



To Mr. Luth
from
Gerry W. Astor

green



G. Van Gucht Sculp.

AN
ENQUIRY

INTO THE
LIFE and WRITINGS

OF

HOMER.

Thomas Blackwell.

in Blackwell's

1741-1751
London



Truvelot, inv.

L O N D O N :

G. Scotin, sculp.

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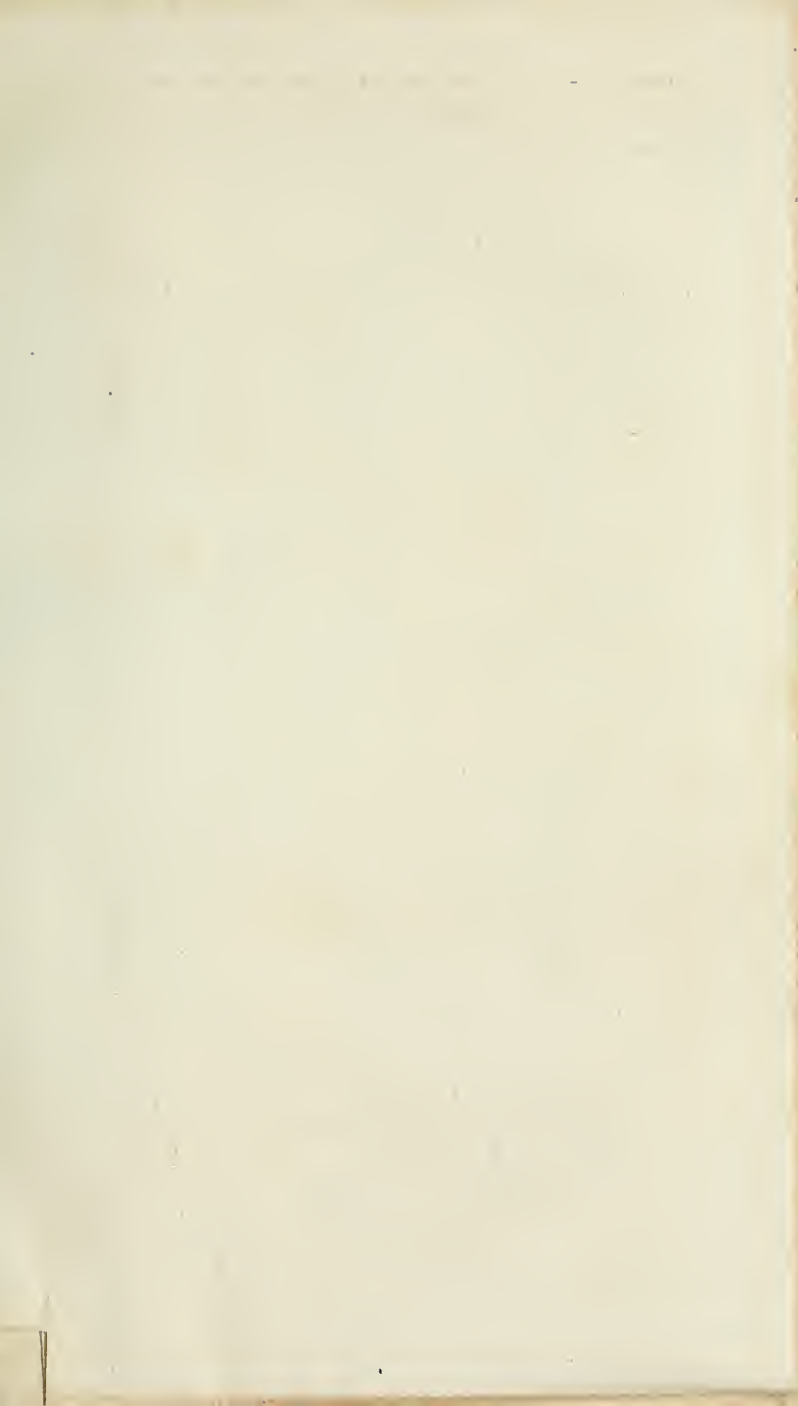
T O

The Right Honourable

*Mr LORD * * * * .*

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Notes are intended only as Proofs ; and are long in some places where an Induction of Facts was necessary. The Translations from ancient Authors, being designed for the same purpose, are almost literal ; which is the Reason why they are not taken from more poetical Versions.





GRÆCIA VETUS
et
Terra Græcis notæ.

- *Urbes anteq̃ temporis*
- *Urbes postq̃ temporis*
- *Sine nota Romani, Romanorumq̃*
- *nomini, tribuuntur Romanis sunt*
- *Sagittæ, Meneclæ, ceterisq̃ delinam*
- *Punicarumq̃ Urbium*



MY LORD,

IT is the good-natured Advice of an admired *Ancient*, To think over the several Virtues and Excellencies of our Acquaintance, when we have a mind to indulge ourselves, and be chearful. His Friends, it wou'd seem, were sincere and constant, or found it their Interest to appear so ; else the Remembrance of good or great Qualities, never to be employed in his Service, cou'd not have proved so entertaining.

'Tis however certain, That the Pleasures of Friendship and mutual Confidence, are pursued in one shape or other by Men of all Characters : Neither Business, nor Diversions, nor

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Learning, can exempt us from the Power of this agreeable Passion. Even a fancied Presence affects our Minds, and raises our Spirits both in Thought and Action. The Moralist's Direction extends its Influence to every part of Life; and at this moment I put it in practice, while I endeavour to enliven a few Thoughts, upon no mean Subject, *by addressing them to your Lordship.*

IT IS HOMER, *My Lord*, and the Question which you looked upon as hitherto unresolved: "*By what Fate or Disposition of things it has happened, that None have equalled him in Epic-Poetry for two thousand seven hundred Years, the Time since he wrote; Nor any, that we know, ever surpassed him before.*" For this is the *Man*, whose Works for many Ages, were the Delight of Princes^a, and the Support of Priests, as well as the Wonder of the Learned, which they still continue to be.

