gladstone's idea (Address to the University of Edinburgh, 1865), that it did anything for putting women on that honourable platform which they occupy in this island of gentlemen and Christians.

VER. 506.—*Even as a horse in stall confined.*

This famous simile of the στατὸς ἵππος, imitated by Virgil (XI. 492), and Tasso (IX. 75), is in XV. 263 applied to Hector, certainly with much more propriety; and if the Homeric poetry is to be judged by the same severe rules that regulate the compositions of a modern master, it must be acknowledged that the poet cheapens the value of his own simile, as applied to Hector, by conferring its full dignity upon so inferior a warrior as Paris. Whether the peculiar circumstances under which the Homeric poetry was composed (on which see the *Dissertations*), do not form a sufficient apology for this offence, the judicious reader will consider. The ἵππων of ver. 511 has been rendered "mares" by most English translators, following Virgil; but this seems to me to introduce a

disturbing idea; for liberty, not love, is the key-note of the passage; so with N. I content myself with the general term "horses," which may include both genders.

VER. 513.

Far-gleaming in his burnished brass, like the light that lords the day.

It is evident from XIX. 338, that ἠλέκτωρ is an epithet of the sun, and the comparison demands that this epithet should signify *bright*. And so strongly did this signification lie in the word that Empedocles could use it instead of πῦρ, for one of his four elements—

ἠλέκτωρ τε χθών τε καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα.[1]

And the ἤλεκτρον of the Odyssey (IV. 73), whether we take it for amber, or for a metallic mixture of gold and silver well known to the ancient artists (Paus. v. 12. 6), means a substance remarkable for glance and brightness. That Gladstone (iii. 403) should have had the courage, in the face of all this evidence, to assert that ἠλέκτωρ in this passage, and in this passage only, should mean "a cock," is one of the most remarkable instances that I know of how far the devotion to a favourite idea can lead a man away from all authority and analogy, and even common sense.

VER. 522.—*In all a warrior's part thou spotless art from blame.*

The character of Paris, in the Trojan legends, is modelled after a very common type in the military world. A good-looking young fellow, with a fair amount of briskness and dash about him—a character very often combined with strong amorous propensities,—but deficient in lofty ambition, sober calculation, and firmness of purpose, is naturally drawn to the military life, and will make a good soldier certainly—if some Cleopatra does not interpose at the wrong moment too potently,—but not a good general. The story of Paris, his judgment of the golden apple, and his abandonment of Œnone, his original innocent love, and his abduction of the fair Lacedæmonian, are so much the common property of every cultivated imagination, that they need not be related here. After the

[1] Karsten, *Phil. Græc. Rel.* 327.

fall of Troy, he had the good fortune, according to the common tradition, to conquer the conqueror of Hector (XXII. 359), not, however, in a brave and open way, for that would have been poetically impossible, but by a stratagem, and by the help of Apollo (*Dict. Cret.* IV. 10). The end of his own career, also, was brought on not ignobly by a wound from an arrow shot by Philoctetes; this Œnone, though it was in her power, like a fair heathen as she was, refused to cure; her fickle lover died, and was burnt upon a pyre on Mount Ida; on which the unhappy maiden, seized by a fit of repentance for her previous harsh conduct, flung herself on the pyre, and died amid the flames (Q. Smyrn. X.) Paris is often represented on ancient monuments with the Phrygian cap on his head, covering rich curly locks, Phrygian trousers on his legs, and the apple of Aphroditè in his hand (*Museo. Pio. Clem.* vol. ii. Pl. 37; Overbeck, *Gall.* Pl. XII. 8).

BOOK VII.

VER. 9.—*Arithoüs, a stout club-bearing wight.*

That the custom of fighting with clubs was the most ancient in the world, is manifest from the consideration that the materials for making sharp instruments for piercing and cutting were not everywhere to be found, and even where they did exist, required skill to adapt them for lethal purposes. A club, therefore, of hard and knotted wood, became the natural war instrument of all savage and half-civilized tribes, of which fact our Museums everywhere supply abundant proof. It is evident also that, even after arms, first of copper and then of iron, had been introduced, not a few of the ἴφθιμοι ἥρωες of the olden times would glory in retaining the use of the stout old club, making it more formidable sometimes by iron studs (144 *infra*; Herod. VII. 63), partly from the conservation of old habits inherent in human nature, but even more from the sure

witness of vigour and power which that weapon bears to the man who successfully wields it. With our modern machinery of gunpowder and hollow tubes and iron balls, a weak child may kill a strong giant; and with a sharp-pointed rapier a beardless pupil of a military school may, with a little alertness, perform the same exploit; but when the tool is rough and clumsy, the workman can only succeed by momentum, and when blow meets blow fairly, the strongest arm must win the battle. For this reason, the great impersonation of bodily strength among the Greeks, Hercules, bore a club, not a sword. So also the stout and insolent pugilists of the Propontis, who defied the Argonauts, wielded κορύνας and σιγύννους (Ap. Rh. II. 99), and our own mediæval giants, whom the illustrious Cornishman despatches so cleverly, use the same weapon. It was natural also that even in historical times some traces of this old custom should remain. The Thebans certainly seem to have had a body of club-bearers at the time of Epaminondas, perhaps in honour of Hercules (Xen. *Hell.* VII. 520). Köppen, who quotes this, notices also that the body-guard of Pisistratus was composed of κορυνηφόροι, not δορυφόροι (Herod. I. 59). With regard to the particular club-bearer here mentioned, the Arcadians in the neighbourhood of Mantinea had a tradition of his existence, and showed a mound with a κρηπίς of hewn stone as his monument (Paus. VIII. 11. 3).

VER. 61.—*In form like vultures.*

Whatever Köppen and Heyne may object, it can never be beneath the dignity of the gods to appear in any disguise they please; for in their real shape they seldom or never appear to mortals, and the disguise of some animal may often be more convenient and more significant than the likeness of a man. It appears quite certain also, that if the gods are to assume the shape of any animal, they can adopt none more pleasing to the popular imagination, and more significant than that of a bird. For there is something in the light movements and the fine aërial life of this creature, which has always seemed to symbolize some part of heaven to heavy

earth-treading mortals; and accordingly we find in the Romaic ballads that nothing is more common than a superhuman message coming to men through a bird; and in one ballad—the well-known one of ὁ χάρος καὶ ἡ κόρη—the god of death appears in the shape of a black swallow.

Κὶ ὁ χάρος ἔγινε πουλὶ σὰ μαῦρο χελιδόνι.

Passow, p. 297.

There is no doubt also, that to the ancients, with whom the vulture was a bird peculiarly significant in augury, the representation of the gods as appearing in that shape would convey no undignified association. For Gladstone's idea (ii. 99) that the power of changing themselves into birds, in the case of Minerva and Apollo, belongs to "a general supremacy over nature, which the other Olympian deities do not share," I cannot find the slightest foundation.

VER. 75.—*My godlike force.*

That Hector should call himself the godlike Hector, contrary to all our ideas of propriety, is to be explained partly from a certain boastfulness which we have already noted as characteristic of the ancient heroes (VI. 127), partly from the fact, to which we have also alluded elsewhere (III. 180), that in popular poetry epithets are apt to stick so closely to a name that they do not fall off even when the healthy taste of the poet might wish to get quit of them. When Hector calls himself δῖος we have no cause to call him a great boaster; and, in the same way, when Helen styles herself κυνῶπις we shall not wisely fall into any special raptures with the fair Spartan Magdalene.

VER. 86.—*Broad-streaming Hellespont.*

To us, who take our ideas of the Hellespont mostly from its appearance on a map of Europe, πλατύς does appear to be a very strange epithet for such a long and narrow strait. But Homer never saw a map; and the epithet applied by him, or rather which he found the people applying to this stream, may be explained

satisfactorily in one of two ways: either the epithet was originally imposed by those inhabitants of the Troad who dwelt directly on the strait, with reference to their own peculiarities, abilities, and necessities, as the people at Edinburgh might call the Firth of Forth generally broad, though it is narrow opposite Burntisland, both as compared with itself above and below, and as contrasted with the open sea. This is the view of Boucher James in Smith's *Dict.*, who quotes Herodotus (VII. 35), where this strait of the sea is actually called a river. But I confess I do not place any value on this special quotation, partly because the word ποταμός may have been put contemptuously into the mouth of Xerxes, partly because the ocean itself is often called a river by the ancients. The other explanation is similar to that which has proved so satisfactory in explaining the tossings of St. Paul on the stormy waves, as they are narrated in the Acts of the Apostles (xxvii. 27). As in that passage all difficulty with regard to the position of the island of Μελίτη is removed by taking the word Ἀδρίας in a wider sense than our modern word Hadriatic can bear, so here, if we suppose that the word Hellespont at an early period included also the north part of the Ægean, no explanation is required. To this view Heyne and Gladstone (iii. 310) incline; and I confess my own opinion leans strongly the same way. In XV. 233 it seems pretty plain that Hellespont is used generally for the open sea-beach of the Troad, not strictly for the Dardanelles. The other epithet of the Hellespont in Homer, ἀγάρροος (II. 845 and XII. 30), of course refers to the strong current which is generally found where the sea forces its way through a long narrow passage.

VER. 99-100.—*Would ye might melt like water.*

I have expanded here a little the short Greek expression, ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοισθε, *May you become earth and water*, that is to say, in our language, *May you become dust to dust; return to that from which you came.* The Homeric phrase is in literal conformity with the doctrine of the old philosophy: "*Empedocles primo membra singula ex terrâ quasi pregnate passim edita deinde coisse*

et effecisse solidi hominis materiam igni simul et umore permixtum. Hæc eadem opinio etiam in Parmenide Eliensi fuit."—Censorinus, *De die Nat.* cap. 4. See Gerhard, *Myth.* 636. 3; Glad. ii. 275.

VER. 135.—*Girt Pheia round with bristling war.*

PHEIA, a town of some importance from its position on the long promontory which juts out on the coast of Elis between the mouths of the rivers Peneus and Alpheus. It is mentioned in the Odyssey (XV. 297) as a place passed by Telemachus in his voyage homeward from Pylos to Ithaca (Str. VIII. 342); and plays a part afterwards in the naval operations of the Peloponnesian war (Thucyd. II. 25). The Iardanus—apparently a Phœnician name, as we find Scandinavian names on the north-west coast of Ross-shire,—is a small torrent in the vicinity of Pheia, recognised by Strabo. About the "Celadon" I can find nothing. Some people read the whole line differently, and referred the scene to localities in the Lepreatis farther south. On Pheia more specially see Curt. *Pel.* ii. 44, and Leake, *Mor.* ii. 190. Gladstone has drawn the Iardanus into his Pelasgic speculations (ii. 171).

VER. 167.—*Euæmon's noble son, Eurypylus.*

The company in which this hero appears in this passage plainly points him out as one of the most prominent mighty men of Agamemnon. We had his native place and fatherhood before in the catologue (II. 734). Afterwards, at the most critical period of the strife, during the absence of Achilles, when Hector and Sarpedon are about to storm the rampart, he is carried off the field with the other principal captains, and is tended kindly by Patroclus (XI. 809, XV. 390). At the taking of Troy this Thessalian hero stumbled upon the perilous prize of a sacred chest containing an image of Dionysus, a peep into which instantly drove him mad; but out of this evil there sprang a good; for, wandering in his distraction to the oracle of Delphi, he received an answer which led him to Patræ, on the opposite Achæan coast, where he was not only healed of his personal affliction, but by his presence caused the

pious people of that place to cease from a grim habit of sacrificing human beings, of which an interesting record is preserved by Pausanias (VII. 19).

VER. 171.—*Shake now the lots.*

There is nothing in this proposal to choose the champion by lot which might not have happened in any country and at any time as well as in ancient Greece. But the reader should not forget that a peculiar sacredness attached to the lot in ancient times, according to which absolute chance was supposed to be the medium in some sort of a special divine direction. The most ancient Greeks practised divination by lots—κληρομαντεία, or Ψηφομαντεία—of various kinds (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* IV. 337, and other passages in Hermann's *Rel. Alt.* 39. 15, 16); and in the present instance the casting of the lot is accompanied by a prayer (ver. 177), which plainly shows the sacredness of the act. So Acts i. 24-26; and in the Old Testament, Prov. xvi. 33. The manner in which the lot is here taken possesses a peculiar interest in connexion with the famous passage VI. 168, on which we remarked that it contains no proof of the art of writing having been commonly used for the purposes of communication in the Homeric age; for as in that passage not γράμματα is used, but only σήματα, so here the godlike heroes do not write their names on the lot, but only put their mark on it (ἐσημήναντο), in all probability because they could not write. Certain it is that in the only two places where Homer might naturally have mentioned writing, he talks of *marks* or *signs*, and not of *letters*, which warrants a presumption that they were not commonly used in his time.

VER. 206.—*Ajax round him drew his mail.*

It was evidently the plan of Homer, following the indication of the ballad materials which he used, to give all the great heroes of the Trojan war an opportunity of exhibiting their prowess, each as a principal figure in a separate part of his great poem. As Diomede was the hero of the fifth, so Ajax is the prominent character in the

seventh. This hero in the Iliad is generally called the Telamonian, to distinguish him from the lesser, or Locrian Ajax. He was the son of Telamon, and grandson of Æacus, king of Ægina, from which Salamis, the native country of Ajax, was colonized (Paus. I. 35. 2). Next to Achilles, he is the stoutest warrior of the Achæan host (*Od.* II. 768 and XI. 550). He is emphatically called the "bulwark of the Achæans," and he plants himself like a tower in front of the enemy. But the most notable thing about him is his stature. He is emphatically μέγας, the *big* or *tall*, so that even Agamemnon shows no more like the bull among the herds in his presence. In later times extraordinary stories were told of the sea having washed away the soil from a cave where his bones were laid, which, when displayed, were of the most gigantic dimensions, his knee-pan being as big as a quoit (Philost. *Her.* 668; Paus. I. 35. 3). His shield was as famous and as big as himself, and is minutely described in this passage (219). The memory of this shield tradition consecrated in the name of one of his sons who was called Eurysaces, or *Broad-shield* (Soph. *Ajax*, 575), to whom there was an altar at Athens (Paus. I. 35. 2). In the character of the Telamonian, as presented in the Iliad, we find no coarse or repulsive feature, except that Hector on one occasion (XIII. 834) calls him βουγάϊε—*you big lubberly fellow*,—language which he certainly would not have used to Achilles. But the later traditions, of which we have a specimen in the well-known play of Sophocles, represent him as fierce and violent, and even savage, upon occasions, to a remarkable degree. More unforgiving even than Achilles, he retains his stately grudge in Hades (Plat. *Rep.* X. 620 B), and when addressed by Ulysses stalks off in silent haughtiness. After his death his memory always remained sacred among the Greeks. The Athenians who, in the time of Solon, seized on Salamis, called one of their tribes by his name, and the people of the island honoured him with a temple, a statue, and sacred feasts (Hesychius, Αἰαντίς and Αἰαντία). To indicate the extraordinary valour and efficiency of Ajax, the poet has allowed himself to exaggerate a little the effect of his appearance even on

Hector, whom he has no reason to suppose less valiant. This patriotism is a prominent trait in the Homeric muse; but modern translators and commentators, anxious that the sun of Homer's genius should be altogether without spots, have sometimes shown an anxiety to explain away the obvious sense of πάτασσεν in ver. 216. But Homer was too good a Greek to be able to keep his patriotism within the bounds of propriety in such cases. The behaviour of Hector in Book XXII. in presence of Achilles, has always appeared to me unworthy and ridiculous; and if so, the fault arose no doubt from the same human weakness in the poet. A singer of popular ballads, like a preacher of popular sermons, a writer of popular leading articles, or a maker of popular political speeches, never thinks curiously about justice. Themis is the assessor of Jove in Olympus, but she is not a goddess whose worship has ever been largely popular among mankind.

VER. 320.—*To Ajax the whole unbroken chine.*

This simple method of rewarding military valour is highly approved of by Plato (*Rep.* v. 468 D), and was followed out in Sparta, where the kings at supper got a διμοιρία, or double portion (Xen. *Pol. Lac.* 15). Compare the mess of Benjamin (Gen. xliii. 34). The phrase νώτοισι διηνεκέεσσι has been imitated by Virgil (*Æn.* VIII. 183). Other passages in Homer alluding to the same custom are IV. 345 and VIII. 162.

VER. 328.

Full many of the long-haired Greeks here died in fight.

The present passage seems to call for a few remarks on the funeral rites of the ancients, as they are represented in Homer, and as they were practised among the ancients generally. The pious care bestowed on the remains of the dead, which universal human feeling dictates, was increased in the case of the Greeks and Romans by the superstitious idea which they cherished that the souls of unburied persons stood at a great disadvantage in reference to their position in Hades, whether it was only that the

regularly interred dead refused to admit them into their fellowship on equal terms (XXIII. 72, and Nitzsch, *Od.* XI. 51-58), or, as the well-known legend afterwards had it, that they were condemned to wander a hundred years on this side of the Styx, not being received by Charon into his boat (Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 326). With reference to the method of disposing of the dead body, there is in Homer no allusion to any custom but burning the dead; and if we take his testimony for the earliest times, along with the express words of Lucian (*De luctu*, 21), ὁ μὲν Ἕλλην ἔκαυσεν ὁ δὲ Πέρσης ἔθαψεν, we shall be apt, with Böttiger, to make the conclusion that burying, properly so called (κατορύττειν), was a very rare exception to the almost universal practice of cremation amongst the Greeks. But the testimony of Homer, however valuable, relates only to that section of the variously divided Hellenic people with whom he was acquainted, and omits the mention of many very old Greek practices, of which the memory is preserved by Pausanias and other writers. As to Lucian, his testimony certainly proves that, in his day, burning was the general practice among the Greeks; but as many things change in the course of centuries—a point which we are only too apt to forget in our bird's-eye view of antiquity,—such a general assertion can never be allowed to shut our ears to adverse testimony from other writers, and about other times. Now, it is quite certain that in many parts of Greece, inhumation existed as the regular method of disposing of the dead body. Thus, with regard to the people of Sicyon, Pausanias says, "That they hide the body in the ground, and building over it a basement (κρηπίς) of stone, they erect pillars upon that, and write an inscription on the pediment, as is the custom in temples. This inscription is very simple, containing nothing but the name of the departed, his father's name, and a farewell salutation, χαῖρε." And that this practice of interment was not confined to the Sicyonians is manifest from various testimonies. Cicero, in his Book of the Laws (II. 22-25), while expressing his opinion that inhumation was the most ancient practice, not only in Persia, but in Rome, says expressly, "*Et* ATHENIS *jam ille mos a Cecrope, ut aiunt, permansit*

mortuum terrâ humandi;" and there are various accounts in Herodotus, Pausanias, and Plutarch, of the finding of the dead bodies of famous heroes in stone coffins, which clearly prove that inhumation was a general and recognised practice among the earliest Greeks (Herod. I. 68; Plut. *Thes.* 36). Socrates, in the *Phædo* (115 c), when asked how his body is to be disposed of, answers, that *they may burn him or bury him as they please;* and surely this implies that both customs were equally familiar to the hearers whom he thus addressed (compare *Poll.* x. 150). It is a remarkable fact that the custom of cremation, in the days of Lucian so universal, was, before the beginning of the fifth century, so completely abolished, that Macrobius (*Sat.* VII. 7) talks of it as a curious piece of antiquity. The custom of inhumation was no doubt brought in by the Christians from the Jews (Jahn, *Bibl. Antiq.* 210), though the Jews themselves at one period of their history were as decidedly addicted to the practice of burning as any Homeric hero of the isles of Elisha (Jer. xxxiv. 5; 2 Chron. xvi. 14).

The only other point which seems to require notice here is the τύμβος or sepulchral monument mentioned in ver. 336. Whatever may be the etymology of this word, and its cognate Latin *tumulus* (Gaelic *tōm*), it is plain from the verb χέω, with which it is coupled in Homer, that it signifies nothing but a conical mound-barrow, or cairn loosely thrown up. When it covered a very large number of men slain in battle, this mound would become a considerable conical hillock, and was then called a πολυάνδριον, as in the famous one at Chæronea in Bœotia (Paus. IX. 40. 4), on the top of which a lion was put, which we have imitated at Waterloo. This primitive form of the sepulchral monument first received the character of rudimentary architecture by a κρηπίς or basement of regular stonework (Paus. VIII. 11. 3), and out of this grew first the Egyptian pyramid, the sepulchre of the Pharaohs, and then the cylindrical monument, of which the best-known example is the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, near Rome, imitated, at a great distance, by David Hume's monument in the Calton burying-ground, Edinburgh. This cylindrical sepulchre afterwards

gave rise to the beautiful small circular churches, of which we have examples in Cambridge, Northampton, and the Temple Church, London;

> "From such small seeds such mighty flowers expand,
> And all was little once which now is grand."

VER. 347.—*Then rose Antenor, prudent prince.*

Antenor was the Nestor of the Trojans (Plat. *Sympos.* 221 D). Accordingly he always appears in the Iliad as the advocate of wise and moderate measures, as here, where he is willing to restore Helen; and in III. 205, where he describes himself as having received the Greek chiefs with great politeness, and expresses a generous admiration of their appearance and heroic qualities. In the extra-Homeric traditions, the wise spirit of moderation and conciliation which he exhibits is exaggerated into a traitorous partiality for the Greeks, insomuch that he and his wife, Theano (VI. 298), who, as priestess, had the custody of the Palladium, are reported to have betrayed this sacred image, the pledge of national existence, into the hands of the Greeks (Suid. *παλλάδιον*). On the Lesche at Delphi, the house of Antenor in Troy was painted with a panther's skin on it, as a sign to the Greeks that they should spare the dwelling of a friendly foe (Paus. X. 27. 2). After the fall of Troy, the favourite tradition, at least with the Roman writers, seems to have been, that this friend of the Greeks, like Æneas saved from the ruin of his country, went with the Heneti, a Paphlagonian people (II. 852) to Thrace, and from thence to the north-western coast of the Adriatic (Str. XIII. 608; Virg. *Æn.* I. 242). But Pindar brings the *Ἀντανορίδαι* with Helen to Cyrene (*Pyth.* V. 109).

VER. 353.—*ἔλπομαι ἐκτελέεσθαι ἵνα μὴ ῥέξομεν ὧδε.*

Every one must agree with Faesi, that this verse (ejected by Bek.) is both redundant and awkward, for which reason, as a translator, I am glad to omit it; but whether Homer may not have written it, either as it stands, or with some slight modification of

the particles, no man can tell, as the good old minstrel is sometimes sufficiently loose in his phraseology, and not at all averse to various kinds of tautological expression.

VER. 380.—*They take the strengthening food.*

This verse, as Faesi well observes, is neither necessary nor complete. It must, therefore, either be ejected, with Bekker, or complemented. As a translator, I have thought the latter course preferable, and repeated ver. 371 after 380, chiefly to make the transition from the night-assembly to ἠὼθεν δὲ (ver. 381) less abrupt.

VER. 412.—*Then high his sceptre reared.*

"The oath was taken by lifting up the sceptre" (Ar. *Pol.* III. 14). Jupiter, as the moral governor of the universe, in his capacity of ὅρκιος, is the proper god appealed to (III. 276).

VER. 436.—*They raised a mighty mound.*

With regard to the τεῖχος or rampart, the question has been asked seriously, why it is mentioned here for the first time, as, according to all military propriety, it ought to have been built as soon as possible after the landing of the fleet, in the first year of the war. Mr. Grote takes so much offence at this impropriety, that he mentions it among his other imaginary proofs that books II.-VII. are a great interpolation, not belonging to the original poem of "the wrath of Achilles." The obvious answer to this is, that Homer was not a military strategist, that he was quite careless about military exactness in a matter of this kind; but that as a poet he wanted to bring in the greatest variety of effective points into his song, and the τεῖχος was one of them. For the erection of such a purely defensive work, no season could poetically be more suitable than the time when the absence of their great offensive arm, Achilles, at once rendered the Trojans more aggressive, and the Greeks less able to repel aggression. On this subject Heyne very sensibly says,—"*Ex Homeri œconomia Trojani usque ad hoc tem-*

pus muris inclusi se tenuerunt;" and Mure's remarks (i. 461) are equally rational.

Ver. 443-464.

Some of the ancient Alexandrians (Schol. Ven.) who, like certain modern scholars, had very meddling intellects, would have it that these twenty-two verses (443-464) were interpolated. Why? Because the whole story about the rampart and its demolition by Neptune is told at the beginning of Book xii., and therefore the telling of it in this place is premature and supererogatory. To this remark the reply is obvious, that old Homer was as much entitled as a modern barrister to bring forward a strong point in his case more than once, the more so that his song originally was not composed for continuous recitation, and the persons who heard one canto sung, very rarely, if ever, had the opportunity of hearing the whole sequence of the tale. The rampart, famous in local tradition, must fitly be spoken of, both on occasion of its original erection, and when it was overridden by the impetuous valour of Hector and Sarpedon. With regard to the fact itself, which Homer has twice commemorated, the disappearance of this once famous barrier, nothing was more natural than that in such near vicinity to the sea it should be exposed to the danger of being swept away altogether by some rush of waters borne in upon the shore by the Thracian blasts, as whole parishes on the east coast of England and Scotland have been buried in drifting sands. Of course, when this took place, the obvious agent being the sea-god, the cause of his anger was instinctively sought and found in some omission of the due sacrificial rites by the builders of the rampart. Compare an ancient legend in Paus. viii. 22. 6, where the whole country about Stymphalus in Arcadia was flooded by the stopping up of a gap in one of the subterranean river-passages so common in that country; which flood happened immediately after the perfunctory performance of certain sacrifices to Artemis, and the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* logic, so dear to medical men and theologians, was immediately called into requisition.

VER. 467.—*And in the roads were Lemnian ships.*

The geographical position of Lemnos rendered it almost indispensable to the Greeks during their long siege of Troy; and we shall not be surprised to find it mentioned here as a place from which they occasionally drew supplies. In another passage (IX. 72) Thrace generally is mentioned as furnishing the besiegers with wine. The Thracian wine was famous (Athen. I. 31 B), and the potations of the Homeric heroes in Lemnos are specially noticed (VIII. 230). The method of purchasing by barter, described in verses 472-5, is worthy of notice in the history of political economy. Copper and iron are here given in exchange for wine, but not as money, only as hides, oxen, slaves, or any other marketable article. With regard to the slaves in ver. 475, suspicion was thrown upon the line by the ancients (Schol. Ven.) on the ground that *ἀνδράποδον* was a post-Homeric word, and is nowhere found in the poet except in this one passage. On a point of this kind, the ancients might have been better judges than we are; but it appears to me that the very peculiar form of the word, as used in our text, should be allowed to plead strongly for its genuineness; for a late interpolator would naturally have written,

ἄλλοι δ' ἀνδραπόδοις ἐτίθεντο δὲ δαῖτα Θάλειαν.

With regard to the famous legend of the Argonautic expedition, to which a distant allusion is here made, mythologists of different schools of course differ as to its interpretation. I regard it as a great historical fact, most significant of the grand old commercial dynasty of the Minyans, of which the traces are sufficiently obvious in the prominence given to Bœotia in the catalogue of the ships. But neither this expedition nor its leader Jason enters into the action of the Iliad, and so both may be quietly dismissed here.

BOOK VIII.

VER. 1.—*And now the morning saffron-stoled.*

Welcker (*g. l.* i. 681) remarks with great truth that MORNING is altogether a more distinct and a more important phase of natural time in warm countries, such as Greece and Italy, than it is in the grey North. With us the day for the most part is not felt to be fully itself till the dawn has passed away into the free splendour of the mounting sun; with the southerns the same height of the sun is generally the warning to creep into some shaded corner and escape the arrows of the god, whose force is then sensibly more keen than kind. Hence the prominence given to Ἠώς, DAWN or MORNING, in the Greek mythology. In the present passage one scarcely sees the person appear out of the early beam which she represents; nevertheless the poet no doubt had the person in his mind, and I would have done better to print with an initial capital. In Hesiod (*Theog.* 371) Eos appears as one of the earliest of the mundane goddesses, sister to the sun and moon, and sprung from THEIA and HYPERION, who both belong to the original elemental Titans (*Theog.* 134). Like the sun, Aurora has her chariot drawn by two celestial steeds, LAMPUS and PHAETHON, that is, the *bright* and the *shining* (*Od.* XXIII. 247). The epithet "golden-throned" (*Hymn. Ven.* 218) she enjoys along with other goddesses; her commoner epithets, "rosy-fingered" and "saffron-stoled," explain themselves to all men who have an eye for colour in the welkin. As a genuine Hellenic goddess, of course Aurora must have her husband and lovers. She is represented in Homer as carrying off Orion (*Od.* v. 121) and Tithonus (*Hymn. Ven.*), with whom she sleeps in her chamber by the streams of ocean (*Od.* XXI. 244) till the appointed hour of her uprising (XI. 1). How the glorious Tithonus should have had his pedigree assigned as a son of the Trojan king Laomedon (XX. 237) is hard to see. Apollodorus (*Bibl.* III. 143) makes Tithonus the son of Eos. Originally, no doubt, he and

Orion and Cephalus had a poetical significance, which we may leave to the fancy of the reader to work out, helped by Professor Max Müller (*Oxford Essays*, 1856). The well-known myth of the goddess of the Dawn having succeeded by her entreaty in gaining immortality for her husband, but forgotten to secure youth along with it, is told in the Homeric hymn to Venus as above quoted, and has borrowed new graces in modern times from the genius of Tennyson. Welcker remarks well that nothing connected with Dawn can preserve its freshness, as it is of the very nature of the early dew to melt away from the green leaf and leave the hard and arid stalk behind.

VER. 2.—*Jove called the gods around his throne.*

The celestial polity indicated here and in other passages of the Iliad is in its main outline an imitation of the form of government here below most generally known and recognised in the heroic age, viz., *a monarchy limited by an aristocracy*, though in Olympus the monarchic element is much stronger than on earth. See above (II. 51 and 204). The δῆμος, of course, or popular element, altogether disappears; for every god naturally belongs to an aristocracy; and as it would be invidious to exclude any Olympian from the counsels of Jove, the whole assembly of celestials is called ἀγορά, and a special βουλή or privy council is not necessary in heaven. The aristocracy in Olympus is in fact both aristocracy and δῆμος, every select δῆμος being a δῆμος and an aristocracy; as our ten-pounders are a δῆμος amongst themselves, but an aristocracy in reference to the excluded multitude. Aristotle, in the second chapter of his *Politics*, makes the remark, that "as men have given the gods a shape and figure like their own, so they have also made their manner of life conformable;" and monarchy having been the original form of all governments, as also that which is most deeply rooted in human nature, the celestial polity is everywhere monarchical, τοὺς θεοὺς πάντες φασὶ βασιλεύεσθαι. He takes no notice of the aristocratic element; and the tone of the present passage seems to indicate that he had very good reasons for the omission;

—for though the father of gods and men calls the assembly of gods solemnly together in this passage, it is not to ask their opinion, or to hold counsel with them, but, like the king of Prussia, to indicate his despotic decree, and to remind them of his absolute power. And it is quite certain that in the theological conception of Homer and the Homeric age the supreme Ζεύς is omnipotent, and may carry out his purposes over the heads of all the other gods (Hes. *Theog.* 49 and 386, and Æsch. *Prom.* 50). Such an unquestioned superiority in the person of the monarch of the gods was absolutely necessary in order to give unity and consistency to the plan of providence, and prevent the affairs of heaven and earth from falling into that state of dissension and lawless anarchy which would be the necessary consequence of a polytheistic system consistently carried out. If unlimited democracy in human societies always tends to confusion and overthrow, a democracy in heaven, which an unqualified polytheism must produce, would result in a cosmical chaos. It was necessary therefore to put the king of the gods—that is, the moral governor of the universe—in a position of absolute dictatorship, where he would be in no danger of having his plans thwarted by the dissentient purposes and plots of a host of gods naturally opposed to one another, and each strong enough to assert his own right, and jealous of encroachment on his peculiar domain. Nevertheless we must believe that in practice Jove generally showed a kindly and prudent regard to the wishes of his Olympian aristocracy; otherwise the dignity of the personages of the celestial polity would have been altogether sunk, and their liberty of action in their particular sphere nullified. Of this we have a remarkable example in the speech of Jove (IV. 30-50), where the sovereign ruler of the world confesses that had he been left to his own feelings he never would have consented to the destruction of Troy; but he had allowed this, he says, only in the way of compromise to please Herè—

Καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ σοι δῶκα ἑκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ.

The simile of the golden chain in ver. 19, though by no means one of the most beautiful in the Iliad, has, from its position at the open-

ing of one of the great divisions of the poem, and from its application to illustrate one of the most notable attributes of Deity, always attracted great attention. No simile, in fact, of any poet has so triumphantly travelled through the fine imaginings of a long series of philosophers, theologians, and poets, and been at the same time so very much improved in the travel. The fact is, there is something extremely simple, and to our conception even childish and ludicrous, in this way of illustrating the right of Jupiter to his most significant title of ALMIGHTY. The simple announcement of the אֵל שַׁדַּי (*potentissimus*), Gen. xvii. 1, if it gives nothing to amuse the imagination, is certainly much better calculated to excite reverence. To Homer, no doubt, who lived in simple times, and had to do with a simple, and at the same time not over-serious people, the simile was an effective one; but the thinkers and speculators of a more mature age, brought up from their infancy to reverence Homer as the Jews reverenced Moses and the Prophets, were led by a convenient sort of instinct to interpret a deeper significance into the simple thought of the old minstrel, and thus changed a picture meant to amuse children into a symbol fit to instruct men. The golden chain of Homer was interpreted in every physical and metaphysical way that the inventive wit of centuries could imagine; Plato (*Theæt.* 153 c) gave currency to the idea that it meant the sun; but his followers in Alexandria, and the pious theosophists of the sixteenth century, looked more deeply into the matter, and asserted with truth that the σειρὴ χρυσείη, if it was to receive a meaning worthy of the greatest of all epic poets, could only signify the *living chain of mysterious causes and effects which makes up the world, deriving its whole support from the divine volition, and its whole virtue from the divine energy.* Those who are curious to see how widely the idea of the *aurea catena Homeri* has spread itself through the world of books, may consult a learned paper on the subject in *Notes and Queries*, January 24, 1857, which, starting from a notice of a curious work on Hermetic lore called the *Aurea Catena Homeri*, mentioned by Goethe in his autobiography, proceeds to give a series of quotations of the manner in

which this famous simile has been used and adapted for their peculiar purposes by various philosophers, theologians, and poets, from Plato down to Tennyson. Of these quotations I shall allow myself to appropriate three :—

I. MACROBIUS.

"*Invenietur pressius intuenti a summo Deo usque ad ultimam rerum fœcem una mutuis se vinculis religans et nusquam interrupta connexio; et hæc est* HOMERI AUREA CATENA, *quam pendere de cælo in terram Deum jussisse commemorat.*" [1]

II. LORD BACON.

"Out of the contemplation of nature, or ground of human knowledge, to induce any unity or persuasion concerning the points of faith, is, in my judgment, not safe. *Da Fidei, quæ Fidei sunt;* 'Give unto Faith the things that are Faith's.' For the heathens themselves conclude as much in that excellent and divine fable of THE GOLDEN CHAIN; *that men and gods were not able to draw Jupiter down to the earth; but contrariwise, Jupiter was able to draw them up to* HEAVEN. So we ought not to attempt to draw down or submit the mysteries of GOD to our reason, but contrariwise to raise and advance our reason to the divine truth." [2]

III. TENNYSON.

"Pray for my soul. More things are wrought by PRAYER
Than the world dreams of. Wherefore let thy voice
Rise like a fountain for me night and day.
For what are men better than sheep and goats
That nourish a blind life within the brain,
If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer
Both for themselves and those who call them friend?
For so the whole round earth is every way
Bound by strong chains about the feet of GOD." [3]

That our English translators, who were thoroughly impressed with the idea that Homer must always be grand, were completely in-

[1] *Somn. Scip.* i. 14.
[2] *Advancement of Learning* (Pickering), p. 132.
[3] *Morte d'Arthur.*

fected with this ideal metamorphosis of the simple old minstrel's childlike simile, is evident at a glance. Pope says strongly, as if he were borrowing a couplet from his own *Essay on Man* :—

> "Let down our golden everlasting chain,
> Whose strong embrace holds heaven and earth and main."

"*Our* chain" is evidently a part of the system of the universe; and Chapman, by the mere use of the same possessive pronoun, showed that he meant, though with no philosophical verbiage, to convey the same idea. Cowper, by the definite article *the*, not less certainly says the same thing. But Homer knew nothing of such a chain, any more than he did of the Book of Job or the first chapter of Genesis; he only supposes A chain literally to be brought into play, for the occasion, as the German faithfully gives it—

> "EINE *goldene Kette befestigend oben am Himmel.*"

This is only one example, among many, of the chivalrous piety by which Homeric commentators and translators have been led to make their author say profound and sublime things which in his position a man even of the highest genius never could have been led to conceive; an error of æsthetical judgment of which we have many examples everywhere in the current interpretation given to various passages of the Christian Scriptures. How many ideas have been interpreted into the Psalms, for instance, of which David, when he sung them, had no conception, and which are manifestly foreign both to the plain meaning of the text and to the whole scheme and purpose of the composition!

VER. 47.—*Many-fountained Ida, nurse of wild beasts.*

Mount Ida forms the background of the great military drama which the genius of Homer has made world-famous, and so demands a word here. In Homer (and with the ancients generally, I imagine), Ida is a generic name, signifying a range of mountains, like the Grampians in Scotland; and in this sense Strabo is to be understood when he says that it extends to the promontory of LECTUM, in the Ægean, westward, and to Zeleia and the lower

region of the Æsepus to the north-east (XIII. 583). This generic name the poet qualifies in the present passage by the specification Γάργαρον, that is, the part of the range so called, just as in XIV. 284 he says first Ἴδην and then Λέκτον. Now, with regard to the part of Ida thus specialized, there happily does not reign the slightest doubt; for not only do Hesychius (*in voce*) and Demetrius of Scepsis (Str. 583) expressly say that Gargarus is the ἄκρον or highest part of Ida, but we are distinctly told that there was a town on the northern coast of the gulf of Adramyttium, between Assos and Antandros, bearing the name of Gargarus (Str. 606). This name of course it could only have received from its connexion with the part of Ida of the same name; and these indications all point with certainty to the modern KAZ DAGH overlooking the north-east corner of the Adramyttian gulf as the genuine Homeric Gargarus. The mountain of Ida, more strictly so called, consists of this its loftiest peak (above 5000 feet high), and two other summits, the first to the north-east, called the *Adjeuldere-dagh*, and the other, forming the extreme north wing of the chain, called the *Aghy-dagh*, these three forming together an almost perfect semicircle (in the manner so common also in the Scottish Highlands), of which the hollow (or *corrie*) looks to the north-west, that is, direct to the south end of the Dardanelles and the plain of Troy (Tchihatcheff, *Asie Mineure*, i. p. 480). Looking out from these heights, a series of summits are seen gradually sinking in all directions towards the coast, so as to fall down into a gently undulated country before reaching the sea, and in some places, as at Troy and Adrasteia, to spread out into wide alluvial plains. Only on the south side, between Antandros and Lectum, there is no room for plains of any extent; but the coast, varied by the ridges of Gargarus spreading their straggling arms to the sea, is described as remarkably picturesque.

Considering the celebrity of Mount Ida as a bearer of classical traditions, and its vicinity to Constantinople, it does not seem to have been ascended very frequently. That Texier and Tchihatcheff were at the top I presume from the minuteness and comprehen-

siveness of their descriptions. There is an account of an ascent by Dr. Hunt, in March 1801, in Walpole's *Travels* (i. p. 119), but this gentleman was unhappy in having his view blinded by a snow-storm. Dr. E. D. Clarke was more fortunate; and his description of the peril of the ascent is almost sufficient to tempt some member of the Alpine Club to court a sublime neck-breaking in this region. Clarke describes the scenery in ascending the Scamander towards Gargarus as "uncommonly fine, and resembling the country in the neighbourhood of Salerno, where Salvator Rosa studied and painted the savage and uncouth features of nature in his great and noble style." He then in the ascent passes the ruins of some mediæval oratories and hermitages, with rude paintings of the all-holy Virgin staring out from the old stuccoed wall; and, traversing the belt of forest from which the mountain got its name (ἴδη, *wood*, Herod. and Theoc.), saw the marks of the wild boars which inhabit this region, and justify the Homeric epithet, μητέρα θηρῶν; nay, even leopards, he was assured, and tigers, still keep alive the classical memories of the ground. Onward still he mounted, and came into the zone of the summit, where all was icy, bleak, and fearful, and where, as usual, he was deserted by his guides, who have no conception of the dare-devil enterprise and persistency of a scientific John Bull on such an expedition. He was soon afterwards gratified, as all great mountain climbers are, by finding himself "on the brink of a precipice so tremendous, that the slightest slip of the foot would have afforded a speedy passage to eternity." However, by cutting holes in the ice for his hands and feet, and following the footsteps of tigers, he overcame all difficulties, and stood victorious upon the summit; and then, what a spectacle! "It seemed as if all European Turkey, and the whole of Asia Minor, were lying modelled before him on a vast surface of glass. The great objects drew his attention first; afterwards he examined each particular place with minute observation. The eye, roaming to Constantinople, beheld all the Sea of Marmora, the mountains of Prusa, with the Asiatic Olympus, and all the surrounding territory, comprehending, in one survey,

all Propontis and the Hellespont, with the shores of Thrace and Chersonesus, all the north of the Ægean, Mount Athos, the islands of Imbrus, Samothrace, Lemnos, Tenedos, and all beyond, even to Eubœa; the entrance to the Gulf of Smyrna, almost all Mysia, and Bithynia, with part of Lydia and Ionia. Looking down upon Troas, it appeared spread as a lawn before him. He distinctly saw the course of the Scamander through the Trojan plain to the sea." And a little below, he makes an observation which, as it illustrates a passage in the Iliad (XIV. 283), may also be extracted in full :—"There is yet another singular appearance from the summit of this mountain, and as this is pointedly alluded to by Homer, it seems to offer a strong reason for believing that the poet had himself beheld it from the same place. Looking towards Lectum, the tops of all the Idæan chain diminish in altitude by a regular gradation, so as to resemble a series of steps, leading to Gargarus, as to the highest point of the whole. Nothing can therefore more forcibly illustrate the powers of Homer as a painter, in the display he has given of the country, and the fidelity with which he delineates every feature in its geography, than his description of the ascent of Juno from Lectum to Gargarus by a series of natural eminences, unattainable indeed by mortal tread, but presenting, to the great conceptions of poetical fancy, a scale adequate to the power and dignity of superior beings."

VER. 53.—*Each Argive wight partakes the morning meal.*

In Homer three words are used to name the different meals taken in the course of the day, from which the ancients perhaps rather rashly concluded that, in the Homeric times, the heroes actually took three separate meals each day (Athen. I. 11). The general impression left on my mind certainly is, that they never took more than two meals a day; but, as is well remarked by Smith (*Dict. Ant.*—δεῖπνον), "we should be careful how we argue from the unsettled habits of a camp to the regular customs of ordinary life." The *morning meal*, under the name of ἄριστον, occurs only twice in Homer; once in Od. XVI. 2, ἅμ' ἠοῖ—*along with the*

dawn—which makes its acceptation undoubted; and again in XXIV. 124, where a morning meal also is the natural meaning (compare v. 4). As little doubt can there be as to the meaning of the word δόρπος in Homer—the *evening meal* (XXIV. 2, and XIX. 208). But the third word, δεῖπνον, is used more equivocally, so as to have led Nitzsch to the opinion (*Od.* I. 124) that it signifies generally the principal meal of the day, whensoever taken; and no doubt he is right in adding, that a soldier going early to battle might take his δεῖπνον earlier than a person whose time was more at his disposal. All we can say is, that in the present passage, by δεῖπνον, an early meal before commencing the business of the day is evidently intended; whereas by the same word in XI. 86—a passage which speaks of a usual habit—a mid-day meal (*Mittagsessen*, as the Germans call dinner) is meant. On this subject generally, and the special difficulty attaching to Od. IV. 61, see Brosin, *De Cœnis Homericis* (Berlin, 1861, p. 12).

VER. 70.—*Stiff-outstretching Death.*

The scholar will recognise here the transference into our language of one of the most beautiful descriptive epithets in Homer, of which our English translators, so far as I can see, even the most recent, seem, without any good reason, to have fought shy. That the traditional gloss of this epithet, μακροκοιμητός, is untenable on philological grounds, seems plain; nor can there be any doubt as to the strictly scientific analogies on which the modern interpretation, transferred from Passow by L. and S., is founded. The Germans say, "*langhinbettend*," V., and "*langhinstreckend*," D.; and we, whose great dramatist talks of "*the sight-outrunning lightning*," certainly should have no reason to boggle at a compound word of this kind. The two lines, 73, 74, were objected to by the ancients, as talking of κῆρες in the plural, while only two, one for each party, are spoken of in the previous lines. After ῥέπε δ' αἴσιμον ἦμαρ Ἀχαιῶν they certainly appear quite superfluous. Sp. brackets, and Bekker ejects them altogether. I follow his example.

VER. 83.—*Deadliest strikes an arrow there.*

On this subject I am favoured with a note from Professor Gamgee, of the Albert Veterinary College, London. "Homer evidently referred to the part where the spinal cord can be readily severed with an arrow, knife, or other instrument, between the first cervical vertebra and the occiput. In some parts of Italy, the cattle are very dexterously destroyed by pithing. A man faces the ox, taps it on the nose with a short dirk, and as the nose is turned in towards the chest, the space at the upper part of the neck is widened, and no difficulty is experienced in severing the cord. Any person standing by a horse's head, and striking 'on the top of the head where the highest hairs of the mane grow,' if he directed his knife in a somewhat slanting direction from before back, could scarcely fail to pierce the spinal canal, and induce instant death. It is not an uncommon thing to protect troop-horses with some metallic contrivance (usually a chain with flat links) at the upper part of the bridle, which covers the part you name, as it would be an easy matter to destroy a horse with a sword thrust on this vulnerable part."

VER. 135.—*Flame and sulphurous smoke.*

Objects struck by lightning (XIV. 415) emit a smell, not of sulphur, but of a substance called by chemists OZONE.

VERS. 164-6.

These three verses were disallowed by some of the ancients for various reasons, of which only one deserves notice. The ancient grammarians all felt that the use of δαίμων in the sense and in the manner of the present passage is quite un-Homeric. Mr. Trollope, indeed, in his notes to Homer, says, that "instances of this usage will frequently be met with in Homer." But the ancients knew better; and it is certain that δαίμων in the nominative, as an agent, though we may translate it *fate* or *ill-fortune*, always retained to the Greek mind its natural force of "a god;" while the phrase

"I will give thee a god," in this passage, seems to belong to a later era—the age of tragedians—when the active force inherent in the idea of *δαίμων* was often scarcely felt (see Eurip. *Iphig.* 1136). It is not, however, at all necessary, on account of this single doubtful phrase, to throw suspicion on the whole three lines. On the contrary, the poetry imperatively requires them, as a climax to the address of Hector. Nothing was more natural than that the rhapsodists who recited Homer, while repeating his verses, should here and there use individual phrases that had become fashionable in their own age; and thus, with regard to a poet like Homer, whose verses were in everybody's mouth, it becomes a law of criticism that the occurrence of individual phrases demonstrably of a later age, can never prove the recent origin of the whole passage in which they are found. Homer, for all that we know, may have sung *πότμον ἐφήσω*, which was the reading of Zenodotus.

Ver. 185, 189.

The ancients threw a not altogether unmerited suspicion on these lines, for several reasons:—(1.) We have four horses, which is contrary to the usage of the Homeric heroes; (2.) we have the dual number; and (3.) the names of the horses seem borrowed from other well-known passages. But all these reasons are not strong enough to authorize the summary ejection of line 185, which Sp. has not even bracketed. As to the use of four horses, the mention of the *τετραορία* in Od. XIII. 81 seems certainly sufficient to defend it; and the dual number is natural, from the custom of reckoning the four horses in a *quadriga* by pairs. The third reason is invalidated by the consideration that in popular poetry favourite names for horses, as for men, are apt to obtain currency, and receive a very various application. The objection made to ver. 189,

οἶνόν τ' ἐγκεράσασα πιεῖν, ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγοι,

is more serious. Not only does it seem absurd to give horses wine,

but after the προτέροισι in the previous line, the ear naturally looks for the η in immediate sequence, and the intervening line is an incumbrance. I have therefore omitted it altogether. Whether any nations, ancient or modern, in Africa or elsewhere, have been in use to steep the horses' corn in wine, I shall not curiously inquire. Enough that the Greeks knew nothing of such a usage; that the expression of the present passage is exactly such as would imply wine mingled in the common way with water, to be drunk by a man, not by a horse; that interpolation from similar verses occurring elsewhere was natural; and that the whole passage reads much better without the line than with it.

VER. 222.—*Ulysses' black huge hollow ship.*

The word μεγακήτεϊ, applied by the poet to the ship of Ulysses, is translated by Newman, "*huge like to some leviathan*," which I notice as an instance of a tendency very natural to scholars of translating according to etymology. Even if the etymology be quite certain, this tendency may often lead us wrong; for words are to be interpreted, not according to the meaning which they might have originally had, but according to the meaning which usage has stamped upon them at the period with which the interpretation has to do. In the present case there is no certainty or even probability that the element κῆτος in the compound word conveyed to the Greek ear in Homer's time any notion about a whale or other sea-monster. One would willingly indeed translate the μεγακήτεα πόντον (*Od.* III. 158) by "the deep in mighty monsters abounding;" but the striking analogy of the word κῦτος, applied to the sea in Ps. lxiv. 8, and the most natural and obvious meaning of κητώεις applied to Lacedæmon, forbid us to believe that this word even in that place means more than the "mighty depths of the sea." The fundamental idea of the root κητ or κυτ is not *size*, but *hollowness*, as in the familiar Scotch word *kyte* = *venter*, of which Jamieson has noticed the Teutonic, but not the Hellenic affinities. From this idea the word came to be used of *whales* and *seals*, as blown-up hollow bags of animated organism.

VER. 247.—*And sent his eagle, chiefest bird.*

The appearance of an eagle, "the most perfect of winged creatures," is here, as elsewhere (XIII. 821, XXIV. 315), the most certain announcement of the favour of Jove, of whom that bird is the minister. In such cases it has often, both in the poets, and on ancient coins and gems, a serpent, a hare, a fawn, or some other victim in its claws. The application that would be made of this is obvious. Of so universally recognised an omen, adaptations, of course, could not be wanting in Virgil (see *Æn.* XII. 247).

VER. 250.—*All-voicing Jove.*

The word ὀμφή in Homer, as distinguished from ὅσσα, φωνή, αὐδή, and ὄψ, is always used of *divine voices* or oracles; and Ζεύς is in this passage properly called πανομφαῖος, as the all-wise source from which oracular voices, revealing the divine will to men, necessarily proceed; for the functions of Apollo in this field are only secondary, and under subjection to the inherent superiority of the king of gods and men. It is as identical with Apollo, I presume, that the sun in Q. Smyrn. v. 626 receives the epithet πανομφαῖος. On the oracular κληδόνες and ὀμφαί generally, see Hermann, *Rel. Alt.* 38. 18.

VER. 273.—*Whom then did Teucer slay?*

Though the bow was not a weapon of which the Greeks were particularly proud, and though they delighted rather to exhibit the Trojans and other Orientals as skilled in archery, yet they could not afford to do altogether without γυμνῆτες or light-armed soldiery; and as the representative of this class, Teucer appears here and in XIII. 170. Teucer was the illegitimate son of Telamon by Hesione, daughter of Laomedon, king of Troy (Apoll. III. 12. 6), brought up along with Ajax in his father's house; illegitimacy in those days of various concubinage being tolerated by both the lady and gentleman of the heroic family in a way of which, in these more correct times, we have no conception. Compare the conduct

of Theano (v. 70). The after fortunes of this famous bowman, as the founder of a new dynasty in Cyprus (Paus. II. 29. 4; Pind. *Nem.* IV. 75), are well known, and specially commemorated by Horace in a familiar passage (*Carm.* I. 7).

VER. 304.—*Æsyme.*

Eustathius and Steph. Byz. make this a city of Thrace; no doubt the same as Οἰσύμη, with a different initial vowel, mentioned in Thucydides (IV. 107) as a colony of Thasos. On its presumed situation opposite Thasos, on the coast, east of the Strymon, see Leake's *Northern Greece*, iii. 179.

VER. 349.—*Glaring like Gorgon.*

The word γοργός, which in modern Greek is used generally for ὠκύς, *swift* (compare γοργὸν καὶ εὐκίνητον, Ar. *Plut.* 561, schol.), where I have observed it in ancient writers generally has associated with it the idea of *terrible, fearful*, as applied to the piercing glance of a strong eye. (See Lucian, *Alex. Pseud.* 3; *Hermot.* 1; and Heliodor. *Æthiop.* I. 3; Joseph. *Antiq.* VI. 8. 1, of King David's eyes.) The effect of γοργότης in the eye was pretty much the same, therefore, as that δεινότης for which the look of Pallas Athenè was remarkable (I. 200), only more human, and less terrible. In the well-known mythological personage, the Medusa, this penetrating power in the eye was represented as so strong that any mortal encountering it was immediately turned into stone. As to these Gorgons, it is worthy of notice that Homer, as in the case of Μοῖρα, knows them not in the plural; he has only one Gorgo, whether in the Odyssey (XI. 634) or in the Iliad (v. 741); the same whom Perseus slew—

"*Here too I slew in my craft Medusa the beautiful horror.*"

Hesiod (*Theog.* 275), as in other matters, so here, shows himself at once more modern and more complete. He has three Gorgons—

Σθεινώ τ' Εὐρυάλη τε Μέδουσά τε λυγρὰ παθοῦσα,

whom in the shield of Hercules (233) he describes as "girt with

snakes," and dressed with various other terrors. What these fearful maidens exactly were is difficult to say; but so much is plain that they were impersonations of certain fearful watery powers in the far western ocean (see Hesychius, γοργίδες and γοργάδων, and their pedigree from Pontus in Apoll. I. 2) at the ends of the earth, where Hesiod places their habitation. Prosaic minds in later times identified them with a tribe of warlike women in Africa (Diod. Sic. III. 52; Paus. II. 21. 6); but there is nothing in the strange dim legends connected with them that would entitle us to attribute to them that historical reality which has been successfully vindicated for the Amazons.

VER. 366.—*Oh, had I known what now I know*, etc.

It is noted by Pausanias (III. 25. 4) that though Homer knows the infernal hound, watch of hell-gate, yet he knows not his name, Κέρβερος, neither does he mention his triple head, though I have taken the liberty of filling up my verse with the familiar epithet. Hesiod, as a well-instructed doctor of theology, of course knew more (*Theog.* 310), and gives him both name and parentage, and a brazen throat, and fifty heads to boot. The epithet πυλάρτης, which I have rendered "*brazen-gated*," refers to the "gates of Hades," familiar to the ancient poets (IX. 312), and mentioned also in a well-known passage of the New Testament. EREBUS is one of the few familiar Greek words that seem distinctly traceable to a Hebrew origin, עֶרֶב, *evening*. With regard to STYX, a well-known passage in Pausanias (VIII. 17, 18) assigns to this hated river of hell a distinctly terrestrial locality near Nonacris, in the north of Arcadia. But in Homer the Styx, as an infernal river (*Od.* X. 514), has and can have no place on the surface of the earth, though certain earthly rivers, as that in Thessaly (II. 755) were imagined to have a secret connexion with the infernal fountain. How the Arcadian waterfall came to usurp the dread honours of this invisible stream we do not know; most probably it arose from the mere accidental coincidence of the name, combined with certain horrors of the landscape, well described by Curtius (i. 195), and well

worked upon by the popular imagination. I have seen not a few such places in the Scottish Highlands, which, if Ossian were as well known in Britain as Homer was in Greece, might have had a fair chance to be quoted as a squirt from Hell-pool, breaking out on the upper surface of the earth. Clark in his *Peloponnesus* (p. 301) has an excellent chapter on the subject. (See also Leake, *Mor.* iii. 160, and Hayman's *Odyssey*, i. App. D). Some of these writers seem to speak as if Homer really had the Arcadian Styx in his eye, of which there is not the vestige of a proof. The belief of the Arcadians themselves in the identity of the terrestrial and subterranean rivers (Herod. VI. 74), or even of the Greeks generally, is not worth a rush. In no region is imagination more fertile than in creating identities of this kind. A name in Homer without local identification was as incomplete as a daughter of Israel without a husband.

VER. 398.—*Golden-winged Iris.*

IRIS, like OCEANUS, URANUS, BOREAS, and other Greek gods, bears her elemental significance plainly on her face; for the word ἶρις is used literally of the rainbow by Homer himself (XI. 27), though the old minstrel, with his completely anthropomorphized theology, nowhere expresses the slightest consciousness of the original identity of the physical phenomenon, and the divine potency from which it springs. That Virgil does this (*Æn.* IV. 700) is only a proof of the very different point of view from which the two poets looked on the popular theology. More than four hundred years before Virgil, Euripides had accustomed the quick-eyed audience who witnessed the Greek tragedy to identify their anthropomorphic gods with the physical forms and forces out of which they sprang. The original identity of Iris with the rainbow is clearly indicated by her parentage and kinship, in the following lines of Hesiod (*Theog.* 265)—

> "Thaumas married Electra, the daughter of deep-flowing Ocean,
> She swift Iris did bear, and the Harpies with beautiful ringlets,
> Swifter than birds, or the winds that drive the rack in the welkin."

Here the RAINBOW has the *ocean* for her parents, and the *winds* for

her sisters; which is just what we should expect. The fatherhood in the person of Thaumas, or WONDER, a son of Pontus, is a fine conceit, which justly excited the admiration of Plato (*Theæt.* 155). It was remarked by the ancients that in the Iliad Iris is the favourite messenger of Jove, while in the Odyssey Hermes only appears, a difference from which curious critics, both ancient and modern, have drawn hasty, and, as it appears to me, unwarrantable conclusions with regard to the supposed separate authorship of those books.

VER. 478.—*Iapetus and ancient Kronos.*

The TITANS are mentioned four times in the Iliad; here, and under the generic name in XIV. 278, where Herè swears by them, and in which passage also (ver. 274) they are called οἱ ἀμφὶ Κρόνον, as the followers of Kronos their chief; then in XV. 225, where they bear the same designation; and lastly, in v. 898, where they are called Οὐρανιῶνες, or the sons of Uranus, a passage in which I entirely agree with Welcker (*g. l.* i. p. 263), a person must be altogether blind to the whole analogy of Homer's phraseology who does not recognise the οἱ ἀμφὶ Κρόνον of the other passages. In the Homeric Hymns they are mentioned precisely in the same way (*Apoll. Pyth.* 156), and in all these passages, though the mention is merely incidental, yet it is plainly such an incidental mention as one makes of a familiar and universally current matter; and Welcker (*l. c.*) is unquestionably right in concluding that in Homer's day the legend of the Titans existed as a complete and well-rounded old sacred legend, though of course we do not possess it painted out in its full proportions till we come to Hesiod. The assertion of Pausanias (VIII. 37. 3), that Homer was the first to introduce the Titans into poetry, has therefore no more weight than the well-known assertion of Herodotus, that the poet was the first to teach the Greeks the names of their gods. Homer in all mythological matters plainly invented nothing; he only gave greater importance to what he adopted, as the Queen does to a man of note when she dubs him a knight. As to Hesiod, he was a regular doctor of divinity, and no doubt, in an age when there was

no Bible, and no symbolical books to bind him, might have drawn, in certain accessory matters, to a considerable extent on his own fancy. The account which he gives of the Titans agrees well with the explanation of their significance which is given by Preller and Welcker, and which the whole analogy of comparative mythology indicates to be the true one. The names of the twelve Titans—offspring of Heaven and Earth (Milton, *P. L.* i. 508)—given by the old theologer (*Theog.* 134), so far as their etymology can be depended on, plainly show that they were elemental powers of nature and primary forces of the intellectual and moral world. HYPERION (I retain Shakspeare's quantity of the penult), one of them, is known in Homer (ver. 480) only as an epithet of the Sun; THEMIS is Law, and MNEMOSYNE is Memory. We have therefore here, under a poetical vesture, a system of speculative theology, which deduces all the gods from the primary forces of the physical and spiritual world, and sees in the great changes that are constantly going on within and without us, a grand system of "*progression by antagonism.*" What the actual historical fact is that might have underlain this scheme of reflective theology may seem more doubtful; but Welcker's notion that in the grand struggle between the Titans and the other gods of the same pedigree, which ended in the sovereignty of Jove, we see a great change in the form of the popular faith, from its elemental germ to its full anthropomorphic flower, delineated in the form of a battle and victory, seems quite reasonable. That such a change did take place on the Hellenic mind at some period of their early history is quite certain, just as we can trace a similar change in the religious views of the Hindus by contrasting the earliest Vedas with the Puranas; and if the change did take place, there was in those times no more obvious way of representing it than under the aspect of a "war in heaven." So much for the general significance of this famous legend. A single word now on those two Titans who are specially named in this passage (43), IAPETUS and KRONOS. Of the former we have only to say that his importance is altogether owing to the celebrity of his four sons, Atlas, Menœtius, Prometheus, and Epimetheus,

who are universally looked on by mythologists as the earliest representatives of the human race in their relation to the gods; but, as not one of them is mentioned in the Iliad, they may pass without comment in this place. As to Kronos, the ancients were generally of opinion (Dionys. Hal. I. 38; *Schol.* Apoll. Rhod. I. 1098; Lydus, *De Mens. init.*, Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* p. 266, Xyl.) that his true significance lay in the most obvious etymology of his name, Χρόνος, *time*, of which Κρόνος is only an Ionic variation (Buttmann, *Mythol.* ii. p. 33); and though the love of innovation, so characteristic of German scholars, has led to the proposal of other and less obvious etymologies, it is satisfactory to find that Welcker in his last great work has been content simply to assert the old one. That Κρόνος is merely a theological conception, and means TIME, as one of the grand necessary conditions of all possible existence of which man can have any notion, seems evident from these four considerations—(1.) In a theological genealogy, such as that of Hesiod, where almost every other power and function, whether of nature or of mind, is represented, an impersonation of time was to be looked for, just as naturally as the sun and the moon are to be looked for in a system of purely elemental worship. (2.) This presumption is satisfied by the appearance of Time, both in Pherecydes and the Hesiodic genealogy, among the very earliest gods as the son of Heaven and Earth, and the father of that Jove who was destined to sit permanently on the throne of the firmly established world.[1] (3.) The attributes and actions of Kronos—as, for instance, the well-known legend of his devouring his own children—find their natural explanation in the theory that he represents Time. (4.) That Kronos was originally a theologico-metaphysical idea, rather than a god actually believed in, appears certain from the extreme rareness of his worship, even in later times, when he had become clothed with a recognised personality. He appears, indeed, to have asserted himself as a celestial person, scarcely otherwise than as an adjunct of Jove, in virtue of his

[1] Ζεὺς μὲν καὶ χρόνος εἰς ἀεὶ καὶ χθὼν ἦν (Diog. Laert. I. 11, with Welcker's Note in *g. l.* i. p. 143.

fatherhood (Paus. I. 18. 7, vi. 20. 1); and this is just what we should have expected on the supposition that he had no real historic root in the faith of the Hellenic race, but was only an idea, by the habit of those early times necessarily conceived as a person.

One of the most remarkable legends with regard to Kronos is that which makes him the terrestrial god, or celestial king of the famous golden age, when the gods dwelt upon earth on a familiar footing with men (Paus. VIII. 2. 2), and everybody enjoyed everything without any trouble about anything. But this conception, however familiar to Hesiod (*Op.* 169, with Buttmann, *Myth.* II. p. 63) and Pindar (*Ol.* II. 138), is one of which Homer knows nothing. With him Kronos shares the fate of the other Titans, who are all forced to yield to the controlling omnipotence of the supreme Jove. At the same time, nothing, as Buttmann has shown (p. 36), was more natural than this new shoot from the old stock. For Time means, of course, pre-eminently the old Time; and the old time in the traditions of all nations, as in the memory of most individuals, is the golden time; and so the crafty old Titan was metamorphosed into the lord of a far-distant realm of all imaginable blessedness. This conception, along with the obvious parallel of the Attic feast of Κρόνια (Hesych. *in voce*), with the Roman *Saturnalia*, led to the identification of the Latin Saturn with the Hellenic Kronos; but as identifications of this kind were everywhere eagerly sought for by all polytheistic nations, and found without any curious criticism, we shall always look upon them with a wise suspicion. And as the Hellenizing Romans found their Saturn readily enough in the Greek Κρόνος, so the Greeks were not backward to find their old Pelasgic impersonation of Time devouring his own children in the Phœnician Moloch, to whom human sacrifices were offered, and whose worship was well known all over the Mediterranean (Str. III. 169). But whatever may have been the connexion between Phœnician and Pelasgic theogonies in ages beyond the boundary of historical cognition, it is certain that, as the evidence now stands, there is no better proof of the Phœnician origin of Kronos, than there is of the Egyptian

origin of Io, or, as the Greeks preferred to view it, the Hellenic origin of Isis. So much for the Titans.

VER. 480.—*Divorced from clear Hyperion's light.*

Hyperion, in Hesiod (*Theog.* 133), is one of the great original elemental powers or functions—in fact, the Titans,—the father of the Sun, and the Moon, and the Morning. But in Homer this word is often only an epithet of the sun, as here, or put nakedly for the sun, as in Od. I. 24. The only safe etymology for the word is to connect it with ὑπέρ, *above*, as the quantity of the penult renders the poetical version, "he that walketh aloft," very suspicious. The strange confusion of ὑπερίων and ὑπεριονίδης in Od. XII. 133 and 176 involves questions about which decision is not at all easy (see Ameis on *Od.* I. 8).

VER. 527.—*These hounds whom baleful fiends sent here.*

It is very seldom that I venture to use the words "fiend," "demon," with their modern Gothic and Christian associations, in translating Greek; but for the Κῆρες, in such a compound as Κηρεσσιφορήτους, I think the expression may be allowed. As to the next line, which most editions include within brackets, whatever authority it may have in strictly textual appreciation, it is certainly, as Sp. says, "*otiosus et molestus*," and, by a translator at least, may be held *pro non scripto*.

VER. 548–552.—*From* ἔρδον *to* Πριάμοιο.

These five lines, all except the second, do not occur in the text of Homer, but were first inserted by Barnes from Plato (*Alcibiad.* II. 149 D). They describe a sacrifice; but in the present passage I certainly agree with Heyne that a solemn sacrifice is altogether out of place. "*Vesperi a pugna recedunt; quæ tamen potest hoc tempore et in exercitu e pugna fesso, esse hecatombarum aut omnino sacrificii cura?*" I therefore think it best, following the bold tactics of Bekker, to eject them altogether from the text, and return to the simplicity of the old editions.

VER. 555-559.—*As when the stars in the cloudless sky*, etc.

I am afraid my three lines will appear very tame and meagre when set against the gorgeous mass of rich sonorous description—twelve lines—into which Pope has expanded the five lines of the original. But I am convinced that Zenodotus, Aristarchus, and the ancient critics in the Venetian Scholia A, were right in marking the two lines 557-558 as wrongly transferred from XVI. 299. For the ἔκ τ' ἔφανεν and the ὑπερράγη plainly imply a sudden bursting out, as the ancient critics observed, which agrees admirably with the context of XVI. 299, but is utterly incongruous here, where a beautiful, bright, clear, permanent quietude gives a tone to the picture. In fact, the ἔκ τ' ἔφανεν and the ὑπερράγη in XVI. 299 are æsthetically dependent on the κινήσῃ πυκινὴν νεφέλην of ver. 298, and have no sufficient motive in the νήνεμος αἰθήρ of this passage; not to mention the clumsy sort of tautology which the double mention of the αἰθήρ introduces. On the whole, therefore, I subscribe to Heyne's dictum most heartily: "*Nec certius quicquam esse potest quam hos versus hic esse insititios*," and am not in the least moved by the art with which Tennyson and other skilful artists in verse may have so softened the offence as to make it even appear a beauty. On this much-bespoken passage generally, see *Dissertations*, p. 433; Wilson's *Essays*, iv. p. 114; Gladstone, iii. 421; Cope, in *Cambridge Essays*, 1856; Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 118. The Greeks were no view-hunters or landscape-painters; but they lived much in the open air, and looked on the great pictures of nature, as the divine scenery of the sacred drama of human life, with a cheerful, healthy delight.

BOOK IX.

VER. 14.—*A dark-watered fountain.*

We have a notable example here of the utter want of special propriety with which Homer uses his epithets. Water when fall-

ing down a rock is never dark, but white. The epithet applies to the aspect of the water generally, not to its appearance in the act of falling. Wilson (*Essays*, p. 130) does not appear to me properly to appreciate this; nor has the darkness of the water anything whatever to do with the gloom of Agamemnon's mind. Water is always μέλας or ἰοειδής (Hes. *Theog.* 3), and δνοφερόν is the same quality repeated according to a tautology of which Homer and all popular minstrels are particularly fond.

VER. 34.—*A barbèd word of sharp reproach thou once didst cast on me.*

Agamemnon had said nothing of the kind just now; but the allusion is plainly to the reproach thrown out by the king in IV. 370, which the Tydidan at that time bore with the meekness of a Quaker—

αἰδεσθεὶς βασιλῆος ἐνιπὴν αἰδοίοιο;

but having now found a more convenient season, is determined to fling back the charge upon the accuser. Is not this good memory of Diomede a strong proof that the two Books, IV. and IX., were written by the same poet?

VER. 70.—*Spread thou a banquet for the chiefs.*

I have often heard it remarked that at Presbytery dinners a tumbler of toddy often washes down a good deal of gall that had been copiously effused into the system under the excitement of the previous debate; and of this beneficent effect of generous liquor, taken sociably, the wise old Pylian knight seems, from the present passage, to have been fully aware. That the ancient Germans, and their Aryan cousins, the Persians, had the custom of discussing the most important matters, in the first place, over their cups, is well known (Tacit. *De Mor. Germ.* 22; Herod. I. 133); and Plutarch, in his symposiacal problems, has treated this important matter with becoming learning and seriousness. My own opinion decidedly is that, as human nature is at present constituted, for healing hasty breaches of the peace, arising, whether out of

the small occasions of social life, or the large necessities of political and ecclesiastical party, there is no remedy at once so obvious and so effectual as a glass of good wine.

VER. 122.—*Seven tripods that ne'er knew the fire,*

ἀπύρους τρίποδας—not merely that they had never been touched by the fire, but possibly also that a certain class of tripods actually were only ornamental, at least meant only to be hung up as votive offerings in the temples (so the Schol. Ven. A, D). And Athenæus (II. 37) further tells us that anciently there were two kinds of tripods, of which the one was a common caldron or kettle placed on the fire (ἐμπυριβήτης), and the other only a κρατήρ or bowl for mingling the wine with water. The word τρίπους, indeed, had various significations; sometimes it was applied to a small table with three legs (*vid.* Xen. *Anab.* VII. 3. 21, and Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, *Mensa*); sometimes to a bronze altar for sacrificing, shaped in the same way (see the sacrifice from the arch of Constantine in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, *Signa Militaria*). On the whole subject, see the same authority, *Tripod.* In ver. 123 it is impossible to say whether λέβης means a *water-bason* or a *kettle*.

VER. 129.

Seven Lesbian maids, above all tribes of fairest women fair.

The island of Lesbos, lying as it did in the Adramyttian Gulf, right before the south coast of the Troad, naturally belonged to Priam, and is mentioned as part of his kingdom (XXIV. 544). It is spoken of in the Odyssey (IV. 342) as a place of importance. Its early celebrity as the centre of the musical and lyrical culture of the Æolians is sufficiently indicated by the names of Sappho and Alcæus, Arion and Terpander (Str. XIII. 617). The beauty of its women, praised in this passage by Homer, seems to have continued in after ages; for they are reported to have entered into regular public competitions of female beauty with their neighbours of Tenedos, as we have flower-shows and cattle-shows (Athen. XIII. 610 A). That this excessive admiration of bodily beauty did not always keep

itself within the bounds which *σωφροσύνη* demanded, the proverbial use of the verb *λεσβίζειν* shows plainly enough. See Plehn, *Lesbiaca*, p. 120.

VER. 146.—*For these no dower he shall pay.*

In ancient times, when the world was not overpeopled, children in general were a fortune to their parents; and daughters, specially if beautiful, were worth their weight in gold. We may almost say literally that in those days fair women were bought by their husbands (see XI. 243; *Od.* II. 53 and VIII. 318). The Old Testament examples of this practice are well known (Gen. xxxiv. 12; 1 Sam. xviii. 25). In Hebrew, the verb מָהַר signifies *to buy*, and the corresponding substantive, *mohar*, the price or *dowry* paid for a wife (see Gesenius). The modern Albanians have the same custom (see Hahn).

VER. 149.—*Seven fair-sited forts I'll add.*

The seven cities here named all lie either on the south-west coast of Laconia, bordering on Messenia, or the south-east coast of Messenia, bordering on Sparta; but with what propriety they can be said all to be situated *νέαται Πύλου ἠμαθόεντος*, the worshippers of the Homeric letter will require all their subtlety to explain (see Clark, *Pel.* p. 205). CARDAMYLE is at once recognised in its modern popular form, *Σκαρδαμούλα*, with the broad Doric vowel, and the accent on the penult, faithfully preserved through the stormy roll of long centuries by the stout-hearted old Maniotes (L. *Mor.* i. 331). It is described by Strabo as situated on a strong rock (VIII. 360), which Curtius (ii. 285) describes as 4000 feet above the level of the sea. The bay at Cardamyle forms the natural landing-place for those who wish to proceed from this coast in a direct line over the highest peak (*St. Elias*) of Taygetus to Sparta. The next town, ENOPE, follows in the coast route of Pausanias, north of Cardamyle, and was supposed to be the *Gerenia* from which Nestor derived his well-known Homeric designation. It was also famous for the tomb and temple of the physician Machaon (Paus.

III. 26. 3). Curtius finds it in the old Frankish castle of *Zarmata*, north of Cape *Cephâli*. These two towns are described by Pausanias at the end of his Spartan tour. He next passes north into Messenia, and first in order on the same coast he gives ABIA as identical with the Homeric HIRÈ, and which Leake and Curtius agree in recognising decidedly as the modern *Mandinia*. The next step brings us to the well-known PHERÆ of the Odyssey, concerning which see above on v. 543. The next name, ANTHEIA, is referred by the ancients generally to THURIA, an inland town of some consequence about ten miles up the valley of the Pamisus, north of Pheræ (Paus. IV. 31. 2; Str. VIII. 315; Curt. ii. 162). The "beautiful ÆPEIA" in the next line is identified by Pausanias with CORONE (IV. 34. 2), on the western coast of the gulf right opposite ABIA, and famous as one of the towns which Epaminondas, after his humiliation of the Spartans, planted with native Messenians brought back from the northern land, where they had long been strangers, to their original haunts. It is now the seat of a colony of Maniotes. The last town in the list, PEDASUS, south of Navarino, and opposite the island of Sapienza, has never been lost to history, but under the names of *Methone* and *Modon* appears frequently on the scene, from the time of the Messenian wars to the days of Roman dominion and of Venetian and Turkish rivalry (Paus. IV. 35; Curt. ii. 169). Its Homeric celebrity for wine appears also in the name, *Oinousæ* (from οἶνος), which the adjacent islands bear. On all these seven towns, Gladstone (iii. 23) remarks that there is "a nexus of ideas attached to them that excites suspicion." The nexus is that they do not appear in the catalogue. Of this various explanations may be imagined; but the most obvious remark to make on the matter is that, considering the character of the floating popular materials which Homer used, it is a great marvel that suspicious passages of this kind are not more common.

VER. 171.—*From words of ugly omen abstain.*

εὐφημῆσαι—the well-known *favete linguis* of the Romans—*i.e.*, *speak words of good omen*, or *refrain from words of bad omen*,

which was best done by maintaining a reverential silence. The solemn embassy to Achilles is duly commenced by a religious libation.

VER. 186.

Where with the clear-toned lyre he did delight his soul.

Mr. Alison, in his elegant hunt after *Associations* (ch. i.), remarks on this passage:—"It was impossible for the poet to have imagined any other occupation so well fitted to the mighty mind of Achilles, or so effectual in interesting the reader in the fate of him whom Dr. Beattie calls with truth the most terrific human personage that poetical imagination has feigned." This may be all very true; but the real fact is that the poet's imagination has less to do with the matter than the actual life of the Greeks, of which the poet's song was only an echo. There are several points here worthy of attention:—*First*, the characteristic prominence given to music as a necessary branch of education in an accomplished Greek gentleman of the heroic age; in which respect, indeed, the heroic age was only the early germ of the whole growth, flower, and fruitage of the rich Hellenic mind. There never was a people whose whole life was so essentially pervaded and moulded by the divine power of music as were the ancient Greeks. The extended application made in their daily language of words derived from μέλος and ῥυθμός has often struck me as the most remarkable proof of this. There is no more true index to the character of a man or a people than their favourite similes. The oldest traditions of the Greek all point to music as the grand instrument of moral and intellectual culture. Hercules is represented as awkward at the use of the plectrum merely because the tone of popular legend, which loves exaggeration and contrast, wished to exhibit him as a mere miracle of muscular strength (Ælian, *V. H.* III. 32). In historical times skill in music was always recognised as one of the characteristic points of Greek nationality (Nepos, *Proem.*) Aristophanes, in his well-known eulogy of the stout men of Marathon, mentions skill in the lyre as one of their grand qualifications; and Plato, though he had a quarrel with many things essentially Hel-

lenic, had not the most remote notion of extirpating, but wished only to regulate and control that divine art, of which he says (*Rep.* III. 401 E): *ὅτι μάλιστα εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς καταδύεται καὶ ἐρρωμενέστατα ἅπτεται αὐτῆς.* But notwithstanding this wise sentence of the loftiest of ancient thinkers, and the concurrent witness of all the greatest thinkers, down to Gioberti (*Del Buono*, II.) it is sad to see how we English and Scotch have degenerated in this matter, not only from the wisdom of the ancient Greeks, but from the wisdom of our own forefathers. Nothing, in fact, is more characteristic of the highest British schools and colleges than the general absence of anything like musical culture. In this respect the ragged schools are much more natural and healthy than most seminaries of instruction for the upper classes. The *second* point to be noted here is the theme which occupies the hero while he sings to his lyre. It is the *κλέα ἀνδρῶν*, the praises of famous heroes. So Hesiod also has it[1]—

ἀοιδὸς
Μουσάων Θεράπων κλεῖα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων
ὑμνήσῃ, μάκαράς τε Θεούς, οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσιν—

a passage which, translated into our language, means that the original stock of all poetry is *historical ballads* and *hymns to the gods*, as Plato also testifies, who was willing to retain only these two species of poetry within the sacred bounds of his ideal republic (X. 607 A). The *third* observation is a simple one, and relates to the instrument to which Achilles sang. The word *λύρα*, so familiar to Pindar and the later poets, does not occur in Homer, but only *φόρμιγξ* or *κίθαρις* (our modern guitar, Germ. *zither*), which are manifestly the same instrument (*Od.* I. 153-5). This was the great national instrument of the Greeks as contradistinguished from the Phrygian flute (which, however, was also peculiarly Doric), and was the instrument of cheerful song, remote equally from mournful wail and passionate excitement. Its invention was attributed to Hermes, the patron god of the pastoral Arcadians; and the god who held supreme mastery over its soothing tones was Apollo. The

[1] Hes. *Theog.* 100.

Athenians represent their favourite hero Alcibiades as refusing to play the Bœotian flute, on account of the unbecoming manner in which it caused the player to puff out his cheeks. "And of this," he said, "our gods give us a lesson, for Pallas flung away the flute, and Apollo flayed the flute-player" (Plut. *Alcib.* 2).

VER. 203.—*Mingle small water with the wine.*

The ancient Greeks always mixed their wine with water, and the bowl in which the mixture was made was called κρατήρ (κεράννυμι). The orthodox proportions of the mixture were two of water to one of wine, as the genuine Anacreon sings—

Ἄγε δὴ, φέρ' ἡμῖν, ὦ παῖ,
κελέβην ὅκως ἄμυστιν
προπίω, τὰ μὲν δέκ' ἐγχέας
ὕδατος, τὰ πέντε δ' οἴνου
κυάθους, ὡς ἀνυβριστὶ
ἀνὰ δηῦτε βασσαρήσω.

To this custom the modern Greek, often a faithful interpreter of ancient customs, bears testimony in the word κρασί, which has taken the place of οἶνος in popular usage. The custom of drinking strong wine without water seems to belong to the cold climates of the north. Hence the Spartans attributed the madness of their king, Cleomenes, to his having learned ζωρότερον πίνειν from the Scythians, which practice was therefore called ἐπισκυθίζειν (Herod. VI. 84). That Achilles should seem to have given any countenance to a barbarian practice scandalized many of the ancients not a little; "*incredibile est*," says Heyne, "*quot modis hoc* ζωρότερον *vexarint veteres*;" of which we have a specimen in Aristotle (*Poet.* 25) among the other puerilities, certainly not from the great master-mind, which occur at the end of that treatise. To a plain man there is no offence in saying—"*Mingle the wine to-day a little stronger than usual*;" as if a Scotch toddy-drinker should say, "*Put another half-glass into your tumbler; this man's health must not be drunk but in liquor of the stiffest quality!*"

VER. 206.—*Then a flesh board he placed before the fire.*

The simplicity of the Homeric meals has been often remarked (Athen. I. 8 F). The heroes eat only roasted flesh, which of course required less culinary apparatus than boiling, though we cannot absolutely conclude from this that the boiling of flesh was altogether unknown in those early times (see Wolf, *Prol.* p. 80); and of the great delicacy of fish, by which the nice palates of a later generation were titillated, they were altogether ignorant. Like the patriarchs in the Book of Genesis (xviii. 4-8), they prepare and dress the food with their own hands. The only condiment that they recognise is salt, the virtue of which they value so highly, that, like all very excellent things, they call it "*divine.*" Whether the ὄψα which kings feast on (*Od.* III. 480) was anything other than dainty bits of flesh is not expressly said. It seems, however, in that passage to stand for κρέας, and nothing more. See Brosin, *De Cœnis Homer.*, p. 3.

Observe, also, with regard to the Homeric meals, that, by the witness of the verb ἷζεν (ver. 218) the ancient Greeks *sat* at meals, and did not recline, κατακλίνεσθαι (Athen. I. 17 F). Afterwards all reclined, as we find in the Gospels (Luke xiv. 8), only women and boys sat (Xen. *Sympos.* I. 8; Hermann, *Gr. Pr. Alt.* 272). The Cretans are noted as having retained the ancient Greek practice (Heracl. *Pol.* 3), which Alexander the Great also occasionally did (Athen. *l. c.*)

VER. 240.—*The crests of the lofty poop.*

ἄφλαστα μὲν τὰ πρυμνήσια, κόρυμβα δὲ τὰ πρῳρήσια, says the E. M.; but Hesychius makes κόρυμβα and ἄφλαστα identical; and certainly in Homer I think we are wise to follow Heyne in ruling this passage by xv. 715, where that actually takes place which is here apprehended. The crests or flourishes at both ends of the Greek ships may be seen in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, articles *Ship* and *Ancora.*

VER. 254.—*Pallas and Herè.*

Why these two specially? Athenè plainly enough is the goddess of war, and the patron goddess of all heroes; but what Herè has to do with κάρτος does not at first appear. The truth seems to be that Herè, as pre-eminently an Argive goddess, must, along with Athenè, come forward as the special protector of the great hero of the Argive host. This is stated distinctly in I. 196. Further, as the Achæans came from Thessaly, and settled in Argos, it is certain that whatever celestial powers were supremely reverenced in the place of final settlement must have been supreme also in the original seat. Therefore, even independently of the expedition of Agamemnon, Thessalian tradition may have given prominence to Pallas and Herè as the celestial patronesses of chivalrous youth.

VER. 328.—*Twelve cities of the Trojans.*

On this passage Strabo (XIII. 584) has a long commentary, touching the extent and composition of Priam's kingdom.

VER. 382.—*Egyptian Thebes.*

This is the only passage in the Iliad in which allusion is made to Egypt. In the Odyssey, in consequence of the voyages of Menelaus and Ulysses, it is more frequently mentioned (*Od.* XIV. 286; XV. 448). Of Thebes, the "mighty city of Jove" (Diod. Sic. I. 45), the "populous *No*" of the Old Testament (Nahum iii. 8), the μερὶς Ἀμμών, the *portion of Ammon*, of the Septuagint translators (see Gesen. in נא), it is not necessary that we should speak at length here. The chariots of the Egyptians are familiar to the readers of the Old Testament, and are prominent on the monuments. Bunsen (*Egypt.* iv. 590, Eng.) has some curious speculations on the date of the Trojan legends, as connected with the celebrity of Thebes.

VER. 390.—*Golden Venus.*

In all popular poetry the vulgar admiration of gold and silver plays a prominent part, and the epithet *golden* is accordingly

lavishly applied, sometimes without due discrimination (see Owen Meredith, *Servian Ballads*, p. 99). I have often noticed the same thing to a quite ridiculous extent in the *Romaic Ballads*. Homer, as a genuine ἀοιδός, has, of course, a touch of this fashion, but he generally keeps himself within the bounds of good taste. As applied to the goddess of love (III. 54 and v. 427), the epithet seems exceedingly appropriate, love being the best and most valuable of all mortal possessions.

VER. 405.—*Pytho's rocky hold.*

On Pytho, see II. 519. The wealth of such a central oracular shrine for the whole Greek race must have been prodigious. Euripides talks of πολύχρυσα λατρεύματα of Apollo at Delphi (*Iphig. Taur.* 1275). But its wealth exposed it specially to the rapacity of every plunderer, so that in the days of Strabo, though the greater number of votive tablets and statues remained, in respect of available money the temple was extremely poor (IX. 420), "because," as he wisely remarks, "money is a thing very difficult to be kept, even when sacred." Duncker (*Ges. Alt.* iii. 329) remarks justly that in Homer generally Dodona has a preference over Delphi. This arose from the connexion of the Homeric legends with Thessaly, the cradle of Hellas.

VER. 442.—*The art to wield the well-poised word.*

All that is or can be in the intelligential and sensible world is included under the three categories of *thought*, *word*, and *deed*, of which the two last only are here mentioned, as being the completely incarnated expression of the first. Among all nations, before the invention of books and printing, the spoken word possesses a power of which we in the present day have a weak conception; for with us, an ill-delivered address, if only well reasoned, will, when printed in the daily papers, produce as great an effect as the most eloquent speech of Demosthenes. Hence we are not to be surprised that the ancients took hold of this line of Homer as a text from which to preach on the importance of eloquence

combined with habits of business to all public men. So Cicero (*De Orat.* III. 15), "*Olim vetus quidem illa doctrina eadem videtur et recte faciendi et bene dicendi magistra; neque disjuncti doctores, sed iidem erant vivendi præceptores atque dicendi; ut ille apud Homerum Phœnix, qui se a Peleo patre Achilli juveni comitem esse dicit ad bellum, ut illum efficeret oratorem verborum actoremque rerum.*" How different is our modern style of pedagogy in England, where the very last thing generally that a scholastic or academical teacher thinks of is how his pupil may be able to deliver himself of a single English sentence gracefully and effectively! The consequence of this is that an ignorant collier or weaver will often address a mixed multitude from the pulpit with more of the natural power of words than a highly educated scholar. To this neglect of popular eloquence is, no doubt, in a great measure to be ascribed the success of the Methodists and other Dissenting preachers, in competition with the more highly educated English clergy. But the Greeks were always an eloquent people, and though they wrote many books, wisely took care that their writings should never smell of books, and that their faculties should not be smothered by loads of cumbersome learning, or by a timid respect for conventional proprieties. See on this subject Plato, *Gorg.* 485, and Gladstone, iii. 104, who has certainly a right to expatiate on the Homeric sanction for that noble art of which he is so consummate a master.

VER. 454.—*The Furies' hateful vengeance.*

The Erinnyes, or Furies, are among the few divine powers of the Greek Pantheon who have their origin merely in the human soul, without any type in physical phenomena from which a transference, as in the case of Zeus, Herè, etc., was made. Like PALLOR and PAVOR in Livy (I. 27), the Erinnyes are merely the impersonations of a passion, viz., the indignation that bursts out wildly in the breast of a man in whose person the fundamental rights of our moral nature have been outraged. Pausanias (VIII. 25. 4) says that ἐριννύειν in old Arcadian Greek was identical with θυμῷ

χρῆσθαι, to *cherish anger*, and the other name, by which the Furies are designated in Greek, Ἀραί (Æsch. *Eum.* 395), *Curses*, is only the special form which the indignation assumes under the circumstances which call the Furies into existence. It is needless to quote all the passages where the Furies are mentioned in Homer, as no light can be thence drawn beyond the general statement now made. The whole idea of these awful personages—the Σεμναί of the later Athenians—is kept by Homer in a dark vagueness, which enhances their terror. He even eschews to limit them by number, as was done in later times, when the necessities of the plastic art forced men to deal more distinctly with the creations of the popular imagination. Homer knows as little of Alecto, Megæra, and Tisiphone, as of Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos. Hesiod, who on points of systematic theology knows more than Homer, introduces them as among the earliest born of divine powers, having been generated from the bloody drops which fell upon the earth when Kronos mutilated his father Uranus (*Theog.* 185). The best conception of the actual moral power which these dread divinities exercised over the minds of the Greek people, will be gained by reading Æschylus's grave and sublime tragedy of the *Eumenides*.

VER. 457.—*The Jove who reigns beneath the ground.*

This is the only passage in Homer where Pluto is called the Subterranean or Infernal Jove; his common name is Hades; but this is surely no reason why we should suspect the line as spurious, and say, with Heyne, "Ζεὺς ἐπιχθόνιος, *serioris ævi esse videtur et teletarum loquendi usum redolet*," with whom Payne Knight, in his note on this line, agrees. There is nothing contrary to the tone of Homeric thought in such a designation, and his using it only once must be regarded as purely accidental. In after ages, artists sometimes combined both these Joves as a sort of duality in unity. So in the British Museum, there is a small statue of Jove, with the eagle at one foot and Cerberus at the other. As to Proserpine, who occurs only in this line, and performs no part, she is universally allowed, as the daughter of Ceres, to represent the seed which

is dropt into the dark earth, there to die and live again, according to the simile used by St. Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians. As such she was a fit image of death, and became the queen of the dead, because the dark Earth, that is Pluto, receives her into his invisible domain; for that the idea of the Earth, and not merely of Death, originally belonged to the subterranean Jove, as well as to Demeter, is evident from the manner in which he is conjoined with Demeter in the peasant's prayer (Hes. *Op.* 465), as well as from the etymology of his familiar Latin name, πλοῦτος, *wealth*, which comes out of the bowels of the earth. In Homer he is often alluded to, but never appears. In one passage he is mentioned as having made a triple partition of the globe with Zeus and Poseidon (xv. 191). See Welcker, *g. l.* vol. i. p. 392.

VER. 483.—*Dolopian men in Phthia's utmost bounds.*

The Dolopians were a Thessalian tribe, who receive no special mention in the catalogue, simply because they were a mere adjunct, or small subdivision, of the Phthiotes of Achilles (II. 683, and Str. IX. 431). They appear, however, as a distinct clan in the convention of the old members of the Amphictyonic Council given by Pausanias, in whose days, however, they had utterly died out (x. 8). See Heyne on Apoll. *Observat.* iii. 138.

VER. 503.—*In the dark track of Atè's march they go.*

"In Atè," says Mr. Gladstone (ii. 159), "we find the old tradition of the Evil One, the Tempter." Not at all. She is rather the most transparent allegory in the Iliad. She is a sort of rudimentary female devil, no doubt, but only for the occasion, not a real acknowledged personal devil, but only an impersonation of evil consciously shaped out into a goddess for the nonce, by that impersonating instinct which is always actively at work in the imagination of polytheistic peoples. It is only in this passage, indeed, and in XIX. 91, that ἄτη, one of the most familiar words in Homer, is elevated into the dignity of a person. She is, in fact, no more real than the Λιταί, with whom in this passage she is accompanied, and

is properly classed by Welcker (*g. l.* 125,) along with ὅσσα, φόβος, Ἔρις, and other "merely poetical momentary personifications." The word ἄτη, connected with the verb ἀάω, properly means *harm, scath;* but there is generally coupled with it the idea of moral guilt, at least of a certain recklessness, and, as it were, infatuation, which leads a man into a course of action which sober reason condemns, and which must infallibly end in ruin and misery. According to this idea, a Greek acting under the influence of ἄτη, as Eteocles does in the Seven against Thebes, of Æschylus, is very much in the same moral state as the man who is styled "*fey*" by Sir Walter Scott in the *Heart of Midlothian.* "His step was irregular, his voice hollow and broken; his countenance pale; his eyes staring and wild; his speech imperfect and confused, and his whole appearance so disordered, that many remarked he seemed to be '*fey*,' a Scottish expression meaning the state of those who are driven on to their ruin by the strong impulse of some irresistible necessity." This notion of irresistible necessity, essential both to the Scottish word *fey* and the Greek word ἄτη, leads to the etymology of the former from the Latin *fatum*, hence *fey, fairy*, and, in the case of the latter, shows how the individual under its influence so naturally throws the guilt back from himself upon some superhuman power. Further, in Hesiod (*Theog.* 230), the whole progeny of Ἔρις, with whom Ἄτη is coupled, are plainly allegorical, and without the slightest trace of any distinctly recognised personality; and with regard to Æschylus, though he uses her name often in his tragedies, I scarcely think that he, any more than Homer, meant to give her a distinct place and personality in the Hellenic Pantheon. The fact is, any distinct abiding conception of a devil or evil spirit was altogether foreign to the Greek mind.

As to the Λιταί, or *supplications* which form the residue of this allegory, I agree with Kœppen and Heyne, that they are called daughters of Jove plainly on account of his well-known function as ἱκέσιος, or *protector of suppliants*, one of the most amiable, and, in its operation, most humanizing attributes of the supreme god of the Hellenes.

VER. 534.

At harvest's mellow feast to soothe her heart with sacrifice.

One of the most natural and graceful acts of ancient piety was the offering of the first-fruits of field and flock to the gods. The feast at which these were offered corresponded to our *harvest-home*, and is called Θαλύσια in this passage, and in Theoc. VII. 3. The goddess to whom this offering naturally belonged was Ceres, or the Earth, viewed in its productive capacity, to whom accordingly, in the island of Cos, the first-fruits were offered, as the scholiast on that idyll of Theocritus informs us. But in Homer Artemis enjoys the honour, either from her general position in Ætolia, a country of hunters, or because the offence of Tydeus might have related to some of those animals of which Artemis is the protector. The laying aside of a special portion of a feast or sacrifice to the gods is mentioned under the name of ἄργματα, in the description of the rustic piety of the "divine swineherd," in Od. XIV. 446. The common prose word was ἀπαρχαί (Thucyd. III. 58). On the importance attached to this act of ancient piety, there is a remarkable deliverance of the oracle at Delphi in Theopompus (p. 283, Müller), which the student will do well to read. The Jewish law about the רֵאשִׁית (Lev. ii. 12, Jahn's *Bibl. Ant.*) was equally prominent. Of the beautiful and poetic usages connected with this act of heathen piety, our meagre "thanksgiving" in Protestant countries remains the only remnant. At Munich, in the month of October, I remember, some years ago, witnessing a procession of girls and boys bearing the flowers and fruits of the year in baskets, a graceful pomp, in remarkable contrast with the glistering mummery generally practised by the Romish Church, and which made me wish for the moment that I were a Catholic. That this was one of the heathen usages, as old as Homer, which the early Christian missionaries wisely retained and consecrated to the true God, I cannot doubt. But even the stern monotheism of the Hebrews was not without its graceful pomp of physical exhibition (Psalm lxviii. 25) which seems now irrecoverably lost, in Presbyterian lands at least,

as if gaiety and piety were two emotions that must remain eternally divorced. On the Θαλύσια generally, see Herm. *Rel. Alt.* 25. 9, 10.

VER. 539.—*A fierce and white-tusked boar.*

There is a word here, χλούνης, concerning which Sp. truly says, "*quod quo referant divinarunt magis quam intellexerunt veteres.*" I have read all that has been written on the subject, and feel myself more at a loss than when I began. I omit the word, and refer the scholar to Paley; Æsch. *Eum.* 179; Göttling on Hesiod, *Scut.* 160; Æl. *Hist. Animal.* VI. 25. 3; Suidas, *in* εὐνοῦχος. Whoever shall discover an etymology that will harmonize all these passages without force will do himself credit.

VER. 543.—*Meleager, son of Œneus.*

Concerning this well-known Ætolian hero, the text is so full in this place that there is little need of illustration. The hunt of the Calydonian boar was a favourite subject with ancient artists (Paus. VIII. 45. 4), and may be seen on sarcophagi and vases in almost every European museum of any note. It is remarkable how some of the more ornate points of the story do not appear in Homer, but were evidently the work of a more recent imagination. No mention is made in this passage of the striking incident of the fatal firebrand, with which the life of the hero is bound up in the later legend. This is another instance of that process of development in the popular faith, of which the attentive reader of these notes must already have noticed not a few; a process, indeed, which to the human mind is so natural, that in the Christian Church not all the firmness of a historical foundation nor all the rigidity of a dogmatic creed has been able to prevent it.

VER. 557.—*Marpessa's daughter.*

As Ulysses gave up the society of a goddess that he might see his mortal wife again, and his dear fatherland, so Marpessa, the daughter of Evenus—a king bearing the same name as the Ætolian river that flowed through his kingdom—being wooed by Apollo,

preferred the mortal Idas, son of Aphareus, for her husband, from the very prudent consideration, that the god, rejoicing in the brightness of eternal youth, would naturally despise and abandon her when she grew old (Apoll. I. 7, 8). Homer follows some tradition which said that Apollo even carried her away from her chosen lord, which made her wail with the wailing notes of the halcyon. With regard to the halcyon, the note of this beautiful bird is said to be "shrill and piercing" (Dallas' *Animal Kingdom*); and out of this slight indication the active imagination of the Greeks invented the familiar myth, that Alcyone, the wife of Ceyx, was so dearly attached to her husband, that when he perished in shipwreck (Hygin. 65), she threw herself into the sea, and was changed into a kingfisher with a shrill and wailing note. To which tale there grew up in time the wonderful addition that Jove, for love to this loving bird, during the seven days of its incubation caused the sky to observe a miraculous serenity (E. M. *in voce*). Hence the English phrase, "*halcyon days.*"

VER. 568.—*With violent hand she smote the earth.*

The ancients, when they prayed to the gods above, lifted up their hands to heaven; when addressing the infernal powers they beat the ground (Schol.)

VER. 594.—*Low-zoned maids.*

A literal translation of βαθυζώνους, an epithet which seems to have caused no small perplexity to our translators. Chapman has "*sweet ladies.*" Pope, finding epithets generally rather cumbersome for his antithetic couplets, omits it altogether. Cowper makes it "*chaste;*" Derby, "*deep-bosomed;*" Wright, Dart, and Worsley, "*deep-zoned;*" Newman, "*broadly-girdled;*" Voss, "*tief-gegürtet.*" Monti and Monbel follow Pope, and omit. I do not see why there should be any difficulty about the matter. Our ladies talk of a "low body," why not of a low sash? Boeckh, in his notes to Pindar (*Ol.* III. 35), says, "*voce* βαθύζωνος, *qua Leda, ut nobiles puellæ deæque fere omnes, insignitur, cinctura non sub*

mammis, sed inferiori corporis parte designatur quâ sinus vestimenti plenus et profundus redditur; quod pertinet ad Ionicum vestitum, quum contra Doricus, fibulis nexâ veste, sinum non præberet." According to this explanation, Lord Derby may be right in identifying it with the βαθύκολποι of XVIII 339; but this latter epithet, it is quite obvious, may more naturally be interpreted of the rich full-rounded physical beauty of the busts of the well-conditioned Dardan ladies.

VER. 600.

Nor let a god inspire thy heart with wilful thoughts.

Cowper has here "*demon*," and Monte, "*demone maligno*." This I merely mention as a hint to the student that there is no Greek word which is made the handle of smuggling in Christian ideas into Greek poetry, so frequently as δαίμων. Derby has here "thy god," which is not Hellenic. Wright preserves the Greek conception.

VER. 633.—*Blood-money oft the kinsmen moved.*

In the early stages of society, when deeds of violence are frequent, and every strong man in the hour of passion is the judge of his own right, manslaughter was often punished as deliberate murder by the incensed relations of the party, unless the homicide was happy enough to escape into a foreign country, and wait till the storm blew over. Sometimes, however, the crime was compensated by a sum of money; and the laws of all the early European nations contain a scale of value in this matter, which is often very curious. The word ποινή used here is the same as the Latin word *pœna*, from which our *penalty*. See on this subject, Duncker, *Ges. Alt.* iii. 268, and Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* i. p. 301.

VER. 648.—*An unvalued nameless loon.*

The jealousy with which the ancients generally guarded their rights of citizenship is well known. We have something perfectly analogous in the exclusive privileges of the guilds and corpor-

ations of the middle ages, which the wider sphere of modern social life, and the more free intercourse of man with man, has, in this country at least, completely broken up. But even in these more large and liberal times, the position of a stranger in a country, after years of settlement, is something very sad, and often realizes in England the latter half of the famous old complaint in the Anthology :—

ἐπὶ ξείνης δ', ἢν μὲν ἔχῃς τι, δέος·
ἢν δ' ἀπορῇς, ἀνιαρόν.

VER. 668.—*Steepy Scyros.*

According to the tradition of the Τρωικά, Achilles was sent to the island of Scyros at an early age, his mother Thetis being anxious to have him out of the way when the fateful Trojan war commenced; and to secure this object more effectually, she caused the young hero to be dressed in woman's clothes. But his sojourn as a damsel among damsels was not long of being discovered; for Deidamia, the daughter of Lycomedes, king of the island, bore a child to him, called Pyrrhus, afterwards Neoptolemus. This discovery being bruited, Ulysses, as usual the diplomatist, was employed to bring the young warrior to the war; and a single blast of the war-trumpet was sufficient to achieve his object. So Apollodorus (III. 13. 8).

Geographically we have to note that Scyrus (σκιρός, *hard, rugged;* Gaelic, *sgeir;* whence *skerryvore*) is an island to the east of Eubœa, seen from the middle of the rocky eastern coast of that island. It is famous in Hellenic story, not only for its connexion with the early history of Achilles, but for its being inwoven also with the history of the great Attic hero, Theseus, who was hurled into the sea here from one of the steep rocks, by the king of the Dolopes, a Pelasgic race who peopled it (Thucyd. I. 98; Steph. Byz. in Σκύρος). In after times, the recovery of the bones of Theseus, and their transference in festal pomp to Athens—like those of Napoleon in modern times from St. Helena to Paris—was one of the brightest gems in Cimon's crown of glory (Plut. *Cim.* 8).

It is a remarkable fact, illustrative strongly of the obstinate clinging of traditional story to localities, that a bay on the east side of the island, a little north of the town of Scyros, is still called Ἀχίλλι —the Ἀχίλλειον of Eustathius (XIX. 327)—preserving to the present hour the memory of the hero's departure for the eastern scene of his glory and his death. This was visited in 1841 by Professor Ross (*Wanderungen*, ii. p. 34), with whom I entirely agree, that in so remote a situation the name Ἀχίλλι cannot be classed with those revivals of classical names, of which, in the more frequented places of Greece since the liberation war, patriotic zeal has been so lavish.

VER. 694.—*μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι· μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀγόρευσεν.*

This line is ejected by Bekker, and for the best reasons. There could be no particular energy in the manner of Ulysses telling the sad result of his embassy. I omit the line, which, indeed, is just one of those commonplaces which unthinking minstrels would be apt to bring in when it suited the occasion, and when it did not.

BOOK X.

VER. 13.—*And heard the din of pipe and flute.*

As the *αὐλός*, *flute or pipe*, was pre-eminently an Oriental instrument, used by the Lydians (Herod. I. 17), and in the Phrygian worship of Cybele, it is most likely that Homer introduces it here, along with its modification, the *σῦριγξ*, as characteristic of the Trojans. It is mentioned, however, in one other passage (XVIII. 495), in connexion with festive music, where there is no special mention of the Trojans. In the Pythian games, it was introduced for the first time in the 48th Olympiad (Paus. X. 7. 2). Hesiod (*Scut.* 281) introduces it into a *κῶμος*, or *revel*. It is spoken of by the ancients generally as the natural accompaniment of

wild and exciting music, and contrasted with the cheerful grace of the lyre, which was the peculiarly Attic or Ionian instrument, while the flute, so far as it was not Oriental, was Doric, and used by the Thebans (Max. Tyr. XXIII. 2) and Spartans. See IX. 186, and Müller, *Dor.* ii. 8, 11.

VER. 56.—*The sacred chosen band that keepeth watch.*

It appears to me that *sacred* is an epithet applied by Homer to anything peculiarly excellent and highly valued. Paley compares ἱεροὶ πυλαωροί in XXIV. 681, and thinks "it is likely that ἱεροί was a complimentary epithet given to picquets generally."

VER. 68.—*And name their kin and clan.*

It is a pity that people in authority should ever require to be told how much a little kindly attention to their dependants, in the way of noticing their names, and inquiring into their family connexions and concerns, may increase their influence. Good men should be led to do this from the impulse of a good heart; ambitious men from policy. In ancient times the gentile element was so strong that a man could hardly look upon himself as being decently recognised at all unless his father was named along with himself. Heyne quotes Thucyd. (VII. 69), who says of Nicias, in a critical moment, that he appealed to ἕνα ἕκαστον, πατρόθεν τε ἐπονομάζων καὶ αὐτοὺς ὀνομαστὶ καὶ φυλήν.

VER. 84.—ἠέ τιν' οὐρήων διζήμενος, ἦ τιν' ἑταίρων.

On this line the scholiast remarks, ἀθετεῖται ὅτι ἄκαιρος ἡ ἐρώτησις, a suspected line, because an ill-timed question. The verse no doubt may be defended, but the poetry is better without it; so, with Bekker, I eject.

VER. 164.—*Old man, a terrible force is thine.*

This is an excellent passage for bringing out the true force of the characteristically Homeric word σχέτλιος, commented on above (II. 112). Its force is here explained in ver. 167 by the word

ἀμήχανος, which means a person with whom there is no μηχανή, one with whom there is no way to deal otherwise than he pleases himself.

VER. 182.—*They found them sitting on the ground.*

Eustathius remarks that the sentinels had wisely chosen the Aristotelian mean between the attitude of lying, which is apt to slide into sleep, and that of standing, which causes unnecessary weariness. There is no doubt great wisdom in this, if the watch requires to spare himself; but if his only object is to save the army, one can hardly help agreeing with Pope, that the army is always safest from surprise whose sentinel is on his legs.

VER. 215.—*A sheep with dark wool thick and fine.*

Cowper, with a too simple faith in the old commentators, a common and very natural fault with the old translators, has quoted with approval the puerile subtlety of a scholiast, who says that the ewe was black (or "*sable*," as he calls it, to do justice, as he thought, to the grand style becoming the epic poet), "because the expedition was made by night, and that each had a lamb as typical of the fruit of their labours!" This is interesting, as proving that learning as well as religion can make people forget common sense, and that modern theologians are not the only persons who love to talk nonsense about types. Heyne, who had a vigorous and masculine, as well as an acute intellect, says quietly, "*Hoc tandem est ineptire! Imo fetu ovis opes auget, et nigra est præstantior sui generis.*" Koeppen had previously remarked that Ulysses, in the cave of Polypheme (*Od.* IX. 426), wishing to pick out the stoutest and best sheep, had chosen those who, among other good qualities, "had a dark fleece (ἰοδνεφέες εἶρος ἔχοντας). This is quite satisfactory; but he quotes also Columella (*R. R.* VII. 2), "*sunt etiam suâpte natura pretio commendabiles* PULLUS *atque* FUSCUS *color, quos præbent in Italia Pollentia, in Baetica Corduba.*" Pliny also (*N. H.* VIII. 48) expatiates on the different colours of the wool of sheep in different countries.

VER. 265.—*This helm from Eleon he took.*

ELEON is a town in Bœotia, mentioned in the catalogue (II. 500). In ver. 268 I have omitted Σκάνδεια—Scandia,—a sea-port town and naval station in Cythere (Paus. III. 23; Thucyd. IV. 54), for metrical convenience. There is no epithet attached to it; and it is utterly insignificant here. On the island Cythera, see below, XV. 432. Chapman has made a curious blunder here, "*Cytherius, surnamed Amphidamas*," as indeed he is full of such things, which do him no harm, and only show how little minute learning has to do with high poetry.

VER. 274.—*Athenè sent a heron on the right.*

Some of the ancient scholiasts, never content with what is obvious if only something recondite could be excogitated, express surprise that Athenè should send a heron here instead of her own bird, the owl; but, as Heyne well remarks, it was not Athenè, but the marshy ground about the Scamander that had to do with this particular bird, as a child might know. Among a people with whom the flight of birds generally was significant of fate, the heron, appearing, as it generally does, in waste lonesome places, where the wayfarer is apt to feel "eerie," as our expressive Scotch language has it, would naturally excite peculiar attention (Paus. X. 29. 2). The remark of the scholiast, that the heron is a warlike bird, and therefore sent by a warlike goddess to warriors, though fortified with a Sanscrit analogy by Mr. Gladstone (ii. 98), does not seem to rest on any proper authority (Hermann, *Rel. Alt.* 38. 6). The herons generally, no doubt, with their long channelled mandibles, and their huge gape, make war on poor trouts and eels with great execution; but this is easy game, and would scarcely entitle them to be perched up with the cock as assessors of Mars and adjutants of Minerva.

VER. 315.

πολύχρυσος πολύχαλκος.—I have taken Bentley's hint, which

Heyne approved, and changed these nominatives into genitives. Compare ver. 380.

VER. 335.—*A casque of weasel's skin.*

The ἴκτις is described by Aristotle, *Hist. An.* IX. 7. This word and γαλῆ and αἴλουρος are used with great vagueness by the Greek writers; so that it is difficult to say whether a weasel or a ferret be meant. Both species belong to the same natural family, the *semi-plantigrades*, and have similar habits (see Adams' App. to Dunbar; Groshaus on *The Zoology of Homer and Hesiod, Clas. Mus.* iv. p. 265; and Lenz, *Zoolog. der Griechen*, p. 92). It is amusing to note how Chapman, in the true style of our brilliant Elizabethans, never satisfied without a witticism, says here—

> "And with a helm of weasel's skin did arm
> His *weasel* head!"

Of course no such conceit is hinted at in Homer.

VER. 353 —*Be of good cheer; thou art not doomed to die.*

Observe the deliberate falsehood of this assurance. Ulysses does not keep, and had not the slightest intention of keeping, his promise. When passions are strong, in war, and in religion sometimes, the obligation of truth is apt to appear very faint. The most cultivated Christian nations allow stratagems in war; and spoken lies may not seem worse than acted ones. But the Greeks were not a truthful race, even in their best times; and that σοφία, which achieved such great things in their books, often became low cunning and deliberate falsehood in their lives. Contrast the strict honour of Zerbino in reference to the diabolical hag Gabrina in Ariosto, *O. F.* XXI.

VER. 394.—*I through the dark fast-flitting night.*

Our translators have been not a little puzzled—as indeed the ancients also were—what to make of θοή as an epithet to νύξ. That we must translate *swift* there can be no doubt; but does it

mean night *coming swiftly on, swooping swiftly on*, or night *fleeting swiftly away?* On either supposition the difficulty is great; for the night rather seems to creep slowly on, and to glide slowly away, than to move quickly. Perhaps the best way would have been simply to translate "*swift*," and leave the explanation to the reader. What Donaldson (*N. C.* 474) says about this expression is both unscientific and unpoetical; δοός never can mean "dreadful." I am inclined to think the phrase must have been invented by shepherds, watching their flocks on the long summer days, to whom the night could not but appear a fleet and flitting phenomenon in the round of their daily lives.

VER. 427.—*Behold, the truth I tell to thee*, etc.

On the Trojan auxiliaries here mentioned, see notes to the catalogue, II. 816. The only names not mentioned there are the *Leleges* and *Caucones*. Strabo, in a remarkable passage (VII. 321) tells us that anciently the whole of the Peloponnesus was peopled by barbarians, and specially the Dryopes, the Caucones, the Pelasgi, and the Leleges. They were evidently the different subdivisions of those Argive tribes afterwards known to the world as Greeks, who peopled first the Asiatic coast of the Ægean, and then, by the way of Thrace, forced themselves south, first into Thessaly, and then into the Morea. The Leleges here meant are of course those who dwelt on the south coast of the Troad, whom the geographer in another place specializes (XIII. 49), and whom the poet again names (XXI. 86). See Clinton, i. p. 34; Curtius, *Gr. Ges.* i. 41. The Caucones, who appear again in XX. 329, had their principal European seat in Elis and the Triphylia (Str. VIII. 345); but those who came to assist Priam were of course Asiatics from the banks of the Parthenius, where their principal site is known to have been. The THYMBRA, in ver. 434, is a place well known to all who have taken any part in the controversy about the site of Troy; for, in XIII. 598, Strabo speaks of the "plain of Thymbra, and the river Thymbrius flowing through it, which flows into the Scamander, beside the temple of the Thymbræan Apollo" (Virgil, *Æn.* III. 85), as a

point of importance in settling the situation of Troy. Maclaren (*Plain of Troy*, p. 39) says that the Thymbrius of Strabo is beyond doubt the *Kimair;* but these are slippery matters, and Welcker finds the real Thymbrius rather in the Dombrek (*Kleine Schriften*, ii. p. 43). As to the THRACIANS, we had them already (II. 844) in the catalogue; they appear throughout in the Trojan legends as most intimately related to the family of Priam; and their king, Rhesus, with his wind-swift horses, here giving glory to Ulysses and Diomede, appears afterwards on the Attic stage to illustrate the genius of Euripides. Over him the sedulous commentator passes with easy quill; for the only notable event in his life, as an Irishman might say, was his death.

VER. 487.—*He slew a goodly twelve.*

This killing of men in their sleep is Greek, and not at all chivalrous. The knights of the middle ages scorned such a deed.

> "*Di tanto core è il generoso Orlando*
> *Che non degna ferir gente che dorma.*"
>
> ARIOSTO, *O. F.* IX. 4.

VER. 498.—τὴν νύκτ', Οἰνείδαο πάϊς διὰ μῆτιν Ἀθήνης.

"*Aristophanes et Zenodotus dejecerant; cujus judicii causas uberius refert schol.* A. *Ac profecto, si quis alius, hic versus grammatici prodit industriam, qui qualis fuerit terror per somnium Thracum regi a Minerva objectus erat explicaturus* (Spitzner). Of course, in these matters certainty is not to be expected; but the poetical effect of this passage is, in my opinion, improved by the omission of the line. Cowper gives—

> "For at his head
> An evil dream that night had stood, the form
> Of Diomede by Pallas' art devised."

VER. 505.—*With a mighty sway uplift it.*

It appears from this that the war-chariots of the ancients, like the beds of the sick in the New Testament, must have been very

light and portable. They were, in fact, so light that they could be hung up on temples, like shields and coats of mail (Virg. *Æn.* VII. 183). See the article *Currus*, in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*

VER. 531.—Νῆας ἐπὶ γλαφυράς, κ.τ.λ.

"*Defuit in Ven. Vind. un. et Townl. et irrepsit fortasse ex* XI. 520. *Eustathius, quamquam eum abundare fatetur, tamen pluribus demonstrare studet, nihil inesse quo magnopere offendamur*" (Spitzner). Just so; and the translator may wisely deal with such lines as the convenience of his verse may dictate.

VER. 576-7.—*Into the hollow bath they went.*

The early use of warm baths among the Greeks is evident both from this passage and from the Odyssey. The excess in which this luxury was used by the later Greeks, seems to have driven the advocates of a rigorous and bracing system of living to denounce the hot bath altogether; but on this one point at least, the UNJUST DISCOURSE in Aristophanes has completely the advantage over his adversary; for he proves that, according to the universal tradition of the ancients, Athenè supplied warm baths to Hercules at Thermopylæ, when he was worn out with his severe labours (Schol. *Ar. Nub.* 1050). Various passages of the Odyssey likewise point to baths as an ordinary service done to all guests after a long journey (III. 468, IV. 48); and though it is not expressly mentioned in all these passages, it is quite plain from others (X. 360) that hot water is meant. The well-known instance of the murder of Agamemnon in the bath which Clytemnestra gave him on his disembarkation points to the universality of the practice. In the times of the general corruption of morals under the Roman Emperors, the Church Fathers inveighed with great zeal as much against baths as against gymnastics and gladiator shows, denouncing cold baths frequently as violently as hot ones; and there were no doubt in those days moral considerations of the gravest kind, which might justify a general Philippic of this sort, that in theory appear altogether unreasonable and absurd. Along with ablution, the Greeks

practised also, as this passage shows, the anointing of the body with oil, a practice of which frequent mention is made in the Old Testament (Ruth iii. 3; 2 Sam. xii. 20; Prov. xxvii. 9; Dan. x. 3). For an account of the ancient system of baths, part of which survives in the Turkish Bath, while other parts have been revived by Priessnitz and the hydropathists, see Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, Art. *Baths*.

BOOK XI.

VER. 13, 14.—Τοῖσι δ' ἄφαρ, κ.τ.λ.

These lines certainly appear much more naturally in II. 453, so that, whether interpolated or not in this place, the translator may wisely give them the go-by. They are bracketed by Sp. and Bäuml., and ejected by Bek.

VER. 15.

Then Agamemnon king called all the Argive men to arms.

The eleventh book is the ἀριστεία Ἀγαμέμνονος, or *prowess of Agamemnon*, and is so quoted by all ancient writers. Here, therefore, were the fitting place to note anything about this famous character, beyond the action of the poem, which might interest an intelligent reader. But in fact there is so little to add, or what might have been added has, by the genius of the Attic tragic poets, become so widely the common property of all educated persons, that a detailed note will readily be excused here. The tragic death of the king of Mycenæ after the taking of Troy is alluded to in the Odyssey (I. 35, III. 304, XI. 387), and exhibited by Æschylus in a tragedy containing some scenes of which Shakspeare might have been proud. After his death Agamemnon received at Amyclæ the usual honours which were given to heroes, by a religious acknowledgment similar to the canonization of the Roman

Church (Paus. III. 19. 5). In the Trojan legends, and in the Iliad, he is manifestly rather the respected bearer of the whole than the brilliant exponent of any part; he is the sceptre-bearing king, whom all reverence, not the popular champion, of whose exploits all voices are full. His courage on the field, however, is more than sufficient to support his dignity on the throne; and if in policy he on critical occasions displays wavering and irresolution, and even faint-heartedness, this will readily be forgiven in a man whose position forces him to be dependent more on the will of others than on his own aspirations.

VER. 20.—*That hauberk good which Cinyras gave.*

Cinyras is famous in the oldest traditions of Cyprus as the founder of Paphos, and the father of a family of priests, who worshipped the goddess of love in that island, not in human shape, but under the emblem of a conical stone. The interesting description of Tacitus (*Hist.* II. 3) must be familiar to many. See further, Pindar, *Pyth.* II. 27, and Apoll. III. 14. 3, who makes Cinyras a descendant of Cephalus and Tithonus. The next verse (21) is the only passage in the Iliad in which the island of CYPRUS is mentioned. In the Odyssey it occurs several times, in IV. 83, XVII. 442, and in VIII. 362, specially in connexion with the worship of Venus, described by Tacitus, and of which the emblems and whole character were of Oriental and Phœnician rather than of European and Hellenic type. The topography and history of an island lying so completely beyond the sphere of the action of the Iliad need not detain us.

VER. 24.—*Ten bars of dark-hued mineral blue.*

The word κύανος requires remark: (1.) As a colour, this word properly means *blue*, and specially *light blue*; for Pausanias, in a remarkable passage (X. 28. 4), describes the colour of the *blue-bottle flies* which invade the larder as a middle hue between μέλας and κύανος, which has no meaning unless this word mean light blue.

Eustathius also on the present passage distinctly says that κύανος is *the colour of the sky when it is quite cloudless;* and the well-known name of the corn-flower, called *ciano* in Italian to this hour, proves the same thing. (2.) Nevertheless, with that vagueness peculiar to words of colour in Greek, this same word, in Homer at least, beyond all question often means *dark blue*, so dark indeed as to be practically identical with μέλας. Of this the dictionary supplies ample proof. (3.) The current version of the word in the present passage, by which it is made to signify *steel*, is utterly without foundation. I can find no ancient authority for this notion; the oldest hint of it, so far as I see, being in the index to Eustathius, quoted by Millin and Gladstone, where the words μέταλλόν τι μελανίζον, by the index-maker, are not sanctioned by the text of the commentator in the passages (828. 19, and 1570. 28) to which they refer. But, even if Eustathius had distinctly said that κύανος was a metal, his mere assertion would have had little weight on such a point against the authority of the classical Greek writers, who tell us distinctly what κύανος is. (4.) For no man can read what Theophrastus—*De Lapidibus*—says on this subject without seeing plainly that κύανος is either a blue gem or a blue mineral, more probably both; and, if the latter, in all probability an ore of copper, or, finally, an artificial imitation of these natural products. I shall leave to chemists and mineralogists to settle the exact species, but for poetical purposes I have chosen "mineral blue" as a suitable designation. The traditional idea that it must be a metal, which the Germans, curiously enough, from Passow down to Friedrich and Ameis, retail, is supported by no argument that I can find, except that the other bars or stripes on the shield are of metal, and therefore this must be so too. But this is a sort of argument which a child in a toy-shop might easily be taught to refute. Of our recent translators, Wr. has "*dusky steel*," and Drb. "*dusky bronze*," which are certainly no improvements on the older versions. On this subject Gladstone (iii. 497) has an excellent note. See also Lenz, *Mineralogie der Griechen;* Linton, *Ancient and Modern Colours*, 1852; and Moore, *Ancient Mineralogy*, 1859, p. 85.

Millin's notion (*Mineralogie Homer.*, p. 154) that κύανος means *lead* is unworthy of serious discussion.

VER. 54.—*A bloody dew.*

Bloody rain-drops are mentioned again, XVI. 459; and it is not unlikely, as Koep. observes, that certain natural phenomena may have afforded the germ out of which this portent grew. The reader of Livy may perhaps recollect the notice that in one remarkable year, when wars were being carried on against the Gauls, "it rained stones in Hadria, drops of blood were seen on the Forum and the Capitol, and in the district of Arimini noble boys were born without eyes or nose." Naturalists are of opinion that these bloody drops come from certain insects of the butterfly species, who when they creep out of their vermicular mask emit drops of blood on the green leaves. So Eckerle, in his *Naturlehre*, quoted by Bothe.

VER. 68.—*A rich man's field.*

The word μάκαρ is the highest term that the Greeks have to express happiness, being in its most characteristic uses as superior to εὐδαίμων as our *blessed* is to *happy, fortunate, prosperous.* Nevertheless this word, both here and in Od. I. 217, is distinctly used for a man who is merely *rich;* a usage from which, as Mr. Gladstone observes (iii. 80), we may plainly conclude that the popular opinion in Homer's day was as apt to place the essence of happiness in the abundance of the things which a man possessed as does the common estimate of a worldling in this money-making land. The external, in fact, in all shapes and attitudes, will always dominate over the masses, and impress its stamp on their conceptions and their language. A blessedness like that of the rapt saint, the brooding philosopher, or the creative poet, altogether independent of external circumstance, will ever be incomprehensible to the majority. Even the self-annihilating pantheistic Hindus say, in their book of proverbial wisdom (the *Hitopadesa*, Sloka. 6):—"Knowledge gives discretion. Through discretion a man obtains

fitness for employment. By fitness he acquires wealth. From wealth comes religious merit; thence proceeds felicity." Truly a notable moral gamut!

VER. 189.—*So long let Hector stand apart.*

"The comparative feebleness of Hector's military character is most pointedly shown in the eleventh book, when Jupiter determines to give effect to the decision that honour shall be done to him" (Gladstone, iii. 560). This apparent feebleness of Hector's character, wherever it crops out, has one very simple explanation. Homer never conceived Hector as in any sense a feeble character; but he was too good a Greek to allow that the best of the Trojans could stand before the best of the Greeks, without betraying that sort of trepidation which an orthodox Englishman conceives every Frenchman does feel, and ought to feel, at the incarnate manifestation of unconquerable vigour in the person of John Bull. The old minstrel was a generous-hearted man at bottom, no doubt, as all true poets are; but as the popular singer of the Greeks, he could no more afford always to give fair play to a Trojan, than a mediæval romancer could do to a Saracen, or a modern Scotsman listen with patience to the praise of the Virgin Mary.

VER. 226.—*He gave this daughter to be his wife.*

It is plain from this that, according to Homeric ideas, there was nothing wrong in a man marrying his aunt. Theano was wife of Antenor (v. 70), and her son Amphidamas married his mother's sister. Eustathius notes this; and also the Schol. Ven. A, who remarks that Diomede also married his mother's sister.

VER. 270.—*The pang-bearing Eileithyiæ.*

The goddesses of childbirth, EILEITHYIÆ, are plural in this passage, but in XVI. 187 and XIX. 103 there is only one, from which diversity of usage certain Germans, with their peculiar logic, would eagerly rush to strange conclusions with regard to the authorship of these books. But in fact the earliest stage of mythology is

always characterized by a peculiar vagueness in reference to the number of certain divine powers, which is more accurately defined afterwards, as the personification becomes more distinct, and the forms of art limit the action of the popular imagination. See above on the Muses, II. 484; the Fates, VI. 489; and the Furies, IX. 454. Afterwards the singular number predominated, but the plural was retained at Megara (Paus. I. 44. 3). With regard to the significance of these goddesses, there seems to be little or no doubt that they are only the throes of labour personified, a circumstance which will account for their number—as the Ἐρίννες were plural from ἀραί,—and which agrees both with the supposed etymology of their name (from ἐλεύθω, the *coming* pangs, the ancients generally, and Welcker; Preller brings in εἰλέω, εἰλύω) and with their genealogy. For they were originally no more independent powers than the Μοῖραι, and were sent from Ἥρα, just as these came from Jupiter. Herè, indeed, as the great celestial mother and matron and the patron goddess of marriage, is the natural centre round which all that belongs to childbirth revolves; and it is only what we might have expected, when we find in Hesychius that Εἰλείθυια was one of the well-known names of the Argive Juno (Hesy. εἰλείθυια). And the Romans accordingly called Εἰλείθυια *Juno Lucina* (Dionys. *Arch.* IV. 15). As such, Εἰλείθυια, no doubt, existed in the most ancient theology long before she was individualized as the daughter of Jove and Juno (Hesiod, *Theog.* 921). Olen, one of the oldest sacred priests of the Apollo worship, identified her with Ἑπρωμένη, and called her older than Kronos (Paus. VIII. 21. 2); as indeed she has a natural affinity with the Fates, and is often mentioned along with them (Anton. Lib. 29; Pindar, *Ol.* VI. 70). With Artemis it is quite certain that she had originally nothing to do, any more than with Minerva; but the general recognition of the sister of Apollo as the Moon, seems to have led the Athenians afterwards to hand over to this goddess the presidency of childbirth, which properly belonged to Juno (Eurip. *Hippol.* 166; *Anthol. Pal.* VI. 273; Ilgen, *Scol.* III.) The statues of Eileithuia were generally represented more or less

veiled. That at Ægium, described by Pausanias (VII. 23. 5). was altogether covered by a fine drapery, except the face, the points of the fingers, and the toes; that at Athens (Paus. I. 18. 5) was completely covered. The best account of Εἰλείθυια, and all that relates to childbirth among the ancients, will be found in Welcker's tract on *Entbindung* in his *Kleine Schriften*, and reprinted in his *Alterthümer der Heilkunde* (Bonn, 1850), an author to whom, in this, as in all matters connected with ancient mythology, I gratefully acknowledge my obligations. Consult also the monogram of Pindar, *De Ilithyia*, Berlin, 1860.

VER. 306.—*Thick vapours by white Notus bred.*

That winds should sometimes get their names from the appearance of the sky with which they are accompanied, or from the kind of weather which they bring with them, seems quite natural; and in this way such an epithet as ἀργεστής may easily pass into a proper name. The ἀργεστᾶο Νότοιο of the poet in this passage is manifestly the *albus Notus* of Horace (I. 7. 15); but though the epithet is the same, there is a great difference in the idea which the word is meant to convey. The Roman lyrist talks of the *white or clear south wind driving the dark clouds before it*, Homer of the *strong fresh zephyr, sweeping away the clouds of the white south*. What our minstrel means we may have seen in our own climate, where a south wind will often accumulate a white haze in the sky, which a stiff breeze from the north or north-west will disperse. The word ἀργέστης appears in Hesiod plainly, I cannot help thinking with Goettling (*Theog.* 379), as a proper name for the east wind, which agrees well enough with its Homeric use, as Νότος may be used loosely for the south-east; and to a person living on the west coast of Asia Minor, these two winds at certain seasons of the year might bring with them a similar white cloudiness of the sky. Afterwards, when used by Greeks in a different quarter of the world, the word ἀργέστης took a jump into the immediate vicinity of its Homeric adversary the Ζέφυρος, and appears on the card as N.W. by W. See the table of winds in Goettling; hence

"*frigidus Argestes*" in Ovid, *Fast.* v. 161. The Ἀργέστης in Apoll. Rhod. II. 963 is also manifestly a west wind, as indeed the scholiast remarks, for this is what the Argonauts required at that part of their voyage.

VER. 385.—*Brave archer, brilliant bowman.*

I have not the shadow of a doubt that the meaning of "curls" given to κέρας in this passage, by a great many of the ancients, and from thence adopted into some translations even of recent date, is a pure invention of that host of minute pedants who, in the decadence of Greek literature, began to occupy their small wits with a thousand and one supersubtle questions about every jot and tittle of the Homeric Bible. We must bear in mind that these men lived at least 600 years after the latest date assigned to Homer, and that where a certain living tradition failed, they had no better materials for forming a judgment than we have, and even when they had materials, they seem to have been entirely destitute of fixed principles of criticism by which they might apply them. No hermeneutical maxim is now more generally allowed than that every author is the best commentator on himself; and as Homer, though speaking of *hair* in a hundred places, nowhere uses κέρας in that sense, while he tells us distinctly (IV. 109) that bows were made of horn, all room for further conjecture on the subject is shut out. Aristarchus, as we see in Apollonius, saw this clearly; but the γλωσσογράφοι were arrant triflers, and having taken a fancy into their head that Homer having already called Paris a τοξότης, must mean something different by κέρᾳ ἀγλαέ, and knowing that the locks of Paris were famous (III. 55), they fell upon the notion that a certain kind of arrangement of the curls might justly be called a "horn," and so gratified their petty ingenuity at the expense of the Greek language and of common sense; for who ever heard of "locks" being called "a horn?" The things are in their nature different and contrary; the horn stands up, the locks fall down. Let us hope, therefore, that we shall hear no more of this nonsense. The taunt implied in τοξότης has been already explained under IV. 242.

VER. 430.—*O wise Ulysses, much bepraised.*

There is nothing contrary to Homeric usage in the laudatory epithet here applied to Ulysses by the Trojans. The attempt of Buttmann in the *Lexil.* to devise a special meaning for πολύαινος according to the strict acceptation of αἶνος, an *allegory* or *parable*, is ingenious, but neither necessary nor safe. Learned men seem sometimes to be governed by a feeling against obvious meanings; but I suspect, in a popular minstrel at least, the most obvious meaning is the most likely to be true.

VER. 474.—*Tawny jackals.*

The δαφοινοὶ θῶες, like most objects of natural history not altogether common, has puzzled the translators. The versions are, "red wild dogs," N.; "lynxes in the hills," C.; "bloody Lucerns," Ch.; "wild mountain-wolves," P.; "*rothgelbe Schakal*," V.; "hungry jackals," Drb. I follow Lenz, *Zoologie der Griechen*, p. 117. Gesenius understands *jackals* in the history of Samson (Judges xv. 4), where the Hebrew has שׁוּעָל.

VER. 514.

A cunning leech in stress of fight a hundred men outweighs.

This sentiment is expressed again in *Od.* IV. 231, which passage, I entirely agree with Welcker (*Alt. Heilk.* p. 49), is like the present quite general, and has no special reference to the Egyptians. The compliment paid by the poet to the medical profession in this verse is the more generous, that in all ages of society, men who distinguish themselves on the battle-field and in the forum, in public life and in literature, achieve greater celebrity than those who work in the quiet and unobtrusive sphere of the physician. For this reason it is celebrated by Virgil as a great act of self-denial in a certain hero that

> "Scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi
> Maluit, et MUTAS agitare inglorius ARTES."
>
> *Æn.* XII. 397.

The *Hitopadesa* says, "A man should not reside in a place where these five things are not to be found, *wealthy inhabitants, Brahmins learned in the Vedas, a Rajah, a river, and a physician* (Book I. Sloka. 109). And in the Wisdom of Sirach we read (xxxviii. 1, 2), "Honour a physician for your own need; for the Lord created him also: for from the Most High cometh healing, and he shall receive a gift from the king." The world, however, always will have its sneer at the privileged orders; so in Eustathius we find recorded a very different saying, "If *physicians did not exist, there would be nothing on earth more silly than the grammarians.*" Line 515 was ejected by Zenodotus, διὰ τὴν μείωσιν; it is bracketed by Spitzner; and as it certainly weakens rather than strengthens the effect of the previous line, I think I do the poet a service by following the Ephesian.

VER. 543.

The line

Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ νεμεσᾶθ', ὅτ' ἀμείνονι φωτὶ μάχοιτο·

was first inserted into the text by Wolf, from Ar. *Rhet.* II. 9, and other passages of the ancients. The line may be genuine; but, as it only seems to weaken the passage by expressing a reason far better left to the imagination, I have no hesitation in omitting it. Barnes inserted it at XVII. 100, where it seems superfluous.

VER. 609.

The valiant Greeks clasping my knees I soon shall see.

"*Hæc loquentem qui fecit Achillem, is profecto legationem hesterno die repudiatam ignoravit*" (Köchly, *Diss. Iliad.* iii. p. 9). This remark is certainly just, and is in favour of my theory (vol. i. p. 256), that Book IX. was an afterthought of the poet, in order to intensify the importance of his hero. With regard to such small contradictions or oversights in the concatenation of the parts of the poem, my wonder always is that there are not more of them.

VER. 624.—*A mingled draught fair Hecamede prepared.*

The κυκεών, says Apollonius, "is a draught of water and wine mingled with honey and barley," as, indeed, it is described here, and in Od. x. 235, 290, 316. The κυκεών is not a medicine, but only a refreshing draught; this appears plainly from the context (ver. 641-2), and from the Odyssey, where Circe puts the φάρμακον into it, as an addition altogether distinct and separate. Hecamede is no leech, only Agamede (ver. 740), though those who have quoted from this book often confound the two. The κυκεών was not always composed of the same materials, but some kind of herbs seems to have been essential to the potion. In Ar. *Pac.* 712 and 1159, thyme and pennyroyal are mentioned.

VER. 630.—*Flavorous garlic for the wine.*

The word ὄψον, in Greek, properly signifies anything that gives a relish, generally to a piece of dry bread, but in this passage it means a provocative to wine. Hesychius says that onions, κρόμμυα, are taken in the morning along with a glass of wine, as ἐρεθιστικόν τοῦ οἴνου. Afterwards ὄψον was more specially applied to certain kinds of fish, such as anchovies and sardines; from this use its diminutive ὀψάριον came to be used, as in the New Testament generally, for fish, which, in modern Greek, shorn of the initial unaccented syllable, becomes ψάρι, a *fish*.

VER. 639.—*The Pramnian wine.*

The Pramnian wine is mentioned often in ancient writers, and was held in very great estimation, as the scholiast on Ar. *Equit.* 107 remarks. It was a dark strong wine, dry and harsh, and was believed to have medicinal qualities (Athen. I. 10 B, 29 A, 30 C). This notion of its medicinal virtue may either have been founded on experience, or have arisen out of the medical interpretation of this very passage, for the ancients dealt with Homer as we deal with the Bible, and always used him to prove a thousand things of which he never dreamt. As to the locality of the Pramnian wine,

the most distinct testimony is borne to its having been grown in the island of Icarus, off Samos, where a rock was called the Πράμνιος πέτρα (Athen. I. 30 C); but the same name seems to have been given to wine of a similar quality grown in other places (Athen. I. 31 D; Plin. *N. H.* XIV. 4). See Nitzsch, *Od.* X. 234; Welcker, *Alte Heilkunde, Kleine Schriften*, iii. p. 55.

VER. 655.—*To whom the old Gerenian horseman answered.*

"Poor Patroclus," says Gladstone, "is here button-held by Nestor—152 lines absolutely and entirely irrelevant!" Not so. "Irrelevant" is a logical word; and Mr. Gladstone is not the only critic who has forgotten that poetry has a logic of its own which the schools are apt to ignore. Patroclus is eager to return and bring back word to Achilles; Nestor is eager to detain him. Of course he must say something; and he says something very much to the purpose, of which the substance is this: "Your friend is a very unreasonable man; he refuses to help his own friends in their extreme need. When I was young I was eager to rush into the fray, even when forbidden. If I was now as fresh and vigorous as Achilles, I would not be skulking at the ships, but I would go forth and handle the Trojans as I handled the Epeans when a young man, on a certain famous occasion which I will tell you." Is this irrelevant? The breadth of the narrative is partly Homeric, partly Nestorian, but it is also politic and pertinent; for the recital of such heroic actions was calculated to work on Patroclus's mind, and make him ashamed of his own conduct and that of his hot friend. I do not think there is a more natural, or a more appropriate speech in the whole Iliad. With regard to NESTOR generally, this were the place to enlarge on him if we had anything to say beyond what the pictures of the Iliad exhibit. But what little we know is hardly worth mentioning. Like all the thanes of the Peloponnesus he is directly traced to Thessaly, the cradle of the Greeks. His father Neleus is genealogically connected with Æolus, the son of Hellen—that is, the Greeks of Ἑλλάς in Thessaly, —through his father Cretheus, and his mother Tyro, the daughter

of the haughty god-defying Salmoneus (Apoll. I. 7. 3; Virg. *Æn.* VI. 585). This Tyro, no doubt as the grandmother of Nestor, so famous in the great legendary cycle of the Τρωικά, receives a prominent place among the illustrious women who appear to Ulysses in his visit to Hades (*Od.* XI. 235). From the banks of the Enipeus, owing to one of those family quarrels so common in ancient Greece, Neleus, the father of Nestor, left his native country, and established himself in Pylos, on the south-west coast of the Peloponnesus. As Nestor in a green old age survived every other body, so he was bound, by legendary propriety, to survive the Trojan war; and accordingly he appears in the Odyssey (III. 165, IV. 209) unscathed and uncurtailed, with all the dignity that belongs to a venerable *paterfamilias*, the hero of a hundred fights, and the survivor of three generations. By the irruption of the Heracleidæ, the Neleides were dispossessed of their possessions in the peninsula, and migrated to Attica (Paus. II. 18. 7). We should add that the surname "Gerenian," with which he generally appears in the Iliad, is from a Messenian town, where Nestor is said to have resided for some time, and which some ancient antiquarians identified with the Ἐνόπη of IX. 150 (see Paus. III. 26. 6).

VER. 662.—*βέβληται δὲ καὶ Εὐρύπυλος κατὰ μηρὸν ὀϊστῷ.*

"*Hunc versum, quod abest a Ven. Lips. Vind. uno et Eustathio, neque Nestor Eurypylum vulneratum esse scire potuit, in dubitationem vocant Ernestius, Heynius, Wolfius; et vix abesse poterit suspicio quin in alienum locum irruerit ille versus e libro* XVI. 27" (Spitzner). I eject, with Bekker.

VER. 699.—*Four prize-bearing steeds*, etc.

The reader will notice here the germ of the Olympic games, which, however, were not formally instituted, or at least did not assume a historical significance, till the year 776 B.C., when Iphitus was king of Elis. The Augeas mentioned in ver. 701 is evidently the same person whose ill-kept stables furnished Hercules with

one of his famous labours, which again has furnished the modern world with one of its most current proverbs.

Ver. 709.

The twin doughty champions here mentioned under the name of Μολίονε, are described in mythological history as sons of Actor (xxiii. 638)—brother of Augeas—and Molione. Their names were Eurytos and Cteatus (ii. 621). How they came to be named from their mother has puzzled curious inquirers; but, as Horace says, *non scire fas est omnia*. They were strong men and mighty warriors, and supposed, maugre their apparent fatherhood, no doubt on account of their strength, to have been really the sons of Poseidon. They acted so constantly in concert that people exaggerated them into a sort of Siamese twins (συμφυεῖς). They opposed Hercules with success; but the invincible son of Jove afterwards slew them near Cleonæ (Pindar, *Ol.* x. 32). Welcker (*Kl. Schr.*) interprets this legend of the two millstones, in the act of grinding indispensable to each other, most ingeniously, and in a manner which explains without force all the names of all the parties in the myth. If the Germans would learn to confine their symbolical explanations within such rational bounds as Welcker generally observes, they would command that respect from the whole world of scholars which they now receive chiefly from those largely infected with their own madness.

Ver. 728.—*A bull we to the river slew.*

Bulls were sacrificed to Rivers for the same reason as to Neptune (xx. 404), on account of their strength and fierceness. For the same reason, on coins, rivers are constantly represented either as bulls with human heads, or as men with bulls' heads, or at least with horns. To this Horace alludes in his "*Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus*," and Virgil in his *Rhenus bicornis;* for I should not believe, without special proof, that the Mantuan meant by this phrase the division of the Rhine into two great branches before it enters the sea.

VER. 740.

A leech was she, and well she knew all herbs on ground that grow.

That women are admirable nurses every one knows; that they are inclined also to dabble in drugs, and to patronize every new medical heresy, is equally evident; and that they have a natural vocation for exercising certain branches of the medical profession with dexterity and tact, seems undeniable. I have known not a few cases in which sensible women have interfered triumphantly to fan the vital spark, which injudicious doctors were assiduously smothering with drugs. It is gratifying therefore to find that a field of activity which has been recently claimed for the sex by English aspiration, and by American example, finds a precedent in the venerable pages of the Iliad. The name of Agamede stands here prophetic of Florence Nightingale, and other courageous devoted women, who moved like beneficent angels among the crowds of bleeding sufferers in the late Crimean war. A commentator of a late age identifies her with the Perimede of Theocritus (Schol. *Theoc.* II. 16). As Egypt was the most famous of ancient countries for physicians, we are not surprised to meet in the Odyssey (IV. 227) an Egyptian female leech, with the well-omened name of *Polydamna*, which, being interpreted, means *subduer of many diseases*. In fact, nothing was more common in ancient times than medical skill possessed by females. So Œnone, the Trojan shepherdess, is φαρμακουργός (*Lycoph.* 61). So a good nurse must know drugs (*Hymn. Cer.* 228). See MEDEA, *oder die Kräuterkunde bei den Frauen;* Welcker, *Kl. Sch.* iii. 21. From these sources, and I have no doubt also from the practice of the middle ages, our modern poets derived the idea of introducing women as skilled in surgery. So Erminia, in Tasso (VI. 67); so Angelica, in Ariosto (XIX. 21). And to the same effect, in the old romance of *Sir Isumbras* (Thornton Romances, Camden Society, Lond. 1844, p. 108), we read—

"The nonnes of him they were full fayne,
For that he had the Saracenes slayne
And those haythene houndes;

And of his paynnes sare ganne them rewe.
Ilke a day they made salves new,
And laid them till his wondes.
They gafe him metis and drynkis lythe,
And heled the knyghte wunder swythe."

And in *Sir Bevis of Hamptoun*, Josyan, the daughter of Ermyn, a Saracen king, plays the same part. From all which, the practical conclusion in my mind is, that provision should be made for the systematic instruction of women in certain departments of the medical art to a much greater extent than is at present the case.

VER. 807.—*The public open space where all the people met.*

This passage, showing at a glance the headquarters of parliamentary, judicial, and religious authority in a Greek camp, should be noted carefully in connexion with what we said of the ἀγορά above (II. 51).

VER. 832.—*Chiron, the greatest of the Centaur crew.*

The prominent mention of Chiron here in connexion with the practice of medicine in the camp of Agamemnon, leads us to make a few remarks on the origin and history of that useful art, as it appears in the earliest traditions of Greece. Æsculapius, as we have already mentioned (IV. 194), was, in Homer's time, a man, and not a god. Superior to him in time, as in personal dignity, was Chiron, the Centaur of Mount Pelion in Thessaly, to whom, indeed, the direct medical instruction of the future god is ascribed in a notable passage of Pindar (*Pyth.* III. 79). The name of Chiron (from χείρ) is significant of that manual dexterity which the practice of surgery (chirurgery) requires. And his parentage is equally significant; for his father is Κρόνος, or TIME, and his mother is PHILYRA (Apoll. I. 2, 4), which word Welcker seems right in deriving from φύλλον, the two slender vowels υ and ι, according to the genuine Greek pronunciation, being cognate, and easily confounded. His mother, therefore, was an "herb-woman;" and this entirely agrees with all that we know of the early history of

drugs, which were originally either expressed juices or infusions of plants. "*Antiquior autem medicina herbis tantum et succis erat*" (Isidor. *Orig.* IV. 9.)

The Centaur character of the father of medicine is worthy of notice. I agree with Welcker in regarding it as a pretty plain proof that these mountain monsters were not mere poetical impersonations of physical phenomena, but exaggerated accounts of a tribe of energetic and rough-riding mountaineers who lived in the glens of the mountains that slope down into the Thessalian plains. For the invention of medicine would not be attributed to a mere symbol; and, if the Centaurs did really represent the wild forms of mountain flood and cataract only, on what principle does Chiron form an exception to their general character? On the other hand, if we suppose the Centaurs to have been actual men, the whole thing is plain. Among the wild inhabitants of the glens of Pelion, some one might be found who, in the loneliness of those mountain solitudes, might be led by natural genius to observe the virtues of the rare plants which are wont to grow in such remote regions, of which the inhabitants of the plains, occupied with their plough and harrow, not favourable to botany, would be ignorant. The fame of any one possessed of such valuable knowledge, especially if accompanied with general sagacity and manual dexterity, would spread rapidly into the plains; and so the Centaur Chiron would become the instructor of gods and princes, and the cave where he was wont to shelter himself from the mountain blast would become a shrine of sacred memory to all ages (Dicæarchus, ἀναγραφὴ τοῦ Πηλίου ὄρους, Fuhr. p. 401). I have no doubt that in other countries parallels will be found to the essential fact indicated in the Centaur character of Chiron, viz., that *mountaineers have peculiar opportunities of discovering herbs of rare virtue, and that the people of the plains are inclined to yield to them with an admiring faith any superiority which they may claim as medical herbalists.* I observe, as a remarkable confirmation of this view, that the *Vilas* or *Oreads* of the Servian popular poetry are particularly noted for their skill in drugs, though, unfortunately, from their perverse dis-

position, they use that skill (like certain heroic drug-dispensers in England) oftener to kill mortal men than to cure them (Meredith, *Servian Ballads*. London, 1861, pp. 71, 74).

With regard to the extent of medical knowledge and the method of medical treatment in those early times, some statements have been made by scholars which are quite unwarranted. It has been asserted, for instance, that the medical practice of the Homeric age was purely surgical, and that no other branch of the therapeutic art then existed. Now this is quite contrary to all the presumptions of the case, and would require the most indubitable testimony to support it. For as men are liable to diseases at all times, not only to wounds and bruises in time of war, and as the desire to get rid of these diseases is natural and imperative, to suppose that no branch of the medical art but surgery existed in the first ages, is to suppose that soldiers were the only class of men who were gifted with the common instincts of suffering humanity. All that can be said in favour of this narrow view is, that cutting out an arrow-head or binding a bleeding wound is a much more obvious and simple operation than curing an ague by drinking quinine or other potion, and that therefore the more easy part of the art was naturally invented first. So much may be granted. But that not merely these simple surgical operations, but drugs of various kinds were known in the heroic ages, is quite certain from the epithet πολυφάρμακοι applied to physicians (XVI. 28), and from ver. 846 of this book, where Patroclus rubs a bitter root with his hand and applies it to the wound as an anodyne. These considerations are, in my opinion, quite sufficient to settle the point; but Welcker has made assurance doubly sure by directing special attention to Od. XVII. 384, where the ἰητήρ κακῶν is mentioned as one of the regularly recognised professions of the heroic age, a passage in which there cannot be the slightest reason for confining the word κακά to external wounds and lesions; on the contrary, κακότης is manifestly used, like μαλακία in the New Testament, of sickness, debility, and disease (*Od.* V. 397). As to the authority of Plato in this matter (*Rep.* III. 405-9), which has been often abused, any person

who reads the chapter carefully will see that it is directed only against the *wearisome vexation of sickly bodies with a protracted course of drugging*, and does not in anywise deny the existence and use of φάρμακα as a branch of therapeutics in the earliest stages of the healing art. The philosopher is there arguing not against drugs absolutely, but against the use of drugs to keep certain valetudinarians uncomfortably alive, who, according to his estimate of the value of life, would be much more comfortable in their graves.

Another point to be noted with reference to this matter is, that though the Greek army had its own body of surgeons, alluded to generally in XIII. 213 and XVI. 28,[1] yet the division of labour had certainly not yet advanced so far as to confine the practice of surgical operations to a particular class. On the contrary, Machaon, the wounded physician, is a ποιμὴν λαῶν (ver. 651) and a warrior as well as Agamemnon; and Patroclus in this passage extracts the arrow from Eurypylus' thigh and applies the anodyne just as naturally as if he had been Podalirius. The poet also tells us in the present passage expressly that Achilles had received instruction in the medical art, as in music, from Chiron. This instruction was a favourite subject with the ancient painters; and the skill with which they unified the human and the equine character in the godlike mountaineer was much celebrated by connoisseurs (Philost. *Imag.* II. 2). So, in the catalogue of Egyptian kings by Manetho (first dynasty), we find that Athothis, the son of Menes, was a physician, and wrote books on anatomy. In ancient Rome, we know from Pliny (*N. H.* XXIX. 1) that there was no physician seen till the arrival of a Greek from the Peloponnesus in the year of the city 535. In Greece at an early period the priests of Æsculapius at Epidaurus, Cos, and elsewhere, exercised all the functions of medical men, mingling their ablutions and potions, no doubt, with a very considerable amount of superstition, which, however, did no

[1] See in connexion with this subject an interesting tract, *Was the Roman Army provided with Medical Officers?* By Sir James Y. Simpson, M.D. Edinburgh, 1856.

harm. That the separation of surgeon from physician took place at a very early period is certain from the fact that Arctinus, one of the early Cyclic poets, in his Ἰλίου πέρσις describes Machaon as pre-eminent in surgery, while Podalirius had the profounder skill in diagnosis and therapeutics. The passage is preserved by the scholiast on ver. 515 *supra*, and may be Englished as follows:—

"He, the father, to both his sons the cunning of leechcraft
Bountiful gave; but one more glory obtained than the other.
Hands more nimble to this he gave for cutting, and quickly
Drawing the barb from the flesh, and healing each wound of the soldier;
That in his breast more knowledge received and curious wisdom,
Things deep-hidden to scan, and cure incurable evils.
He first wisely discovered the wrath that rankled in Ajax,
Read the wild gleam in his eye, and the weighty thought that oppressed him."

With regard to the personal history of Machaon and Podalirius, some facts are mentioned by the ancients (Paus. III. 26. 7); but they are of no significance, and the reader will wisely content himself with what Homer says here and in II. 732 and IV. 194.

In writing this note I had through my hands (1.) *The History of Physic*, by Leclerc, London, 1699; (2.) *History of Medicine*, by Meryon, London, 1861; (3.) *Hindoo System of Medicine*, by Wise, Calcutta, 1845; but profited most largely from Welcker's papers on ancient medicine, in his *Kleine Schriften*, iii. 1-226. I have also glanced at *La Médecine dans Homère*, par Daremberg, Paris, 1865, where the student will find a comprehensive digest of anatomical, medical, and surgical matters connected with Homer, on which the limits of these notes do not allow me to enlarge.

BOOK XII.

VER. 19.

Even all the streams that seek the sea from Ida's sacred height.

The country to the north of Mount Ida has been very little explored by travellers. Nevertheless, from the account of Strabo, and the topographical researches of Tchihatcheff (*Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1853), and Texier (*Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1862), it is easy to recognise the accuracy of the main points of the hydrography alluded to in these lines. That the poet should describe a dyke on the plain of Troy as washed away by a downflow of water, not only from the streams that water that region, but from those also that flow from the other side of Ida, north into the Sea of Marmora, is a license which we may allow without being curious, especially as the whole affair was miraculous.

According to the account of the native topographer Demetrius of Scepsis (Str. XIII. 43), "Mount Ida richly deserves the Homeric epithet of 'many-fountained,' because it sends forth so many rivers in all directions. And, in particular, from one of the heights of Ida, called COTYLUS, there flow three rivers, the Scamander, the Granicus, and the Æsepus, of which the two last, from several springs, flow to the north, the first, from one source, westward; they approach to one another in their origin within a distance of twenty stadia, and that which has the longest course from its origin to the sea, is the ÆSEPUS, being about five hundred stadia." And in another place (XII. 565), he tells us that "the ÆSEPUS is the boundary between the Troad and Mysia, according to the poet." In Ptolemy the mouths of the Æsepus are the first point after Cyzicus, going westward. These data have seemed sufficient to enable Tchihatcheff, who traversed the whole of the coast, to identify this river with the modern *Atkayassi sou*. Not so large as the Æsepus, but far surpassing it in historical celebrity, is the GRANICUS, which is described by Strabo (XIII. 587) as flowing be-

tween the Æsepus and the town of Priapus, through the plain of Adrasteia, into the sea. This account, agreeing as it does accurately with the description in Arrian's account of Alexander's march (I. 12, 13), is precise enough to have enabled the distinguished Russian traveller already named to pitch on the modern *Kodjachai* as the ancient Granicus; but as there are three branches of this stream, the exact current so famous in history must ever remain to a certain extent indeterminate. The next marked point in the enumeration is the RHODIUS, at the extreme west of the district within which these rivers flow. It is described by Strabo (XIII. 595) as between Abydos and the city of Dardanus, opposite Cynossema, in the Chersonesus, where the tomb of Hecuba was shown. It is easily identified both by this description and by its modern name *Rodos-tchai*. Of the other rivers in this group, the CARESUS was a tributary of the Æsepus (Str. XIII. 603), the RHESUS (*Id.* 603), but only conjecturally, of the Granicus, while the HEPTAPORUS, though known to Demetrius (*Id. l. c.*) seems too vaguely described to admit of modern identification. It appears, somewhat conjecturally I suppose, in Kiepert. The vexed identities of the SIMOIS and SCAMANDER will be discussed more fitly afterwards.

VER. 87.—*And in five bands they follow to the fray.*

The fivefold division here mentioned corresponds, as Heyne observed, to the five great divisions of the proper subjects of Priam mentioned in the catalogue (II. 816-839), before the enumeration of the others, viz., Trojans proper, Dardans, Trojans of Zeleia, the people of Adrasteia, and the people in the region of Abydos, Percote, and Arisbe (see Gladstone, iii. 226).

VER. 94.—*Godlike Deïphobus.*

This is the first passage in which Deïphobus is mentioned in the Iliad. In Homer he performs no very prominent part; but in the general cycle of Trojan story he is by no means insignificant. He occurs again (XIII. 402, 517, and in XXII. 227), where Athenè assumes his likeness in order to deceive Hector. When Troy was

taken, his house was an object of eager revenge to the captors (*Od.* VIII. 517; Virgil, *Æn.* II. 310), because, after the death of Paris, Deïphobus had married the many-husbanded Spartan beauty (Eurip. *Troad.* 960). His unhappy end is well known to every schoolboy from Æn. VI. 495.

VER. 116.—*The ill-divining Fate.*

Μοῖρα in this and a few similar passages seems distinctly impersonated, and appears in the singular number, like Εἰλείθυια and Ἐρινύς. But originally there were many μοῖραι, all sent from Jove. See on Fate, and the Fates generally, VI. 489.

The line which separates a thought from a person in mythology is often as vague and indeterminate as that which separates a plant from an animal in organic nature.

VER. 167.—*Yellow-ringed wasps.*

The description σφῆκες μέσον αἰόλοι is one that has puzzled me very much. There is a diversity in the translations, as will be seen:—"Yellow wasps," Ch.; "ring-straked," C.; "yellow-banded," Drb.; "slim wasps quivering bright," Wor.; "wasps with flexible slender waists," Wr.; "wasps streaked in the middle," Drt.; "*Wespen mit regsamen Leib*," V.; "*regsam*," D.; but there is only one point of real difference, viz., whether the variability implied in αἰόλος refers to space or to time—that is, whether the wasps receive this epithet, because their bodies are parti-coloured, or because of their agile and fluttering motion. Now, in endeavouring to decide which of these meanings applies to the present, and to other Homeric passages, after the full discussion this subject has received from Buttmann, we may content ourselves with laying down the following fixed points:—

(1.) It is quite certain that in the days of the full blossom of Greek literature, the meaning of αἰόλος was *spotted*, *variegated*, *parti-coloured*, or *studded*, like the German *bunt*, without any idea of motion. Thus in Soph. *Trach.* 11, in the words αἰόλος δράκων ἑλικτός, while the second epithet describes the spherical motion of

the serpent's folds, the first describes the various colours of its skin, corresponding to the ποικίλος δράκων of Pind. (*Pyth.* 8. 65). The αἰόλα σάρξ of the same poet (*Philoct.* 1157), *caro maculis interstincta* is even more decisive.

(2.) It is equally certain, and admitted by Buttmann, that this signification of αἰόλος, *spotted, bunt*, may be traced back to the very verge of the Homeric age, as in αἰόλον ὄστρακον of the yellow-spotted shell of the common land-tortoise (*Hym. Merc.* 33).

(3.) Not less certain, on the other hand, is the fact that in Homer this word and its cognates do on certain occasions partake of the idea of motion, and that so thoroughly sometimes as altogether to exclude the idea of mere variety in space. Buttmann quotes Od. xx. 27 as an indubitable proof of this.

(4.) It is certain also that this idea of motion, or variability in respect of time, was acknowledged by the Greeks even to the later epoch of the classical period, as the use of αἰόλαι ἡμέραι of uncertain or changeable weather in Aristotle (*Probl.* xxvi. 13) plainly shows.

(5.) These facts warrant the conclusion that the oldest and original conception of the word implied the idea of motion. Independently, however, of the history of the word, it is much more obvious to deduce the idea of variety in colour from an irregular unsteady motion than the contrary. The trembling appearance of hundreds of miniature suns, for instance, on the surface of a shimmering sea, makes the nearest approach to the notion of spotted. The sea, in fact, in this case is spotted or studded with countless moving points of the same colour, the transition from which to fixed points of a different colour is extremely easy.

(6.) From these premises, the principles of a scientific philology lead us to interpret αἰόλος in Homer generally of an irregular unsteady wavering motion, whenever we can do so without force. The familiar epithet of Hector is rightly rendered "Hector of the waving plume," "crest-shaking," or something to that effect. In the same way, πόδας αἰόλος ἵππος in xix. 404 means *flickering-footed*," or "*twinkling-footed*," not simply *swift*, exactly as in the

μαρμαρυγαὶ ποδῶν, the twinkling of the feet of dancers which Ulysses saw with admiration (*Od.* VIII. 265). It is this *unsteady shifting repetition*, indeed, which belongs to αἰόλλω, αἰόλος, and other words of the same family, as the differential characteristic distinguishing it from other kinds of motion.

(7.) In this differential element we find the key to the Homeric designations, αἰόλον σάκος (VII. 222), αἰολοθώρηξ, and other such, where the word αἰόλος is applied to armour. The epithet in this place refers to the flickering, shifting motion of the points of light reflected from the moving brass, and will be more appropriate if the armour be of various materials and colours, as we saw in the case of Agamemnon (XI. 25, *supra*). Here, therefore, is a case in which the meaning of *flickering* passes easily into *variegated*; and in regard to this application of the word, I consider that Buttmann has altogether missed the point when he interprets αἰόλος by *flexible* or *supple*, or *lightly moved*. The word *flexible* never could apply to a copper coat of mail, and when Homer wished to apply the epithet εὐκίνητον to a shield, he talked of the λαισήια πτερόεντα (XII. 426), not of the massive buckler. I do not believe that αἰόλος ever was equivalent to ὑγρός, or, as Pollux has it, λυγιστικός.

(8.) The two most difficult points remain. What shall we make of σφῆκες μέσον αἰόλοι of the present passage, and of the αἰόλον ὄφιν in ver. 208 below? Now, if the poet had merely talked of σφὴξ αἰόλος as he has of οἶστρος αἰόλος in Od. XXII. 300, according to analogy, there could be little doubt about the matter. The unsteady, fluttering motion of the pestilential insect would at once present itself as the main point of the description. But how can it be said that a wasp is fluttering or quivering merely about the middle? A wasp is slender or slim about the middle. But this is not the meaning of αἰόλος. Not seeing my way out of this difficulty, I prefer to translate the word in this case by that which is an obvious and striking characteristic of the insect—the yellow bands or stripes about its body, and suppose μέσον to be used loosely for the trunk of the animal generally as opposed to its

head and legs. With regard to the snake in ver. 208 I have less difficulty. Homer talks of crimson, that must be crimson-banded or crimson-spotted snakes in more places than one—*φοινήεις* in 202 below, and *δαφοινός* in II. 308. I consider it therefore most natural to refer the *αἰόλος* of ver. 208 to the same characteristic. For besides that the wriggling motion of an animal in pain is not that which is naturally expressed by *αἰόλλω*, the poet here describes what the Trojans saw, and that was no doubt rather the crimson spots of the animal as it lay on the ground, than the tortuous motion of its folds. If it had moved so as to attract attention, the poet could easily have said so in some way less equivocal than by coupling such an amphibious word as *αἰόλον* with such a verb as *κείμενον*; observe also that in the monuments spotted snakes frequently occur. See Overbeck, *Bildwerke Theb. Tro. Pl.* vii. 2.

The *αἰόλοι ἑὐλαὶ* in XXII. 509—worms feeding on a dead body—may admit of either explanation. For there are earthworms of various colours, and the confused wambling motion of a heap of ants on a hill, or a mass of mites in a cheese, or a colony of worms in a dead body, might seem certainly a more fit application of the kind of motion originally signified by *αἰόλλω* than the wriggling of a wounded snake.

VER. 175-181.—*Ἄλλοι . . . δηϊοτῆτα.*

If there be any verses in the Iliad justly suspected of interpolation, these are of them. The whole thing has the look of a patch. What damns the passage beyond redemption, in my eyes, is that it is not yet time to talk of the *θεσπιδαὲς πῦρ* at all; for I cannot agree with Sp that this well-known phrase (ver. 441) can possibly be understood, "*de pugnantium vi et impetu.*" Other sufficient reasons for the almost universal condemnation of these lines will be found in Sp. The ejected lines may be translated as follows:—

> "From gate to gate the battle spread, and raged the hot pell-mell;
> A god here needed, not a man, the deadly strife to tell.
> The strength of fierce-consuming fire was stirred from end to end
> Of the strong stone-built dykes: the Argives sorely pressed defend

The ships from fire; and all the gods who love the Achæan nation
To see them jeopardized were pricked with secret sore vexation.
Such deeds of mighty prowess did the warlike Lapithæ."

VER. 200.—*A high-flown eagle on the left*, etc.

An omen of this kind—eagle with wriggling snake—is frequently alluded to by the ancients, and often presented on ancient coins and gems. It was one of those happy omens that could readily be applied to opposite situations: if the eagle prevailed the strong party would feel assured of victory; if the snake, the weak party might see an emblem of deliverance. Virgil has imitated the passage (XI. 751) at considerable length.

VER. 243.—*One bird is best, or east or west, to fight for fatherland.*

This famous sentence, used in his own language by a great Roman (Cic. *Sen.* 4), himself an augur, is a remarkable instance of the freedom with which the Greek mind asserted itself against the influence of priests and augurs. No doubt, on these occasions, everything depended on the character of the man; a Nicias would have lost his peace of mind, if he had acted contrary to the advice of his soothsayer; but when a man like Hector boldly asserted his independence in such matters at a favourable moment, he might reckon on a great amount of public sympathy. In the art of the diviners there were weak points enough continually courting public criticism, which a man of courage and tact would know how to take advantage of. See Hermann, *Rel. Alt.* 37. 15, 16; and Eurip. *Iphig. Aul.* 520 and 956, where he says:—

"Who is a seer? the man whom fools think wise
For telling one truth, and a hundred lies,
As chance may rule his tongue."

With regard to the significance of right and left in the art of augury, that birds on the right were of good omen, and on the left of bad, is certain; and the natural inference seems to be that the augurs must have made their observations with their face to the north, which position alone could make east and right hand identical, though I do not find any trustworthy ancient testimony

for this explanation. See Nitzsch, *Od.* i. p. 92; Hermann, *Rel. Alt.* 38. 10; Schoemann, *Gr. Alt.* ii. 252.

VER. 273.—*When ye hear your captain's call.*

I cannot think Heyne is right in interpreting ὁμοκλητήρ of the party who urges to flight. Facsi's reference to the use of ὁμοκλή in ver. 413 appears to me to catch the true idea of this Homeric word. The meaning is, *let every man hear his leader's war-cry, and not think of fleeing to the ships.* ὁμοκλή is not ἀπειλή, though Apollonius loosely so gives it: the one, as the etymology indicates, is to *call together*, to *encourage*, to *rally*, to *bring up to the charge;* the other to *drive off.* In the present case, as Facsi remarks, each Ajax is a ὁμοκλητήρ.

VER. 292.—*Sarpedon, king divine.*

"Sarpedon," says Gladstone (iii. 382), "is really a better man at war than Hector, though much less pretentious." If this be true, I think it arises from the patriotism of Homer getting the better of his poetry. In the popular tradition, unquestionably Hector was the great hero of the Trojan side, and accordingly the poet always brings him forward against his first-class heroes, with somewhat of a boastful air no doubt—as Ajax also, and even Diomede, have a touch of the braggadocio (VI. 127),—but with the distinct purpose of showing that no Trojan, not even the bravest, may stand against a Greek (see above, XI. 186). Sarpedon, next to Hector, is certainly the most effective man in the camp of Priam, as the part he plays in this critical twelfth book sufficiently shows. He was originally of Cretan extraction; for the ancestor of the family, the son of Jupiter and Europè, was a Cretan, the brother of Minos and Rhadamanthus (Apoll. III. 1. 1; Paus. VII. 3, 4; Str. XII. 573), whom Euripides (in the *Rhesus*, 29) identifies or confounds with our Homeric hero; but a Lycian born, and son of Zeus and Laodamia, as we have already seen (VI. 199). In Book V. 471-698, we have seen him perform a distinguished part. In Book XVI. 480, he is wounded by Patroclus,

and dies, and his body is transported to his native country for honourable burial. At Xanthus he was afterwards honoured with a sanctuary called the Σαρπηδόνειον (unless perhaps this was a shrine of the elder Sarpedon), of which mention is made by Appian (*B. C.* IV. 78), in the account which he gives of the taking of that town by Brutus.

VER. 297.—*A frame of golden rods.*

These ῥάβδοι must either have been meant for giving firmness to the whole fabric, like the frame of a picture, or perhaps might have served for the attachment of the πόρπακες, loops round the edge, by which the shield was sometimes wielded (see the second figure in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, Art. *Clipeus*).

VER. 313.—*Why more than others count we roods?*

The Lycian here shows his consciousness that whether the τέμενος (*Od.* XI. 185) to which he alludes was a direct gift of the people, like our civil list, or a territorial inheritance, in either case he held it for the public good, and was bound to public service accordingly. He felt, what our landed aristocracy in Scotland, I fear, have not always kept in view, that the lordship of land has its duties as well as its rights, and that the first duty of a great proprietor is not to gather rents easily by a factor, but to live and die for the prosperity of the people from whom he gathers the rents. On the sources of public revenue of the old Hellenic kings, see Müller, *Dor.* ii. p. 109.

VER. 322-328.—*Dear comrade mine*, etc.

By these words there hangs a tale, which strongly illustrates the remarkable living connexion that has long subsisted in England between the business of public life and the recreations of classical literature. The extract will tell its own story:—"Being directed to wait upon the Earl of Granville, a few days before he died, with the preliminary articles of the Treaty of Paris (1763), I found him so languid that I proposed postponing my business for another time; but he insisted that I should stay, saying it could not prolong

his life to neglect his duty, and repeating the passage out of Sarpedon's speech beginning with ὦ πέπον, and ending with ἴομεν, he dwelt with particular emphasis on the third line—

οὔτε κεν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μαχοίμην,

which recalled to his mind the distinguished part he had taken in public affairs. His Lordship repeated the last word, ἴομεν, several times, with a calm and determined resignation; and, after a serious pause of some minutes, he desired to hear the Treaty read, to which he listened with great attention; and recovered spirits enough to declare the approbation of a dying statesman (I use his own words) on the most glorious war and honourable peace this nation ever saw."—Robert Wood, in *Essay on Genius of Homer* (London, 1775), p. vii.

VER. 331.—*Menestheus, son of Peteus.*

There is no stronger argument of the comparative purity with which the Homeric text has been handed down to us than the fact that both here and in IV. 327, and in the catalogue (II. 553), an inferior local chief, and not the great Attic hero, Theseus, is put at the head of the Athenian troops. Had Pisistratus and his literary assistants done anything else than collect and edit previously existing documents, they would not have failed to introduce Theseus in those few parts of the poem where some of his countrymen appear. According to Attic tradition Menestheus belonged to a rival faction, who opposed Theseus (Plut. *Thes.* 32). The ships which he led to Troy sailed from the old harbour of the Phalerum (Paus. I. 1, 2).

VER. 450.—Τόν οἱ ἐλαφρὸν ἔθηκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω.

I have omitted this line, not for the reasons given by the Alexandrians, which only show how little philosophy they sometimes had in their philology, but simply because it is cumbrous, or at least superfluous, and was omitted, to the manifest advantage of the passage, by Zenodotus.

BOOK XIII.

VER. 6.—*The close-fighting Mysians*, etc.

For the Mysians, both the Asiatics and their European congeners here mentioned, see above, II. 858. As to the other tribes mentioned in this passage, there has been no small controversy raised whether Homer meant a distinct people by the Ἄβιοι, or uses the word only as another epithet of the HIPPOMOLGI. Strabo plainly takes the word for an epithet; but Aristarchus understood it as the name of a nation (Apoll. *Lex. Hom.*), and as such it has found a place in Stephanus, and occurs also with a distinct historical reference in Arrian (*Anab.* IV. 1), and with the prefixed guttural Γαβίους in Æschylus (*fr.* 206, Hermann). The weight of authority, therefore, is in favour of the proper name. With regard to the people so described, there can be no doubt that certain tribes of Teuts or Sarmatians, who peopled the banks of the Danube, or the adjoining region of Germany, Poland, and Russia, are here alluded to. These nomadic races lived quite near enough the shores of the Black Sea to be known by report to the more civilized Greeks of the Homeric age, while at the same time they were far enough removed to admit the currency of all sorts of vague imaginations and exaggerations as to their mode of life. What that mode of life was our acquaintance with nomad tribes is quite sufficient to enable us to understand; and the contrast which Strabo draws between the regular living agricultural tribes of the Tauric Chersonese and the wandering nomads of the same district is quite in accordance with nature and fact. The nomads, he says (VII. 311), who feed on flesh, and specially on horse flesh, as also mare's milk (Martial, *Spec.* III.) and cheese of mare's milk, and sour curdled milk, are not given to plundering, but make war only for just causes; but the more civilized farmers, being money-makers, and eager for gain, practise piracy and other lawless crafts. This is an instance of a fact well known to statists that an increase

in civilisation does not always bring advance in moral character; on the contrary, the march of wealth and luxury often fosters vices which stand in glaring contrast to the simple virtues of uncultivated tribes. It is a fact well known to modern missionaries—as indeed it was observed by Strabo (301)—that barbarous tribes, so far from being improved by contact with a civilized people, are often hopelessly corrupted. It is this contrast, no doubt, which is pointed out by the poet when he calls the Abii the justest of men; as the strong points of a similar contrast afterwards gave birth to the beautiful book of Tacitus, *De Moribus Germanorum*. Here, therefore, again, we find that Homer, even in things that look like fiction, is dealing with substantial facts; the objections of Eratosthenes (Str. 298) fall to the ground; and poetry, as in many other cases, is proved to have seen deeper than the sharp-eyed science that would confute her.

VER. 10.—*The strong earth-shaking god.*

As the thirteenth is the book of the Iliad in which Poseidon first takes a prominent part in the strife, we shall set down here the little that requires to be said with regard to this god. His person, attributes, appurtenances, and retinue are so familiar to the general reader, from Virgil and the classic poets generally, that there is no necessity for making any detailed description of them. He is of all the gods of the Jovian dynasty the most unmistakably humanized impersonation of the element over which he exercises control. He takes the place of the old elemental Ὠκεανός just as Jupiter does of the original Οὐρανός. All his attributes, functions, and actions point him out as such most characteristically. He is broad-breasted (εὐρύστερνος) or widely-prevailing (εὐρυσθενής) because the ocean is broad and wide; he is earth-embracing (γαιήοχος) because the land everywhere is surrounded by and appears to rest on or be contained by the water; he carries a three-pronged mace, and shakes the earth, as an emblem of the irresistible force of the ocean in a storm. His favourite animal is the horse, and he gives skill in horsemanship as Athenè in carpentry (XXIII. 307), a conception

which any one may understand who looks on a huge wave as it swells and rolls and curves its blue neck, and tosses its foamy mane, and seems to paw with its snowy feet as it grows along the breadth of the troubled brine. His position in reference to Jove may seem a little equivocal in some places. In one passage (*Od.* XIII. 142) the Thunderer even calls him *πρεσβύτατον καὶ ἄριστον*, which in the natural sense of the word *πρεσβύτατον* certainly implies that he was Jove's elder brother, and so Welcker (*g. l.* i. 624) understands the passage; but however this be, in the Iliad there can be no doubt that Jove is the elder brother (ver. 355 *infra*, and XV. 166), and that as such he claims undisputed supremacy over the lord of the sea (VIII. 210) as much as over any other god. This will appear most distinctly in Book XV. The triple partition of the world to which the sea-king refers (XV. 187) was a mere affair of regions, in which the three sons of Kronos were specially to operate,—Jove in the sky, Poseidon in the water, and Pluto in the dark earth; but did not at all imply that each god was to enjoy in all respects equal power; for the conservation and regulation of the whole demanded that supreme authority should reside somewhere, and that somewhere could only be on the throne of the thunder-wielding king. As to the "tradition of a trinity in the godhead," which Gladstone and others have been forward to find in these Kronid brothers, the triad which they make in this place is no more a trinity, in any proper sense of the term, than Jove, Apollo, and Athenè are a trinity. Given the natural division of the visible world into earth, sky, sea, a division the most obvious and patent, the three gods, Jove, Poseidon, and Hades, in a polytheistic conception of theology, follow as a matter of course. Pausanias, as we have already seen (*Dissertations*, i. p. 21), saw in his three-eyed Jove a proof of monotheism behind a mask of tritheism; but of a proper trinity in the theological sense—that is, a union of three persons or beings in one person or being—neither Pausanias nor any Greek that I know of ever dreamt.

VER. 12.—*Samothrace.*

The island of Samothrace (Acts xvi. 11) lies right out from the Troad, looking north-west towards Thrace, but considerably nearer to the European coast, with the island of Imbros intervening. It was principally famous in antiquity for its mystic worship of Demeter and Cora, and the Cabiri (Str. IV. 198, X. 472). The propriety of the point of view here assigned by the poet to Neptune, has been noticed, in his excellent way, by the accomplished author of *Eothen*, c. 4. Maclaren, in his *Plain of Troy* (p. 220), writes to a similar effect as follows:—"There is a nice approximation in this locality, affording another proof of the poet's accurate knowledge of the topography. He could have placed Neptune on Imbros, one half nearer to the plain, and high enough to command a view of the field of battle. Yet he preferred Samothrace, and for reasons readily suggesting themselves to one who has seen the two islands projected on the horizon, one behind the other, from Sigeum. Imbros is broad and flat in shape, though it has hills rising to the height of 1959 feet above the sea; but Samothrace, with a much bolder form, is seen towering over Imbros to an elevation of 5298 feet. Its superior grandeur rendered it a more befitting station for the god. And, what shows a curious felicity in the selection of the place, it is exactly on the opposite side of Troy from Gargarus, Jupiter's station, nearly of the same height, and nearly at the same distance. The two deities were thus placed on opposite sides of the field of battle, behind the parties they respectively favoured, and with a strict regard to their characters, the one on the continent, and the other on an island. The position and appearance of Imbros and Samothrace, as seen from the plain, is shown in Sir William Gell's Plates, Nos. 30 and 36, and in the large engraving of Mr. Acland."

VER. 21.—*His foot touched Ægæ.*

There were various places—towns and islands—called Ægæ. Which does Homer mean? He means of course that one which

was most famous for the worship of Neptune; and if two were equally famous, then we must either leave the matter doubtful, or find some ground in the text of the poet for the preference of one above the other. Now the two most famous unquestionably were that in Achæa, one of the twelve Ionian cities (Herod. I. 145), and that in Eubœa, about 120 stadia from the harbour of Anthedon on the opposite coast of Bœotia (Str. VIII. 386; IX. 405; Paus. VII. 25. 7). The only passage where Homer gives any clear indication of the locality of the Neptunian Ægæ is in VIII. 202, where it is mentioned along with the neighbouring city of Helicè, on the Achæan coast, and where no person ever imagined that the Eubœan Ægæ was meant. Nevertheless a strong feeling seems to have prevailed, both among ancient and modern critics of eminence, that the Eubœan Ægæ must be here intended. So Strabo; so Heyne. But for what reason? Because, says the former, "ἐκεῖ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἡ πραγματεία πεποίηται ἡ περὶ τὸν Τρωικὸν πόλεμον." But the Trojan expedition and the armament at Aulis have really nothing to do with the matter. Heyne, on the other hand, seems anxious to consult the convenience of the god in his four-strided journey, and will have nothing to do with the Achæan city, because "*ne parum commode iter Neptuni supra continentes fiat.*" Similar considerations of convenience and propriety seem to have influenced Voss, who is followed by Nitzsch and Faesi (on *Od.* v. 380), in bringing forward another Ægæ as the true claimant for the honour of forming the submarine palace of the sea-god, viz., a barren island or rather rock, half-way between Tenos and Chios, mentioned by Pliny (IV. 12.) But whatever poetical propriety or convenience there may seem to us moderns in planting the palace of the sea-god in the exact middle of the Ægæan Sea, it is evident that Homer does not affix his epithets from any such very proper considerations; and the island mentioned most certainly cannot enter into our calculations here, from the simple fact that there is not a vestige of proof of any famous worship of Neptune having been connected with that rock. Then as to the choice between the Eubœan Ægæ and the

Achæan, when a Greek god strides across a whole sea with three paces, after the fashion of Vishnu in his dwarf-Avatar, it is not wise to be over-curious about geographical conveniences or topographical proprieties. We must therefore take Homer's own hint in VIII. 202. On this point I am happy to find that I am supported by Welcker (*g. l.* i. 635), and Ameis on Od. v. 381.

VER. 33.—*Imbros.*

This island (XIV. 281, XXIV. 78), lying between Samothrace and the Troad, has the same celebrity as Samothrace and Lemnos for its mystic worship of the Cabiri (Str. x. 473), and for being one of the principal seats of the most ancient and widely scattered Hellenic tribe whom we call Pelasgi (*Id.* v. 221; Herod. v. 26). In historical times, along with Lemnos and Imbros, it was regarded as peculiarly under Athenian superiority (Xen. *Hell.* v. 1. 31).

VER. 72.—*A faithful eye discerns the gods through every mask.*

Barnes quotes here a passage from Heliodorus (*Æthiop.* III. 13), where the author says that "the gods, when they assume the shape of men, may escape the notice of the profane, but the wise easily recognise them by their look and by their gait." There is a great truth in this. Every day we see that the common mind cannot understand the uncommon,—that the world is inclined to hold no persons more cheap than those who are a great deal too good for it; and that a god in disguise is understood only by those who cherish what is most godlike with the most sacred reverence in their own souls.

VER. 99.—*Truly a woful wonder now I see!*

It is remarked by Nitzsch (*Sagenpoesie*, 143), what I think is correct, that the exclamation ὦ πόποι in Homer always commences a speech. If so, we have an instance here of what is naturally to be looked for in the text of Homer, a double form of the same speech, or part of a speech, with which the early editors dealt cautiously, by retaining both forms, that nothing Homeric might

be lost. I have no doubt that a curious eye might detect not a few such superfluities in the Iliad, the excision of which would do no harm; but the difficulty of attaining scientific certainty in such cases will generally lead a wise editor to restrain his hand. The possibility of such double forms, however, should always be kept in view by those who, on æsthetical grounds, criticise the text.

VER. 240.—*Then to his tent the Cretan went.*

Idomeneus, whose ἀριστεία forms the prominent point in this book, was one of the great local heroes of the Cretans, from whom, after death, he received divine honours (Diod. v. 79). In the Iliad he receives marked distinction as one of the nine chief captains who rose up to plant themselves against the might of the godlike Hector (VII. 161). His pedigree was royal, and at a short remove from the gods. His father was Deucalion, his grandfather Minos, his grandmother Pasiphae, a descent which connects him directly with Jove on the father's side, and with Helios on the mother's; for Minos was the son of Jupiter and Pasiphae, as her name indicates,—πασιφαής, *shining on all*, the daughter of the Sun (Diod. v. 79, and ver. 449 *infra*). On his shield at Olympia he showed a cock, that animal being sacred to the sun (Paus. v. 25. 5). He is mentioned by Hyginus (81) as one of the six-and-thirty suitors of Helen. According to Homer (*Od.* III. 191), he returned to his native country after the Trojan war in safety; but later traditions add that he was expelled from Crete, and settled in the country of the Sallentini, in the extreme south-east corner of Italy, near the modern *Otranto* (Virgil, *Æn.* III. 400). Strabo (VI. 281) does not mention his name, but says that the Sallentini were colonists from Crete.

His attendant or gentleman squire, MERIONES, was also a grandson of Minos, by another son, Pholus. He was therefore Idomeneus' cousin. He received divine honours in Cnossus equally with his principal (Diod. v. 79). In the Iliad he is frequently and prominently mentioned.

VER. 298.—*The man-destroying Mars.*

Mars, or Ares as the Greeks call him, is a god that in a warlike epos like the Iliad should naturally play a prominent part; nevertheless there is no mythological personage in the Greek pantheon who presents less of a definite outline to the imagination of the reader. He seems in Homer little more than the allegorical personages FEAR, TERROR, STRIFE, with whom he is accompanied,—a mere personification of the tempest of hostile passion, of the fierce, intolerant, destructive, bloody, murderous tiger-element in man, which fully to understand, as an intelligent old soldier once said to me, a man must first have been in a battle. But, though this be his general appearance in the Iliad, he is not a mere abstraction, but, like all other perfectly formed anthropomorphic divinities, has "a local habitation and a name." This habitation, however, so far as appears from the poet, is not Greek; it is Thracian (ver. 301; *Od.* VIII. 361); nor is there anything in the history of the god, as known from other sources, which should lead us to look upon him as originally of Hellenic birth. The Greeks, in fact, did not require him, as Athenè was to all intents and purposes their war-goddess, and they had a pride in thinking that both in drinking and in fighting they exercised a certain wisdom and moderation of which the patron gods of the barbarous Thracians and Scythians were incapable. For the Scythians also worshipped Mars as their principal divinity, sacrificing men to him under the very obvious symbol of a sword (Herod. IV. 59. 62). In Greece proper his worship was never very general, and in those places where his influence was greatest, there are distinct historical traces of Thracian settlements. The only Hellenic district where he asserts a very prominent position in the local legends and worship is Thebes, which for this reason is called τεῖχος Ἄρειον (IV. 407). From Thebes his worship penetrated into Athens (Paus. I. 8. 5), but the superior influence of the flashing-eyed daughter of Jove kept him there always in a very subordinate position. In Sparta he was worshipped with a chain about his image, with the same significance

that at Athens the Victory on the Acropolis had no wings (Paus. III. 15. 5), and in the same place, human sacrifices were sometimes offered to him (Porphyr. *Abst.* II. 55).

His relation to Aphroditè, which forms the subject of a humorous episode in the Odyssey (VIII. 264), is in the Iliad scarcely indicated (V. 363, XXI. 416); while in the *Theogony* (933) he is recognised as the legitimate yokefellow of the goddess of beauty.

As for the peoples mentioned in connexion with this Thracian god, the PHLEGYÆ were originally a Thessalian tribe, whose chief seat was Gyrtone (II. 738; Steph. Byz. *in voce Gyrton;* Str. IX. 442). Their name signifies *blazers*, a very appropriate name for wild mountain warriors; and their exploits afterwards in the Bœotian Orchomenus and the north of Phocis, where they made sacrilegious war on the Delphian shrine, procured for the reputed father of their race an eternal seat in deepest Tartarus, a warning to all god-despisers (Paus. IX. 36; Virg. *Æn.* VI. 618). On the Phlegyæ as a great division of the Minyans so prominent in the early history of Greece, Müller enlarges in *Orchom.* (p. 187). Compare also Gerhard, *Mythol.* 609, and Preller, *Myth.* i. p. 203. As to the EPHYRI, in the present connexion, the most natural supposition certainly is that the people here meant are the inhabitants of the ancient town of Crannon, situated about a hundred stadia to the south of Gyrton (Str. VII. *fr.* 14), of which the ancient name was Ephyra. Pausanias (IX. 362), who places these Ephyri in Thesprotia, does not seem sufficiently to have regarded the geographical congruities of the Homeric context.

VER. 366.—*The fairest daughter of the king, Cassandra.*

Cassandra is another of those personages famous in Greek legend who come to us stamped with a pregnant significance of which no trace is to be found in "the poet." In the Iliad she is mentioned only here and in XXIV. 699; and on both occasions only as a great beauty, "like to golden Aphroditè." But of her prophetic powers, and of the curse inflicted on her by the wrathful god of prophecy,

Homer knows nothing. Her tragical end, so glorified by Æschylus in the *Agamemnon*, is alluded to in Od. XI. 422.

VER. 389.—*A lofty poplar.*

The ἀχερωΐς, commonly called λεύκη, or the *white* (schol.) is unquestionably the *silver poplar*, the *populus alba* of Linnæus (Lenz, p. 439). It was the favourite tree of Hercules—

> "*Populus Alcidæ gratissima, vitis Iaccho.*"
> Virg. *Eclog.* VII. 61.

(Paus. V. 13. 2.)

VER. 460.—*Evermore his heart was sore displeased with Priam.*

The bad understanding between Priam and Æneas, here incidentally mentioned, is connected by the scholiasts with the future history of Æneas, indicated in XX. 307 in a natural enough way by saying that the old king was jealous of the man whom prophecy and popular estimation had pointed out as his successor. Compare Str. XIII. 607, and Heyne, *Exc.* I. *Æn.* IX.

VER. 517.—*For still the Trojan's breast to him with hate was fired.*

The enmity of Deïphobus to Idomeneus arose, according to the account of the matter given by Simonides and Ibycus, from the fact that they were both suitors of Helen. So Eustathius. This and the previous note contain examples of that incidental allusion to things supposed to be generally known which is one of the characteristics of all ballad poetry. The word αἰεί seems to me imperatively to call for some explanation extrinsic of the poem.

VER. 547.—*The mighty vein that runs along the back.*

The poet's accurate knowledge of the structure of the human frame has been often noticed by modern writers with no measured admiration; but the admiration, as is wont to be the case with this emotion, has in this case somewhat transcended the bounds of reason. The fact is, Homer, like every true poet and painter, used his eyes diligently; and he used them on what was before him.

In those days of violence and lawlessness, battles, bruises, and wounds of all kinds were constantly to be seen; and as the old minstrel had a strong stomach, and was not in anywise apt to be sentimentally affected at the sight of blood, he could have no difficulty in describing accurately what he constantly beheld. Besides, the practice of sacrifice, and of public anatomy of animals for the auspices, enabled any man in his time to give a general view of the structure of the body of those animals which are most analogous to man. On the present passage one of the best modern authorities on such points writes as follows:—" Ce qui doit particulièrement fixer l'attention de l'historien, c'est que ce passage est en conformité parfaite avec une partie de la description des vaisseaux, telle que nous la trouvons dans un fragment de Syennesis de Chypre (Arist. *Hist. Anim.* III. 3), dans un autre de Diogène d'Apollonie (Fragm. 7, ed. Panzerbieter), enfin dans le paragraphe 11 du traité *De la Nature de l'Homme* (*Œuvres d'Hipp.* éd. Littré. t. VI. p. 58). En rapprochant ces divers textes, surtout les deux derniers, de celui de l'Homère, on voit que le poëte, lorsqu'il dit que le vaisseau remonte du dos au cou, a entendu non pas la partie antérieure de la colonne vertébrale dans la cavité thoracique, mais la partie postérieure et extérieure; de sorte qu'il fait allusion à la veine *jugulaire externe*,[1] laquelle est une portion de la *première paire* des gros vaisseaux décrits, en partie d'imagination, par l'auteur hippocratique. C'est, du reste, le vaisseau le plus apparent du cou. Il n'y a pas lieu de donner ici toutes les explications qui peuvent servir à comprendre comment ont pris naissance ces notions primitives et si grossières d'angéiologie; mais on ne peut méconnaître l'intérêt qui s'attache à la découverte des origines les plus lointaines de cette partie de l'anatomie jusque dans les poëmes homériques. Au temps où chantait Homère, sinon au temps où se passaient les événements qu'il a chantés, nous trouvons dans des

[1] L'ouverture de ce vaisseau suffirait difficilement à donner la mort, mais sans doute l'épée était allée plus loin que ne pouvaient la suivre les connaissances anatomiques d'Homère, et elle avait atteint la jugulaire interne et la carotide.

observations précises, ou dans des connaissances populaires, les premiers rudiments d'une science dont nous pouvons suivre les développements jusqu'à Hippocrate."—(*La Médecine dans Homère*, par Daremberg, Paris, 1865, pp. 49, 50).

VER. 576.—*A huge Thracian sword.*

The scholiast remarks that the Thracians used particularly huge swords. These were called ῥομφαία (Hesych. *in voce*), a word which is frequently found in the Septuagint and New Testament, and was probably brought into Egypt by the Macedonians.

VER. 600.—*A well-twisted woollen band torn from a sling.*

This, and ver. 718 below, are the only passages in the Iliad in which the sling (σφενδόνη) is mentioned by Homer (see Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, Art. *Funda*). Chapman will not hear of slings in this place; but modern criticism has learned to be less dogmatical.

VER. 625.—*Hospitable Jove.*

The supreme Greek god, as moral governor of the world, received the title ξένιος, as protector of the stranger, and special avenger of all sins committed in violation of the sacred bond that bound together host and guest.

VER. 636.—*That soothsayer wise, Polyidus.*

This Polyidus is a man of some note in the history of Greek civilisation, as being descended from the famous Melampus, whose name is so prominent in the Dionysiac worship of early Greece (Paus. I. 43. 5; Gerhard, *Myth.* 622. 10). He is said to have performed miracles, and, among others, restored to life the son of Minos, king of Crete, who had fallen into a cask of honey and been drowned (Apoll. III. 3).

VER. 685.—*The Ionian men long-stoled.*

The IONIANS, mentioned here only, were the Athenians; for

from the earliest times Attica and the north coast of the Peloponnesus, and the country of the Cynurii in the south of Argolis, are mentioned as the principal seats of the Ionians (Herod. VII. 92, VIII. 73). The migration which they made into Asia, soon after the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians (Paus. VII. 2. 1), the colonies which they founded on the coast of Asia Minor, the fertile crop of poets and philosophers whom they produced, and the struggles which they maintained against the despotism of the Persians, form a brilliant page in the early history of the world. More detailed notices will be found in Clinton (i. 55) and Hermann (*Staatsalt.* 96). The long tunics of the ancient Athenians are mentioned by Pollux. VII. 71, Thucyd. I. 6, and Paus. I. 19. 1. Bekker, *Charicles, Sc.* XI. *Exc.* 1.

VER. 692.—*Meges led the brave Epean band.*

The hero brought forward here as one of the leaders of the Epeans, occurs in the catalogue as captain of the Dulichians (II. 625). This inconsistency has its origin in the fact that Meges was of Epean descent, and lived among the Dulichians only as one of those homicidal exiles so common in Homer. His Epean pedigree is given by Eustathius on II. 615. Meges appears several times in the Iliad (v. 69, XV. 520, XIX. 239). His prominence in their great national poem procured for this hero a place in the great national shrine of the Greeks at Delphi. He was one of the figures in the great picture of Polygnotus, so minutely described by Pausanias (x. 25. 3).

VER. 713.

In close fight from Locrian men the warlike heart departed.

Heyne remarks that the Locrians, in Hesiod (*Scut.* 25) seem to have changed their character, being called ἀγχέμαχοι. Pausanias also alludes to this change of weapon, in the passage (I. 23. 4), where he says that none of the Greek tribes used the bow except the Cretans. Compare II. 527, and IV. 242, notes.

VER. 731.

The line,

ἄλλῳ δ' ὀρχηστὺν, ἑτέρῳ κίθαριν καὶ ἀοιδήν·

is manifestly impertinent here, where the contrast is only between war and counsel. The line was generally rejected by the ancients, and among the moderns by Wolf, Heyne, Spitzner, Faesi, and Bekker.

VER. 749.—Αὐτίκα δ' ἐξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἅλτο χαμᾶζε.

He leaps from his horse in this passage; and yet, in XII. 76, it is distinctly said that the horses had been left behind. "*Quare, ut poetam oblivionis crimine liberemus, versum ex* XII. 81, *huc esse transfusum erit statuendum*" (Spitzner). I omit the line.

VER. 754.—ὥρμήθη ὄρεϊ νιφόεντι ἐοικὼς,

literally, *he rushed like to a snowy mountain*, which in English sounds very much like nonsense, and would not escape the scourge of the critics, if it were to occur in any modern poem. Newman supposes an error in the text. My version puts the meaning into the passage which ought to have shone spontaneously from it, if it had been well expressed. Had Lord Byron used such a simile, he would probably have talked of an avalanche; and perhaps this is what the old minstrel meant, but he expressed it, after his usual fashion, with an epithet which has no propriety in the passage. The minstrel who called a shield a tower might call a man a mountain without giving any offence to an audience never disposed to be critical.

VER. 824.—*Ajax, big braggart.*

On the character of Ajax, see Mure, i. 336, and contrast that of Menelaus (III. 215). As to βουγάιε, it quite plainly has a reference to the big body of the Telamonian, as well as to his big talking; and this is a dramatic trait which should not be omitted in translation.

BOOK XIV.

VER. 5.

But be thou still, and quaff at ease the rich wine's purple spring.

"*Vix hæc probabunt Hygienes filii vulnerum curandorum periti*" (Heyne). Perhaps not; but if they do not approve to-day, they may to-morrow; for no fashions change more quickly than the methods of medical treatment.

VER. 36.—*The strand between the headlands tway;*

that is, the Rhœtean and Sigean promontories, on the coast of the Dardanelles, bounding the great bay of Troy, the landing-place of the Greek ships, the one on the east, the other on the west, which will be found in every map.

VER. 183.—*Three-beaded lucent.*

Of the meaning of τρίγληνα there can be no doubt. γλήνη is anything small, round, and bright, like the pupil of the eye (Lucas, *Obs. Lex.* p. 15). As to μορόεις, we have merely conjectures, but no certainty. I let it drop.

VER. 201.—*Ocean and Mother Tethys*, etc.

This remarkable verse is evidently a fragment of some very old physico-theology, of which Virgil also preserves the memory in the line, "*Oceanum patrem rerum*" (*G.* IV. 382); the difference between the two styles of expression being not so great as it would at first sight appear; "things," that is, the "universe," and "gods" in the polytheistic form of thought being often mixed up in a manner of which strict monotheists have no conception. The prominence given to Jove in the settled dynasty of the gods, under which Homer lived, and his title as "father of gods and men," is apt to make us forget that there ever was a more ancient theology familiar to the Greek mind; but a line like the present coming

accidentally in, like some small knob of granite rock projecting for a moment in a sandstone country, reminds us that as there were reformers in the Christian Church before the Reformation, so there were gods in Greece, or at least a philosophy of gods, long before those whom Herodotus gives Homer the credit of creating. In reference to this, Glad. well observes, that "the theo-mythology of Homer stands before us like one of our old churches, having different parts of the fabric in different styles of architecture," an observation which would be more true if extended beyond the bounds of the Homeric epos, and made to include the whole complex tissue of Greek mythology as it appears in the various local religions preserved by Pausanias. This passage in Homer, of course, could not escape the notice of those subtle thinkers in later Greece, who speculated on the nature of things; and accordingly we find that Plato in the *Cratylus*, 402 A, and *Theæt.* 152 D, quotes the poet as teaching in this verse a doctrine substantially identical with the philosophy of Heraclitus, who taught that the whole of nature is in a state of perpetual flux, and that there is nothing stable in the universe. In the same passage he quotes Orpheus as teaching a similar doctrine; and in fact the so-called Orphic Hymns, now extant, contain an address to Ocean, beginning

Ὠκεανὸν καλέω, πατέρ' ἄφθιτον, αἰὲν ἐόντα, κ.τ.λ.

The ancients connected this doctrine with the most obvious etymology of Rhea, from ῥέω, to *flow*, as may be seen under the word Ῥέα in the E. M. Aristotle also, in his *Metaphysics* (I. 3), discoursing on the various theories of the ἀρχή, or first principle, gives a prominent place to that which makes water the original element from which all things were produced.

The Assyrians, according to Berosus (Richter, p. 49, from Syncellus), taught that the beginning of all things was "darkness and water," out of which animals were produced, and this generative power of water was no doubt the origin of the fish-gods, so prominent in the mythology of the Semitic races. The Egyptians, as we learn from Plutarch (*Is. Os.* 34) and Diodorus (I. 12), taught a

similar doctrine, saying that the Homeric Ocean meant Osiris, while Tethys was Isis. In the Mosaic account of the Creation, it is remarkable both that the רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים, properly *breath of God*, moves at the beginning upon the "WATERS," and that when living creatures first appear (ver. 20), it is the "waters" which "bring forth abundantly the moving creature which hath life," etc. The immense fecundity of the sea, and its production of living bodies of portentous size, was noted by the ancients as evidently proceeding from the necessity of moisture to all animal life, "*Causa evidens humoris luxuria*" (Plin. *N. H.* IX. 2). See Tuch's Commentary on Genesis (p. 9), who remarks that the Hindus have the same idea, for according to them water is the first thought of Brahma in the creation, which is the significance of the divine name *Narayana*, identical with *Nereus*, and the modern Greek νερό, *water*. In the *Prem-sagar* (ch. 41), water is called the seed or semen of Krishnu. See also the Institutes of *Menu* (Sir W. Jones, i. 6). It appears therefore that this line of Homer expresses a very ancient, and, in every view, perfectly well founded opinion; and no thinking man, certainly, in the doctrine of the Hindus that water is the first thought of Brahma, can fail to recognise a philosophy infinitely more satisfactory than the meagre conclusion of some British thinkers of the present day, who, at the bottom of this bright panorama of beauty and power of which we are a part, can find only a dark abyss of the unknown and the unknowable.

VER. 214.—*The curious-figured zone.*

The "cest" or magic girdle of Venus has become a sort of English word, having the authority of Collins in his ode on the poetical character, who no doubt took it from the Latin poets (Mart. *Ep.* VI. 13). But the word *cestos*, which Martial there uses, is in Homer only a descriptive adjective, signifying *embroidered*, pretty much the same as ποικίλος (see III. 371). On a misunderstanding of Winckelmann, relative to the cestus of Venus, Heyne has a short excursus worth reading.

VER. 226.

And o'er Pieria flew, and o'er Emathia's lovely plain.

Familiar as these two geographical designations are to the language of modern poetry, this is the only passage of the Iliad in which they occur. The progress of the goddess sufficiently marks Pieria as the region immediately north of Olympus, and Emathia as the district beyond it, that is, between the Haliacmon and the Axius. The first of these regions is immortalized as the cradle of Greek poetry; the second as the nursery of the Macedonian conquerors of the East, and one of the most flourishing settlements of early Christianity (Strabo, VII. *fr.* 11; Ptol. III. 13. 39; Acts xvii. 10, 11). Mount ATHOS (ver. 229), famous for the exploit of Persian despotism, and venerable as the citadel of Byzantine piety, is too well known to English tourists and general readers to require exposition here.

VER. 231.—*Sleep, the brother of death.*

Here we have a beautiful polytheistic simile, which, through the great Roman (Virg. *Æn.* VI. 278), has passed largely into the general language of poetry—

> "How beautiful is Death,
> Death and his brother Sleep!"
>
> SHELLEY.

As to originality, however, Homer had in all likelihood as little pretension to it as Shelley. The idea lies very naturally in the polytheistic conception of things. In Hesiod these two are the offspring of Night (*Theog.* 212, 758). Plutarch quotes the Homeric passage in his *Consolatio*, p. 107 E Xyl., and immediately thereafter the beautiful saying of some one who called τὸν ὕπνον μικρὰ τοῦ θανάτου μυστήρια, "*Sleep is the lesser mysteries of Death.*" The ancients showed great good taste in regard to this matter, and their sepulchral monuments carried out the Homeric idea of Death with a consistency which we Christians who use a similar phraseology (1 Cor. xv. 20) would have done well to imitate.

See Lessing, *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet*, and my book *On Beauty*, p. 93. Hypnos or Sleep is not a fully developed personal god in the Greek mythology, and we seem justified with Welcker (*g. l.* 21) in looking upon the whole of this appeal to him as purely allegorical. Why this allegorical god is placed in Lemnos I do not know.

With regard to the wonderful power assigned by the poet to Sleep, that, like Love, it is lord both of gods and men, there is a deep truth involved in this. Absolutely, indeed, the Supreme Being cannot sleep; that is, he always wakes in some capacity, otherwise the blind forces of which modern sensationalist philosophasters prate so much would soon prove their worthlessness; but that Nature has periods of necessary rest—that is, in other words, that the productive plastic power of God in Nature is not always active—is a fact plainly to be seen. The same thing is indicated in the Mosaic account of the creation, by the institution of the Sabbath. On the seventh day God *rested* from his works. And in the Hindu mythology, the sleep of Hari on the great waters, as the interval between successive kalpas or creative periods, plays a very prominent part.

Ver. 255.—*The well-peopled Cos.*

On Cos, see II. 677. With regard to Hercules in this connexion, the scholiast remarks from Pherecydes, that when the Greek Samson was returning from the sacking of Troy, he was overtaken by a storm sent by Juno, which drove him on the island of Cos. His landing, however, was opposed by Eurypylus, the king of the island; whereupon Hercules slew him and his sons, and begat from one of his daughters the eponymous hero of the Thessalians, Thessalus (II. 679.) In allusion to this event, the coins of Cos (see Smith, *Dict. Geog.*) exhibit a head of Hercules. The epithet ἐυναιομένη, here rendered "well-peopled," is more correctly translated "pleasantly or favourably situated," as indeed I have done in other places.

VER. 259.—*Old Night, who sways both gods and men.*

I think this is the only passage in the Iliad where Night assumes a distinct personality, as in Hesiod's *Theogony* and in the *Furies* of Æschylus. According to the simple notion of the Bœotian theologer, Night is the mother of Light, just because in our cycle of experience light is always preceded by darkness, and is, so to speak, struck out of it. This is fundamentally the same superficial sensuous way of looking at things which led Locke to deny innate ideas, and to confuse a constant accompaniment of a phenomenon with its cause. Certain modern thinkers, lamentably enough, have lost the idea of cause altogether, and so would find no difficulty in believing literally that night is the mother of light, that reason is born of unreason, and that something proceeds from nothing.

VER. 291.

A bird by gods named Chalcis, but by men Cumindis hight.

On this bird Aristotle (*Hist. An.* XIII. 3) says—"The κύμινδις is rarely seen, for its haunts are in the mountains; it is of a dark colour, and about the size of the species of hawk called φασσηφόνος; its body is long and slender. It does not appear in the day, but hunts for its prey during the night. It will fight with eagles, and with such violence that the shepherds often find both combatants lying dead together. It lays two eggs, and builds its nest in rocks and caves." Pliny (*N. H.* X. 8) has copied this. Lenz (*Zool. Gr.* p. 285) is of opinion that the bird meant is the *Strix uralensis*, one of the largest species of owls, and very like a hawk in appearance. On the double name, see II. 811.

VER. 317-327.

These eleven lines are pretty generally looked on as an interpolation, both by ancient and modern critics. Certainly they look very like an expansion of the thought of the two previous lines, made by some grammarian for the sake of exhibiting his learning;

nor is it at all according to the propriety of discourse used by amorous gentlemen in modern times to make such a curious detail under such circumstances. On the other hand, we must bear in mind that, according to ancient ideas, the multiform loves of Jove were looked on as the natural and necessary means of peopling the world with heroes and demigods; and again, that the Muse of Homer is of a somewhat gossiping character, and cannot always be cleared from the fault of dealing in superabundant and sometimes even impertinent illustration. On the whole, the translator must retain the lines; but the critical philologer, whether for historical or mythological purposes, will quote them *cum notâ*.

The persons celebrated in these eleven lines are of no small significance in mythology and early history, and claim a few remarks. First, as to PIRITHOUS, already noticed as a prince of the Lapithæ, he derives his principal importance in ancient legend from his connexion with Theseus, in whose divine honours at Athens he had a share (Paus. I. 30. 4). The next, PERSEUS, the hero of one of the most wild and beautiful of the Hellenic legends (see Kingsley's *Andromeda*), is one of those enigmatical characters that cause the judgment dubiously to sway between the symbolical theory of the Germans and the historical explanation of myths not purely theological to which our matter-of-fact British intellect generally inclines. On the one hand, Perseus, the sixth from Danaus, appears in the midst of a long list of kings, of what was universally believed in ancient times to be one of the oldest settlements of the Pelasgi (Clinton, i. p. 75). If he is only a mythological symbol, the whole race of early Argive kings must go into that limbo along with him, and the memorial table of the ancient minstrel genealogists will be made a complete blank in a department where it was likely to be the most faithful. On the other hand, the circumstances connected with the birth and life of this hero, of the gold-raining Jove and the sea-floating Danae, are so strange, unearthly, and miraculous that we might be willingly led in this particular case to admit at least the confusion of a real historical person, as in the case of Semiramis (*Dissertations*, p. 40) with a theological

legend concerning the strife of Light and Darkness, and the final triumph of the beneficent luminary. See, for the detail of this view, Preller, *Myth.* ii. 41, with whom Gerhard, *Myth.* 798, agrees. The third character in this list is MINOS. The mention of this great sea-king and legislator in Homer is scanty. Besides the present passage, we have only XIII. 450, where he occurs as the first human ancestor in the genealogy of Idomeneus, the divine father of the family being Jove; and *Od.* XIX. 178, where he is described as king of Gnossus, a great city, and the familiar friend of Jove; and *Od.* XI. 321, where he occurs as the "baneful-minded father of the beautiful Ariadne," this epithet, ὀλοόφρων, in the connexion referring, doubtless, to the cruel tribute which Attic legend represents him as having laid on the Athenians. In the same book (568) he is called "the glorious son of Jove," and acts as a judge among the dead—for the Shades also, it appears, have their quarrels. In the present passage the parentage of Minos, as son of Jove, by Europe, the daughter of Phœnix, points plainly to a Phœnician origin, and must be taken as good evidence that Homer knew nothing of the fictitious genealogy from Dorus, the son of Hellen, given by Diodorus (IV. 60), and evidently manufactured afterwards in order to stamp an original Greek character on the mixed population of Crete as it existed even in Homer's time (*Od.* XIX. 175). As little does the poet know anything of a Minos I. and Minos II., a duplicity in all probability invented by mythographers in order to harmonize conflicting traditions. We have therefore here, as in other cases, a few simple unpretending facts, which are afterwards magnified into all sorts of fabulous extravagance. I say *facts*, because there is nothing either in the scanty Homeric notices, or in the basis of the more expanded tradition, as we find it in later authors, in the slightest degree improbable; nothing which does not rather seem to grow out of the given circumstances in the most natural way possible. The very geographical situation of Crete, as Aristotle remarked (*Pol.* II. 10) seems to mark out this island as the seat of such a marine sway as Minos is reported to have exercised. We are not to be surprised,

therefore, if we find the most recent German authorities (Curtius, *Gr. Gesch.*) taking their stand as decidedly on the historical reality of Minos as the most credulous of the ancients. So also Hoeckh, in his valuable work on Crete; and among the English, Thirlwall. Grote only out-Germans the most extreme Germans in his wholesale style of handling all tradition previous to the age of exact chronology; but an eye well exercised in this region of shifting lights and shades will learn to separate the historical from the allegorical element, as certainly in many cases as an experienced mariner can distinguish dry land from a cloud. How Mr. Grote should have delighted to mingle up in one confused heap things so obviously distinct, is only to be explained by his peculiar attitude as an exact historian, and his aversion to deal in any shape with materials which would not submit to be handled after the rigorous scientific method of which he felt himself master. But we must not conclude that the mists envelope no mountains because we cannot see their summits with our telescopes, or take their elevation with our theodolites.

RHADAMANTHUS, the brother of Minos, is mentioned twice again by our poet, both times in the Odyssey. In VII. 323, he is the "yellow Rhadamanthus," who receives a convoy from the Phæacians to Eubœa to visit Tityus, the son of Gee; while in IV. 564 he is mentioned as being among the blessed heroic souls who dwell in Elysium, at the ends of the earth, free from the toils and troubles that belong to common mortals. The dignified position which he occupies in Pindar as judge of the dead and successor of Kronos (*Ol.* II. 137), is unknown to Homer. I entirely agree with Hoeckh (ii. 197) that all the traditions about Rhadamanthus point to a historical reality, and not to a mere "*Luftgebild.*"

The only two remaining names in this passage are DIONYSUS and HERCULES. On the former we have already spoken (VI. 130). The latter is a personage than whom no character in the Greek mythology, in the class of demigods, possesses more breadth and significance. In reference to Homer, three points are peculiarly interesting:—(1.) the Homeric conception of Hercules, as con-

trasted with the mythology of a later growth; (2.) the significance and interpretation of the legendary tradition; (3.) the connexion of the ideal presented in Hercules with Greek life and culture. With regard to the first point, there can be no doubt that the Hercules of Homer is a purely Greek man, born in Greece, and performing his wonderful feats of strength and heroism on a Greek stage. He is by descent from Perseus, an Argive, but born a Theban, and, like other great heroes, directly the son of Jove. He was from his earliest years exposed to severe persecution at the hands of the Argive goddess, who makes him subject to an inferior man, at whose arbitrary will he must submit, with heroic fortitude, to go through unheard-of trials (XIX. 98). He was the greatest archer and most lion-hearted man of his age (*Od.* VIII. 224, and XI. 266). The exploits which by his own strength and the aid of Athenè he performed, are, like those of Orlando and Rinaldo, in the Carolingian romances, quite incredible. He went down to Hades and brought up the infernal dog Cerberus (VIII. 367). His most famous expedition was against Troy, where he saved Hesione, the daughter of the king Laomedon, from a sea monster (XX. 145), but afterwards took and sacked the town to punish the perfidy of the avaricious monarch (v. 640). His strength is so great that he even inflicts wounds on the immortal gods (v. 392). His appearance, on the whole, is a grand example of indomitable fortitude, enterprise, and perseverance; but his encounter with Neleus (XI. 690), and his conduct to Iphitus (*Od.* XXI. 25), indicate an untamed fountain of ferocity and savagery in his character, an element which the reader of the Iliad need scarcely be told is as essentially Greek as the better qualities of his nature. After going successfully through unexampled toils, he yields to Fate like other men (XVIII. 117), but while his Shade wanders in Hades, "*himself*" (according to Homer's strange method of expression) ascended up into heaven, where he enjoys immortal youth with the gods, as the husband of the beautiful-ankled Hebè (*Od.* XI. 601).

The intelligent reader will at once perceive how meagre an affair we have here, compared with the vast dimensions to which the

legend of Hercules afterwards grew. The complete cycle of the twelve labours (*Theoc.* XXIV. 80) is here seen only in its germ. Hercules is not here transported to any distant country, such as Africa or Spain, where Greek civilisation was in those early days unknown, and, when he has completed his career of toil, there is no word of his glorified fire-death on Mount Œta, but he leaves the scene of so many brilliant exploits, snuffed out in the usual stupid way, so humiliating to human pride. The extensive and splendid additions which we afterwards find made to this strange tale may be explained partly, no doubt, on the supposition that Homer did not require to mention all that he knew about the Theban hero; but it seems much more certain that we have here a case perfectly analogous to that of Bellerophon (p. 189, *supra*), where the growth of the fable in the course of ages was distinctly traced. It is not true, therefore, universally, what Mr. Grote states (i. p. 576), that "the farther we travel back into the past, the more do we recede from the clear day of positive history, and the deeper do we plunge into the unsteady twilight, and the gorgeous clouds of fancy and feeling." In the development of such myths as those of Bellerophon and Hercules, the oldest form looks most like history, while the more modern is evidently the production of decorative fancy. But besides the lapse of time and the restless fertility of Greek fancy, there was another cause, which led necessarily to the monstrous enlargement of the Herculean tradition. Other nations had a hero, a demigod, or a great god, of whom similar exploits were narrated by their worshippers. Of these Cicero enumerates six (*N. D.* III. 19). To identify these kindred foreign gods with their native hero, was, as their whole history teaches, a devout necessity to the religious mind of Greece. Hence we find Hercules in the extreme west of Spain, fighting with Spanish giants, not because the Greek Hercules ever was there, but because Melcarth, the Phœnician Hercules, had voyaged west with his enterprising Sidonian traders in search of silver and gold. The close connexion between Greece and Egypt which arose after the time of Psammetichus and Amasis, led, in the same way, to a transplantation of the Theban son of Jove

into Africa (Paus. x. 17. 2), where he fought with Antæus, a son of Neptune, and handled him passing cleverly, as Greeks of course always did handle barbarians.

In reference to the second question, I have to say that, taking Hercules as we find him in Homer, I believe him to be a historical character, just as much as the Samson of the Hebrews and the Sir William Wallace of Scottish history. The general reasons in favour of the historical reality of the leading figures of popular tradition having been largely set forth in Dissertation I. of the first volume of this work, need not be repeated here. The special internal evidence with regard to the person of Hercules leads to the conclusion that he is a man—allowance of course being always made for the exaggerations which attach themselves to the exploits of a great popular hero,—just as much as Diomede and Achilles are men. At what time the original tradition of a deified human hero in Greece may have been mixed up with Oriental legends of a sun-god, I am not here concerned to inquire. Certain it is that historical occasions for such a commingling of eastern and western legend were not wanting, as the fruits plainly appear in the Orphic hymn to Hercules (XII.), where his twelve labours are distinctly identified with the course of the sun through the twelve signs of the zodiac.

On the third point there can be no hesitation. The moral significance of Hercules in reference to Greek character and culture is sufficiently obvious. He is the grand representative of the Hellenic idea of human excellence in the earliest times, and in fact was to the Greeks of all times a type of the most glorious humanity. He is a true hero, who by divine assistance fights a triumphant and life-long battle against fate and circumstance. He is exuberant in energy, indomitable in will, steadfast in trial, persevering in purpose, victorious in action, glorious in death. Not Prometheus, as some have imagined, but Hercules, was the true Christ and model god-man, to the religious young Greek; and the contrast between Hellenic heathenism and Christianity appears in nothing more strongly than in this contrast of their ideal god-man. The worshipper of Hercules looks upon it as his highest religion to be

strong and valiant; the worshipper of Christ readily sacrifices every advantage of mere physical strength and dominant energy for the sake of moral purity, goodness, and love. The religion of Hercules may be compared to a stout tree, from which clubs and quarter-staffs may be made, very serviceable in a fray; the religion of Christ is a beautiful flower, rich with medicinal virtue, and fraught with healing for every wound.

VER. 346.—*The Father spake, and seized his large-eyed spouse.*

The marriage of Juno to Jove was one of the most prominent points in the sacred tradition and ceremonial of that goddess wherever it was established. In the Gnossian district of Crete, for instance, there was an annual dramatic representation of this divine marriage, exactly analogous to the sacred dramas which, in some Catholic countries, are still enacted at Easter, Christmas, and other great Christian festivals (Diod. Sic. v. 72). Of the significancy of this marriage as an anthropomorphic representation of a great fact in the original elemental theology of the Greeks, there cannot be the slightest doubt. The description of the genial action of the heavens upon the earth in the time of the vernal rains, is far too plain to have escaped the notice even of the ancients, who were somewhat misled in this matter by a notion very generally entertained that Juno meant the lower atmosphere. But if there were no other proof that this goddess means the Earth, the present beautiful and significant simile would be sufficient to warrant that interpretation to a mind gifted with the slightest poetical intuition; a mental quality without which mythology can no more be understood than Christianity without practical piety and purity of heart. Accordingly we find that the ancient poets, both Latin and Greek, interpret the generative process here described as taking place, not between Jove and Juno, but between Jove and Earth. So Euripides, in the fragment of Chrysippus quoted by Sextus Empiricus (*Adv. Math.* VI.; Γαῖα μεγίστη, κ.τ.λ., Matthiæ's *Eurip.* ix. p. 121). So Virgil, in the well-known passage of the Georgics (II. 325), and Lucretius (II. 292); from whence Spenser (*F. Q.* I. 1, 6) and

Milton (*P. L.* IV. 500) drew. In this passage of Milton we see the influence of the false idea, that the clouds, not the earth, were the elemental origin of Juno. It is the clouds rather that act the part of the husband, and are the proper Jupiter, as we see also in the poetry of the Hindus. So in the *Prem-sagar* (ch. i. 21):—"*Then the clouds pouring forth rain like a husband*," etc. With this very obvious significance of the ἱερὸς γάμος, or *prima facie* view of the case, as the lawyers would say, all the recorded facts with regard to the worship of Juno, as it was practised in Argos, Samos, and other places, wonderfully harmonize. One of the most remarkable passages relating to this subject is handed down to us on the authority of Aristotle in the scholiast to Theocritus (xv. 64)—

πάντα γυναῖκες ἴσαντι καὶ ὡς Ζεὺς ἀγάγεθ' Ἥραν·

Women know all things, even how great Jove
First won the large-eyed Herè for his love,

which runs thus:—"Jove formed a plot how he might enjoy amorous intercourse with Juno, at a time when she should be apart from the other gods. Wishing to escape observation, he changed himself into the likeness of a cuckoo, and sat down upon the mountain which is called Thornax, near Hermione. Then he raised a terrible storm on the hill. Meanwhile, Juno had been walking alone on the mountain, and sat down at the place where the temple of the consummating Juno (Ἥρα τέλεια) is situated. Then the cuckoo, frightened by the storm, came all shivering, and alighted on the knees of the goddess. Juno immediately pitying the poor bird, put it into her bosom, under the folds of her vestment. The god forthwith assumed his natural shape, and laid hold of the maid, who, however, refused to allow sexual intercourse, from fear of her mother; but Jupiter at once removed this objection by promising to make her his wife. The chief people of the Argives adore this goddess; and in her temple at Argos she is represented sitting on a throne with a sceptre in her hand, and on the sceptre a cuckoo" (compare Paus. II. 17. 4). The cuckoo in this curious passage evidently indicates the spring; and the whole myth is only a simple human representation of the genial influence

of the vernal rains on the teeming earth at that season. Not without interest in this passage also is the trace of ancient customs preserved in that part of the narrative which recites that the sexual intercourse took place secretly, without the knowledge of the mother, and only on promise of future marriage. Homer alludes expressly to this point in ver. 296 of this book; and it is just what takes place not at all uncommonly among the Scottish peasants; and Welcker (*g. l.* i. 366) testifies that in the Berner Oberland the old practice was to allow this ante-matrimonial intercourse regularly for some time, in order to test the inclination of the parties. Another circumstance which removes all doubt from the interpretation of this myth, is that this marriage is sometimes represented as not taking place, like other marriages, once for all, but as recurrent, the virginity of the wife being in some wonderful way renewed, so as to render a new marriage necessary. This is distinctly stated with regard to the local legend in Temenium, near Nauplia, by Pausanias (II. 38. 3); and the frequent occurrence of the epithet παρθενία in conjunction with Herè (Pindar, *Ol.* VI. 150; Apoll. Rhod. I. 187, schol.; Paus. VIII. 22. 2) proves the same thing. The "widowed Herè" in this last passage, evidently relates to the interruption of the genial intercourse between heaven and earth in the winter season. In Pausanias, also (II. 22. 1), we find the interesting notice that in Argos there was a temple of Herè, under the title of ἄνθεια, or *the flowery Juno*, which plainly points to the fine vegetative influence described by Homer.

VER. 376-7.

These two verses, I agree with Sp., are quite superfluous and out of place. The exhortation of Poseidon ends most effectively with μάλα περ μεμαῶτα. There is nothing said in ver. 377 which does not already lie in ver. 371.

VER. 491.—*Whom Hermes loved.*

With regard to Hermes, two things lie on the surface, and may be taken as certain—(1.) In his oldest form, as worshipped by the

Pelasgi (Herod. II. 51), and symbolized by the *phallus*, or male generative organ, he plainly represents the procreant force of nature. (2.) In the Iliad, and in Arcadia, where his birthplace was, he is a pastoral god, the author of that wealth in sheep and oxen which belongs to the great patriarchal ancestors of the human race. These two characters are in their source obviously one. For the wealth of pastoral men, which consists in the multiplication of their flocks and herds, depends of course on the productive power of nature, as manifested in the breeding of animals. As society advanced, wealth changed its character, *pecus* became *pecunia* (VI. 234), and the merchant took rank as a producer of wealth before the shepherd and the farmer; hence Hermes became the patron of merchants; and money found in the ground or on the road accidentally was called ἕρμαιον, *a gift of Hermes*.

In Homer the Pelasgic Hermes does not appear at all. As in the case of the other gods, the divine force that originally gave him significance is sunk in the human representation of the result. The Hermes of the present passage is evidently merely the protector of sheep and the author of wealth, as in the *Theogony* (444). Hence in the Odyssey (VIII. 335) he is δώτωρ ἐάων, *the giver of good things*. His originally pastoral character is indicated by the epithets νόμιος (Ar. *Thesm.* 977) and ἐπιμήλιος (Paus. IX. 34. 2). His kindly and beneficent nature as the giver of wealth is alluded to in Homer several times by the epithets ἐριούνης and ἀκάκητα (XVI. 185, XX. 34, 72, XXIV. 360; Paus. VIII. 36. 6). So far all is clear. But when we go beyond this, and endeavour to derive from one original idea all the other functions familiarly ascribed to this god, we find ourselves sailing on a wide dim sea, where, instead of the steady sun of certainty, only a changeful flicker of beautiful conjecture entertains us. The epithet διάκτορος, *message-speeding*, so frequent in Homer, brings before us at once that element of nimbleness, dexterity, craft, and cunning, so essentially interwoven with the earliest legends about this god (see the *Homeric Hymn*), and yet so remote from the natural idea of a pastoral god. But that shepherds could be cunning enough at times, at

least in the matter of sheep-breeding, the example of the patriarch Jacob (Gen. xxx. 37) sufficiently shows. Where operations of great secrecy and expertness are required, Hermes appears on several occasions in the Iliad (v. 391, xxiv. 24); and as great sharpness of vision is required for such business, he gets the epithet ἐϋσκοπος, as in the passage last referred to. To reconcile this discrepancy, Welcker ingeniously supposes that the name of the god, connected with ὁρμή and other words of that family, signifies *impulse* or *force*, and that he is not merely in animals the generative force, but more generally "he signifies the circular movement of the sky, the cycle of day and night, of waking and sleeping, of living and dying; in one word, vital motion, cosmical and organic impulse"—"*die lebendige Bewegung, der Umschwung.*" This of course is problematic; but that the thoroughly anthropomorphized representation of this god which generally meets us in Hellenic legend must find its explanation in some theo-cosmical ideas of the religion of the oldest Pelasgi seems to me quite certain.

BOOK XV.

Ver. 56-77.

Some of the ancients, and with them Bekker, have applied their favourite critical process of excision to this whole passage; Zenodotus only from ver. 64; Heyne from ver. 63. The greater number of the special objections made by the Alexandrians are minute and puerile, and give no satisfaction even to Heyne. As to the general scope of the passage, I think Granville Penn (p. 336) has stated the case most triumphantly in favour of the received text, which Spitzner, though he shakes his head a little, does not dare to bracket. It is not surprising that the Germans should be so anxious to expunge this speech, as it supplies one of the strongest arguments in favour of the unity of that great poem, which it has

long been one of their special national delights to tear in pieces. Those who believe in that unity will not be apt to quarrel with Jove or with the poet for revealing his plans in a confidential communication to his wife. To me a consideration of the context makes it quite plain, as Penn well remarks, that the whole speech is most appropriate, and should be retained intact. Jupiter is evidently in a good humour—the effect of the amatory cestos still remaining,—and while, on discovering the female deceit that had been practised on him, he asserts strongly his determination to fulfil his promise to Thetis, and do honour to Achilles, he at the same time soothes his offended consort by the prophetic intimation that in the long run Troy shall certainly fall, and the cause of the Greeks be triumphant. Those rhapsodists, whose patchwork Heyne is constantly detecting—having a peculiar eye of his own with which he can see in the dark,—must certainly have been very clever fellows, since it so often appears that, if Homer did not write what they put into his mouth, he, on almost every occasion, *might* have done it with propriety, and on some occasions—as in the present passage—plainly *should* have done it.

VER. 87.—*Fair Themis lovely-cheeked.*

Themis—from τίθημι, to *lay down*, as in German *Gesetz*, from *setzen*—is a goddess who makes no very prominent figure in Homer, or in the Greek mythology; as, indeed, she is quite superfluous, her functions, as the representative of right and law, being exercised by Jove. In xx. 4, she is commissioned by Jove to call the gods to council; and in Od. II. 68 she is said to preside over all human assemblies and parliaments. There is a grand truth in this idea, that no human society can exist without Right, and that Justice is practically identical with God. The Thebans (Paus. IX. 25. 4) associated in worship Themis, the Jove of public assemblies (Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος), and the Fates, which is a triad of fine significance. The author of the *Theogony* (135) saw not less profoundly into the constitution of social beings, when he makes her one of the primeval Titanesses, daughter of Heaven and Earth, and older than

Jove, to whom she was afterwards married, and produced a fair progeny (*Theog.* 901). Not less beautiful is the Delphic tradition (Paus. x. 5. 3; Æsch. *Eumen.* 2) that Themis preceded Apollo as the speaker of prophecy from the oracular navel-stone; it being hereby plainly signified that the course of human events can best be predicated by those who, like the Hebrew prophets, have a profound perception of the great law of Right, which rules the moral world, as certainly as the law of gravitation does the motions of the spheres.

VER. 101.—*The spouse of Jove did force her lips into a smile.*

The scholiast notes here that this is what is called a *sardonic laugh*, a phrase used by Homer himself in Od. xx. 302. Concerning this laugh, Pausanias, in a well-known passage (x. 17. 7), says that it received its name from a poisonous plant growing in Sardinia, which has the peculiar property of causing persons to die by falling into horrid laughing convulsions. Suidas, in Σαρδάνιος γέλως, derives it from σαίρειν τοῖς ὀδοῦσι, and says that it means προσποιητός—a *forced laugh.*

VER. 113.—*Mars smote his strong sinewy thigh.*

This gesture is well known in Greek history as having been used by Cleon the demagogue, whose violent manner was so strongly contrasted with the calm weight of Olympian Pericles (Plut. *Nic.* 8). Caius Gracchus used the same violent action (Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 2). Mars is no model; but this peculiar method of rhetorical emphasis was not peculiar to him (ver. 397, and XVI. 125). Nature is never tame; violent gestures are always better than no gestures at all; and even the vulgarest energy in speaking is superior to that innocent ineffective propriety in which the tradition of the English pulpit so strangely delights.

VER. 171.—*When sky-born Boreas flaps his vans.*

The analogy of Διογενής and other such words teaches plainly that the compound αἰθρηγενής must be taken in a passive sense.

Both Köppen and Heyne saw this. The reasons given for applying this epithet to the north wind are futile, for Apollonius Rhodius (IV. 765) applies it generally to all the winds. The right translation is that of D., "*æthergeboren*," or as N. in his quaint way has it—

"*The gust of Boreas, whom sky serene doth gender.*"

VER. 206.—*Furies, guard the rights of the elder-born.*

That the eldest born son had a certain preference is plain from this passage; but that equal division of a father's property, on his death, was the law of the Homeric times, is quite plain from what Neptune says (ver. 209), with which the future history of Attic law entirely agrees. The right of the firstborn may have consisted in a preference of choice, in which case of course he would choose the best of a certain number of equal portions, as no absolute equality except in money is possible. According to our notions, the mansion-house, and the right to represent the family in the House of Lords, or otherwise, would fall to the eldest son; in other respects the succession, both landed and moveable, would be equally divided. See Hermann, *Gr. Alt.* iii. 63, and C. R. Kennedy in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, Art. *Hæres*.

VER. 237.—*Swift as a sousing hawk he flew.*

Apollo here takes the shape of a hawk, and in Od. XV. 525 one of these birds is said to be his "swift messenger" (compare Müller's *Dor.* i. p. 326, Engl.) The ancients seem to have considered that the sharp-sightedness of hawks, and other qualities real and imaginary, entitled them to be considered in a peculiar way symbolical of the sun-god. On this Ælian enlarges (*N. A.* x. 14). The Egyptians, it is well known, with whose Hor the Greeks at an early period identified their Apollo (Herod. II. 144), designated that god, and sometimes a god generally, by a hawk. See Plut. *Is. Os.* 32, with Parthey's admirable Commentary; and Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, i. p. 434.

VER. 365.—*So thou, Apollo.*

The ancients evidently did not know the meaning of the epithet ἦϊε used in this line, and began to etymologize about it in their usual blind way. The results of that random work appear in our Dictionaries. Heyne, after mentioning their vain conjectures, adds: "Mihi hæc commemoranda erant, quoniam ad grammaticorum curas in Homerum spectabant; cæteroquin enim bene teneo, antiquissimorum horum nominum imprimis religiosi generis origines et notiones vix unquam tuto constitui posse, et doctam quidem, parum tamen utilem operam in iis exquirendis poni."

This is just the right thing. Men will never be wise till they cease to waste their time in pretending to know what is not knowable. As a translator, I could have no scruple in omitting the epithet altogether.

VER. 432.—*Who from divine Cythera came.*

The island of Cythera, projecting as it does far out into the sea, towards Crete, from the extreme south point of the Peloponnesus, naturally stood in the way of the Phœnicians in their progress westward, and it was here doubtless that the worship of their Syrian goddess of fecundity was first introduced. The connexion with Phœnicia is plainly indicated in the genealogy of Cythera, from Phœnix, given by Steph. Byz. 72, and Eustathius (*Schol. Dion. Per.* 498). Scandia, a town on this island, is mentioned above (x. 268). In the Peloponnesian war it was occupied by the Athenians under Nicias (Thucyd. IV. 54). On its modern state, see Leake, *N. G.* iii. 69, and Geikie's *Life of Forbes*, p. 291.

VER. 518.—*A stout Cyllenian, Otus.*

The *Cyllene*, from which this Otus receives his name, has nothing to do with the Cyllenian mount on the north-east corner of Arcadia, where Hermes was born (II. 603), but is a village on the coast of Elis, opposite Zante (Str. VIII. 337, and II. 615, *supra*).

VER. 522.

Apollo to the spearman's might denied the life of Panthus' son.

Panthus was a priest of Apollo (Virg. *Æn.* II. 429), and hence his family is particularly under the protection of the god (see Müller, *Dor.* vol. i. p. 250.

VER. 531.—*Ephyre.*

We have already encountered this word as the old name of Corinth (VI. 152). It was a name common to several Hellenic towns. The one alluded to here in connexion with the river *Selleis*, from the whole connexion of the passage seems to be that in Elis (Str. VIII. 338), to which the geographer likewise refers the Ephyre in II. 659, on which see Heyne's note. There was another Ephyre in Thesprotia, to which Nitzsch refers (*Od.* I. 259).

VER. 561.—*Let noble shame usurp your hearts!*

Donaldson (*N. C.* 325) is quite right in saying that the αἰδώς of Homer in this and similar passages (v. 529 and XIII. 121) is precisely equivalent to our "sense of honour," a feeling which the English have preserved from the chivalrous inheritance of the middle ages, more completely, perhaps, than any other people, but which belongs to man as man, and grows everywhere with the growth of his moral nature.

VER. 629.—*So every Argive quailed with fear.*

Heyne objects to this line, because, he says, the point of the previous comparison evidently lies in the impetuousness of Hector, not in the fears of the Greeks. But the poet, in expanding his comparison, was led to find that it had a double application; and this evidently produced the line to which Heyne objects, and which certainly stands in most unhappy proximity to the μένον ἔμπεδον οὐδ' ἐφέβοντο of ver. 622. It must be borne in mind also that though the Greeks stood firm, their hearts might still be quaking beneath their corslets.

VER. 653.—*Now they fell back within the foremost line.*

That εἰσωποί refers to the Greeks the previous context inclines us to believe, and the nature of the case plainly shows. The Trojans were εἰσωποὶ νεῶν necessarily during their whole advance; but it is said of the Greeks appropriately now that they turned behind the ships, and left the first line exposed. The suspicions thrown on ver. 655-674 by Heyne, are, as usual, extremely slight.

VER. 668-673.

Some ancients considered these six lines as interpolated, principally because there was no previous mention of a νέφος which Athenè had to disperse. But it seems only a poetical way of saying that they now on a sudden clearly saw the critical position in which they were placed.

VER. 679.—*As when a man well skilled to ride.*

This, and Od. v. 371, are the only two passages in which Homer mentions the practice of riding on horseback without chariots. The word κελητίζω which he uses is evidently connected with κέλλω, κελεύω, *percello*, *celer*, *celeres*, etc., and means to *spur* or *drive*. It is applied to the horse, not to the rider. Pausanias (x. 7. 3) mentions the horse-race as one of recent introduction in the Pythian games. On the skill which the ancients delighted to exhibit in managing more horses than one, see the article *Desultor* in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, and ἄμιπποι in Harpocration.

VER. 690.—*An eagle fiery-souled.*

This is one of the passages where it is extremely difficult to say whether αἴθων refers to the mere outward appearance or to inward qualities. Plato (*Rep.* VIII. 559 D) talks of αἴθωσι θηρσὶ καὶ δεινοῖς, evidently *fierce*, *impetuous*, *fiery*, which, as the colour of the eagle is not strictly αἴθων, seems the safer meaning here.

BOOK XVI.

VER. 97-100.

αἲ γὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον,
μήτε τις οὖν Τρώων θάνατον φύγοι, ὅσσοι ἔασιν,
μήτε τις Ἀργείων, νῶϊν δ' ἐκδῦμεν ὄλεθρον,
ὄφρ' οἷοι Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα λύωμεν.

These verses were objected to on various grounds by the ancients. Their reasons, as usual, seem more curious than sound; but, on the other hand, there can be no denying that the passage ends much more appropriately without them. As to the fitness of such language generally to a person previously excited by passion there can be no doubt. But the real question is, whether in this speech specially Achilles is in such a towering rage as to render this wild and savage sentiment natural and suitable. I rather think not; and further, I am inclined to agree with Sp. in thinking that the invocation to Apollo, immediately after he had been mentioned as the special friend of the Trojans, is peculiarly inappropriate. I therefore eject the lines.

VER. 143.—*The lance of Pelian ash.*

On the μελίη or ashen spear-shaft here the scholiast remarks:—"At the marriage of Peleus and Thetis the gods gave gifts to the bridegroom; and Chiron, cutting down a stout ash-tree, made it into a spear-shaft, and presented it to Peleus. This spear was polished by Pallas, and the head of it pointed by Vulcan. These facts are mentioned in the Cyprian poems." The hardness of the ash-tree made it a fit emblem of that hard-working persevering race of mortals who now inhabit the earth (Hes. *Op.* 145).

VER. 150.—*Them to strong Zephyr the Harpy bare.*

Nothing is more certain in the whole doctrine of Greek mythology than that the HARPIES are the impersonation of sudden and

violent gusts of wind (ἄνεμοι ἁρπακτικοί, schol. *Od.* I. 240). This conviction would force itself on a thinking mind from the mere significance of their names, and the connexion in which they are mentioned by Hesiod (*Theog.* 265) :—

> "Thaumas married Electra, the daughter of deep-flowing Ocean,
> She to Iris gave birth, the swift, and eke to the Harpies
> Beautiful-haired, Aello yclept, and Ocypete, maidens
> Swiftly winged to follow the path of the bird, or the breeze that
> Skirs the welkin."

But the identity becomes manifest when we compare the account of the daughters of Pandarus, in Od. XX., who are said in one line (66) to have been carried away by the θύελλαι, or *storms ;* and in another line of the same passage (77) to have been snatched off by the Harpies. A more instructive confronting of the original physical element with its anthropomorphic impersonation could not have been wished for. On the Harpies generally see Heyne, *Exc.* VII.; *Æn.* III. From this fact that the Harpies represent sudden and violent winds, their significance in the present passage and in some other places of Homer becomes apparent. To them specially in Homer is attributed the sudden disappearance of any person of whom no account can be given; as of Ulysses (*Od.* I. 241; compare Job xxvii. 21, and Helen's wish, VI. 346). This is precisely analogous to the ascription of sudden and painless deaths to Apollo and Diana (p. 189, *supra*). In the present passage the Harpy appears merely, like any other wind, to be a mother to the wind-footed steeds of Achilles, of which the strong and masterful Zephyr was the sire. That these steeds of godlike brood have the distant "stream of ocean" for their birthplace, is only because Zephyr and Ocean are both in the far west, and because in that region the Greek imagination wandered free in the creation of all sorts of fair and fierce wonders.

Another thing to be noted here is the prosaic simplicity with which the credulous Greeks and Romans of after times turned this fine poetical myth of swift steeds fathered by the west wind into a plain historical "*constat*" (this is Pliny's word), that in some parts

of the world mares actually became impregnated by the west wind without copulation—

> "Illæ,
> Ore omnes versæ in Zephyrum, stant rupibus altis,
> Exceptantque leves auras: et sæpe sine ullis
> Conjugiis vento gravidæ, mirabile dictu,
> Saxa per et scopulos et depressas convalles
> Diffugiunt;"[1]

where Heyne's note contains references to passages of the same import in Aristotle, *H. A.* VI. 17; Plin. *N. H.* VIII. 42; and Æl. *N. A.* IV. 6.

VER. 183.—*Dian, golden-shafted queen.*

Artemis is not a goddess who performs any prominent part in the Iliad. As the sister of Apollo, her elemental significance is at once determined for all to whom the idea of Apollo has acquired clearness. If Apollo be the sun, there cannot be a shadow of a doubt that Artemis is the moon. To Homer, however, she is only the celestial huntress, the πότνια θηρῶν (XXI. 470), a function which naturally belongs to her as the guardian of wild beasts who prowl in the moonlight (Æsch. *Agam.* 138, and *Il.* IX. 539), and the patron-goddess of hunters who are engaged in the capture of such animals (v. 51). It is in this capacity that the epithet κελαδεινή, used here and in XXI. 511, belongs to her. In the θεομαχία she appears on the side of the Trojans, either as the sister of Apollo, or because the worship of Diana in various shapes (see *Amazons*, p. 188, *supra*) was widely spread in Asia. We have seen how, as the female ἕκατος or far-darting power, though Homer never calls her by that name, she was looked on by the Greeks as the cause of all sudden and inexplicable deaths (p. 189, *supra*). Of her personal appearance there is no description in the Iliad; but in the Odyssey she is the ideal of a stately and well-knit queenly woman; hence the fine comparison of Nausicaa in that poem (VI. 102-109) to the heavenly huntress on Erymanthus or Taygetus, chasing the flying deer with the rural nymphs in her train, above

[1] Virgil, *Georg.* III. 272.

whom, towering with face and forehead, the goddess peers majestic. The details of dress and accoutrement belonging to Artemis will be found supplied in every European museum or collection of Greek casts, where Diana, with hunting-boots and succinct tunic, is one of the most familiar figures.

With regard to the epithet χρυσηλάκατος, it is applied to various goddesses by Pindar (*Ol.* VI. 177; *Nem.* V. 65, VI. 62), in which passages its meaning may be doubtful; but surely with regard to Artemis we cannot be wrong in considering it equivalent to ἡ χρυσᾶ βέλη ἔχουσα, as the scholiast has it. A spindle (ἠλακάτη) and an arrow are like enough in every respect, except in use, to have been expressed by the same word.

VER. 228.—*With the virtue of sulphur cleansed it.*

So, in Od. XXII. 481, Ulysses fumigates the hall of his house with sulphur after the murder of the suitors.

VER. 234.—*Dodona, where wintry tempests war.*

Dodona was unquestionably the oldest and most famous seat of the Pelasgi, or most ancient Hellenes (Herod. II. 52); was, in fact, as sacred a centre of Pelasgic faith as Delphi became afterwards, or as Rome now is to the Romish Church. In the moral machinery of the Iliad, its importance, implied in this single passage, is not secondary; for the Jove of Dodona was evidently the highest celestial Power whom Achilles could invoke in one of the most critical moments of his life; and this hero represents the Thessalian element in the Trojan war, the rupture between which and the Argive element represented by Agamemnon, creates the action of the poem. It is therefore of no small interest to endeavour to fix its site, at least approximately; and this has happily been done in such a masterly manner by Colonel Leake (iv. p. 151), that a very succinct statement will here suffice to make the nature and value of the evidence intelligible to any person of sound understanding. The following are the salient points of the induction :—(1.) Dodona

was certainly in the country of the Thesprotians or Molossians, or on a certain border land common to both (Æsch. *Prom.* 850; Eustath. in *Iliad.* II. 750). (2.) The geographical sequence of the subdivisions of Epirus is clear from Scylax, who, sailing southward from the Illyrians, comes first to the Oricians, behind the Acroceraunian promontory, and then in order to the Chaones, the Thesprotians, in whose country is the river Acheron, the Cassopi, and the Molossi. These last he describes as at the extreme south of the country, running along the north coast of the Ambracian Gulf, and then stretching inland. Now, if they did stretch inland, and must border on the Thesprotians, with whom they were often confounded, they must have run up on the west side of the Arachthus, towards Joannina, for there is no other place for them. (3.) Aristotle says (*Meteor.* XIV. 1) that the most ancient Hellas was in the region of Dodona and the Achelous. The Achelous is mentioned in the same connexion by Strabo (I. 29). (4.) It is expressly stated by Pindar (*Nem.* IV. 86) that Dodona was far inland, in the extreme east, or highest mountain region of Epirus, where it borders on Thessaly; and this is confirmed by Polybius, who, in describing a raid of the Ætolians into Dodona, during the second Punic war, says that their general, Dorimachus, led them up (εἰς τοὺς ἄνω τόπους τῆς Ἠπείρου) into the highlands of Epirus, and there plundered and razed to the ground the famous temple of the Dodonean Jove. To this highland situation the epithet δυσχείμερον (*wintry*) in Homer alludes. (5.) More minutely still, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*A. R.* I. 51), in his prose account of the voyage of Æneas, which Virgil gives poetically in Æneid III., with an exactness of topographical detail evidently meant to show his knowledge of the ground, distinctly states that the noble Trojan refugee travelled up the country from Arta in two days to Dodona, and from thence in four days to Buthrotum, opposite the north-east corner of Corfu. (6.) Again, we are informed by Hesiod (*fr.* 149, Goettling 80) that Dodona was situated in a rich district full of fine pastures:—

"Rich in meadowy plains the Hellopian country extendeth;
Rich in pasture for sheep, and horned kine heavy-gaited;
Here the tribes of men have pitched their dwellings uncounted;
Here they number their flocks, and rejoice in the wealth of their cattle;
Here Dodona stands at the utmost end of the country,
Shrine beloved of Jove, where deep from the bole of the oak-tree
Cometh, revered by men, the oracular voice of Kronion."

(7.) Strabo (VII. 328) expressly mentions that there were marshes beside the temple, and that it was situated below a mountain called Tomarus, or Tmarus. The name of this mountain, Leake testifies, is still preserved in certain villages in the vicinity; and from beneath the mountain the same cold fountains still flow, of which Theopompus wrote (Pliny, *N. H.* IV. *praef.*) Now, whosoever will carefully consider all these indications of the site of Dodona, will find that they converge upon the vale of Joannina, so famous in recent history by the despotism of that intellectual tiger, Ali Pasha, as certainly as the well-concerted movements of the forces of a great strategist do upon the point where a great battle is to be fought. The traveller going inland due east from Corfu, with his eye on Mount Pindus, the Ben Muicdhui of the Thessalian Alps, will come right upon this beautiful valley, extending from north to south in length about twenty miles, and in breadth about seven at its broadest part. In the middle of this valley there is a large lake, or rather two lakes, in the rainy season flowing into one; and right above it hangs the high mountain of Mitzikeli, 2500 feet above the lake—one of the grand satellites of the snow-capt Pindus, which is seen glittering in the far east. And not only the situation, but the climatal phenomena of this district answer the conditions of the classical authorities; for the pastures of the meadow-land are even now worthy of the praises of the old Bœotian theologer, and the frequent thunder-storms, caused by the neighbourhood of the lofty mountain, make it evident why the lofty-pealing spouse of Herè received from the devout Pelasgi a peculiarly awful reverence in this place.

These proofs, it will be observed, relate only to the Dodonean district, not to the exact site of the temple, which must remain

unknown till chance or scientific invasion shall bring to light that witness of ancient stones which is now altogether wanting. In the main result, three independent investigators, who have personally surveyed the ground, substantially agree; besides Leake, Pouqueville (*Voyage dans la Grèce*, deuxième édit., Paris, 1826, vol. i.), who visited this country on an embassy to Ali Pasha from Napoleon the Great, and Von Hahn (*Albanesische Studien*, Jena, 1854). This last author, who has done more for opening up Albania than any modern writer that I know, says that Joannina is the social centre of gravity of Epirus, and its natural metropolis; and the numerous tribes of Pelasgi, who at one period peopled this now desolate country, could not fail to appreciate the importance of such a situation. The only link wanting in the chain of evidence here given is the lake, which was certainly as well worthy of mention as the marshes; but the absence of this point proves nothing, when we consider that all the notices of Dodona in ancient writers are general and incidental, and nothing like a detailed description is anywhere attempted. Of the present condition of Joannina, with its white houses, and tapering minarets embedded in the rich greenery of grass and garden and cypress tree, a pleasant picture is given in *The Eastern Shores of the Adriatic in* 1863, from the lively and spirited pen of the Viscountess Strangford.

After all this array of testimony with respect to the earliest seat of Pelasgic worship—the cradle, so to speak, of the future Olympian Zeus,—the reader will no doubt be surprised to hear that, according to Homer himself in the catalogue (II. 750), Dodona was not in Thesprotia, to the west, but somewhere in Thessaly, to the east of Pindus. Now, the most obvious and natural way to meet this difficulty appears to me just simply to suppose that the Ionian minstrel, who put the statistics of the catalogue into verse, being ignorant of the wild country beyond the Pindus, had slumped the west of Thessaly and the east of Epirus into one wintry mountain district, and fixed the world-famous Dodona there. For Dodona, in those days, we must bear in mind, was just as famous as Delphi became afterwards; and an Ionian minstrel could not be ignorant of its

general whereabouts, though he might well be exonerated from exhibiting any great accuracy of topographical knowledge. And a strong confirmation of this view is derived from the fact that it is just in this region of the extreme west of Greece—in the districts of Pylos and Ithaca—that a vagueness in Homer's topographical ideas has been detected, which, by way of a foil to his general accuracy, his greatest admirers might, with a reasonable grace, be willing to admit. But if any one's strong reverence for the poet should prevent him from taking this view, he may say, with perfect plausibility, that the Pelasgi, in their progress westward, had first settled in Thessaly, had an oracle of Dodona there, and, when driven beyond Pindus, carried both the name and the worship along with them; for which view Welcker stoutly contends (*g. l.* i. 199), and Gladstone (i. 106). As to the Selli, who officiated in this mountain region as priests and diviners, the less that is said of them the better; for we know nothing certainly about them beyond what these lines indicate. Those who feel themselves safe to speculate on such points, may follow Creuzer (*Symbol.* iv. 280). On the vocal oaks (Soph. *Trach.* 1166), and the fateful-sounding caldrons (*Suid.* in Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον), and the sacred lots (Cic. *Div.* i. 34), we need not enlarge. On the religion of the oldest Pelasgi, see Gerhard, *Myth.* 131, *supra,* p. 119, and Welcker, *g. l.* i. p. 199. If, as our authorities plainly indicate, Jove and Earth, and the phallic Hermes, were the most prominent objects of Pelasgic worship, these three gods, representing, as they did, the vital Energies and influences of Sky and Earth, and the miraculous working of the all-plastic creative power in generation, were certainly the most suitable for a primitive agricultural people, cultivating fertile plains.

Ver. 328.—*Amisodarus, who nursed the dire Chimera.*

"En particulam mythi de chimærâ quam aliunde ignorabamus, nec ipse Homero suo loco (vi. 179) memoravit. Apparet itaque et hoc exemplo mythum jam ab aliis disertis pertractatum fuisse, ut ille inde quæ opus essent peteret et obiter attingeret" (Heyne). This is an important observation, and goes deep into the true prin-

ciples of Homeric criticism. The additional circumstance here mentioned does not prove indeed absolutely that there ever was such a creature as the Chimera; but it proves that the traditions about it were floating elements of popular belief, and in that belief accompanied with such circumstances of place and person as are wont to attach to real events. I have already shown (p. 187, *supra*) on what foundation of physical fact the legend of the Chimera seems to have been based; and, if we will be curious in regard to the present passage, we shall say that the fountain of fire in Lycia must have shown peculiar activity in the reign of the monarch here named.

VER. 407.—*A sacred fish.*

Why the fish is called "sacred," as the ancients did not know, I do not see that we have any means of deciding. On the whole, I am inclined to think with Heyne that it is only a general epithet of admiration, like θεῖον (comp. XVII. 464, and XXIV. 681), *a fine fish, a large fish, a glorious fellow, a thumper*, as Stoddart, our poetical angler, sings; but in a doubtful matter, and also for the sake of the characteristic, I translate literally.

VER. 433-438.

It gives us a very poor notion of the ancient Homeric critics to find, from the scholiast, that Zenodotus rejected this colloquy between Jove and Juno for the reason that the queen of heaven is here represented as being in Ida at a time when a clever lawyer, arguing from XV. 79, might easily have proved an *alibi*. This sort of criticism is contemptible. Such critics would scan a panorama with microscopes, and take a plain old minstrel's honest words to task as a special pleader dissects the evidence of an unfavourable witness. Of course Heyne, with his transcendental German acuteness, sees an "*adsutus pannus*" here as in a thousand other places. The ancient Greeks themselves, who had the happiness to live in an age before grammarians began to stuff the libraries with erudite impertinence, saw no patch in the passage; for Plato, in a

well-known place (*Rep.* III. 388 B), quotes it, and laments, in his usual somewhat pedantic fashion, that the Homeric Jupiter does not here talk sufficiently like an Academic philosopher. He might have made the same criticism in a thousand and one utterances of the Jehovah of the Old Testament and been equally in the wrong. Cicero, also, when he quotes this passage (*Divin.* II. 10) is evidently nodding; for Jove does not here "*lament*" that he is not able to save Sarpedon "*contra fatum*," but he only doubts whether he shall do it. The passage plainly implies that it was in the Thunderer's power, had he pleased, to make μοῖρα subservient to his will.

VER. 481.—*The tough and musculous heart.*

What ἀδινὸν means, as an epithet of κῆρ, I think can admit of no doubt. The word is fully discussed by Heyne on II. 87, and by L. and S. Most of the translators, however, seem to shy the word. Chapman, who has more courage than the most of our English translators, gives—

"Where life's strings close about the *solid* heart."

But this is most unfortunate; for the heart can no more be called solid than a bottle when full of port wine. I have ventured on the revival of the good old English word, "*musculous*," which I hope will meet the approval of the judicious. Hayman (*Od.* I. App. A) translates ἀδινὸν κῆρ "*restlessly beating*;" but for this I confess I cannot see the slightest warrant.

VER. 488.—*A fiery-souled stout-hearted bull.*

Whatever might be thought of the word αἴθων in XV. 690, I think there can be no doubt that in the present passage, followed by μεγάθυμος, this epithet must be understood in the sense in which Plato evidently uses the word in the passage of the *Republic*, VIII. 559 D. So both Voss and Donner, "*feurig und stolz*." Those who will have it that colour is meant—though I think Plato knew better—should avoid Chapman's "yellow bull" as much as New-

man's "flame-hued," and be content with the red-brown of the well-known Devonshire cattle.

VER. 491.—*Dying spoke with eager breath.*

With regard to μενεαίνω, Passow was certainly right in taking Heyne's hint, who translates, "*indignante anima gemebat.*" The word expresses *intense mental action*, and not merely *bodily gasping*, as L. and S. give it, or ἐλειποψύχει, according to the stupid gloss of some of the ancient grammarians. Voss has "*muthigen Geist ausathmend;*" Donner, more strongly, "*zornschnaubend.*"

VER. 567.—*Now no more they felt their master's rein.*

I prefer the reading of Aristarchus, λίπεν (*i.e.*, ἐλείφθησαν—ἐρημώθησαν), because the previous verses contain no mention of the breaking loose of the horses from the traces.

VER. 372.—*Budeum's pleasant town.*

This town is not mentioned in the catalogue, but Steph. Byz., who spells it *Budea*, says it was in Magnesia.

VER. 614-15.

These two verses do not appear in many of the MSS., may have been taken from XIII. 504, and are at all events useless here. I omit.

VER. 689-690.

These two lines occur again in XVII. 177, where they are necessary and natural. Here they are superfluous, and not particularly suitable. I eject.

VER. 747.—*A feast of oysters.*

The mention of oysters in this one place of Homer, furnished to the microscopic ancients an occasion of debating curiously on the diet of the Homeric heroes, who commonly eat nothing but roasted

flesh. It was also argued by the χωρίζοντες, or those who attributed the authorship of the Iliad and Odyssey to separate poets, that in the Iliad only flesh is eaten by the heroes, but in the Odyssey also fish (XII. 3. 30). But as Heyne says, "*tota haec disputatio*," however interesting to idle grammarians, "*vana et inanis est;*" for the poet was not bound to mention all the things that the heroes ate; and neither the accidental mention nor the accidental omission of certain things in his verses authorizes the conclusions which were often so hastily drawn from his text. If certain of our modern theologians would apply a wisdom of this kind to the Christian Scriptures, they would save themselves some idle disputation.

VER. 765.—*Slender cornel.*

τανύφλοιος is a word that has puzzled me not a little. After much consideration, I am inclined to think that τανύφλοιος is just a poetical sounding word for ταναός. The cornel has long straight slender branches shooting up spear-like; and a long-branched tree is necessarily also long-barked, the one being the outside of the other. If a man has long legs he must also have long trousers; and a long-trousered loon will be a long-legged loon.

VER. 776.—κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστὶ, λελασμένος ἱπποσυνάων.

The effect of this line repeated in XVIII. 26, and *Od.* XXIV. 40, depends on four things—(1.) the dactylic movement, though it must be confessed a spondaic verse, in the circumstances might have been made even more effective; (2.) on the alliteration of the second and third words; (3.) on the repetition of the same root, μεγα, in juxtaposition; (4.) on the fine sound of the long vowel ω; (5.) on the fine musical close άων—so common in Homer—of the last word. Of course, such a combination of effective rhythmical elements can scarcely be looked for in a translator. I gave myself some trouble, and have done my best.

VER. 808.—*Euphorbus, Panthous' son.*

This is the well-known person whose fleshly hull Pythagoras said that he wore at Troy, before he afterwards was born in Samos as a philosopher (Philost. *Her.* p. 317; Kaiser). He dies in the next book, slain by Menelaus (XVII. 1-60), who afterwards suspended his shield as a votive offering to Herè in her famous temple near Mycenæ (Paus. II. 17. 3).

VER. 856-7.—*In life's lusty prime he joined the pithless dead.*

This passage along with others is quoted by Plato in the opening chapter of the third book of the *Republic*, where he protests against the extremely uninviting aspect of affairs in Hades, as set forth by the great national poet. In that quotation, or in the great majority of MSS. and editions, ἀνδροτῆτα is the reading, which, along with Wolf and Spitzner, I should not have a moment's hesitation in ejecting for ἀδροτῆτα. Bekker has inserted ἀρετῆτα for ἀρετήν. Irving in his *Life of Moor* tells a curious story, how that elegant scholar meant to have made this change in the celebrated Foulis edition of Homer which he superintended, but his intentions were frustrated.

BOOK XVII.

VER. 1.—*Menelaus, dear to Mars.*

The ballads of the Trojan cycle would justly have been felt to want completeness, if there had been no canto dedicated to the special glory of the brother of Agamemnon, the man to avenge the violated sanctities of whose family the thousand-masted fleet had hoisted sail. Menelaus accordingly receives his ἀριστεία in this book; and no more noble work arising out of the wrath of Achilles could have been assigned to him, than fighting for the dead body

of that hero's dearly-beloved friend. The character of the king of Sparta in the Iliad is well marked. In the graphic passage III. 213 he is described as a direct, blunt soldier, speaking to the point, but incapable of eloquence. In contrast with his brother (VI. 55), he appears particularly merciful and gentle-hearted. His forwardness to accept the challenge (III. 97), and his modesty in yielding the prize (XXIII. 602), speak equally in his favour. We feel that the man who so behaves is a perfect gentleman. Of his fortunes after the action of the Iliad closes, a full account is given in the third and fourth books of the Odyssey. He was one of the heroes who shared in the danger and the glory of the novel stratagem of the wooden horse. He left Troy early, carrying back Helen as the prize of victory, but was driven by a storm, when rounding the Malean promontory, right upon the coast of Egypt; and, after wandering about in various parts of the Mediterranean, found his way to the hollow vale of the Eurotas, in the eighth year. Here he lived in splendour and blessedness till his death, if indeed he died at all, and was not rather translated to Elysium, as old Proteus, the sea-god, prophesied. At all events, he received divine honours at Therapnae, along with Helen (Paus. III. 19. 9).

VER. 4.—*And o'er the dead sore-grieving stood.*

These combats for the dead body of a fallen champion are amongst the most characteristic elements of a Homeric battle. They are often represented on the monuments, and on the Ægina marbles form a fit subject for the decoration of one of the pediments (Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, Plate xxiii.; Müller, *Denkmähler*, vi. vii. viii.)

VER. 31-60.

These beautiful verses, relating to the sad fate of his previous Trojan self, Pythagoras used frequently to sing to the lyre (Porphyr. *Vit. Pythag.* 26). Chapman is excellent here.

VER. 168.—*And we that king should bravely bring*, etc.

Glaucus is evidently ignorant that the body of Sarpedon had

been conveyed away by divine interposition; but there is nothing in this ignorance, under the circumstances, to make men put on spectacles, and ask curious questions. As to this Lycian hero generally, there is little to say of him beyond what the verses of the Iliad contain. He survives the action of the poem, and has the honour of being slain by Ajax (Q. Smyrn. III. 278.) In a very rude and singular Vulcian vase, he appears as one of the most eager combatants round the dead body of Achilles (Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, Plate xxiii. 1).

VER. 295.—*The immortal mail which gods erst gave to Peleus.*

This was one of the presents given by the gods to Peleus at his famous marriage with Thetis (XVIII. 82-5).

VER. 250.—*Kings who eat the public bread.*

On the revenues appropriated to the ancient Greek kings, see Müller, *Dor.* ii. p. 110.

VER. 265.—ἠΰτε βοάωσιν ἐρευγομένης ἁλὸς ἔξω.

"There is no word in our language expressive of loud sound, at all comparable in effect to the Greek *βοάωσιν*." So Cowper, referring to the celebrity of this line among the ancients (Aristot. *Poet.* xxii.; Dion. Hal. *De Compos. Verb.* xv.), who tell a story (see Eustathius and the scholiast) how Solon, or Plato, or both, struck with admiration at the wonderful imitative effect of this line, threw away their own poetical attempts in despair, and betook themselves to legislation and philosophy! Now, there can be no doubt that *βοάω* is an excellent onomatopoetic word, and the particular form of it that occurs in this line even better; but I am much inclined to doubt whether, in respect of imitative power, there are not many more effective verses in the Iliad; as I think it also quite certain that the English language generally, with its batteries of masculine monosyllables, is much more dramatic in respect of sound than the Greek, and other terminational languages, where

the pictorial significance of the root is for the most part generally lost in the broad roll of the accentuated termination.

VER. 279.—*Ajax the stoutest soldier.*

Does not this characteristic of so well-known a character as Ajax now is to us, who have read through sixteen books of a long epos, seem to indicate that the fight for the body of Patroclus belonged originally to an independent ballad? My theory, as the reader knows from the Dissertations, is, that the different parts of the Iliad were composed in the first place for independent use, and therefore are not subject to the laws of that criticism which generalizes the rules of composition followed by a Virgil and a Milton.

VER. 306.—*Schedius, best of Phocians.*

Schedius, the leader of the Phocians, was honoured highly in his native country, Polygnotus, the Raphael of Greek art, having given him a place in his grand picture of Hades in the Lesche at Delphi. Along with his brother also, he had a public monument in Anticyre (Paus. x. 30. 4. and 36. 4).

VER. 446.—*For truly man in sorrows doth abound.*

Maxims of this kind demand a couplet, which Cowper and Sotheby give, but Chapman, neither here nor on any occasion. Pope amplifies, where condensation would have been more than usually appropriate. As to the sentiment (which is repeated in *Od.* XVIII. 130), a great deal too much has been made of it by various commentators. Gladstone (ii. 393) sees in it a proof of the hopeless view of human destiny which is characteristic of all heathenism; but occasional remarks of this kind about the miseries which flesh is heir to will be found in Christian writers everywhere as well as in heathen. Pliny's well-known "NIHIL NEQUE SUPERBIUS NEQUE MISERIUS HOMINE" is as true at the present day as it ever was. Man is, in truth, a very proud, and also a very paltry creature; but his pride and his paltriness, when consecrated to the service of God, and willingly subordinated to the system of which

each individual is a part, are capable of being transmuted, and are constantly being transmuted, into the noblest heroism. In fact, all strong maxims of this kind are only one aspect of the truth, and will never be taken for the whole, except by men who are labouring under some oppressive morbid sentiment to which the maxim applies, or who are eager to use it as a text to authorize some favourite theological or philosophical theory. It is amusing to see how Mr. Buckle (*Hist. Civ.* ii. 392) holds up his hands in grave protestation at certain Scottish divines of the sixteenth century, for having slandered human nature by speaking of it in precisely the same terms as those which are here used by the sunny-souled old minstrel of Asiatic Greece. Was Homer a Calvinist? or were the Calvinists, after all, not such grim monsters as we are sometimes led to imagine, but men who had in their hands no doubt a sword, and for good reasons, but blood also in their veins, and God's sunshine in their souls, and who loved a laugh and a glass of good wine as well as any Aristophanes or Socrates that ever lived?

VER. 464.—*The sacred chariot's sill.*

"Either because it was the chariot of Achilles, or because of the horses of divine brood by which it was drawn" (*Schol.*) Compare above, XVI. 407.

VER. 514.—*How it fares, lies on the knees of the gods.*

The phrase, Θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται, for *everything depends on the divine will*, evidently arose from the practice of suppliants clasping the knees of those whose protection they sought. I think it better to retain so characteristic a phrase, not being satisfied, even with Voss's,—

"Das ruhet im Schoss der seligen Götter."

Newman has "the lap of destiny"—not bad; Cowper "Heaven orders,"—which is a style of translation utterly to be reprobated, being neither Hellenic nor poetical.

VER. 547.—*The fair purpureal bow.*

Both here and in 552 I have thought it right to follow the

Germans in retaining the vague word πορφύρεος. Pope changes the word in the second line, and gives "livid," which is very questionable. Cowper takes the opposite pole of the significance of that singular word, and gives "bright" in the first line, and "radiant" in the second. But there is no proof that Homer ever uses the word πορφύρεος in the same way in which it was afterwards used by Anacreon, when he talks of the "purple Aphroditè." Besides, as Heyne says, "ut visum excludant dii, non candida ac pellucida sed nigricante nube uti solent." Shakspeare's "blue bow" (*Tempest*, IV. 1), has been quoted as an analogy to the present passage; a passage, by the way, in which the same celestial arc is called "many-coloured," affording a fine practical lesson to minute, spectacled critics of a certain class, how little is to be got by the curious logical dissection of poetical epithets in all cases.

VER. 671.—*Full mild was he, I wis, and kind.*

The poet has followed a fine instinct of nature, as well as the marked indication of popular tradition, in making Patroclus exactly the reverse of Achilles in his natural character. A stronger word than μείλιχος he could scarcely have used. Without the stimulating element of contrast, love is apt to become monotonous and stupid. In regard to this gentle and yet valiant hero generally, there is little to tell beyond what appears on the face of the Iliad. He was bound to Achilles by the ties of blood as well as of love (Schol. Pind. *Ol.* IX. 107); for, though an Opuntian by birth, he traced his lineage by two links to Ægina, the mother of Æacus. He assisted Achilles in his expedition against Telephus, before the descent on the Troad (Pind. *Ol.* IX. 105), and was counted a Myrmidon (XVIII. 10), like many Germans now-a-days, who live and die in Russian service, and pass for Russians. In the memory of the Greek people, he shared the honour of his friend Achilles (Paus. III. 19. 11, X. 30. 1). At Sigeum he was worshipped as a hero (ἐναγίσματα) along with Achilles and Antilochus (Str. XIII. 596).

VER. 694.—*Antilochus.*

The intimate relationship into which the son of Nestor, here and XVIII. 32, is brought to the hero of the poem, at the moment when the turning-point of the catastrophe arrives, gave him a prominent place in all the traditions about the Trojan war. We have him again in XXIII. 556, specially celebrated as the beloved companion of Achilles. He died at Troy by the hands of Memnon, the son of Aurora (*Od.* IV. 186), and was represented by Polygnotus, in his picture of Hades at Delphi, in a scornful attitude, with his head and face buried in his hands (Paus. X. 30. 1). He received heroic honours from the people of Ilium (Str. XIII. 596).

BOOK XVIII.

VER. 18-21.—*O son of Peleus*, etc.

These lines, whose pathetic brevity has been celebrated by Quinctilian (X. 1), are admirably criticised by Wilson (*Essays*, IV. p. 183). To him I am indebted for the important remark, that in this passage the name of Hector must stand at the end of the line. I have observed that the colloeation of words is one of the points in which even the best translators are apt to err. A man who writes from free unfettered passion, or speaks without writing, like Spurgeon, under the direct action of the creative imagination, never puts a word in a wrong place. A translator is like a man who reads a speech written by another, and may, without careful study, occasionally misplace the emphasis, or forget it altogether.

VER. 34.—*And much he feared lest with sharp steel his dear throat he might sever.*

Professor Geddes, in his masterly edition of Plato's *Phædo*,

(p. 202), remarks that no case of suicide occurs either in Homer or in the Old Testament. The fact seems to be that the hatred of life is an abnormal feeling arising as a reaction from excessive bodily or mental stimulation, not likely to occur frequently in the early and less complex ages of society.

Ver. 39-49.

The Venetian scholiast A tells us that these eleven verses were rejected by Zenodotus as being more in the manner of Hesiod (*Theog.* 240) than of Homer, who mentions his Muses, Eilithyiæ, Furies, etc. in the gross, and has not yet achieved the completeness of a formal catalogue. I have a very strong suspicion that the Ephesian was right; nevertheless "ut in re lubrica manum cohibendam duxi," to use Spitzner's judicious language. One does not like to cut large slices out of an ancient poem, where they have stood as integral parts of a traditional whole for more than two thousand years.

The names of the sisters of Thetis here given are all significant, and may be translated as follows:—(1.) The *sea-green*, or *sea-bright*; (2.) the *blooming*; (3.) the *wave-receiver*; (4.) the *Nereid of the isle*; (5.) the *Nereid of the cave*; (6.) the *runner*; (7.) the *briny*; (8.) the *wave-racer*; (9.) the *Nereid of the rocky shore*; (10.) of the *salt marshes*; (11.) the *honeyed*; (12.) the *shouter?* (13.) *running on both sides*; (14.) *glorious, splendid*; (15.) the *giver?* (16.) the *first*; (17.) the *bringer*; (18.) the *powerful one*; (19.) the *receiver*; (20.) the *surrounder*; (21.) of the *beautiful husband*; (22.) the *giver*; (23.) *all voice*; (24.) the *milk-white*; (25.) the *infallible*; (26.) the *truthful*; (27.) *queen of beauty*; (28.) the *famous*; (29.) *wedded to voice*; (30.) *queen of voice?* (31.) the *shiner?* (32.) *mountain-rusher?* (33.) the *sandy*.

Of these names, Nos. 25 and 26 refer to the prophetic power supposed to reside in Nereus, Proteus, and other sea-gods.

Ver. 109, 110.—*Wrath that like honey sweetly slides*, etc.

I do not think that the mixture of metaphors is particularly

happy, whereby honey ends in smoke; but the reader must blame the poet, not me.

VER. 141.

Your hoary sire, who dwells in the broad deep-bosomed tide.

Nereus, the father of Thetis, is rarely mentioned in Homer, and always under the familiar designation of the Old Man of the Sea (I. 358; *Od.* XXIV. 58). This was his general title, for we find it not only in Hesiod (*Theog.* 233),

> "Then to Pontus was born his eldest son, the prophetic,
> Truth-declaring old man; for so they delight to call him.
> Nereus, the truthful and mild; for never in heart he forgetteth
> Judgment, and righteous doom with gentle word he declareth,"

and among the people of Gythium in Sparta (Paus. III. 21. 8), but the exact same words are applied to Proteus in *Od.* IV. 384. See also the image of Nereus with hoary hair and long-pointed beard in a Vulcian vase, *Brit. Museum*, No. 671. One easily conceives why the ocean, like the mountains, should be spoken of as ancient, as indeed, no doubt, both water and earth are much older than ephemeral man; but why the sea-gods should be thought prophetic, unless it be that old age and long experience bring insight, is not so clear. The word *Nereus* (E. M. *ναρόν*) means water, *νερό* now in the common usage of the spoken language for *ὕδωρ*.

VER. 219.—*A shrill-tongued trumpet.*

This is the only passage in the Iliad where *σάλπιγξ* occurs. The corresponding verb is used in a poetical simile (XXI. 387). From this the careful scholiasts take occasion to observe, that though Homer knew the trumpet as an instrument, he knew also that it was not generally used by the heroes in the Trojan war. The ancients attributed its invention to the Etruscans (see Smith's *Dict. Ant.* Art. *Tuba;* Müller, *Etrusker*, i. 397).

VER. 249.—*Then rose Polydamas, Panthous' son.*

Polydamas, the son of Panthous, and the brother of Euphorbus,

appears prominently here and elsewhere in the Iliad (XI. 57, XII. 60, 210, XIII. 725, XIV. 449), as the prudent adviser of Hector, who, however, often follows his own impetuous courses, and is forced to lament his heroic imprudence when it is too late (XXII. 10). I do not think that the words in ver. 250 imply that he was a professional *μάντις*, but only a man of uncommon sagacity. Helenus is the Trojan soothsayer.

VER. 251.—*In one night both greeted mortal light.*

Some of the ancients quoted this verse to prove that Homer knew astrology! These men found everything in Homer, as Hebrew scholars of a certain school used to find the whole philosophy of Newton in the first chapter of Genesis. There is no nonsense like learned nonsense—

> "And many a stupid boy at school
> Might laugh at his master, the learnèd fool!"

VER. 382.—*Fair Charis of the shining snood.*

No deities are more characteristically Greek than the GRACES, and accordingly we find their worship prominent in the oldest seats of Hellenic civilisation, specially in Orchomenus (Paus. IX. 38. 1; Pind. *Ol.* XIV. 4; Müller, *Orchom.* VIII). They naturally appear as the attendants of Venus—for what is grace, properly defined, but beauty in motion?—but are mentioned in Homer only incidentally, though in such a manner as to indicate their already thoroughly established position in the court of Olympus. The passages where they occur in the Iliad are v. 338, XIV. 267, and XVIII. 51. In the Od. (VIII. 364), they bathe and anoint the queen of beauty in her odorous Paphian temple, and they bestow beauty and every personal charm on whom they will (*Od.* VI. 18). With regard to their parentage and their number, there was great uncertainty among the most ancient Greeks (Paus. IX. 35), but the number three, so familiar to us, is found in Hesiod (*Theog.* 907), and this, as in the case of the Furies, came universally to prevail. As to their relation to Hephæstus, the inconsistency was of course noticed

by the ancients, with which Homer gives the celestial smith Aphroditè to wife in the Od. (VIII. 267), and one of the Graces in the present passage; and those who attributed the two poems to different authors, of course found an argument here in favour of their doctrine. But they forgot that Homer was no doctor of theology, and had no vocation to bring consistency into the sacred legends of his countrymen. The significance of the myth was the same according to both versions. Works of art, of which Vulcan is master, require beauty and grace for their acceptance amongst men, that is, Vulcan must be wedded to Venus or to the Graces. As to the OLYMPIAN FORGER himself, who performs such a prominent part in this book, there is no trace in the Greek mythology, as we now have it, of the worship of pure elemental fire—the *agni* (Lat. *ignis*) of the Rig-Veda. Hephæstus, no doubt, as "the dear son of Herè" (XIV. 166), may well be considered as originally a personification of the fire which is generated in the earth, and shows its presence by volcanoes, hot springs, and the like (Welcker, *g. l.* i. 109); but in Homer, and in the actual faith of the Greek people, we find no traces of the worship of fire except either as the fire of the domestic hearth (ἑστία, or *Vesta*), or as the fire which makes iron and other intractable materials yield to the plastic faculty in man in the creation of the most useful arts. The Homeric Hephæstus is essentially only a transcendental worker in brass and iron, and in this capacity he claims brotherhood with the wise Athenè, the goddess of practical wisdom, and with her exercises a fostering care over artisans and elegant artists of every class (Plato, *Leg.* XI. 920 D). In Homer, every great work of mechanical art is attributed to his cunning craft (I. 607, II. 101, VIII. 195, XV. 310). The prominence of his name in the early legends and in the worship of Athens, is naturally connected with the extraordinary activity and plastic inventiveness of that subtle and practical people.

VER. 397.—*Had not Eurynome and Thetis hid me.*

Here we have what seems to be a version of the lame smith's

precipitation from heaven different from that presented in I. 590. The most significant thing in this passage is the reception of the god of fire into the watery element, which may either have the general significance, as we have already seen (VI. 130), that the depths of ocean formed a safe place of refuge for other gods, or may indicate that special connexion between the presence of water and fiery action which ancient cosmical theory (Justin. *Hist.* IV. 1) and modern chemical experiment agree in recognising as one of the grand facts of the material universe. EURYNOME, who is named here, was one of the Oceanides, or daughters of ocean. She had a shrine on the banks of the Neda, in Arcadia, and was worshipped with great honours by the Phigalians. Her image indicated a very early period of Greek art, being in the mermaid type, half fish, half woman (Paus. VIII. 41. 4).

VER. 497.—*A market-place, where rose an angry strife.*

This picture of a law-suit in the heroic age is interesting in various ways. In the first place, we see here the thorough Greek and English fashion of doing everything before the people—in open court, as we say,—no written pleadings with shut doors, as in Prussia, Russia, and other despotic countries. Again, the judges are the elders, the old men, γέροντες, the same grave and weighty class of whom the Senate was composed, that from the famous seven hills of Rome founded an empire as wide as the world. Then the subject—a dispute about blood-money—is sufficiently characteristic of the violent character of the times, which we are so apt to paint in rose colour, by help of the fine phrases "patriarchal" and "heroic." There is a great difficulty, however, in the last line, τῷ δόμεν, κ.τ.λ., where the phrase δίκην ἰθύντατα εἴποι, seems, according to the plain use of language, to refer to the judges; and yet, if it does so, the dignity of these γέροντες seems altogether annihilated, and the people take the law into their own hands. This appears to me to be anything but consistent with the position of δικασπόλοι ἄνδρες (I. 238) in these early times; neither does it seem to me at all probable that *court-dues* or *deposit-money*—like the Athenian πρυτανεῖα, to

fall to the judge—is a thing that naturally belongs to the state of society which Homer depicts. If it were possible, therefore, I should feel much inclined to consider the talents as only another name for the ποινή or blood-money in ver. 498, and to translate the last line, with N.,—

"To give to him whose argument more rightly might be proven."

But the meaning of the words is against this, and the weight of authority both ancient and modern. Glad. (iii. 60) assumes "fees upon the administration of justice" as distinctly proved by this passage.

VER. 570.—*A pleasing plaintive lay he sang.*

The word λίνον in this passage has caused great controversies among the learned. I have carefully read both the ancient and the modern comments on the subject, and have formed a very decided opinion. First, with regard to the meaning of the word λίνος, and the grammatical construction of the passage, I dismiss as a frigid conceit of the grammarians the idea that λίνον signified the string of the lyre, originally made of flax. Of this stupid assertion there is not a shadow of a proof. Neither was there the slightest occasion for resorting to so strange a conjecture. For the natural and obvious meaning of the verse is, that the boy played on the lyre, and with his clear tenor voice sung the λίνος to it; and that this so plain explanation is accurately in accordance with the usage of the language, Sp. in his short and sensible *Excursus* (XXIX.) has distinctly shown. This grammatical difficulty being settled, we have only to ask, What was the λίνος which the peasants here sang? On this subject we have the fullest information in various passages of the ancient writers (Paus. IX. 29. 3; Herod. II. 79; Poll. IV. 55; Athen. XIV. 619; I. Hesiod *apud* Eustath. *in hunc locum*), in all which passages a national song of a plaintive tone is described of the same character as the Greek λίνος; and this λίνος is characterized as a plaintive ditty which Greek peasants sang at the time of the hottest weather, when the sun began to decline south-

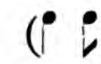
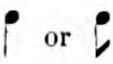
ward; and it was conceived as sung in honour of one Linus, who met with a violent death; though in reality the death which this ditty celebrated seems, according to a very generally recognised mythological interpretation, to have been that of nature, in the period of exhaustion which follows the activity of summer and precedes the torpor of winter. This whole matter has been lucidly set forth by Welcker in a special essay (*Kleine Schriften*, i. 8-55), full of that accurate learning, fine taste, and sound judgment which are so characteristic of this veteran philologer. The only point that may stagger some thoughtful reader is, how this λίνος can have been a plaintive song, sung as it was on such a festive occasion, and accompanied with dancing. To this objection Professor Welcker has given a reply founded on a philosophical consideration of the character of all popular songs. That they are in fact often plaintive, and those which are most popular the most so, is a fact which any man with his ears open may study in Scotland, in Italy, in Germany, in Servia, or in Spain; but, though plaintive, they are not unpleasant, it being the peculiarity of music as an art that even the most sad feelings become agreeable when invested with its peculiar charms. But further, I would say, judging *a priori*, that the popular songs of peasants engaged in severe harvest or vintage work at the hottest season of the year *must* be slow; that certainly is not the time or the season for dancing reels; and though the Greek can be as merry as a Frenchman or an Irishman when the humour comes, a Greek peasant is like other peasants, apt to accompany his slow work with slow feelings and slow music, and a slow, not at all boisterous sort of dancing, as I myself observed with surprise when I first saw the *Romaika* danced at a popular festival among the hills near Athens. I therefore think myself fully justified in preserving a quiet tone in the three last lines of this rustic description; for unless this be done, we shall be bound to suppose, contrary to the whole weight of ancient testimony, that the λίνος was a song without any particular character, and as much of a jig as of an elegy; or, if not this, then that old Homer has been caught nodding, and, being unskilful in music, has set a

merry dance to a sad tune. But this I will not believe. Homer might err in minute points of distant topography, but in whatever concerns popular music and dancing he may be regarded as infallible.

VER. 590.—*A dancing plot the god then made.*

We have here a most curious and interesting passage illustrative of the influence of Crete on early Greek musical and orchestric art. For it is impossible to read these lines without feeling that we have before us a peculiar exhibition of that sort which the Greeks called ὑπόρχημα, that is, music accompanied with a mimetic or dramatic dance (Proclus, *Chrest.* apud *Phot.* σλθ′; Gaisford, *Hephæst.* Lips. 1832, p. 421; and Athen. i. p. 15), where the author quotes the account of a curious dramatic dance performed by the Thracians in the presence of Xenophon and the Greeks (*Anab.* VI. 1. 5-11). Now we know that these ὑπορχήματα were of Cretan origin (Sosibius, apud Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* II. 127); and Plutarch, in his *Essay on Music* (p. 1134 Xyl.) informs us that Thaletas, a Cretan of Gortyn (665 B.C., Clinton) was the principal actor in the second important stage of development through which the national music of Sparta went, Terpander being the great name connected with the first stage. The same writer tells us in the same passage that the improvements made by Thaletas consisted principally in the introduction of the Pæonian or Cretic measure, which are one (Arist. Quinct.: Meibom., lib. i. p. 55). Here, therefore, we have Homer testifying to the existence of a species of dance at an early period in Crete, which afterwards, transported to Sparta, and thence to Delphi, had an important influence in modifying Hellenic worship and culture. For that the ὑπόρχημα was originally a religious dance, and intimately connected with the πρύλις, or sacred dance, which the Cretan Curetes performed in honour of Jove (Callim. *Jov.* 52 *ibique*, Spanheim), is not to be doubted. "Music and dancing indeed," as Strabo sagely discourses (x. 467 c), "have something in them that naturally lead us to God; and, if it has been well said that men are then most like to

the gods when they are doing good, it may be said, perhaps, with more truth, that they are nearest to God when they feel most happy," that is, when they are inclined to dance and sing (comp. Psalm lxviii. 25). Closely connected with the sacred dances of the Curetes and the ὑπορχήματα, were the well-known Pyrrhic dance, and the σίκιννις, which had more of a comic character (Athen. XIV. 630 B). That there was something of the Pyrrhic character, or the imitation of a war-dance in the Cretan dance of the Homeric shield, seems indicated by the strange circumstance of the "knives," which could only be used in a sort of mock fight, like that described by Xenophon.

I have only to remark further, that the Cretan or Pæonic foot ( or ) in which the Cretan ὑπορχήματα were composed, is full of vigour and vivacity, being characterized at once by the frequent recurrence of the accent, and by the predominance of short syllables. Of this the ὑπόρχημα of Pratinas, preserved in Athenæus (XIV. 617 c) is sufficient evidence. Generally lively and joyful dances were called Gnossian (Soph. *Ajax*, 700). The vivacity of the Cretan dancers naturally led also to their characteristic habit of diversifying the trip of feet with the exercise of tumbling—τοῖς γὰρ Κρησὶ ἡ τε ὄρχησις ἐπιχώριος καὶ τὸ κυβιστᾶν. It has been generally supposed that the taunt of Æneas to Merion in XVI. 617 had a reference to the well-known dexterity of the Cretans in the use of their legs. Those who wish to examine this matter further, will find it discussed with great learning, sense, and sobriety, in Hoeckh's *Creta* (vols. i. and iii.), a book to which I have been chiefly indebted for the materials of this note.

So much for the dance. As for the artist to whose cunning workmanship this production of divine skill is compared, the first question of course is, whether he was a man at all, or, to use the fashionable German phraseology, only the "mythical ancestor of the race of Dædalidæ in Athens." As I do not believe in the system of turning all legendary names into symbols, it seems to me the most natural thing to say that DÆDALUS was a real Cretan carver

of sacred images in wood at the time when Minos exercised sovereignty in the Mediterranean, and when the relations of various kinds between Attica and Crete, if not always very agreeable, were at least very intimate. The fact that the word δαίδαλον is significant, and means *skilful*, or anything skilfully done (v. 60; Paus. IX. 3), does not in the least militate against this view; for all names were originally significant, and are still, when nature gets free play. I call Dædalus a Cretan rather than an Athenian, because I believe, with Curtius (*Gr. Ges.* i. 61), that a notable Cretan civilisation in the Mediterranean preceded by several centuries the boasted culture of the Athenians, because Homer, our oldest authority, distinctly mentions Dædalus in connexion with Cretan art, and because the Athenians, who were the most brilliant of all liars, were constantly inventing fables, by which they transferred to their own soil the inventions and the benefits which they, in common with all Europe, had received from the East. Hence they gravely tell us that Dædalus was of the race of the Erechtheids, and of the Athenian blood-royal (Diod. Sic. IV. 76); but the monuments of the art of Dædalus, which Pausanias knew (IX. 40. 2) were all either in Crete or in Bœotia, and none in Attica. With regard to the style of these works, that they were simple and rude enough, compared with the finished grace of the later art in Greece, is certain. Diod. (I. 97) says that they are in the stiff, formal Egyptian style, now so familiar to the modern eye in our famous museums; and Paus. (II. 4. 5) says they were ἀτοπώτερα τὴν ὄψιν, and yet had something ἔνθεον in their expression. The admirers of Cimabue and the pre Raphaelite style of sacred art in mediæval Europe, will easily understand this apparent contradiction between the awkward and the sublime co-existent in the same work. The χορὸς Ἀριάδνης here described by Homer, or something which was accepted for it, seems to have been a bas-relief on white marble, according to the account of Pausanias (IX. 40. 2). On Dædalus see Hoeckh, *Creta*, iii. p. 381; Smith's *Dict.*; and Müller, *Archæol.* 70.

So much for the special points in this beautiful episode—for so it may be called—of the shield, that seemed to demand notice.

But from the "shield of Achilles" generally, many grave questions have started, both in ancient and modern times, which shall now be shortly considered.

(1.) The fancy of Heyne that the whole passage, or the greater part of it, is an interpolation, is utterly absurd. If Thetis, a goddess, was to procure from Hephæstus, the great Olympian artist, a shield for her godlike son, and if she goes with pomp and circumstance to receive it, surely the thing itself ought to be no common thing, and demands a full and expanded description. When trumpets blow on the stage, we don't expect an unvalued person to appear, but a king and all his retinue.

(2.) That the art of working not only in wood, but in brass, iron, and other metals, had attained to some considerable degree of proficiency in Homer's time, is evident both from the frequent allusions to such matters in his works, and from the degree of progress known to have been early attained in those arts by other nations, with whom the Asiatic Greeks were in constant and familiar intercourse. Whatever was known to the Phœnicians in the time of Solomon was in all probability known also to the Greeks of Asia Minor in the time of Homer.

(3.) But we have no warrant to assert that whatever works of art are described in Homer's Iliad—assuming the poet to have in every supposed case described what he actually had seen,—the same are to be held as having actually existed in Asia at the time of the Trojan war. The poet's general harmony with the times which he describes may be conceded; but it does not follow that he is curiously and scrupulously to exclude everything that belonged to a later age than that which he is describing. Enough for him that there was no poetical incongruity in attributing to the times of the Trojan war certain inventions which might have been a century or two later than that event. Poets are not to be cross-questioned by curious critics and learned professors on the history of scientific discovery.

(4.) We are not entitled to assert that the poet ever saw any ornamented shield at all approaching to the rich and curious work-

manship of this shield of Achilles. This is altogether a miraculous shield; it is meant to be superhuman, and is no more to be taken for a prose reality than the enchanted castle of steel in Ariosto.

(5.) Nevertheless, it is conceived and described by the poet—as every real poet must conceive and describe—under the laws of probability. It is a shield which a very skilful artist could make; and the designs on it are such as could gracefully be disposed upon the surface of such a shield as Greeks were accustomed to wield. The stupid objection to this place of Homer that it describes what could not possibly have been designed, is best answered by the fact that Flaxman actually has designed it within the required limits.

(6.) The subject designed by the celestial artist on this orbicular surface is plain enough, and possesses a grand unity and completeness. It is a picture of the round world, both physical and moral. The stars and the sky and the ocean mark the boundaries of the physical system; the town and the country, the grand moments of rural and city life, marriage, law, peace, war, ploughing, harvest, etc., give the most striking features of the world of human society.

(7.) The propriety of this subject for the shield of Achilles, and indeed for any shield at all, has been disputed by critics more anxious to appear wise above the poet than regardful of the most obvious principles of the poetic art. It is impertinent to seek for a special congruity in the designs of the shield, either with the Iliad as a warlike poem, or with Achilles as its hero. What the minstrel wanted was to entertain and delight his hearers; and this was to be done, not by a pedantic adherence to the one law of congruity, but by a free use of the great principles of variety and contrast, of which the Supreme Wisdom everywhere makes such effective use in the constitution of the universe.[1]

[1] Critical impertinence and poetical conceit certainly never went further than when De la Motte, in the ninth book of his remodelled Iliad, actually draws a sponge over the whole Homeric pictures of the shield, and introduces more appropriate ones of his own invention.

(8.) The allegorical interpretations put upon certain parts of this shield by Demo and others (Eustath. *in* v. 481), are forced, far-fetched, and contrary to the genius of Homer.

(9.) The structure of the shield, and the disposition of the various subjects on its disk, have been well described by Mr. W. W. Lloyd (*The Homeric Design of the Shield of Achilles*, Lond. 1854). In that work Mr. Lloyd represents the plates of the shield as so super-imposed that the rims of the several metals become visible in a set of circular zones or belts successively diminishing towards the centre, so that the whole thickness of the plates would only exist at the central boss.[1] In this central space he places the earth, the sea, and the constellations. In the outmost rim, or ἄντυξ, he places the ocean-current, as an edge or border to the whole. Then in the concentric belts, between that and the central space, he disposes of the various scenes of the description in such a way that the separate subjects are kept in separate zones; and those subjects which, for artistic exhibition, demand the largest space, are placed in the largest zones; that is, in those nearest the rim. This necessity of art leads to a departure from the exact order of the Homeric description; but there is no reason to suppose that Homer tied himself down to the exact order of super-position. Accordingly, Mr. Lloyd places the Cretan dance in the first zone nearest the centre; in the next belt come the herdsmen, the sheep, the lions, and the bull—two scenes (573-589). In the third space from the centre come the ploughing scene, the reaping-scene, and the vintage; and lastly, in the large broad belt next the border, he places the scenes in the two cities (490-540). The various groups into which the picture falls are sufficiently indicated by the poet, who always commences a new great division with the words, ἐν δὲ ποίησε, ἐν δ' ἐτίθει, or, ἐν δὲ ποίκιλλε. Those who wish to realize the details of the shield more fully may consult Mr. Lloyd's book, and Flaxman's model in the British Museum.

[1] This theory, he thinks, explains satisfactorily the line xx. 275.

BOOK XIX.

This being the book in which Achilles rises in his might gloriously to assert his pre-eminence as a warrior, and to achieve the catastrophe of the poem, we shall set down here briefly the few notices with regard to him that lie before and beyond the action of the Iliad. His birth and boyhood in Thessaly are marked by those traits with which legend delights to signalize the man who is destined to achieve great results for his people by the early sacrifice of his own life. His ocean-mother, aware that he had to fight his way through mortal perils, endeavoured to secure his immortality by burning out his mortal part in purgatorial fire during the night, and every day anointing him with ambrosia. But this process was checked in the bud by his father Peleus, who, like other mortal parents, lacked faith sufficient to enable him to allow the means by which alone the superhuman result could be achieved. The young hero was then committed to the care of the wise Centaur Chiron, trained up in all warlike arts, and in the gentle use of music, and "fed, 'as became so fierce a champion,' on the hearts of lions and the marrow of wild-boars and bears" (Apoll.) When he was only nine years old, Calchas gave forth a prophecy that Troy could not be taken without Achilles; whereupon his mother, anxious to deceive the Fates, conveyed her son to the island of Scyros, where those events happened which were before narrated (IX. 668). His exploits on the field of Troy till the death of Hector are contained in the Iliad. After the death of their champion the Trojan fortunes began visibly to wane; but the death of one bulwark of Asiatic despotism was not sufficient for the glorification of the great type of early Hellenic chivalry; so Penthesilea, the fair queen of the Amazons, and Memnon, the swart-faced offspring of Aurora, are brought into the field successively, to signalize his prowess and bow before his might. Both these events are recorded at length in the post-Homeric epos of Quintus Smyrnæus (Books I. and II.), formed

the principal subject-matter of the Æthiopiad, one of the subdivisions of the great Trojan cycle of legendary lore, and presented a rich material to the decorators of vases and other articles of Hellenic art (Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, plates xxi. and xxii.) Victorious in these two encounters, the young Thessalian demigod must now yield to fate; he fell ignobly, as it seemed, by the hand of Paris, but really by the secret machinations of Apollo, a god whom no mortal could resist (xxi. 278, xxii. 359; Hygin. 107). His death stands pictured to modern eyes in one of the most valuable of all ancient monuments, the pediment of the Æginetan temple (Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, p. 544). After his funeral rites were performed the possession of his god-forged armour was the subject of the notable strife between Ajax and Ulysses; Polyxena, a daughter of Priam, of whom he was enamoured, was sacrificed to his Manes (Hygin. 110); and a monument was erected to him on a far-seen promontory of the Troad at Sigeum, on the coast of the broad Hellespont (*Od.* xxiv. 80; Str. xiii. 596). But notwithstanding his death, he enjoyed a sort of immortality upon earth; for he was found, somehow, upon the island of Leuce, near the mouth of the Danube or the Dnieper, in blissful intercourse, like Dr. Faust, with the many-husbanded Spartan beauty (Paus. iii. 19. 11; Schol. Pind. *Nem.* iv. 79; Eur. *Iphig. Taur.* 436). The Thessalians offered sacrifice to him annually as to a god (Philost. *Her.* xix.) His character in the Iliad speaks for itself. His faults were those of the age in which he lived, of his time of life, of his race, and his temperament; he erred by the excess of a just self-esteem, not by the encroachments of an unbridled selfishness; while his virtues are such as belong only to good men, and of which only the best men are capable in such intensity.

Ver. 77.—*Not in the midst, but standing near his seat.*

This line is bracketed as doubtful both by Wolf and Baümlein, but not by Spitzner. The variations in the text which the scholiasts note seem to me to have arisen from the stupidity of certain commentators, who could not see what reason the context contains

for any peculiarity in the manner in which the king addressed the people. But it is plain that there was an unusual throng of both soldiers and sailors, especially of the adherents of Achilles, whose obstreperous sympathy seems somewhat to have discomposed the king of men. He therefore does not come boldly out into the middle of the encircling assembly, as was his wont—in all likelihood he could not do so for the crowd,—but he stands up, and remains close by his own chair, as men do in our public meetings and in Parliament, whereas in France the speaker goes to the *tribune*, which corresponds to the ἐν μέσσοισι of the present passage. As to the notion which Chapman has unfortunately taken up from some dreaming scholiast, that the king remained sitting on account of his wound, this is nonsense ; for Agamemnon's wound was in the hand (XI. 252), not in the leg, and he speaks of himself (79) as standing, not sitting. Nothing indeed short of absolute inability to stand would have led an old Homeric king to perpetrate the gross impropriety of addressing the army sitting, like a German professor drawing slowly from deep wells of ponderous erudition.

VER. 197.—*And let Talthybius a boar prepare for sacrifice.*

On the κάπρος Heyne quotes that in later times a boar was solemnly sacrificed to Ζεὺς ὅρκιος at Olympia beside a statue of Jove in the Council-hall, which bore a thunderbolt in each hand (Paus. v. 24. 2). On the form of solemn oaths, see above, III. 275 and 292.

VER. 209.—*Down my own throat no drop shall pass.*

Here we have the true philosophy of FASTING. It is natural for the body to suffer along with the soul. So David in the Old Testament (2 Sam. xii. 16), so the precept of our Saviour in the New (Matt. ix. 15). Compulsory fasting, imposed by sacerdotal ordinance as in the Greek and Roman Churches, may possibly have its hygienic uses ; but in a religious point of view it seems to be as absurd to fast as to get drunk for the glory of God.

VER. 212.—*His feet towards the door.*

The scholiasts remark the symbolical character of this position: the dead person is going to leave his house and his earthly home for ever; therefore his feet are towards the door.

VER. 326.—*My dear-loved son who now in Scyros dwells.*

As the son of the hero of the Iliad, Neoptolemus, or Pyrrhus as he was originally called, naturally plays no mean part in the legends that grew out of the great Trojan expedition. Pyrrhus was born at Scyros under the circumstances mentioned above, IX. 668. In this distant island he remained till near the very close of the last year of the war, when Ulysses, the artful negotiator, was despatched to bring both him and Philoctetes to the battle-field, where their presence was necessary to fulfil the decrees of Jove. It is in this part of his career that he performs the characteristic part—so like his father—in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles. At the taking of Troy he exhibited all the tact, valour, and fierceness of Achilles; and the recital of his brave deeds by Ulysses causes the shade of his father in Hades to stride through the pale fields of asphodel with a benign satisfaction (*Od.* XI. 504). According to one tradition, made familiar by Virgil, he dragged the feeble old discrowned monarch ruthlessly from the altar of the family Zeus (Paus. IV. 17. 3). In the famous picture of the departure from Troy by Polygnotus, Pyrrhus is the only Greek who is represented as still pursuing the work of slaughter when the others are thinking of their return (Paus. X. 26. 1). After the capture of Troy, Homer represents him as living quietly at Phthia, and receiving Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus, in marriage (*Od.* III. 189; IV. 5). How he afterwards came from his native country to Epirus is variously narrated; but certain it is that he did settle there, and was the reputed ancestor of the famous race of Epirotic princes that bore his name and performed a famous part in history (Paus. I. 11). In that country he was believed to have married Andromachè (Virgil, *Æn.* III.) His career was ended at Delphi,

in a way which the pious Pausanias notices as an instance of divine retribution; for, as he had slain Priam by the altar of Zeus, so himself was slain beside the altar of Apollo, whether by Orestes or by some other hand the legend knows not certainly. But whatever was the cause of his violent death, he had the honour of being canonized, was worshipped as a hero by the Delphians, and appeared with other miraculous champions to defend the sacred rock of Apollo from the attacks of Brennus and his rude Celtic invaders (Paus. I. 4, and X. 23. 3). Altogether Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, so lived and died as the son of such a father ought to have lived and died. Legend is always true to the great natural congruities of blood and family.

With regard to the text in this place, some of the old scholiasts, and the principal modern critics, are most certainly right in bracketing line 327, which is not only needless, but contradictory to the context which immediately follows. For, as Spitzner remarks, "Achillem de filii morte minus fuisse sollicitum proxima docent aperte." The other reasons of rejection given by the scholiast are worthless. It is seldom indeed that that class of men know to distinguish an iron sword from a wooden one. They are innocent enough to think that both cut.

Ver. 365-368.

ἀθετοῦνται στίχες τέσσαρες, schol. A. "Est enim ridiculum Achillem dentibus frendere" (Heyne). Right. I have not the slightest hesitation in ejecting these four lines. The poet might have written them, but they do not belong to this place.

Ver. 407.

White-armed Herè to the dumb brute gave articulate speech.

Why Juno rather than Pallas lends to the lips of these noble animals the speech of reasoning men has been asked, but cannot be answered. If a man has many friends one or the other may be at hand to help him in a difficulty; perhaps this is all. Why the Furies should restrain the miraculously-opened mouth when the

message was once delivered, is more easy to say; for the Furies, like Jupiter and the Fates, represent the eternal order of things, against which nothing can be done with impunity, and which is sensibly disturbed by such a phenomenon as these voiceful steeds of the great Phthian captain, or the BOS LOCUTUS of Livy. The high functions of the Furies as the ματροκασιγνῆται of the Fates, are most distinctly seen in the concluding chorus of Æschylus (*Eumen.* 920).

BOOK XX.

VER. 7.—*The Rivers came, save only Ocean's flood.*

I can imagine no cause for the non-appearance of Ocean here, except that the writer of these lines regarded him as one of the hoary and primeval, but now practically superseded gods. As an antediluvian primeval power only does Ocean appear in the *Prometheus* of Æschylus, the action of which tragedy belongs to a time when the sovereignty of Jove was not yet firmly established. The position of these superseded gods may be compared to that of retired exiled monarchs, who, in times of revolution, live indeed, and receive courtesies, but do not reign, and have no subjects. This seems also to be substantially Gladstone's view (ii. 273). The only other way of dealing with the matter would be, with Hermann and Bothe, to reject the three lines (7-9) as a stupid interpolation; but this is an extreme measure, which, considering the fragmentary and not seldom contradictory nature of our mythological materials, seems in nowise warranted.

VER. 72.—*Hermes, sure prop of sinking wight.*

The word σῶκος occurs only here. There is no dispute about the meaning of it, for the cognate verb occurs in Æsch. *Eumen.*

36, and in Soph. *Elect.* 119. Apollonius (*Lex.*) says that when applied to Hermes, it may be considered as equivalent to the κρατύς which qualifies Ἀργειφόντης in XVI. 181. Hermes, as the general helper, requires of course to be always strong, sure, steady, and in every way trustworthy; this is the meaning of σῶκος, which my version, I hope, fully expresses.

VER. 127.—*Even as the Fate his thread did weave.*

I quite agree with Glad. (ii. 287), that "there is only the minutest savour of the proper idea of Fate in the word αἶσα." Nevertheless, if we compare the phraseology of this passage with that of Od. VII. 197, we shall see that we have here the germ of those three celestial spinners, now familiar to every schoolboy, who twine the thread of human fortunes, and cut it at their pleasure. I quite agree, however, with Nitzsch, in his commentary on this passage, that not even here are we to imagine that Homer had the three Fates of a later period already present to his mind under the word Κατακλῶθες. These three Fates are to be referred to the same period of systematization of the Greek mythology which produced the three Furies; very near Homer, no doubt, as we see in Hesiod, but not therefore Homeric.

VER. 131.

'Tis hard for mortal men to look immortals in the face.

The sentiment here expressed reminds us of the striking verse in Exodus xxxiii. 20. Pausanias proves the truth of Homer's observation, by relating two stories of persons who had penetrated into the inner sanctuary of the temple of Isis, and had seen wonderful visions of gods; but when they came out into the profane light, they forthwith died, a just reward for their πολυπραγμοσύνη and τόλμη (x. 32. 10). In modern times, however, the American spiritualists see the gods face to face, and fetch no harm, as witness the curious circumstances in the life of *Jackson Davis*, prefixed to his remarkable work, the "*Great Harmonia.*"

VER. 135.—ἠμέας, κ.τ.λ.

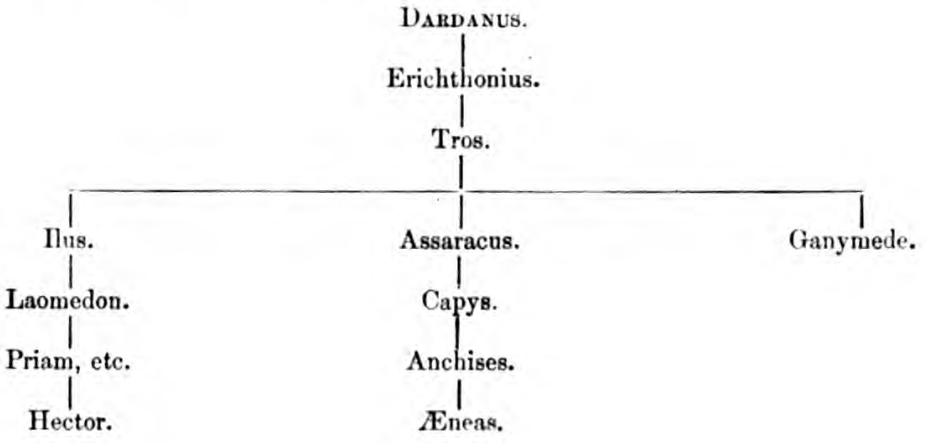
This is a stupid line, is bracketed by Spitzner, and well deserves to be thrown out. It may have been lugged in here by some unskilful reciter from VIII. 211, where it is convenient and necessary.

VER. 145.—*The lofty mound of Hercules.*

See below of Laomedon, ver. 215.

VER. 215-241.

We have here a remarkable passage of popular Trojan genealogy, with regard to which Gladstone (i. p. 26) says that "Homer has not scrupled to make some sacrifices of poetical beauty and propriety to his historic aims." I don't believe that the minstrel ever had any "historic aims" as distinct from the general exercise of his calling as a popular singer, which bound him to sing the traditions of his country, of which genealogy, founded, no doubt, on fact, but not curiously accurate, was an essential part. These genealogies are introduced here and in many other places (as in Book VI.) because the poet's audience liked to hear them, and because, among all healthy-minded peoples, untainted by the democratic spirit of irreverence, no associations are more powerful than those connected with family and pedigree. The genealogical tree of the Trojan royal family given here runs thus:—



On the character and connexions of the Trojan people, as they may be supposed to be represented in the history of their earliest kings, I am not prepared to enter into any speculations; but if they were, as what evidence we have leads us to assume, a mixed people, in which the Greek element was dominant (Rückert, *Troja*, i. 1, 2; Dionys. Hal. *Arch.* i. 61; Str. x. 472), this will fully explain the fact that in Homer they do not appear, in religion, or in any other striking feature, to differ much from the Greeks, the original Bebrycian or barbarian element in their population, with its characteristic Asiatic idolatries, having been pushed into the background. As to the several royal persons in this list, there is little to be noted. Tradition brought Dardanus either from Arcadia (Dionys. Hal. i. 60), or Italy (Serv. *Æn.* ix. 10), or from Crete (Str. *l. c.*); and in favour of this last origin the geographer felt, as we must all do now with more decision, that the element of comparative philology manifested in the topographical nomenclature of both countries pleaded very strongly. On the transference of the original Dardanus, the capital of the Trojan empire, to Ilium, Plato (*Laws*, 681 E) has an interesting remark. The next name, ERICHTHONIUS, as the geographer justly observes (XIII. 604), indicates some connexion with Attica, or at least with the language of Attica. On his three thousand mares, Maclaren, in his masterly work on the Plain of Troy (p. 126) has some interesting calculations, strikingly confirmative of the habitual realism of the poet's fancy. TROS, the third king, gave up his beautiful son Ganymede to Jove, to serve as cupbearer in heaven, in return for which the Thunderer bestowed on him a famous brood of celestial horses (Paus. v. 24). ILUS is celebrated as the founder of Ilium, to which he gave his name (Apoll. III. 12. 3). His sepulchral mound is frequently alluded to in the Iliad (x. 415, XI. 372, XXIV. 349). LAOMEDON occupies a more prominent place on this family canvas, more, however, as often happens with political celebrities, by his vices than by his virtues. For, though he had the happiness to make the hands of the immortal gods contribute to his grandeur, in raising the walls of his famous city, their undeserved grace, instead

of fostering his piety, only roused his insolence. He refused to pay Apollo and Poseidon the bargained wage of their labour, and by this sin made himself the victim of their righteous wrath (VI. 23, VII. 452, XXI. 442; Apoll. II. 5, 9). His country was ravaged by a sea-monster, against which only the might of Hercules could prevail (ver. 145, *supra*). But Laomedon proved no less false to the demigod than he had previously proved to the gods. Hercules also was denied his fee, the famous horses of Laomedon (XXIII. 348); and the sack of Troy was the consequence (v. 640). The false Laomedon begat the good but unfortunate PRIAM. He had fifty sons (XXIV. 495), twenty less than Gideon (Judges viii. 30); but they seem to have been born only to increase his misery and top his overthrow. In the Iliad he appears rarely, but always clad with the mellowness of old age, the fragrance of a kindly disposition, and the majesty of sorrow. In the post-Homeric story, his grey hairs, which had so deeply moved Achilles, do not save him from the ferocious wrath of the son of that hero, newly come to the wars. He is slain by Pyrrhus at the altar of the family Jove, in the courtyard of his own palace (Eurip. *Troad* 17). Returning to Tros, we have only to say of ASSARACUS that he begat Capys, and of CAPYS that he begat ANCHISES. The story of the father of Æneas is known to every schoolboy. His beauty was such that he smote the queen of beauty with desire, who easily gained him to her embrace (*Hymn. Ven.* 53; Hes. *Theog.* 1008). The Germans, of course, will not allow him to be a man, but etymologize him easily (ἀναχέω) into a god of fountains (Rückert, *Troja*, 103).

VER. 233.—*Young Ganymede divine.*

Ganymede is one of those legendary names which, more than any other, mark the peculiar character of the race to which he belonged. The Trojans, whatever they were, are made to feel and imagine here in the most Greek way that any Greek could do. In the Old Testament narrative we read (Gen. v. 24) that Enoch was translated from earth to heaven because of his remarkable piety; but

this Trojan prince achieves the same honour because of his beauty. This is very Hellenic (II. 671). As Ganymede is introduced in the middle of a long list of kings, concerning whose historical character there seems no reason to doubt, the natural tendency is to look on him as a king's son with the rest, and to consider his translation to Olympus as the poetic embellishment of an actual fact. If the race of Dardan princes were celebrated for their beauty, as an ancient poet sings (*Hymn. Ven.* 200), and if Ganymede was the most beautiful of that handsome race; and if we suppose further that this godlike auburn-locked princely boy was wandering among the high cliffs of Ida, and somehow or other disappeared, as Cockney tourists do every now and then among the Highland hills, in such circumstances the Greeks generally would have said that he had been snatched away by the Harpies, but in this particular case, Jove being at once the god of the mountain, and the ancestor of the family, nothing was more obvious than to say that he had been taken up to heaven by the supreme Father, to serve as his cupbearer. But the Germans (Gerhard and Preller), who always prefer ideas to facts, seem inclined to the opinion that Ganymede is a purely mythological creation, a sort of male Hebè, —and in this view they are supported by the double fact that Ganymede performs in heaven exactly the same function as Hebè, and that his name is only a masculine form of the identical name under which Hebè was worshipped at Phlius (IV. 1). Nevertheless, I confess myself to be so much of a sober practical Scot as to lean rather to the historical side of this question. The subject of the translation of Ganymede was admirably fitted for the graphic art, and accordingly exercised the pencils and chisels of many great masters in ancient times. On these see Jahn's *Archæolog. Beiträge*, p. 14. One of the most famous in ancient times, and the best known in modern times, was the masterpiece of Leochares. See Müller's *Denkmäler*, xxxvi. 148.

VER. 322.

Then the sharp lance he drew from its hold in the buckler round.

This certainly contradicts ver. 279, where the spear goes over the shoulder of Æneas, and is fixed in the ground.

VER. 385.—*'Neath snowy Tmolus in the vale of Hydè.*

Mount Tmolus, which overhangs Sardes, and the valley of the Hermus from the south, was famous among the ancients for the golden-sanded stream, the Pactolus, which had its wells in its northern slope. Strabo speaks with admiration of the splendid view from the Persian watch-tower on the summit of this mountain all round, but specially southward across the plain of the Caÿster (XIII. 626), in which he is confirmed by the voice of modern travellers (Texier, p. 250). Tmolus was celebrated also for its wine (Virg. *Georg.* II. 97). About HYDÈ, beyond the generality of the Homeric text, the ancients knew nothing (Str. XIII. 626). The Gygæan lake was already mentioned (II. 864). The HERMUS (ver. 393), now the *Guedistchai*, has its source in the sacred Mount of Dindymene, the central seat of the worship of Cybele, in the country of the Mysians, south of Mount Olympus, and flows through the fertile valley of Sardes into the Ægean sea (Str. XIII. 626; Tchihatcheff, i. p. 232). The HYLLUS is a tributary of the great Sardian river, not, I fear, sufficiently defined for identification (Herod. I. 80; Tchihatcheff, i. p. 238).

VER. 407.—*The godlike Polydore, the son of Priam.*

Polydore, the youngest son of Priam, is a name well known to most readers of ancient poetry, from Virgil (*Æn.* III. 49) and Euripides (*Hecuba*). The version of the story followed by the tragedian and the Roman, to the effect that Polydore perished in Thrace by the treachery of the Thracian king Polymnestor, to whom he had been intrusted, is inconsistent with the account here given; but such inconsistencies are the rule, not the exception, in legendary history.

VER. 434.—*Not I with thee in fence may vie.*

Gladstone (iii. 562) is surprised to find the otherwise somewhat boastful Hector uttering in this place "words of more genuine modesty and humility than are to be found in the speech of any other chieftain on either side." Most certainly there is no modesty or humility in the matter; but Homer, as we have seen through the poem, was a Greek, and, as a poet ought to be, a thorough partisan, and so he cannot refrain from putting his own feelings into Hector's mouth, where they are not at all in their right place. Homer's picture of Hector was not drawn so much from his own views of the consistency of his character, as from the tone of the popular ballads which his genius raised into a grand organism, but did not inspire with a new soul. We shall never judge Homer rightly—his plan, his characters, and what, according to the highest standard, are certainly his minor blunders and improprieties—unless we keep constantly in view the ballad materials which he used, the minstrel art which he practised, and the popular audience to whose entertainment he ministered.

VER. 403.—*As a bull whom youths to Neptune's altar lead.*

Why Neptune is called *Heliconian* puzzled the ancients, and will likely be asked by the moderns. The difficulty is mainly a philological one. For, as Aristarchus remarked, the adjective from Helice in Achæa, a town well known as sacred to the sea-god, should be Ἑλικήιος, not Ἑλικώνιος (E. M. 547. 18, *Gaisf.*) We shall, however, take the matter broadly, and suppose the Achæan town intended (II. 575), leaving the philology to shift for itself.

VER. 498.—*His clattering coursers tread on corpses.*

Heyne, always keen as a lawyer for a flaw, is astonished here to find that Achilles is mounted on his car, while previously he seems to have been on foot. But the poet was so accustomed to have his heroes mounted when they gave general chase through the field, that he did not require to mention it specially.

BOOK XXI.

As this is the book in which a prominent part is played by the Scamander, the father and feeder of the plain of Troy, "the theatre of those so renowned bickerments" on which we are now commenting, we cannot avoid discussing the vexed question of his identity, along with that of his "dear brother," the Simois, and of the citadel of Troy itself, which, as we shall see, flows almost as a corollary from the right identification of the two rivers. Of the plain of Troy, Mr. Maclaren, a Scottish traveller and geologist of characteristic sagacity and shrewdness, gives the following picture :—

"A tract of meadow land of pretty uniform aspect, nine miles in length and nearly three in breadth, enclosed within a girdle of low round-backed hills, and prettily garnished by many lines of trees, which skirt the water-courses. In spring it is smiling and verdant; in summer it must be of a russety brown, except in the marshy parts. The mighty mass of Ida, rising ridge above ridge to Gargarus, crowns it with grandeur on the south and east. From the low hills round the plain, very pleasant landscapes invite the traveller's eye to the blue Ægean sea on the west, and the 'rushing Hellespont' on the north. The latter, a mighty *salt* river, rich in historical associations, flows in a deep channel with steep sides, as if scooped out by itself, and bordered by high, but not mountainous land. The 'bay' at its mouth, into which the Scamander fell in Homer's day (xxi. 123), and still falls, is nearly five miles in width, and is well entitled here to the epithet of 'broad,' about which critics have cavilled. If the traveller takes his stand on either of the low ridges which bound the plain on the west and north, and casts his eye over the bright Ægean, he finds it dotted with islands of various forms and sizes; Lemnos, Vulcan's isle, low and flat, and with only a few of its higher parts visible above the water; Imbros, farther north, a lofty rocky ridge; and behind it the still more lofty and rugged Samothrace,

the ancient seat of the mysterious Cabiri. Far beyond these on the western horizon, if the day is clear, the eye may discern the giant peak of Athos, where 'dwells the godly Eremite.' Southward from Imbros, and only four miles from the coast, lies Tenedos, with its cone-shaped Mount Elias, and rightly described by Virgil as 'in sight of Troy.' "

In order to enter into the details of this description, so as to make topographical deductions without confusion, the reader will suppose himself to have sailed down to the mouth of the Dardanelles from Constantinople, and then landed on the stretch of low shore on the Asiatic side of the strait, immediately to the east of the Turkish fort of *Koum-kale*. This stretch of shore, about two miles in length, is the only part of the Trojan plain bordering on the Hellespont, where ships could be drawn up in the manner described by Homer. Here therefore was the camp of the Greeks; here were ranged in overlapping rows, the long lines of the black ships which Hector touched with his victorious firebrand, but could not consume. This low shore is, as in so many other cases, the natural mouth of the valley, through which the Scamander and his tributaries flow from the glens of the "many-folded Ida" to the sea. On both sides a rocky coast rises, of which that to the east —a ridge running down from Ida close to the sea—ends in the Rhœtean headland, where is the traditional tomb of Ajax, and that to the west, in the Sigean headland, near which is the tomb of Achilles (XXIII. 125; *Od.* XXIV. 76-84; Str. XIII. 596). The river which empties itself into this bay at our supposed landing-place immediately behind Koum-kale, is now called the *Mendereh*. A single glance shows, even to an unpractised eye, that this is the chief river of the district; in fact, that there is no other stream in the plain deserving of the name. The others are mere mountain-torrents, brooks, or brooklets, or marsh-runnels, or what Dr. Robertson, in his excellent Memoir read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, calls "ditch-like puddles." There is no ποταμός but the Mendereh. Perched upon any of the eminences, on the ridge that flanks the Ægean, and looking south-eastward, the tra-

veller may see how this river emerges from the mountains at the head of the plain, about nine miles from the sea; and a very slight experience of topography will enable him to follow with his eye the point on the western slopes of Gargarus, whence this great feeder of the plain must leap into being.[1] Now that this must be the Scamander, any person coming to the ground with only the most superficial impressions from the reading of the Iliad, will conclude at the first glance; and the verdict of this first glance will be confirmed by an amount of evidence than which nothing stronger can be reasonably demanded. Local tradition, the internal evidence of the Homeric poems, and the external witness of a professional topographer, all concur in proving this to be the Scamander. The local tradition, of course, asserts itself distinctly in the mere name. Subsidiary brooks and brooklets will, in the course of centuries, often be forgotten with the decay or prostration of the people who baptized them; but the great stream of a district, such as the Rhine, the Danube, the Severn, the Tay, the Dee, will resist a new nomenclature with remarkable sturdiness. We shall therefore say that the mere name Mendereh, in this case, establishes at least a presumption in favour of the identity for which we plead. The other name of the same river, the Xanthus (xx. 74), is even more decisive; for to the present hour, the reddish yellow hue (*ξανθός*) of its waters from which this designation came, marks it out distinctly amid all the other streams of the district (Robertson's *Memoir*). But further, the evidence of Homer is strong to the effect that the Scamander is the main river of the district, and the Simois only subsidiary. He only is called *δῖος* (xii. 21); he only has an *ἀρητήρ* (v. 77), or priest; he only has the immortal Jove for his father (xv. 2). He stands in the same relation to Troy that the Tay does to beautiful Perth, or the Tweed to lovely Kelso. It is the Scamander who is thought worthy to crest his angry floods against the wrath of Achilles; and in the heat of the struggle (xxi. 308) he appeals to his dear brother Simois to add his floods,

[1] I have used this phrase purposely, as descriptive of the actual scene at the source of the Mendereh (Maclaren, p. 19).

as Austria when pressed by Prussia naturally seeks the alliance of Bavaria. This evidence of itself were amply sufficient to determine the point. As no man with an eye in his head, at the picturesque pastoral landscape of Neidpath Castle on Tweed, could confound this stream with the Manor, so, with Homer's description in his memory, it is impossible for any unbiassed person to find the Scamander in any other stream of the Trojan plain, except the Mendereh. But more than this: the course of the Scamander is expressly described by Demetrius of Scepsis, a local topographer, contemporary of Aristarchus (Str. XIII. 609), who wrote, as we have seen (II. 819), a special work on the Τρωικὸς διάκοσμος, and who could no more be deceived in reference to such a subject than Provost Chambers in his description of Peeblesshire could fail to know that the Tweed creeps into existence from a bog on the north side of the high hills that divide that county from Annandale. The source of the Scamander, indeed, in Mount Cotylus, one of the peaks of Ida, is given as precisely by the Scepsian as the parish minister of Tweedsmuir would point out the wells of Tweed to the inquisitive pedestrian. I have been thus particular in stating this matter, because critics of the highest name and authority, both in this country and abroad, up to the most recent period, are found maintaining that this great river of the plain of Troy is actually the Simois, and not the Scamander. Such blindness to the plainest evidence on the part of the most distinguished men, had its origin in one of those perplexing misunderstandings which are so apt to arise from the hasty interpretation of incidental allusions in ancient authors. In Homer's account of the chase of Hector by Achilles, round (or rather *about* or *before*) the walls of Troy (XXII. 145), there occur the following lines (I quote from Wright's version):[1]—

> "Beside the watch-tower and the wind-beat fig-tree
> On rushed the twain along the chariot road,
> Beneath the rampart, till they reached the spot,
> Where two fair-flowing fountains, bubbling up,
> Give rise to eddying Scamander's stream.

[1] The reader will observe that "*far*-bubbling" in my version is a misprint for "*fair*-bubbling."

> One with hot current flows, whence smoke ascends,
> As from a burning fire; the other, cold
> As is the summer hail; or like to ice
> Congealed from water; or like melting snow.
> And near them, marble basins, white and broad,
> Stood, where the Trojan dames and their fair daughters
> Were wont of old to wash their shining robes,
> In days of peace, ere came Achaia's sons."[1]

Now, on this passage, as translated here, and, indeed, as it naturally strikes the ear in the original, the *δοιαὶ Σκαμάνδρου πηγαί* seem plainly to be nothing but the sources of the Scamander; and, on the faith of this so obvious interpretation, Le Chevalier, a French traveller, about the end of the last century, concluded that the Scamander was not the great river described by Demetrius, rising high on Mount Ida, but another stream, rising close to Troy, the outcome of those very twin fountains of which we are now speaking. What that streamlet exactly is we shall presently see; but in the meantime, Le Chevalier's supposed discovery of the source of the Scamander, trumpeted by Professor Dalzel in Edinburgh, surprised not only the great body of the French scholars and travellers into rapturous assent, but even confounded the broad masterly glance of Colonel Leake.

After this explanation, the reader will be so kind as to suppose himself again at the mouth of the Mendereh, on its eastern bank; and proceeding along that bank, as near as the marshy ground allows, to the distance of about three miles from the sea. Looking then eastward, he will find himself opposite the mouth of a valley which runs on the south side of the Rhœtean ridge, almost parallel to the coast of the Dardanelles, and through which a stream or mountain-torrent flows in a direction almost due west towards the plain of the Scamander. This is the *Dombrek*, the largest stream in the district after the Scamander. It does not flow into it, however, but loses itself by several mouths more eastward into the sea.

[1] The strange statements with regard to the temperature of these fountains have been the subject of much discussion in modern times; but they seem to be mere matters of superficial popular impression and exaggeration, which in a topographical argument may be dropped.

The valley of this river is bounded on the south by a ridge of hills, at the western extremity of which, where it falls into the plain, there is a plateau, at the modern Turkish village of *Hissarlik*, on which an ancient town stood. This, according to the witness of coins found on the spot, and the minute description in Strabo and other ancient authorities, was unquestionably the site of Ilium Novum, or *New Troy*, a town which, created by the Lydian kings (Str. xiii. 601), dignified by poetic associations, and nursed by Macedonian pride and Roman vanity, continued through not a few centuries in ancient times to reflect, however faintly, the glories of the old metropolis of Priam. Proceeding up the Scamander about five miles, the traveller will find himself opposite another torrent, flowing in like manner from the mountains on his left hand in a south-westerly direction, and emptying itself into the Mendereh about two miles below the defile, where that river emerges from the mountains. This is the *Kimair*, unquestionably the Thymbrius of Strabo and Demetrius (Str. xiii. 598). He will then cross the Mendereh, and proceeding right south (his previous course having been south-east), he will find himself, after advancing about a mile, at the Turkish village of *Bunarbashi*. To the east of this village about a mile and a half flows the Mendereh; and close upon it, to the south-west, rise those "wells of the Scamander" which the Frenchman discovered. These, though they afterwards form into two runnels, are not strictly two fountains, but a great number of springs, whence their Turkish name, *Kirke-joss*, signifying *forty eyes*. They gush out with great copiousness from the north slope of the ridge of hills which separates the plain of Troy on the south from the great bay of Adramyttium, where the Ægean runs suddenly eastward, and gradually form a stream, which flows at first along the foot of the hills westward, and then suddenly turns off in a north-westerly direction parallel to the Mendereh, into which it discharges itself, about two miles from its mouth, about a mile south of *Yeni-shehr*, the ancient Sigeum. This is the stream, of course, which, as already said, Le Chevalier baptized into the Scamander. And having thus completed the circuit of the plain,

which lies principally betwixt this Bunarbashi river and the openings of the Dombrek and Kimair valleys already described, we have nothing further to state in reference to our present argument, but that on the banks of the Mendereh, little more than a mile south-east of Bunarbashi, there is a notable plateau, well fitted for a strong place, where remains of ancient walls have lately been excavated, and which Le Chevalier, Welcker, Von Hahn, and the continental travellers and scholars generally, identify with the Homeric Troy. Here, therefore, is our problem:—Have we any reason to suppose that the Pergamus of Priam was actually on the high cliff that overhangs the west bank of the Scamander at the place of its great bend above Bunarbashi; and if not, on what other strong point commanding the Trojan plain can the fortress of ancient Ilium be placed? The answer to this question depends on the identification of the Scamander and the Simois. The one we have already found; the other we have now to seek for. But first let us explain the origin of that strange misunderstanding about the Homeric passage above quoted, which has led so many learned men to attempt depriving the godlike river of his unquestionable rights. The ancients, who knew their Scamander as indubitably as the Londoners know their Thames, never dreamt of interpreting that passage in a manner which could produce any such astounding results as those which have proceeded from the superficial manipulation of the ingenious Frenchman. The Greek scholia, as we have had occasion to remark, contain a fair proportion of learned nonsense; but they contain enough also of sound, solid, old Hellenic tradition and popular good sense to make that modern a very unsafe expounder of Homer who does not carefully consult them on all doubtful points. Now here they tell us in plain words that Homer in this passage certainly does not and can not mean the real sources of the Scamander, which everybody knew were far up among the eastern heights; but what he meant to say was that near Troy there were two fountains, which from their copiousness were supposed to have their origin in a subterranean vein of the godlike river, and for this reason, in perfect accordance with the habit of

ancient sentiment in reference to such matters, were called the fountains *of*, or, as it should rather be, *from* the Scamander. This explains the whole difficulty; and had the Venetian scholia, where this explanation is given, been generally known and properly appreciated at the time when Le Chevalier made his modern rebaptism of the Mendereh, a great deal of literary confusion might have been spared. Nobody in that case would ever have dreamt of calling the real Scamander, after his example, the Simois; and this river might at once have been found in the Bunarbashi river, in perfect consistency with Le Chevalier's site of Troy. For let us see how the Homeric evidence in regard to the Simois stands. Of this river we learn nothing from the Iliad except that it was a tributary stream of the Scamander (v. 774), and flowed in such a line that, when the Greeks were near the Trojan gates, the battle could then be said to rage up and down

ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα
μεσσηγὺς Σιμόεντος ἰδὲ Ξάνθοιο ῥοάων

(VI. 4 and 80)

between the Simois and the Scamander. If so, of course the site of Troy is to be sought for at the head of the plain which is enclosed between these two rivers; and this is exactly the site of the plateau discovered by Le Chevalier, with Scamander on the east, and the Scamandrian wells, out of which the assumed Simois flows, on the west. And on this theory we have also the outlook hill of Polites (II. 794) most appositely in the conical hill of *Udjek tepe*, some three or four miles to the west (Welcker, lxxi.), and the mound of Baticia lies also (II. 811), as the most recent investigator declares (Von Hahn, p. 33), right in front of the town, looking south. Here is a concurrence of very strong points of evidence, which, along with the general commanding situation of the ground behind Bunarbashi here, impressed so experienced and so judicious an archæologist as Professor Welcker (p. lxxxi.), with the firm conviction that the site of the Pergamus of Priam may be placed here beyond all reasonable doubt. But our sagacious townsman, Mr. Maclaren, in his recent work on this subject—a work

which can never lose its value as a masterly, and in some points incontrovertible piece of pleading,—will not admit this conclusion, and stands with unshaken confidence on the assertion of the good people of New Ilium, that their Troy was the real Pergamus of Homer, and that only a curious itch of innovation could ever have led Demetrius of Scepsis, his transcriber Strabo, and after him the obedient moderns, on the authority of a single name, to seek for it anywhere else. Mr. Maclaren's arguments in favour of New Ilium as the genuine Troy resolve into three: The Dombrek is the Simois; the general belief among the ancients was that the new city stood on the site of the old; and the verses of Homer themselves in almost every book describe military and other movements which are utterly inconsistent with the idea of Troy being situated at so great a distance as nine miles from the sea coast. Let us examine these three points separately. That Strabo, or rather Demetrius, whom he follows, believed the Dombrek to be the Homeric Simois, is unquestionable; that the same stream was also the Simois of Ptolemy, is equally certain (v. 2, 3); but as the Simois is a small subsidiary stream, which does in nowise speak so decidedly for itself as the dominant Scamander, when we ask for proofs on which that witness stood, we are not only left altogether without reasons, but very strong reasons can be advanced to induce the suspicion that the witness of these geographers, however respectable-looking, is at bottom altogether worthless. For the identity of the Dombrek with the Simois was a point which the citizens of New Ilium absolutely required to assume, in order to substantiate their claims to pass for the old Trojans; and if these claims shall appear unfounded, those of the Simois cannot be above suspicion. If New Ilium be the real Ilium, it stands at the head of a plain, bounded on one side by the Scamander, and on the other by the Simois, that is, by the Dombrek, for there is no other river here that can fulfil the conditions. Now as to the claims of New Ilium to be old Ilium, we know of no ground whatsoever on which they were placed except that of local tradition; and local tradition in such cases is

often the mere child of local vanity and patriotic conceit, so that there is really no trustworthy foundation for the identity at all. The guide-books which our tourists use are full of assumed identities of this kind, which will often pass undisturbed for centuries, so long as statistical sceptics, with spectacles and text-book, make no invasion into the wide realm of amiable and reverential credulity. Between the destruction of Troy, and the age of inquiring criticism, at least eight hundred years had elapsed; and if at the time of the Lydian kings, when new Troy began to creep into existence, a very natural patriotic vanity on the part of its inhabitants conspired with a great amount of general ignorance and indifference, to make the new city successor, not only to the name but to the literal sacred site of the old, no person with the slightest knowledge of topographical history will be surprised at the result. To obliterate the name of a great ruling river such as the Tweed from the district to which it gives a character and a name, will, as we have said, always be a difficult achievement, and is in nowise to be presumed; but to pass off the Manor for the Eddleston water, if any strong local vanity demanded the rebaptism of either of these small tributaries, would be one of the easiest of topographical transactions. It is to be feared, therefore, that, in the circumstances, the reputable claims of Mr. Maclaren's Simois are really nothing better than a forged certificate, at least a certificate to which strong suspicions of forgery are attached. Nor will it mend the matter to plead, in the second place, that Alexander the Great (Arr. I. 11), and some half-dozen Macedonian kings and Roman Consuls (Liv. xxxv. 43; xxxvii. 9 and 37), actually did New Ilium the honour to visit it, and sacrifice to Homeric gods and demigods there, upon the faith of the historical claims which its citizens put forth. Many an honest traveller, without having the political motives that are apt to taint the sincerity of princes and statesmen, may have done the same thing on less plausible grounds. Any kind-hearted man will take a gilded piece of copper for true gold, if the taking of it both gives pleasure to the giver, and adds consideration to the receiver. Claims such as those

which the citizens of New Ilium advanced in favour of their own Homeric descent, and that of their local stream the Dombrek, will pass current more easily than they were invented, so long as it enters into no man's head to question them. But the claims of New Ilium were questioned even in ancient times, and that so soon as men arose in the world who made that sort of questioning a business. Scarcely had Zenodotus the Ephesian begun to probe with his critical finger the unsound places of the Homeric text, than a local topographer—that Scepsian whom we have so often mentioned,—arose, who, in the face of so old a witness as Hellanicus (Str. XIII. 602), gave a public contradiction to the claims of the Ilienses, and with such effect as to have his denial accepted by the greatest geographer of the ancient world; a denial which we may be sure would have been blown away as a harmless crotchet, had there been anything more substantial than the levity of local conceit with which to give it a rebuff. As to Maclaren's third point in favour of the site of New Ilium, that it agrees better with the distances of the various movements described in the Homeric text, though this argument seems to have had so much weight with Leake as to induce him to forge a fanciful retrocession of the sea in order to meet it, I do not feel myself under any obligation to refute it in detail, because, even assuming all the distances noticed in his seventh chapter to be necessarily as short as he insists, it seems contrary to all just principles of criticism to argue from the text of a book of popular ballads—for we have to do here mainly with the materials that Homer used,—as if it contained a set of measurements by an Admiralty surveyor, or the strategic record of a military historian like Polybius. I consider rather that, as on the stage, explanations are often made, and catastrophes brought about, in less than five minutes, which would require at least five days on the arena of actual life, or perhaps as many months, so the broad and rapid glance of a popular epic poet cannot be expected to take a curious account of the difference between four miles and eight, when the convenience of dramatic effect interferes. On the whole, therefore, I conclude that the case of our sagacious towns-

man, triumphant though it be on the important point of the Scamander, breaks down in reference to the Simois, and a verdict of *Not proven* against New Ilium must be pronounced. As to Bunarbashi, on the other hand, no prudent man, I conceive, in the present state of the evidence, will be able to assert more than that it has high probabilities in its favour; it identifies more accessory points more happily, that is all; but these points are not of such a nature as to impress a cautious reasoner with the weight of absolute conviction.

In the above statement I have taken no account of the sites of ancient Troy assigned by our historical geographer, Major Rennell, and by the learned German traveller, Ulrichs. Scholars owe a debt of gratitude to Rennell for the effective manner in which he re-vindicated the rights of the Mendereh; but as to his theory of the site of Troy, depending as it does upon the postulate that the Kimair is the Simois, I can only say that, so far as I can understand from the more accurate maps which we now possess, it seems to remove both Troy and the Simois into a region too much separated from the natural plain of the Scamander to answer the required conditions. The paper of Ulrichs I only know from the answer to it in Welcker, but from that account, which goes into great detail, I cannot imagine a single point of superiority which it can assert as against either Maclaren or Welcker. Like Rennell, Ulrichs seems to me, without necessity, to go out of the way. The same remark applies to the site of Troy imagined by Demetrius the Scepsian, three miles inland from New Troy, among the hills, in a direct line east, away from the plain of the Scamander.

I subjoin a list of the works I have consulted on this subject:—

(1.) Description of the Plain of Troy; by Le Chevalier. English by Professor Dalzel. Edinburgh, 1791.

(2.) Dissertation on the War of Troy; by Jacob Bryant. 1797. [This writer was certainly born on this side the Rhine by mistake. He out-Germans the wildest of the Germans in speculative absurdity and erudite negation.]

(3.) Observations on the Plain of Troy; by James Rennell. London, 1814.

(4.) Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor; by W. M. Leake. London, 1824.

(5.) On some Disputed Questions of Ancient Geography; by the same. London, 1857.

(6.) Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Orient; vom Ritter Prokesch von Osten. Stuttgart, 1836.

(7.) Ueber das Homerische Ilion; von F. G. Welcker (Kleine Schriften. Bonn, 1845).

(8.) Ueber die Ebene von Troja; von Dr. Forchhammer. Frankfort, 1850.

(9.) Ueber die Lage des Homerischen Ilion; von Dr. Eckenbrecher. The Rhenish Museum, 1841. [He agrees with Maclaren.]

(10.) The Plain of Troy described; by Charles Maclaren, F.R.S.E. Edinburgh, 1863. (The first edition of this work was published in 1822.)

(11.) Die Ausgrabungen auf der Homerischen Pergamos; von T. G. v. Hahn. Leipzig, 1865.

(12.) Observations on the Topography of the Troad; by Wm. Robertson, M.D. Edinburgh: Read before the Royal Society, 1857 (in MS.)

Of the works in the above list, Nos. 7 and 10 are, in the present state of the question, by far the most important, and may be said to be indispensable to every Homeric library.

VER. 12.—*As when a fire is lit to scare the locusts.*

The thick drift of various kinds of locusts—*gryllus migratorius*—is a fact well known to every one. I have in my memory a hot walk which I made some fifteen years ago across the isthmus of Corinth, when a regular snow-storm of the most beautiful vermilion locusts came bumping upon me at mid day. To get riddance of these winged pests, of course, the best way is when God sends a strong wind; but, if this does not come naturally, resort is had to the artificial disturbance of the air by kindling fires. The same remedy is useful against the malaria. Bothe quotes a curious pas-

sage from Diod. Sic. III. 29, about certain Ethiopians, who kindled large fires in a valley for several days, which not only confounded and scattered, but actually killed the locusts in immense quantities, supplying the people with stores of highly relished food.

VER. 95.—*Not I from one womb with Hector came.*

This marked reference to uterine consanguinity occurs several times in the Iliad (III. 238, XIX. 293, and XXIV. 47). There is always something perhaps more moving to a feeling heart in the word *mother* than in that of *father;* but in countries where polygamy is practised, there is the additional motive for mentioning the mother, that, while the father is common to all the brethren, the mother supplies the special bond of connexion to the few. To what extent the thoughtful reader may feel warranted to acknowledge any traces here of that special dominance of the female in calculating kinship, which Herodotus (I. 173) and Nicolaus Damascenus mention as characteristic of the Lycians, will depend upon how far his vision in this direction has been sharpened by the learned and ingenious speculations on "kinship in ancient Greece," and generally on "primitive marriage," put forth in the *Fortnightly Review* (1866), and in a special work by Mr. John M'Lennan, advocate, of this place. A striking proof of the closer consanguinity in early times believed to spring from the mother, is afforded by the peculiar Attic law that a man might marry his sister by the same father, but not by the same mother (Demosth. *Eubul.* 1304; Plut. *Them.* 32; Paus. I. 7. 1; and Becker's *Charicles*, p. 478. The Germans have, as usual, a big book on this subject (Bachofen's *Mutterrecht*), in which whosoever has leisure to dig deep will no doubt find strange things.

VER. 132.—*Vainly have slain so many bulls*, etc.

The sacrificing of bulls to the great Rivers as to many other gods was natural. The bull signified strength, and was specially symbolical of rivers (XI. 728, and ver. 237, *infra*). The flinging of horses into the flood in honour of the river-god looks rather like an Asiatic

touch. But horses were also sometimes sacrificed by the Greeks in Europe (Paus. III. 20. 9). The same writer expressly testifies that the Argives in ancient times used to fling horses into the sea as a sacrifice to Poseidon (VIII. 7. 2). The rushing of floods and the careering of waves are, of course, naturally symbolized by the movements of such a noble racing animal as the horse (Herm. *Rel. Alt.*, sec. 26. 9).

VER. 194.—*Even Achelous, when he rolls his flood*, etc.

The Achelous (*aqua?*) was to the ancient Greek ear what the Rhine is to the modern German; not, however, in virtue of patriotic associations, but only in respect of magnitude. It was the greatest body of running water that the Greeks knew, and therefore stands here and elsewhere (Paus. VIII. 387; Æschyl. *Pers.* 874) as the representative of river, and even watery power generally. It rises behind Mount Pindus, about seventeen miles east from Joannina (Leake, *N. G.* iv. 185), and, flowing almost due south, and forming the boundary between Acarnania and Ætolia, empties itself into the Ionian sea opposite Cephalonia. In mythological legend the combat of this river with Hercules—a legend of which the agricultural significance is obvious—was widely celebrated (Soph. *Trach.* 9).

VER. 346.

As when in yellow autumn months blows the Borean breeze.

The ὀπώρα of the Greeks is our midsummer. When the dog-star rises the north wind begins to blow, and continues for forty days. So Pliny: "Ardentissimo autem æstatis tempore exoritur Caniculæ sidus, sole primam partem Leonis ingrediente, qui dies XV. ante Augustas Kalendas est. Hujus exortum diebus octo ferme Aquilones antecedunt quos Prodromos adpellant. Post biduum autem exortus Aquilones constantius perflant diebus quadraginta quos Etesias vocant" (*N. H.* II. 47). See, on these summer monsoons of the Archipelago, Wachsmuth's *Antiquities*, vol i. App. *Exc.* I., and compare *Od.* v. 328. The *rationale* of these gales is no doubt the same as that of our equinoctial blasts.

VER. 385.

Here Heyne comes stoutly out with what he had before hinted, that the whole battle of the gods is an "*otiosa opera*," with whom Payne Knight and Nitzsch (*Sagenpoesie*, p. 128) agree; but it is easier to feel that the verge which separates the sublime from the ridiculous has here been touched, than to prove that a popular polytheistic poet might not very naturally and quite piously perpetrate such an offence.

VER. 442.—*The foul treacherous art of proud Laomedon.*

The story of the servitude of Apollo and Neptune to the Trojan king Laomedon, who showed himself thankless for the divine benefits conferred, here detailed, was alluded to shortly above (VII. 452). What the real significance of that class of myths is which makes the immortal gods bondsmen for a season to mortal men, it is difficult with decision to declare. The most famous of them is the servitude of Apollo to Admetus, king of Pheræ, in Thessaly. In that case, as here, we find that the presence of the god is connected with the herding of cattle (Paus. VII. 20. 2; Welcker, *g. l.* i. 79). Now, as Apollo elementally means the sun, and as fine sunny weather is favourable to the increase of all kinds of cattle, the most natural interpretation of such legends seems to be, that the king, who had been peculiarly fortunate in a succession of seasons favourable for breeding cattle, was said to have this good fortune because Jove for some reason or other had bound the sun-god to his service. Under polytheism such an idea would as spontaneously spring up as under the mediæval monotheism the ascription of extraordinary gifts and extraordinary prosperity to some special compact with the devil, in all which compacts the condition was that the evil Spirit should serve the mortal man absolutely for a certain number of years for the wage of his soul at the expiration of the term. This is my opinion. Different views of Apollo's servitude will be found in Müller's *Dor.* i. 339, and Gerhard's *Myth.* § 308. 4.

VER. 454.—*For a branded slave would sell thee.*

Heyne remarks that we have here one of the oldest examples of the practice of selling human beings as slaves across the sea. The Odyssey in several places gives more distinct evidence to the same effect. The origin of slavery from captivity in war is well stated by Dionys. Hal. (*R. A.* IV. 24). But I fear the Phœnicians, at least in ancient times, practised kidnapping with that utter want of conscience exhibited more or less by all nations who devote themselves to merchandise and money-making.

VER. 483.—*A lioness, to kill of womankind whom thou shalt please.*

On Diana's power over women, see above, VI. 205 and XI. 270.

VER. 570.—ἔμμεναι· αὐτὰρ οἱ Κρονίδης Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀπάζει.

The ancients saw that this was a stupid and impertinent line, and ought to be ejected.

BOOK XXII.

VER. 30.—*In the hot sky he hangs a baleful sign.*

The bad health which is induced by the extreme heat of summer, and the multiplication of noxious exhalations in all southern climates, is well known. What Homer talks of here is evidently the well-known marsh or malaria fever, of which not a few sallow faces in the Pontine Marshes, and elsewhere in the Roman Campagna, bear familiar witness. This is the reason why Apollo, or the Sun, though generally a beneficent deity, is represented in Greek mythological legend as the sender of pestilence (Welck. *g. l.* i. p. 459). The κακὸν σῆμα of this passage is the οὔλιος ἀστὴρ of XI. 62.

VER. 93.—*As when a snake which feeds on venomous food.*

The commentators quote Ælian here (*Nat. An.* VI. 4) to the effect that serpents feed on poisonous plants, and thereby nourish their virus. The fact that they actually do eat herbs (Ar. *Hist. Anim.* VIII. 6. 1), and that they are often found in rank and lushy places, where poisonous plants love to grow, was foundation enough, and more than enough, for such a notion.

VER. 126.—*Talk about oaks and rocks.*

The phrase here—ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης ὀαριζέμεναι—naturally recalls the well-known passages in Hesiod (*Theog.* 35), and in the Od. (XIX. 163). What to make of the passage of Hesiod I have not been able to make up my mind, nor do I think that Goettling has thrown any light upon it with what Stallbaum (Plat. *Phædr.* 275 B) very properly calls his *commentum;* but as to the passage of the Odyssey, there can be as little doubt of the meaning of the proverbial expression there, as unfortunately of its inapplicability to the present passage. Penelope asks Ulysses, yet in disguise, to give some account of himself, of what descent, and from what place, "*for certainly you do not spring from an antediluvian oak, or from a rock;*" that is evidently, as we say, "*you did not drop from the clouds.*"[1] This interpretation applies with equal clearness and force to the places of Plato (*Apol.* 34 D, and *Rep.* VIII. 544 E). With regard to the present passage, however, it seems to stand quite alone in the use of the preposition ἀπό in connexion with ὀαρίζειν. Had it been περί, then we might perhaps have translated to "talk about vague, distant, and unascertainable matters;" but as the text stands, we had better shake ourselves free from all reference to the other places quoted, and translate, as the context suggests, "*this is not the time to talk from an old oak, or a crag, like a young man and a maid whispering pleasant things of a summer eve*" (Heyne); and after repeated consideration, I can find no-

[1] Ameis (*Od.*) compares the German proverbs: "*Du bist nicht hinter dem Zaune gefunden,*" and "*Du bist kein aufgelesenes Zigeunerkind.*"

thing more suitable. The only other possible interpretation is to suppose that ἀπὸ δρυὸς was understood to mean, *beginning with that—starting from ;* in which case it would be equivalent to περί. So Faesi. Then the passage would mean, *talking of idle, old, ante-diluvian stories—nothing to the purpose.* So much for the meaning as it can be brought out from the syntax ; but as a translator I have thought it preferable to deal freely with the passage, wishing to convey a true impression, rather than to give an exact version.

VER. 164.—*Some rich man's funeral feast.*

Here we see the germ of those gladiatorial shows so famous among the Romans, which, as is well known, were first exhibited at Rome by Marcus and Decimus Brutus, B.C. 264, at their father's funeral (Val. Max. II. 4. 7 ; compare Plutarch, *Thes.* 16).

VER. 247.

Thus speaking him Athenè led to death with guileful lips.

The conduct of Athenè here is certainly anything but noble, and turns our British sympathies altogether to the side of the defeated ; but to a thorough Greek, like Homer, it seemed only proper that the daughter of Jove, being once for all on the side of the Greeks, should show her favour, not only by giving wisdom to the favoured side, but by casting a glamour over the adverse party ; that is, by cheating them. We have seen above, indeed (II. 6), that to say he had been cheated or deluded by a god was the favourite phrase of a Greek, when he had been disappointed in his expectations. This is my answer to Hayman, who, in a vigorous and strongly-drawn portrait of this goddess, in Appendix E to his *Odyssey*, vol. i., speaks of her as peculiarly destitute of all moral sense, and as being, in fact, taken at her best, only the " noblest form of a DEMON ever drawn." I see nothing in the κερδοσύνη of Pallas of which any other Greek god, under the influence of patriotic partialities, might not be equally capable ; and if she displays none of those most lovely traits of character which we delight to contemplate in woman, we must remember, that though in form a

female, she in no sense represents the sex. She is born of her omnipotent father's brain, without the intervention of a mother; she represents wise and energetic action, and specially warlike action. Like all wisdom, she must be severe; like all military wisdom, she must be pitiless; and, like all Greek wisdom, she will be often cunning, sometimes false. No Greek was ever ambitious of showing the lion's face to his enemy, when it seemed more advantageous to play the fox.

VER. 323.

The mail which from Patroclus slain the victor bore.

"Hoc illud est quod miror poetam in usus suos non apertius et significantius vertisse; conspectu armorum Patrocli Achillis iram inflammari necesse erat" (Heyne). There is some sense in this. *O si sic omnia!*

VER. 355.—*Him crest-flickering Hector dying addressed.*

The solemnity of the last scene of our mortal drama has always attached no common significance, and even a certain prophetic insight to the last words of the dying. Socrates alludes to this belief with a very effective conviction in his defence before his judges, καὶ γάρ εἰμι ἤδη ἐνταῦθα ἐν ᾧ μάλιστ' ἄνθρωποι χρησμῳδοῦσιν ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀποθανεῖσθαι (Plat. *Apol.* 39 c.). Compare XVI. 849, *supra*, with Heyne's note; also Ewald, *Geschichte des Israelitischen Volks*, i. p. 82.

VER. 515.

Thus spake she weeping, and with her the women weep and wail.

In concluding this book we may remark that the death of Hector as here described, is one of the parts of this great poem which has given least satisfaction, even to those who are the most unqualified admirers of the minstrel. De la Motte, who was a clever fellow in his day, considered the whole affair managed so abominably by Homer, that in his improved French version of the story he considered himself bound to remodel it altogether

(*Œuvres*, ii. 133). The Abbé Terracon, another French critic (*Dissertations*, London, 1722, vol. i. p. 440), says generally that "the character of Hector affords us an illustrious example of the absurdity and inequality of Homer's characters;" and then with special reference to this book, he goes on to prove that "Hector, considered as a hero, don't show sufficient courage either in his speech or in his actions." Now with regard to this matter I have only to say that from our modern point of view there is no small amount of justice in the charge; unquestionably a Tasso did manage, and a Tennyson, if his genius inclined him to warlike themes, would manage otherwise; but I see here at the same time only the most convincing proof of the essential difference in quality between Homer as a popular minstrel, and Tasso or Tennyson as cultivated and highly reflective literary poets. Homer as a popular minstrel was infected with the patriotic notion that a Trojan could in no proper fashion look a Greek in the face, much less such Greeks as Patroclus and Achilles. Hence the contradiction that, though he would have us believe that Hector was a very brave fellow, he nevertheless makes him behave on certain prominent occasions as if he had water and not blood in his veins. This we had occasion to remark before (xi. 189), but let it stand here also for more distinctness. Homer's patriotism, united with his habits and avocations as a popular minstrel, did occasionally lead him to make æsthetical blunders, from which many a small poet in ages of literary reflection would have kept himself free. As to Hector's character, after laying its occasional incongruities to the account partly of the poet's patriotism, partly of the proclivities of his plot, we shall find in him more to command our admiration and our love than in any other character of the poem. "In Hector alone," says Gladstone (iii. 567), with great truth, "has Homer presented to us that most commanding and most moving combination of a warrior's gentleness and deep affection with warlike vigour and heroic strength." And, though it may no doubt be said that Homer's plot afforded him the opportunity of exhibiting domestic virtues and family feelings only in the case

of the Trojans, it is no less true that it is the part of a great poet, as of a great general, both to see where his opportunities lie, and to use them with wise selection and striking effect.

BOOK XXIII.

VER. 30.—*Sleek fat beeves.*

There is no more difficult word in Homer than ἀργὸς. But in plain consistency with Homeric usage (*Od.* xv. 161)—

αἰετὸς ἀργὴν χῆνα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον,

and the familiar etymological affinities of ἀργεστής, and the whole family of words, both Greek and Latin, to which it belongs, I think we must translate here *white* bulls, likely not *albi* merely, but *nitidi et candentes* (Virg. *Æn.* v. 236). See Dissen on the ἀργᾶντα ταῦρον of Pindar (*Ol.* XIII. 96), and Nitzsch on *Od.* II. 11. I doubt much, however, whether ἀργός could mean *shining, glossy,* in the case of a black bull. My translation, I am sorry to find in this passage, has forgot to make use of my note.

VER. 71.—*Rise! do my burial rites.*

The state of the unburied dead in the heathen world, as of the unchristened born in the Christian world, has a something of unsatisfactory incompleteness about it that naturally leads to uncomfortable imaginations. The general doctrine of the Greeks and Romans with regard to the unburied is familiar to every schoolboy from the passage of Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 325—

"Hæc omnes, quam cernis, inops, inhumataque turba est:
Portitor ille, Charon; hi, quos vehit unda sepulti.
Nec ripas datur horrendas nec rauca fluenta
Transportare prius, quam sedibus ossa quierunt.
Centum errant annos, volitantque hæc litora circum:
Tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt."

If there is nothing about Charon and the boat here, or in any

part of Homer, that part of the picture may well be considered as the addition of a later age; but that any Greek could have understood by ποταμοῖο, not Styx or Acheron, which Homer knew perfectly well (*Od.* x. 513), but only the mighty stream of Ocean, is what I cannot believe. No doubt the river of Ocean, flowing as it does in the far west and the region of darkness, lies between the home of the living and the realm of the dead, but every dead man passes it the moment he dies, or as shortly after as souls can travel through air, and Patroclus has certainly passed it already, or he would not be in the vestibule of Hades at all. The passage in Virgil, therefore, and the present passage, are perfectly consistent, though, as we see in the whole course of mythological development, the vague outlines of the old Greek conception have, in the course of centuries, been worked up into a certain well-known and established picturesqueness of detail. But this very consistency has been made a ground with certain microscopic Germans of suspecting the genuineness of the three lines 72-74. They assert that there is a contradiction between the account of his unburied condition here given by Patroclus, and the account of the shade of the unburied Elpenor in Od. xi. 51. For Elpenor in that passage is not separated from the other dead in the manner here described of Patroclus. But the answer to this is plain. The poet was not always bound to say everything; and it is plain, from the very circumstance of Elpenor's shade appearing first, as on the very threshold and border of Hades, not actually within it (Plut. *Symp.* ix. 5), as also from his anxiety to receive burial, that he was virtually in the same uncomfortable, incomplete condition here more particularly described by Patroclus. In Book xxiv. of the Odyssey, however, the barrier of intercourse which Patroclus here speaks of is altogether broken down; but whatever may be made of this mere omission by those who look upon this book as a late addition, it certainly cannot be adduced to prove that the three lines 72-74 ought to be ejected from this place. But to the whole school of minute criticism from which these objections proceed, we may apply the remark of Aristotle, in the *Ethics*, that in the

systematic treatment of no science should a greater amount of accuracy be required than belongs to the subject-matter; and it is a perverse and wrong-headed proceeding to demand a minute and curious consistency in a popular poet, with regard to matters which floated loosely and without distinctness or precision in the popular imagination. In this note I am unfortunately opposed to Nitzsch (*Od.* XI. 51), who is generally a very reasonable commentator.

VER. 88.—*Waxed wroth in silly strife about the dice.*

The *astragals*, ἀστράγαλοι, here spoken of were, properly speaking, the ankle-bones (Poll. II. 192), *talus*—then also the vertebræ—σφόνδυλος (*Od.* XI. 65), and perhaps also other small bones of the body. These small bones were used for a game that went by their name, as we sometimes use pebbles. One method of playing with them was by holding them close in the hand, and causing the other party in the game to guess, *odds and evens*—ἀρτιάζειν (Poll. IX. 101). Another method, equally simple, but demanding practice and dexterity, is represented in one of the Herculanean pictures figured in Smith's *Dict.*, Art. *Talus*, and consisted in throwing the astragals up, and seeing which player could catch the greatest number on the back of his hand. It is plain, therefore, that there is a distinction, as Eustathius states (*Od.* I. 107), between ἀστράγαλοι κύβοι, or *dice*, and πεσσοί, *draughts*. As, however, the astragals were sometimes marked with pips of different values, and thrown like dice, there can be no harm in so translating the word in the present passage. When used as dice, they were marked only on four sides, because the bone did not present equally six even faces on which to rest. It may be only further added that the game of astragals, being practised much by boys (as by Cupid and Ganymede in Olympus, Ap. Rh. III. 117), offered not a few graceful attitudes and groups to the eye of the artist, of which the Greek sculptors did not fail to take advantage. A famous group of this kind is mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.* XXXIV. 8). A similar group is familiar to the visitor of the British Museum (*Townley Gallery*, by Ellis, vol. i. p. 304).

VER. 104.—*In its form nor pith nor power at all.*

The word φρένες in this passage is extremely puzzling. Etymologically, as well as in the connexion, it ought to mean something corporeal here, and so Heyne takes it. But the passage in *Od.* x. 493, which, if there is to be any science in criticism, must rule the present passage, plainly forces us to interpret φρένες here as equivalent to νοῦς. Voss accordingly translates "*Besinnung.*" I think, however, there is something wanting in this word to express the full meaning of the word in this place, and Donner has done wisely to add "*Kraft und Besinnung.*" I follow his example.

VER. 116.—Πολλὰ δ' ἄναντα κάταντα πάραντά τε δόχμιά τ' ἦλθον.

This is a famous line with the rhetoricians (Dem. Phal. 226), and certainly in the original it has a very remarkable sound, not so much by the five dactyles, as the juxtaposition of three words ending in the same dissyllable; but what it expresses dramatically is not so easy to say. If it were meant to express the quick rattling motion of a stone down a rough slope, it would be perfect; but as it expresses rather the slow motion of mules along a rough road, we must admire with moderation. Let us say therefore that the three words in αντα, so placed, express admirably the roughness of the road, but that the painful slowness which characterized the operation might have been better expressed by spondees.

VER. 135.—*And from their heads the hair they shore.*

The cutting of hair in sign of grief for the dead seems extremely natural, as the hair is the honour of the head, and its luxuriance a sign of a vigorous and lusty vitality. In the Odyssey (IV. 198) we read—

> "This is the honour of the dead stretched upon mortal bier,
> To shear the glory of the head, and drop the briny tear."

VER. 141.—*The hair which to Spercheius' stream he nourished.*

The consecration of the locks of young persons to some river is

frequently mentioned by the ancients. In Pausanias (I. 37) the statue of a boy is mentioned, on the banks of the Attic Cephissus, dedicating his hair to that river. So the young men of Phigalia dedicate their hair to the neighbouring river Neda (VIII. 41. 3). In Hesiod (*Theog.* 347) there is a well-known passage which says, "that Tethys brought forth to Ocean the sacred race of water-Nymphs, which, along with sovereign Apollo, and the Rivers, cause young men to grow up in lustihood (ἄνδρας κουρίζουσι)." This is evidently a part of the old-water philosophy (XIV. 201), which recognised the presence of this element as essential to all vegetable and animal vitality (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* IV. 145). The River, in fact, in all systems of polytheism, is one of the most generally recognised local gods. The hair, as a sort of first-fruit of puberty, was offered not only to the Rivers, but to other gods also, of which several instances will be found in Pausanias (II. 32 and VII. 17. 4.)

The SPERCHEIUS here mentioned—that is, the *rushing river*, from σπέρχομαι,—is a well-known stream that springs from the extreme south-west corner of Thessaly, in Mount Tymphrestus (Str. IX. 433), and, flowing through the country of the Dolopians and Ænianes, empties itself into the Maliac gulf, not far from Thermopylæ. Its modern name, *Ellada* (Forchhammer, *Hellen.* p. 7), is a remarkable living witness to the early settlements of the Hellenes in those parts.

VER. 164-176.

The funeral ceremonies here described require no commentary, being so complete and pictorial. Parallels from the customs of other nations will easily suggest themselves to the well-informed reader. The honey and oil belong specially to the dead, and are mentioned in Soph. *O. C.* 483; Æsch. *Pers.* 610. The blood spilt here was part of the rights of war, and would have flowed on the battle-field had not the claims of piety towards a friend reserved it for a later hour.

VER. 177.—*The iron might of flame.*

It is characteristic in relation to the early history of metallurgy that the Homeric heroes generally cut and kill, as in the previous line, with *copper*, while iron is used as a simile for hardness and the power of endurance. Compare I. 371.

VER. 243.—*His bones place in a golden urn.*

The φιάλη of the Greeks, from which comes our *phial*, was a broad open bowl or saucer used in performing sacrifice, and frequently seen in ancient monuments (see Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, Art. *Patera*). Its broad, comparatively shallow shape, is sufficiently illustrated by the passage of Athenæus (XI. 501) which Eustathius borrows, and by its comparison to the round Greek shield which was familiar to the ancients (Antiphanes, *Com.* 112 in Meineke, and Aristot. *Poet.* 21). But in the time of Homer, as in the case of many other words, it seems to have had a more wide and general significance; in the present passage, at least, "*urn*" is the only proper translation, and we cannot suppose that cinerary urns were open and wide like a plate or saucer. On the φιάλη ἀμφίθετος, of ver. 270 *infra*, Athenæus remarks that it does not seem to be a common bowl or saucer, but rather a χαλκεῖόν τι ἐκπέταλον λεβητῶδες, *something of the nature of a large broad-mouthed copper kettle.* The ἀμφίθετος is a very puzzling epithet, and I only evade the difficulty by translating *double*. Perhaps I should have said *two-eared*, like the Horatian *diota*.

VER. 269.—*Two talents of pure gold.*

What the Homeric talent was we do not know. It is always spoken of as a talent of *gold*, and of course has nothing to do with the common Attic silver talent, of which the value in coin was about £244 (Hussey, ii. 12). That the Homeric talent was of no very great value, Pollux (IX. 55) concludes from this place; and with this the two talents in XVIII. 507 seem pretty well to agree. Hussey (ii. 10) sets down the Homeric talent of gold at six Attic

drachmæ, or seventy-one grains weight. The word τάλαντον comes from τλάω, *to bear, support, weigh*, and originally signified *a balance*.

VER. 346.—*Arion, Adrastus' wondrous steed.*

This divine horse is celebrated also by Hesiod, who in the shield of Hercules (120) calls him "the large dark-haired horse Arion." Steeds of extraordinary swiftness and strength are fathered, according to Greek mythological conceptions, either by the winds (XVI. 150), or by Neptune, who drives the strong sea-coursers, the waves, and is the natural patron of horses and horse-racing (ver. 307 *supra*, and XIII. 10, and Paus. VII. 21. 3). From Poseidon, accordingly, we find that Arion comes, being, according to the curious account of Pausanias in VIII. 25. 5, the offspring of this god by Demeter, who, having changed herself into a mare to escape the amorous pursuit of the sea-god, profited nothing by her ingenious transmutation, for the god speedily assumed the form of a stallion, and achieved his object in that shape. Of course the fruit of such a connexion could only be a horse; not a common horse, however, but a divine horse. This wonderful animal finally came into the possession of Adrastus (II. 572).

VER. 325.—*The goal thou canst not miss.*

Next to the theatre and the gymnasium there was no place in our ancient Greek city more characteristic of Greek life than the race-course. Of these there were two; the short race-course for foot-races, and a longer and larger one for the chariot-races. The one was called στάδιον, being about a στάδιον, or 600 feet in length (Herod II. 149), the other ἵππιος δρόμος, or *hippodrome* (Paus. VI. 16. 4, and 20. 6. 7), which at Olympia seems to have been four times the length of the stadium. For the stadium there was generally chosen a piece of level ground formed by a natural hollow in the hills, which was often improved by art for the convenience of the spectators and the pomp of the spectacle. Such natural hollows, anciently taken advantage of for architectural

embellishment, are found in the Panathenaic stadium across the Ilissus at Athens (see the plan in Smith's *Dict. Geog.*, Art. *Athens;* Leake, *Topog. Ath.* p. 51; Mure's *Greece*, ii. p. 89), at Laodicea (Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i. 516), and at Ephesus, which was capable of containing seventy-six thousand spectators (Falkener, *Ephesus*, p. 104). The arrangements connected with the race-course were extremely simple, and are mostly indicated in the Homeric description of this book. By the goal, καμπτήρ or νύσσα, in descriptions of the Greek race, is not to be understood the end of the race, but the turning-point at the far end of the course. Details will be found in Smith's *Dict.*, Articles *Olympic Games* and *Circus*. The CHARIOTS which were used by the ancients, whether on the race-course or on the field of battle, were, as we have already seen, extremely light, and easily lifted up by the hand (x. 505). From the representations of them, which are very frequent on vases, sarcophagi, and other works of art, we see that the body of them was often little more than a semicircular front, over the rim of which (ἄντυξ) the reins were thrown, and to which the traces sometimes appear attached. On the battle-field there were always two persons on the car (hence the name δίφρος, from διφόρος), the charioteer (ἡνίοχος), and the champion παραβάτης, as we have it in ver. 132 of this book. The minute points with regard to the chariot the student will find admirably set forth by Yates, in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, Articles *Currus* and ἄντυξ.

VER. 473.—*To whom Oïleus' son thus spake.*

The Oïlean Ajax, who appears here not in the most amiable light, belonged to the Opuntian Locrians, and led their forces in the Trojan expedition. He was a man as we have seen (II. 527) little of body and light-footed, and surpassed all the kings in swiftness, except, of course, Achilles (XIV. 520). He forms a fine dramatic contrast to his large-limbed namesake the Telamonian. The ungentlemanly language which he here uses to Idomeneus, a chief whose descent, character, and lyart locks ought to have commanded respect, is a fitting prelude to the unknightly violence

which he afterwards offered to the fair Cassandra (see the representation in Müller's *Denkmäler*, i. 7), a crime which brought down upon himself the wrath of Minerva, and entailed a long curse on his country (*Dissertations*, p. 128; Eur. *Troad*, 70; Heyne, *Exc.* x. to *Æn.* II.; *Od.* IV. 499; Timæus Loc. in Müller, *Histor. fr.* 66). His characteristic want of wisdom is indicated below by the interference of Athenè to make him slip his foot in the race (ver. 774). Notwithstanding these faults the Opuntians canonized their hero, and left an open place for him in their battle array (*Com. Narr.* 18), and he obtained an immortality in the popular faith, along with Achilles, in the island of Leuce (Paus. III. 19. 11).

VER. 565.—*Eumelus took it from his hand.*

This line does not occur in several MSS., and is bracketed by Spitzner; but the poetical effect loses by the curtailment. I retain.

VER. 568.—*A herald placed the sceptre in his hand.*

So in the Odyssey, II. 37—

> "Now rose Telemachus to speak the word,
> While warm for the harangue his bosom stirred;
> His hand Pisenor with the staff did grace
> Sage herald, who in council never erred."
>
> WORSLEY.

The *baton* held in the hand is the emblem of authority, and changes a private conversation into a public meeting (compare II. 186, X. 328).

VER. 587-595.

How opposed is the beautiful deference of this speech to the pertness, insolence, and lack of reverence in the Athenian democracy, so graphically portrayed by Plato in the *Republic!* Democracy is and must be everywhere the hotbed of conceit and the high school of insolence. Homer knew nothing of it.

VER. 679.—*When Œdipus was slain.*

This is the only passage in the Iliad where the ill-starred Theban monarch, so much bruited in ancient and modern tragedy, is mentioned. It appears that Homer knew nothing of his exile to Attica, so familiar to us from the beautiful drama of Sophocles; but the main points of his tragic story are pretty fully given in *Od.* XI. 271-280.

VER. 685.—*Then both for combat busked stept forth.*

The admirers of the very English fence of boxing will be glad to find it in the early traditions of the Greeks under the patronage of such a reputable god as Apollo (Paus. v. 7. 4), and such a renowned hero as Theseus (schol. Pind. *N.* v. 89). The ἱμάντες, or *thongs* mentioned here, remained to the last the common name for the *cestus* or boxing-glove among the Greeks (Pol. III. 150; Plato, *Protag.* 342 c). It appears, however, from a passage in Pausanias (VIII. 40. 3), that, while the name remained the same, the thing was considerably changed. The original thongs of raw neat's-hide no longer sufficed for the bruising ambition of later pugilists; the simple thongs were now called μειλίχαι, or *mildies*, and the severe sharp thong (ἱμὰς ὀξὺς), laden with lead (see the representations from ancient monuments in Smith's *Dict.*, Art. *Cestus*), retained the old name, or got the special appellation of μύρμηκες. For preparatory exercise they had a round hollow glove, like those used in our boxing-schools, which they called σφαῖραι, or balls (Plato, *Legg.* 830 B). With regard to the ζῶμα, or *subligaculum*, here mentioned, it is worthy of notice that Thucydides in the well-known introduction to his *History* (I. 6), where he speaks of the changes that had taken place in the manners of his countrymen, mentions that originally Greeks and Barbarians had many things in common, and among others this, that in the gymnastic games they both appeared διαζώματα ἔχοντες περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα; afterwards the Greeks wrestled quite naked. So much for the instruments and appointments of the Homeric boxing-bout. The affair itself

is meagre and soon settled. Virgil in *Æneid* v. has enlarged and in every way improved it. This is the way to steal!

VER. 726-732.

Not being a wrestler myself, I have done my best in this passage with the note of Eustathius and my own imagination; but if any reader, skilful in these manly sports, will take the trouble of comparing my version here with those of other translators, and let me understand distinctly whether I am right or wrong, I shall be much obliged to him. In Homer, I have been pressed by no difficulty so much as my not being practically acquainted with some of the matters which he handles.

VER. 733.—*And now a third bout they had tried.*

The power of the number THREE, from ancient wrestlings and drinkings to the hammer of modern auctioneers, is interesting. It evidently arises from the circumstance that this is the first number which has a beginning, a middle, and an end, and contains in itself that completeness making a whole which a reasonable creature naturally seeks for in all things. Three fits at wrestling were the proper number; hence the τρία παλαίσματα in Æschylus (*Eum.* 559).

VER. 760.—*As when a well-zoned woman holds the shuttle.*

I have read and carefully considered what has been written on this difficult passage by Heyne and Yates (Smith, *Dict. Ant.*), but am not able to come to any certain conclusion, principally, I presume, from my ignorance of the details of the art of weaving. The philological evidence seems to me decidedly in favour of πηνίον being the *woof*. If so, μίτος would be the *warp*, and κανών the *shuttle* (Lat. *radius*). But I keep my translation quite general, so as to avoid nonsense, rather than to express that of which I have no clear conception. Dart revives Damm's notion, found also in Eustathius, whose note makes confusion more confounded, that spinning is intended here, not weaving.

VER. 826.—*A ball, a big and weighty round.*

The ancient writers on Greek synonymes (Ammon. p. 40, Valkenaer, and the scholiasts) point out here the difference between δίσκος, a flat round disk, with a hole in the middle, and σόλος, a round solid sphere of stone or metal. The quoit proper, not the σόλος, is thrown by Ulysses before the Phæacians (*Od.* VIII. 192). In the Iliad, allusion is made to the quoit in II. 774, and XXIII. 431, 523. The attitude of the quoit-thrower was the subject of a famous statue by Myron (Quinct. *Inst. Orat.* II. 13), well known to the visitors of European museums (Müller, *Denkmäler*, xxxii. 139). What Achilles says in v. 834, shows the great rarity and value of iron in those times.

VER. 845.—*Far as a herdman flings his crook.*

This is the earliest notice of the shepherd's crook, of which the old model is still frequently seen in the Scottish Highlands (*bata krom*), afterwards transformed into the bishop's crosier. The etymology of the word καλαῦροψ is quite uncertain.

VER. 851.—*Double axes.*

See the axe with a double head, cutting right and left, on the coins of Tenedos (Smith, *Dict. Geog.*)

VER. 870.

The Marseilles recension was

> Σπερχόμενος δ' ἄρα Μηριόνης ἐπεθήκατ' οἰστὸν
> τόξῳ. ἐν γὰρ τόξον ἔχεν πάλαι, κ.τ.λ.,

which implies that each archer had his own bow. But following, as we must, the great weight of the authority of Aristarchus in this matter, we suppose that both archers used the same bow, and that the moment Teucer had discharged his arrow, Merion seized the bow and laid his arrow on it, which he had ready in his hand, *that he might take aim.* For as to the vulgate ὡς ἴθυνεν, I have no hesitation whatever in saying that there is some funda-

mental error in the text. Homer certainly did not write nonsense; and to bring sense out of the words as we now have them, we must write *ἰθύνοι*, or something to that effect. The change is slight; and I entirely agree with Spitzner in thinking it the only way to get out of the difficulties which otherwise beset the passage.

BOOK XXIV.

VER. 23.—*But when the gods beheld the sight*, etc.

The whole passage which follows about the judgment of Paris was suspected by reputable ancients as interpolated; but the reasons with which they support their negative criticism are somewhat weak. That Homer never mentions this famous judgment before this verse is quite in his manner; he supposes the materials of old tradition to be lying all about him quite fresh in the popular mind, and not requiring a detailed and formal exposition. Hence he tells one part of a story at one place, and another at another. It is a great mistake to judge a great popular poet as if he were a professor, giving an orderly course of lectures to an audience supposed to be altogether ignorant of the subject. The exact contrary is the fact. As to individual objections, there is no doubt something strange in the use of *νείκεσσε*, but not so strange certainly as to warrant us in throwing suspicion on the line; and to those who say that *μαχλοσύνη* is a word properly applied to females, L. and S. reply very properly that the poet is here charging the Trojan shepherd with effeminacy. Besides, I doubt very much the legitimacy of so circumscribing the meaning of general terms in the Homeric age, in reference to which the specializing effect of time is particularly noticeable. I am glad to observe that Welcker (*Episch. Cycl.* ii. p. 113) agrees with the views here expressed.

VER. 45.—*Shame which much harms in much excess*, etc.

There is no valid objection to this line. It is merely a familiar proverb dragged in wholesale in the manner in which popular poetry delights. There is no greater mistake in Homeric criticism than being curious about such points.

VER. 82.—*The lead bound to an ox-horn.*

The scholiast remarks that the line was let through the horn of an ox, close to the hook, that the fish might not be able to gnaw it away.

VER. 94.—κυάνεον, τοῦ δ' οὔτι μελάντερον ἔπλετο ἔσθος.

There are few students of the classics who have not been struck occasionally with the apparent vagueness in the use of certain words expressive of COLOUR. In this peculiarity no poet is more marked than Homer, and in him no line perhaps is more suitable than the present for endeavouring to bring out the principles on which this phenomenon depends. For if we translate this verse according to the common notions which we get from our lexicons, we shall make of it simply,—*Thetis wore a light-blue veil, than which nothing could be* BLACKER. This looks very like saying that black is white, or that yes means no, a subtlety of which we shall not suppose plain old Homer to be guilty, and therefore must look about for some explanation of this seeming absurdity.

On this subject there are some admirable observations in the third volume of Mr. Gladstone's *Homeric Studies* (p. 457), which, however, are not in all respects so satisfactory as to have enabled them to escape the animadversions of Continental critics.[1] My principal objection to them is, not that they are wrong in the main,

[1] Schuster, in the *Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen* (XIV. 7), has two papers, one on "*Homer's Auffassung und Gebrauch der Farben*," and another, "*Der neueste Englische Homeriker, und seine Stellung zur Homerischen Frage;*" both criticisms on Gladstone. The same author has published a German version of the "*Homeric Studies*," condensed into one volume. Leipzig, 1863.

but there are some points so overstated as to carry the impression of a special pleading rather than of a judicial statement. Instead of endeavouring to palliate the offence of the poet, he exaggerates it till a defect of very secondary importance assumes the nature of a paradox. I will endeavour to state the matter in what may seem a less startling and exceptionable form :—

(1.) In the first place, we must take special care not to start with a false translation of a Greek word, a very common blunder, arising from the unphilosophical manner in which the meanings of words are sometimes put down in our dictionaries, or used in our grammars. We are taught, for instance, that μέλας means *black*, and we believe it. But this word strictly does not mean *black* any more than the word *dog* means a *Skye-terrier*. Μέλας is the Greek for the genus, of which black is the species, and this is a difference with which every juvenile framer of a syllogism is familiar. All moss-roses are roses, but every rose is not a moss-rose. The proper English lexicographical equivalent of μέλας, therefore, is *dark*, not *black*, and this generic word can signify black only when specialized and confined to a particular object. And if it be the case that the Greek language has no special word to express the species of *dark* to which our word *black* is confined, this is merely a want of wealth in the vocabulary of that language in a particular domain, to which the composition of all languages, even the most perfect, presents abundant analogies.

(2.) When making any deduction from the use of a word signifying colour in any author, we ought to make ourselves quite sure that the word does signify colour in the particular passage where it occurs. Thus, when Homer (XXIII. 186) talks of "rosy unguent," it may be that he alludes to the fragrance rather than to the hue of the rose. Mr. Gladstone (p. 470) takes no account of this.

(3.) A certain vagueness in the use of many words arises naturally in all languages, out of the circumstances under which human speech was formed. Words do not receive their peculiar significations from a conclave of curious philosophers, artists, or men of science, but from the common people to express common ideas ;

and common ideas are often extremely vague. As observation is extended, and science advances, new words are invented, and old words receive a more exact specification than the necessities of early times required. Mr. Gladstone justly remarks that the taste for colour in this country of late years has improved remarkably along with the recent extraordinary advances in chemical science. The English word "GREEN" is a general term, like the Greek μέλας, and includes every variety of this colour, from the light yellowish green of the poplar in spring to the dark-blue green of the Scotch pine. No doubt we distinguish familiarly between *pea-green* and *bottle-green;* but if our language possessed only one word for both these contrasts,—for contrasts most certainly they are, not mere shades of difference, the one being specialized by the presence of the element of light, the other by the presence of the opposite power of darkness,—if, I say, we had no term in our language to designate every variety of green from yellowy green to blue green save the generic word *green*, no person would feel surprised at the double character thus given to a single word. Every word, in fact, expressive of colour, is a two-faced Janus, of which the one face looks to the light, the other to the darkness.

(4.) The wide field covered by our English word *green* affords a perfect analogy to the vague use of the word πορφύρεος in Greek and Latin. Many a schoolboy may remember the day when he first stumbled on the "*purpurei olores*" of Horace, and wondered if the classical swans really were as peculiar in the hue of their plumes as in the melodious quality of their death-notes. But these purple swans are just the bright face of the double-faced Janus πορφύρεος, which delights in Homer more frequently to show its dark face. Purple is a mixture of red with a dark element, which may become so potent as practically to become the opposite of the brilliant hue from which it started; or the luminous element may become so potentiated as that the idea of brilliancy overwhelms the idea of colour altogether. This is no doubt a very improper exaggeration; but a very few centuries, when applied to language, can much more easily change dark into bright, than millions of centu-

ries, applied to natural organisms, could, according to certain recent shallow and godless theories, change a monkey into a man. Homer talks of purple blood (XVII. 361), a purple cloud (*ibid.* 551), a purple rainbow (*ibid.* 527), and the purpling of a dark emotion in the soul (XXI. 551). In this I do not find, with Mr. Gladstone, "a startling amount of obvious discrepancy," but only a very natural vague use of an essentially vague word; for I have little doubt that Lucas is right (*Quæst. Lexil.*) in deriving this word from the verb φύρω, *to mix, to mingle*, so that purple was originally a *troubled colour*, and belongs specially to the region of darkness, when contrasted with ἐρυθρός, φοινήεις, μίλτος, and other words by which a bright red is regularly signified.

(5.) The influence of time in bringing forward the dark or the bright side of a vague word of colour will be seen most strikingly in the words κύανος and κυάνεος. I have shown above (XI. 24), by two very distinct passages from authors who lived in the Roman and Byzantine periods, that κυάνεος meant *light-blue, azure*. But we are not entitled to conclude that, because it had this distinctive meaning popularly then, it had so always and from the beginning. On the contrary, there is not a single passage of the poet from which it can be proved that a hue like the brightness of the unclouded sky was understood by him when using this word. Had this been the dominant idea of the word he could not possibly have talked of μέλας κύανος (XI. 24). But if κύανος merely meant *blue* in Greek with the same vagueness that belongs to *green* in English, then there is no reason why it should not mean both light blue and dark-blue; though, as a matter of fact, I do not think it ever does mean *azure* in the Iliad. It is essentially dark in its affinity, as the places XVIII. 564, I. 528, XXIII. 188, IV. 282 plainly speak. Mr. Gladstone has raised difficulties about this word that seem to me altogether uncalled for. If Thetis in our present passage wears a *dark-blue veil, than which nothing could be darker*, what more natural, seeing she was a sea-goddess, to whom the dark-blue colour characteristically belongs? If the eyebrows of Jupiter are called dark-blue, and the storm cloud the same, it is for the obvious reason

that clouds are often dark-blue, and Jove is king of the clouds. The advancing phalanxes of the Greek hosts are also called dark-blue, as Schuster justly observes, plainly because the poet had in his eye the onrushing of a dark thunder-cloud, with which he compared them in his mind; and if the sea-sand is on one occasion called κυάνεος (*Od.* XII. 243), this is either because the colour of the sand is often affected by the colour of the rock from whose *débris* it is formed, or because, as the same intelligent critic remarks, the seafarer sees the sand here only through the yawning dark-blue billow, with whose horrors it is tainted.

(6.) In reference to the Homeric use of words denoting colour, we ought specially to bear in mind that not the scientific distinction of the marked varieties of light in the spectrum or elsewhere were the objects with which his Muse was conversant, but the living play of light in the concrete forms of the external world as they affect the common eye and stir the common emotions of men. If there is a certain vagueness in the use of such words as μέλας, πυρφύρεος, κυάνεος, we must recollect that the great phenomena of nature with which the poetic eye is conversant present not distinctly separated colours, but the constant interflow of colour into colour, so that only a very general term can express the actual sensuous fact. If any one will look at the sea under the action of the various play of light and shade, he will often find it impossible to express the wonderful sport of blended hues which its surface presents by any single word expressing a definite colour. No doubt the briny expanse is sometimes distinctly blue, sometimes distinctly green; but on many occasions there is a combination of darkness with changeful hues of glowing light on its face, which a poet could best express by such a vague word as οἰνοψ, *wine-coloured*. If any man should say, therefore, that the minstrel was deficient in the organ of colour because he designated the sea by this vague word, I would meet him by saying that the critic is deficient in the organ of poetry. The colour of a dragon-fly, as Goethe has observed in one of his most thoughtful little poems, is one thing when you see it playing in the air, another when you have it in your hand; so

Homer may call *iron* πολιός, αἴθων, and ἰόεις, and be more true to nature than if he had always designated the metal by one definite unvarying word. Iron may look glancing-grey or dark-blue according to the position in which it is viewed.

(7.) If Homer is not always so nicely accurate about hues of colour as a man of the same genius would now be, we ought to consider that the art which he practised in those days did not require him to have the eye of a Ruskin or a Tennyson in the contemplation of sunsets or the description of liverworts. Living forms and living motions are the grand material of the epic poet; the broad effects of light and shade in connexion with these are the only phenomena of colour with which he has to deal. It would have been impertinence in him to have shown in his popular songs any curious attention to colour beyond what either his audience generally was able to appreciate, or the epic art of his time prepared to admit.

(8.) Under these limitations Mr. Gladstone's doctrine may be generally accepted, that "the organ of colour and its impressions were but partially developed in the heroic ages." The very fact that the language of Homer has no special word for *black* seems to prove this. In the whole twenty-four books of the Iliad there is no word signifying either *green* or *light-blue*. The word χλωρός, which signifies *green* in the Odyssey (xvi. 47), if it does not rather signify *fresh and juicy* as opposed to *hard and dry*, is used in the Iliad to signify *pale* or *sallow*, or an *extremely light yellow* (xi. 631). Here we have the same vagueness that characterizes the word πυρφύρεος—a word which has two opposite faces, the one green and the other yellow, and which is familiarly used to express every gradation of blended hue from the one end of the visual gamut to the other. The number of words in the poet which it is necessary for us to express by the single word *dark* shows a want of precision in the designation of colours of which a highly cultivated sense for colour could not be guilty. It is more correct, however, in my opinion, to say that Homer and the stage of poetic art which he represented did not care to express curious distinctions of colour,

than to say that he did not appreciate them. It is a peculiarity precisely analogous to that looseness in the use of epithets to which we have so often referred in these notes as a specific character of ballad-poetry. Homer knew quite well that the blood when it comes out of a wound is *red*, not *dark*, but he did not always care to say so. The art which he practised had not yet learned to be curious about the special propriety of common epithets. It was content with their general truthfulness.

(9.) If any passage could be pointed out in Homer from which the legitimate conclusion might be drawn that words signifying colour are used by him not only with a certain vagueness, but in such a manner as to confound hues essentially distinct,—for example, if a word signifying *red* in one passage could be proved to signify *green* in another, in this case I should rather call in the common German *Deus ex machinâ* of interpolation than admit such an absurdity. I could not believe in the identity of age or authorship in passages containing such gross and palpable contradictions in the use of the most obvious words.

(10.) There is another element which ought to be taken into account in judging all questions of this kind,—the element of locality. The word πορφύρεος, for instance, might signify bright purple in one part of Greece and dark purple in another. I do not say that this consideration affects any Homeric passage, or indeed any passage of any Greek author that I know; I only direct attention to it as an element which future investigators should not overlook.

(11.) In arriving at satisfactory conclusions on such questions, important aid, of course, may be derived from comparative philology. When ascending the mountain of Ben Screel one summer lately, on the north shore of Loch Hourn, in Inverness-shire (one of the finest sea-lakes in the world), I happened to pick up a sprig of heather, and asked my guide what was the Gaelic for the colour of the leaves. He replied, *gorm*. Now, I knew, from a little dabbling in Gaelic with which I had been amusing myself, that this same word also signified "blue." Here was an obvious

analogy to those vague Homeric words whose meaning we have been endeavouring to explain; an analogy the more important as coming from a people living, like Homer, in habitual sympathy with the open air, and whose language was formed and cultivated altogether apart from the influence of books and bookish culture. Not being able, however, to arrive at any trustworthy conclusions from the talk that I had with various Highland wayfarers on this subject, I applied to the Rev. Dr. M'Lauchlan of this place, the well-known editor of the *Dean of Lismore's Book*, who kindly furnished me with the following note:—

"The word 'gorm' is used in Gaelic both for *blue* and *green*. Instances of this are numerous, as 'na speuran gorma,' *the blue heavens;* 'muir ghorm,' *the blue sea;* 'feur gorm,' *green grass.* This is peculiar to the Gaelic dialect of the Celtic; for in Irish 'gorm' means only *blue*, while in Welsh 'gwrm' means *dusky* or *dun.* It would appear that the radical meaning of the Gaelic word is *blue.* The use of it by the Irish seems to settle this. In the use of the word 'gorm' by the Gael as applicable to *green*, it is needful to observe that this use is entirely confined to the greenness of the earth's surface. In all other cases the word in use is 'uaine;' 'eudach gorm' is *blue cloth*, while *green cloth* is called 'eudach uaine.' *The use of the word as so applied may consequently arise from the indefiniteness and variableness of the colour of the earth's surface, which often assumes a tint almost blue, as in the case of the mountains seen in certain lights or in certain states of the atmosphere.* The grass itself appears in various shades of colour, often verging towards blue. Or this use of the word may arise from the Gaelic dialect of the Celtic retaining more of a British admixture than the Irish, and the meaning of the word as applied by the Welsh being retained in a modified form. That the Gaelic has many relations to its Kymric cousin cannot be denied.

"There is another Gaelic word applied to colour, whose use is more various and remarkable than that of 'gorm,' the word 'glas.' This word is represented in Gaelic dictionaries as mean-

ing *grey, blue, green, pale;* in Irish it means *green, pale;* in Manx, *pale, grey, pale blue, green;* in Welsh, *blue, grey, green;* in Cornish, *blue, grey, green;* and in Breton, *green, blue, pale, grey.* Here we have the same peculiarity pervading the whole class of Celtic languages, the same word indicating not only *blue* and *green*, but *grey* besides. At the same time there is reason to believe that the radical meaning of the word is *green.* Its application to *blue* in Gaelic is rare, while it is extended to *grey*, apparently owing to a certain amount of greenness appearing in connexion with pallor of countenance, and this paleness for the most part accompanying age and grey hair. As applied to natural objects of a green colour, such as grass, its use is very general. The word used for *grey*, and which expresses the idea definitely, is 'liath.' This word is sometimes associated with 'glas,' and forms the compound 'liath-ghlas,' or *light grey.* It may be observed, however, that the word 'liath' for *grey* is chiefly applied to man. A *grey horse* is uniformly 'Each glas,' never 'Each liath.' It is difficult to account for this use of 'glas' in the case of an animal, unless on the principle that the meaning of the word was extended gradually, so as to comprehend a wider range of objects."

VER. 130.—*Or mingle with a woman fair in love.*

This verse was marked as spurious by the ancients, διὰ τὸ ἀπρεπές, because it is unseemly that a mother should on such an occasion make such a remark to her son. This is prudery and impertinence. If criticism of this kind is to be allowed, a pen must be drawn through not a few passages of the Old Testament. See on the moral tone of Homer, *Dissertations*, p. 182.

VER. 257.—*Troilus, the steed-delighting boy.*

Troilus, like many a name connected with the tale of Troy, had a mediæval, and still asserts a modern celebrity, for which the sources are to be sought, not in Homer, but in the rich stores of the Cyclic poetry which Virgil used, and the romancers of the middle ages transmitted. In the Latin narrators of the Trojan

cycle, Troilus falls a victim to the impetuous rage of Achilles (*Dict. Cret.* IV. 9). Whether the loves of Troilus and Cressida, which Chaucer and Shakspeare have immortalized, can be traced to any classical source I do not know. On "Mediæval Homerism," see Glad. iii. 611.

VER. 265-274.—*And forth they brought the well-wheeled wain.*

The minute and curious description of this waggon and its harnessing is quite Homeric, no doubt, but not a little embarrassing to readers who have not had much experience in these matters, and have not learnt, like Homer, to make a conscience of always using their eyes. Chapman, whether, because he thought the details in bad taste, or because he despaired of comprehending them, has omitted the description altogether. Heyne says, conscious of weakness,—"Cæterum si in hoc loco quicquam a me est peccatum, veniam dabunt æqui rerum æstimatores, qui nunquam mulionis partes et operas præstiterim." I make the same confession, and cherish the same hope.

VER. 333.—*Eftsoons to Hermes spoke the god.*

The reason why Jove employs Hermes in this place to do his bidding, whereas in the Iliad elsewhere he employs Iris, is plain enough. Mercury appears here not only or chiefly as a messenger, but in his own natural and proper character as a πομπός, or guide to the aged monarch. Mr. Gladstone (ii. 237) has asked the further question, why this god appears as a young man (ver. 358) in the early bloom of youth; and he finds in this fact a proof of his theory that Hermes was a god of recent introduction in Greece, that he was "young in Olympus." But the obvious motive for the youthfulness of this god is, that the lightness, grace, and dexterity so characteristic of his person, and so congruous with his office as a messenger and guide, naturally belong to the young. Under the influence of this feeling, Tasso has given the same age to the angel Gabriel,—

> "Tra giovane e fanciullo età confine
> Prese, ed ornò di' raggi il biondo crine" (I. 13).

Is the rod (ῥάβδος) which is here described as having the power to cast men into a trance the origin of the magician's wand in the mediæval necromancy? Circe also (*Od.* x. 319) has a ῥάβδος. There is a much more intimate connexion between classical and Gothic witchcraft than appears on the surface.

VER. 400.—*Here in war to serve the lot was mine.*

It has been noted here by some commentators, who compare XXIII. 296, that, though military service seems to have been to a certain extent compulsory in the Homeric age, yet the stringency of the conscription was mitigated by ballot in some cases, and by commutation in others.

VER. 426.—*My son, if ere such son were mine.*

The critic in the *Saturday Review* (April 28), is quite right that the scholiast who makes εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε equivalent to ἄχρις ἔζη, either did not understand Greek, or by an inborn prosaic instinct too common in commentators, was turning poetry into prose. No man acquainted with Homer could doubt the real meaning of so marked a phrase (III. 180; *Od.* XV. 268). It merely requires a slight dash of emotion to make such things intelligible. But the Homeric scholia are confused heaps of gold and rubbish, kept by an ass, which it requires some animal not being an ass to sift and appropriate.

VER. 450.—*The tent which Myrmidons did frame of pine.*

Fraas and Lenz agree that the ἐλάτη is the *pinus picea* of Linnæus, the *abies pectinata* of Decandolle. Billerbeck is more vague.

VER. 480.

A man whose hands are red from murder's recent stain.

The scene here depicted was one that constantly occurred in the rude and violent times which we call patriarchal and heroic.[1] See

[1] On the perpetuation of family feuds among the Sfakian mountaineers in Crete, see Pashley, ii. 245.

Müller (*Dor.* i. 354), who proposes to read ἀγνίτεω instead of ἀφνειοῦ in ver. 482. But no sound critic will suppose that the use of the word ἀγνίτην iu the Schol. Ven. v. on this passage, can justify such an alteration of the text. These grammarians were always forward to display their learning, when the text had nothing to do with it. A person who had committed manslaughter, went, when he possibly could, to the house of a rich and powerful man, for such a man was best able to afford him the protection that he required. He was afterwards purified by certain sacrifices and rites, which are well described by Müller in the dissertations prefixed to his edition of the *Eumenides*, of which there is an English translation by Drake.

VER. 514.—Καί οἱ ἀπὸ πραπίδων ἦλθ' ἵμερος, κ. τ. λ.

This line is tautologic, and altogether superfluous; and, though not necessarily spurious, may wisely be omitted by the translator.

VER. 524.—*For so the gods have spun our fate*, etc.

I see nothing in these words to call forth the strong language in which distinguished ancients (Plat. *Rep.* II. 379) and moderns (Glad. ii. 337) have indulged in reference to them. It is a fact that mortal men suffer many woes, which we cannot suppose the blissful gods to suffer. And what harm is there in saying so? The men who spoke thus were at least as pious as we are generally, and perhaps a little more so.

VER. 544.

When Lesbos, seat of Macar, meets the sailors' view.

This *Macar* (*Macon* is a misprint) was well known in the old legendary history of Lesbos (Diod. Sic. v. c. 81, *Hymn. Del.* 37). Preller (*Myth.* ii. 111) is of opinion that he is identical with the famous Tyrian Hercules.

VER. 556-558.—πολλὰ, τά τοι φέρομεν, κ.τ.λ.

I can see nothing wrong in these lines, unless perhaps the third be an addition by some grammarian who did not understand how

ἔασας could be used without some infinitive following. But I have translated freely, in order to avoid the offence which may seem to lie in this third line taken literally.

VER. 602.—*Niobe beautiful-haired.*

The legend of NIOBE, whether as respects its mention in ancient poets, the frequent allusions to it in modern poetry, or its embodiment in certain well-known works of the plastic art, is one of the most famous in the whole range of Hellenic mythology. Niobe was the daughter of the Lydian Tantalus—a name connected in the Greek imagination with a display of that ὕβρις, or insolent pride and vain boasting which they justly regarded as one of the greatest of all sins, and the mother of many. Tantalus, admitted into the privacy of the gods, betrayed their confidence, and suffered what we all know. Niobe, his daughter, was favoured with a numerous and beautiful offspring. Her heart, to use the expressive Scripture phrase, was lifted up, instead of being humbly grateful and rejoicing with trembling at this divine favour; and the consequence was what always must be; "for before honour comes humility, but pride walketh before destruction." I am inclined to think that this legend had an historical foundation, with which the geological phenomenon seen by Pausanias (Paus. I. 21. 5) is not at variance. The form of a weeping woman may have been recognised in the rocks about Sipylus, between Smyrna and Sardes, the more readily just because the disconsolate sorrow of a real Niobe was so bruited in the district. Duncker (*Ges. Alt.* iii. 309), with the Germans generally I presume, is inclined to look upon Niobe as a goddess, the *magna Mater*, or Mother Earth of the Phrygians, weeping for the departure of glorious summer. Bunsen (*Gott in der Ges.* i. p. 283) seems to think that Homer here is alluding to some work of art—an idea which does not lie in the passage. The famous group of Niobe, familiar to Italian tourists, was supposed to be the work of Scopas or Praxitcles (Plin. *N. H.* XXXVI. 5). The Achelous of this passage was an insignificant rivulet, likely a tributary of the Hermus (Paus. VIII. 38. 7).

Ver. 614-617.

These four lines, bracketed as suspicious by Baümlein, show, more clearly than any other, the utter impossibility, in certain cases, of settling questions of interpolation in Homer. Nothing, on the one hand, is more probable than that these lines—which are quite foreign to the purpose of Achilles—should have been added by some fluent rhapsodist of later times, to give the latest edition of the legend; while, on the other hand, there is nothing more characteristically Homeric in Homer than the practice of telling the whole story in a large, easy, gossiping way, though only a part of it bears upon the matter in hand. In such circumstances, the probabilities being equal on either side, the judgment must remain in suspense. Nevertheless, a verdict must be given in favour of the received text, because the law is in favour of possession, and the burden of proving an interpolation lies with the objector.

Ver. 721-722.

The minstrel then they brought, and bade uplift the wail.

From this point, down to ver. 776, goes on the formal WAIL, or CORONACH (in Romaic, μυριολόγιαι) for the death of Hector; a sad ceremonial, which formed a precedent for many a well-known finale in the Greek tragedy. Heyne, with his infatuate dogmatism, says that the whole affair from 725 to 776 is an interpolation. If so, we can only say, as on other occasions, that the interpolator must have been a man of genius, and the original bard a very meagre fellow. As to the practice of formal WAILS, or CORONACHS, among the ancients, we may note that they are merely the public outpouring of that grief which our more private manners and emotional reticence prefer to veil from the general eye. The ancients indulged in this luxury of grief to such a degree that they hired special persons (θρηνῳδοί), generally women, with wailing song and flute, to form part of the funeral procession (Hesy. Καρίναι; Plat. *Legg.* VII. 800 E; Poll. IV. 75). These public lamentations

often went to such an excess that the law was obliged to interfere to moderate them (Plut. *Solon*. 21). The physical violence with which the wails were sometimes accompanied, is stereotyped in the name κομμοί (from κόπτω, *to cut*), by which they were known in the Greek drama. One of the most effective exhibitions of this kind, of course always with the music imagined, not indeed over the body of a dead man, but over the prostration of a mighty empire, will be found in the last scene of *The Persians* of Æschylus.

Of the three female figures who enact this concluding wail in Homer one has been already noticed (III. 180). Of ANDROMACHÈ there is little to tell beyond what the Iliad has already made the reader familiar with. At the taking of Troy she fell to the lot of Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, who took her to Epirus, where she became the mother of the race of Epirotic kings, afterwards famous in Macedonian and Roman history. She was afterwards married to Helenus the soothsayer, the brother of Paris, whom legend transported to the Albanian coast. All this the schoolboy knows from the detail in the third book of the Æneid. Euripides also has portrayed some scenes of her life in Epirus in the well-known tragedy which bears her name. Tradition told that she finally returned to Pergamus, and received divine honours there (Paus. I. 11. 2). With regard to the poet's management of the wife of Hector, Mure (i. 428) remarks, that "the part of Andromachè in the Iliad is one of suffering rather than of action. Her appearances on the scene are rare and brief. Yet there is perhaps no heroine in the whole range of poetical fiction who inspires more powerful feelings of admiration and interest; a fine proof of the poet's faculty of imparting life and reality to his actors with the smallest apparent amount of machinery. Nowhere throughout the distressing scenes of the poem where she plays a part is the meek affliction of this most innocent and sensitive of sufferers alloyed by a single expression of anger or bitterness even against the hand which had successively bereaved her of father, mother, brother, and husband. Had Andromachè combined but a small share of

the sternness of the Spartan mother with her anxieties for the life of Hector, had she uttered a few natural ejaculations of vindictive wrath against his destroyer, the charm which makes her the most angelic and interesting of her sex would at once have been dissolved."

Hecuba, on the other hand, is a character which exhibits along with feminine tenderness no small mixture of that ferocity which belongs to a bereaved mother, a woman of Oriental blood, and a discrowned queen. This taint of fierceness eminently adapted her for the genius of Euripides, who has made her the heroine of one of his most bloody tragedies. In this play he represents the unfortunate wife of Priam, after the fall of Troy, as in the Thracian Chersonesus with the Greek army, where she is made the witness both of the sacrifice of her daughter Polyxena to the shade of Achilles (xix. 1), and of the death of her son Polydore to satisfy the avarice of Polymestor (xx. 407). Towards the faithless barbarian king she comports herself with such murderous ferocity that tradition would have her changed into a raging dog, in which shape she leapt into the sea at a place called *Cynos Sema*—κυνὸς σῆμα—or *the dog's barrow*, known in the after history of the Greek wars (Str. xiii. 595; Thucyd. viii. 104; Hygin. *Fab.* cxi). Legend evidently intended to work up the catastrophe of the Trojan tragedy to a climax by making the mother of the prime offender (Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχῆς, iii. 100) end her existence in a paroxysm of rage, revenge, and madness. For guilt, as Æschylus says, is never childless; and the seed which is sown in wantonness is sure to blossom in blood, to ripen into ruin, and to bear a harvest of despair. For the wages of Sin is Death.

Ver. 804.—Ὣς οἵγ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἕκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο.

"I cannot take my leave of this noble poem without expressing how much I am struck with this plain conclusion of it. It is like the exit of a great man out of company whom he has entertained magnificently, neither pompous nor familiar; not contemptuous, yet without much ceremony. I recollect nothing among the works of

mere man that exemplifies so strongly the true style of great antiquity."—COWPER.

The fact is that Homer tells his story, and then says that he is done with it. Compare the last words of the narrative of the evangelist Luke in Acts xx. 38. If other men would follow the simplicity, naturalness, and directness of such a peroration, there would be fewer blunders committed in oratory. Homer is great here and elsewhere, principally because he is not ambitious of wishing to appear great.

List of the Editions of Homer, and Translations used by the Author; also of the principal Works of frequent Reference, with the Abbreviations.

I.—Editions of Homer.

1. Homeri Opera, Florent. Fol. 1488. Græce. Chalcondyles. Editio princeps.
2. Homeri Ilias. Aldi. 1504.
3. —— Ιλιάς. Argent. Cephal., 1525.
4. —— Ilias. Paris., 1554. Turneb.
5. —— Opera. Cant. 1711. Barnesii.
6. —— Opera. Ex recens. Clarkii-curâ Ernesti. Lips., 1759.
7. —— Ilias. Villoison. Venet., 1788.
8. —— Ilias. Wolf. Lips., 1804. (W.)
9. —— Opera. Heyne. Lips., 1802. (H.)
10. —— Carmina Homerica. R. P. Knight. London, 1820.
11. —— Ilias. Spitzner. Gothæ, 1832. (Sp.)
12. —— Carmina. Bothe. Lips., 1832.
13. —— Ilias. Faesi. Lips., 1851.
14. —— Carmina. Bekker. Bonn, 1858.
15. Iliadis Carm. xvi. H. Köchly. Lips., 1861.
16. „ „ Bäumlein. Lips., 1854.
17. —— Döderlein. Lips., 1863.
18. Homeri Ilias. Paley. London, 1866.
19. Odyssey. By Ameis. Lips., 1861.
20. —— Kirchhoff. Berl., 1859.
21. —— Hayman. London, 1866.

II.—Translations.

1. The Latin translations in most of the editions of the middle period.

2. The Iliads of Homer. By George Chapman. London, 1843. (Ch.)

3. The Iliad of Homer. By Thomas Hobbes. 1686.
4. ,, ,, Pope. London, 1806. (P.)
5. ,, ,, Cowper. 1854. Bohn.[1] (C.)
6. ,, ,, Sotheby. (Soth.)
7. ,, ,, Brandreth. London, 1846. (Br.)
8. ,, ,, Newman. London, 1856. (N.)
9. ,, ,, Wright. London, 1859 65. (Wr.)
10. ,, ,, Earl of Derby. London, 1864. (Drb.)
11. ,, ,, In English hexameters by Dart, London, 1865. (Drt.)
12. ,, ,, Worsley, Books I.-XII. Edinb., 1866. (Wors.)
13. ,, ,, French. By Dacier. 4th Edit. Amsterdam, 1731.
14. ,, ,, French. By Montbel. Paris, 1853.
15. ,, ,, German. By Voss. Stuttgart, 1856. (V.)
16. ,, ,, German. By Donner. 1855. (D.)
17. ,, ,, Italian. By Monti. Milano. 1829.

III.—Homeric Commentaries and Glossaries.

1. The scholia and notes in the editions of Barnes, Ernesti, Villoison, Heyne, Montbel, Bothe, Faesi, Spitzner, Paley, Hayman, Ameis.

2. Eustathii Comment. in Homerum. Lips., 1827. (Eust.)

3. Scholia in Homeri Iliad. Bekker. Berol., 1825. (Schol. Ven.)

4. Didymi Chalcenteri Opuscula. Schmidt. Lips., 1854.

5. Aristonici περὶ σημείων Ιλιάδος. Friedländer, 1853. Gött.

6. Köppen: Anmerkungen zum Homer. Hannov., 1792.

7. Apollonii Lexicon Homericum. Villoison. Paris, 1773. (Apoll.)

8. Dammii Lexicon Homericum. Duncan. London, 1827.

9. Buttmann's Lexilogus. Fishlake. London, 1840. (But.)

10. Wolf, F. A., Vorlesungen über die vier ersten Gesänge der Ilias. Bern., 1831.

[1] In my *Dissertations*, pp. 437-439, I quoted from the old quarto edition. This will explain certain discrepancies.

11. Scholia in Odysseam. Buttmann. Berol., 1821.
12. Nägelsbach Anmerk. zur Ilias. Nürnberg, 1850. (Näg.)
13. G. W. Nitzsch: Anmerk. zur Odyssee. Hannov., 1826. (Nits.)
14. Döderlein. Homerisches Glossarium. Erlang., 1850.

IV.—Miscellaneous Dissertations on Homer and Homeric Poetry.

1. Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age. By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. Oxford, 1858. (Glad.)
(German by Schuster. Leipzig, 1863.)
2. Die Realien in der Iliade und Odyssee. Von J. B. Friedrich. Erlangen, 1856.
3. Die Bildwerke zum Thebischen und Troischen Heldenkreis. Von Dr. J. Overbeck. Stuttgart, 1857.
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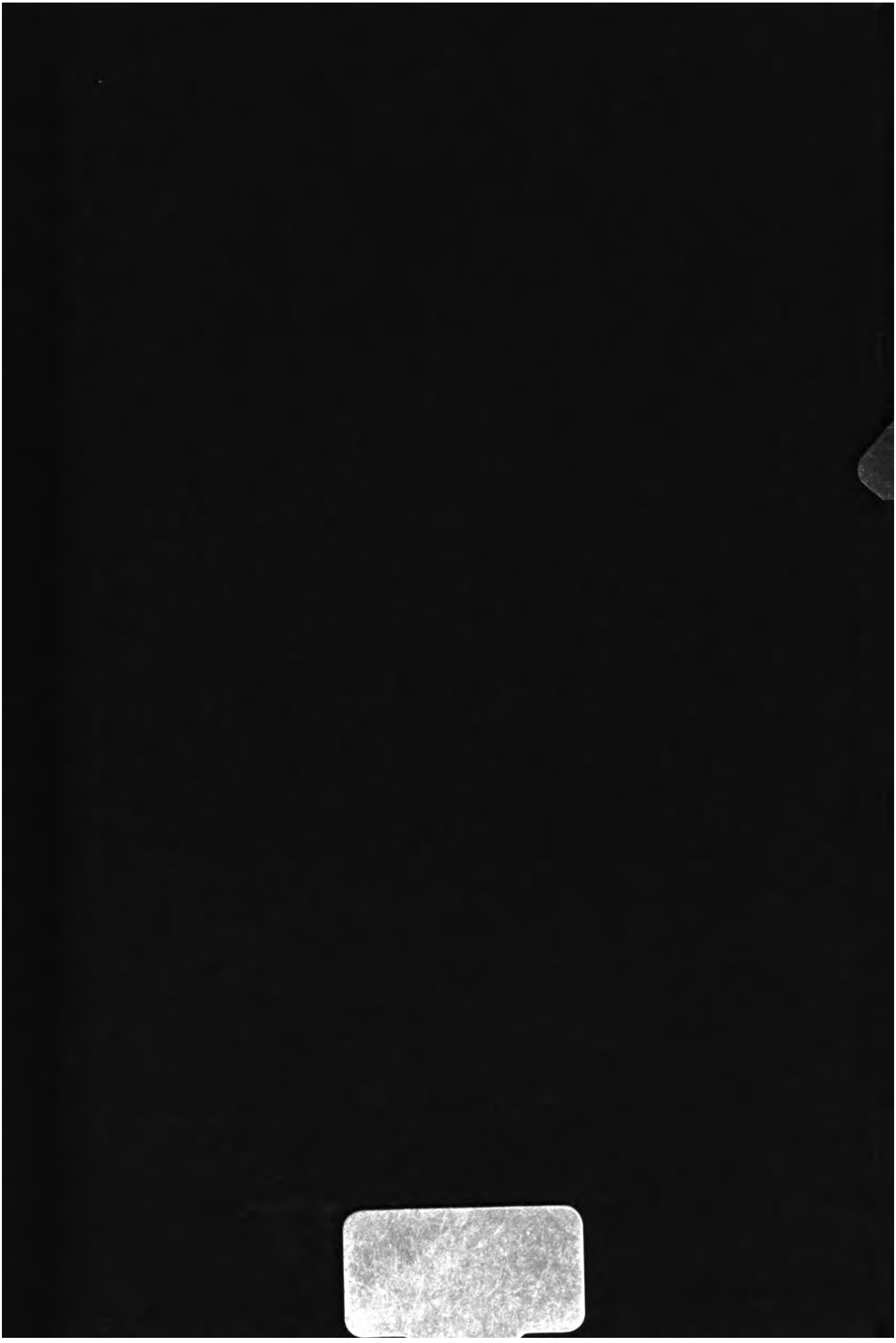
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