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

^a Πτολεμαῖος ὁ φιλοπάτωρ, κατασκευάσας Ὀμήρου Νεῶν, αὐτὸν μὲν καλῶς ἐκάθεισε κύκλω δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἀξίεισθε τῷ ἀγάλματι ὅσας ἀνιποιῶνται τῷ Ὀμήρῳ. Ἄλιαν.

^b Strabo, speaking of *Smyrna*, says, Ἐστὶ ἢ καὶ βιβλιοθήκη; καὶ τὸ Ὀμηρεῖον; τοῖα τετραγώνῳ ἔχουσα Νεῶν Ὀμήρου καὶ ζῶανον ἀντιποιῶνται ἢ καὶ ἔτοι διαφερόντως ἔποιητῶ. Καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμισμα τὸ χαλκῆν παρ' αὐταῖς Ὀμηρεῖον λέγεται. Στραβ. βιβ. ιδ. This Structure was built by *Lyfimachus*, one of *Alexander's* Successors.

^c Ἀμφισθενῆσι δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρου Χίῳι, μαρτύριον μὲν τὰς ὈΜΗΡΙΔΑΣ καλεῖσθαι, ἀπὸ ἢ ἔκείνῳ γένει προχρηζόμενοι. Στραβ. βιβ. ιδ.

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

BUT, *My Lord*, the happy Change that has been since wrought upon the face of religious Affairs, gives us liberty to be of the contrary

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Opinion:

^a Ὡς φησιν ὁ ΘΕΟΣ, καὶ Σέων ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ. Πλάτων, Ἀλκιβιάδ. Β.

^b De Moribus Germanorum.

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

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

Hints afforded us by Antiquity, to find out
How a blind strolling Bard could come by them.

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

IN the Division commonly made of Climates, the Rough and Cold are observed to

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pro-

^b Συνέβη τὴν παιδα (μητέρα Ὀμήρου) μιγεῖσαν ἀνδρὶ λαθραίως, ἐν γαστρὶ χεῖν. Ἡροδοτ. βίβλ. Ὀμήρου.

^c *Mimnermus*, a Man of a delicate Taste, who knew the Country well, calls it, *ἰμερτήν Ἀσίην*, the lovely *Asia*: And *Herodotus*, who was acquainted with it, and most of the fine Countries then known, affirms, οἱ μὲν ἰσίοις ἐστί, ἔτι καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ, ἔτι μὲν Ὀυρανὸς καὶ ἔτι Ὀρέων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύχχανον ἰδρυσάμενοι πόλις πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἰδόμεν. Ἡροδοτ. Κλείω.

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

^d Lest it be thought that these Consequences are strained, it may be worth while to set down the Opinion at length of the Great Hippocrates, in his Treatise of Air, Water and Situation: Βάλομαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ τ' Ἀσίας καὶ τ' Ἑυρώπης διαίξαι ὁκόσον διαφέρεισιν ἀλλήλων ἐς τὰ πάντα. — τὴν ἈΣΙΑΝ πλεῖστον διαφέρειν φησὶ τ' ἙΥΡΩΠΗΣ, ἐς τὰς φύσεις τ' ἕνωπιάτων, τ' τὴν ἐκ γῆς φουρμύων, καὶ τ' ἀνθρώπων. πολὺ γὰρ καλλίονα καὶ μείζονα πάντα γίνονται ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ; ἢ τὴν χάριν τ' χαρῆς ἡμερωτέρη, καὶ τὰ ἡθῆα τ' ἀνθρώπων ἡπιώτερα καὶ εὐεργότερα. Τὸ δὲ αἰτιον τετέων, ἢ τε κρῶσις τ' Ὠρέων, ὅτι τ' ἡλιος ἐν μέσῳ τ' ἀνατολῶν κεῖται πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, τ' τε ψυχρὰ πόρρωτέρα. Τὴν δὲ αὐξήσιν καὶ ἡμερότητα παρέχει πλεῖστον ἀπάντων, ὁκόταν μηδὲν ἢ ἐπικρατῶν βιαιώς, ἀλλὰ πάντῳ ἰσομοίρην δυνασδύη. Ἐχθὴ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίην ἔπανταχῇ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ ὅσα μὲν τ' χάρας ἐν μέσῳ κεῖται τ' θερμῆ καὶ τ' ψυχρῆ, αὐτὴ μὲν εὐκαρπωτάτη ἐστὶ, καὶ εὐδιδαστάτη, καὶ εὐδιδροστάτη, καὶ ὕδασι μάλιστα κέχρηται, τοῖσι τὲ οὐρανίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐκ τ' γῆς. Ὅυτε γὰρ ἐκ τ' θερμῆ ἐκκαύεται λίαν; Ὅυτε ὑπὸ ἀυχμῶν καὶ ἀνδρείης ἀναξεραιύεται; Ὅυτε ὑπὸ ψύχῃ πηγνύται. Νοτιά τὲ διάσροχ' ἐστὶ, ὑπὸ τὲ ὄμβρων πολλῶν καὶ χιόνῃ. Τα τὲ ὠραία αὐτόθι πολλὰ εἰκόσ γίνεσθαι, ὁκόσα τὲ ἀπὸ σπερμάτων, καὶ ὁκόσα αὐτὴ ἢ γῆ ἀναδιδῶ φύτα, ἃν τοῖσι καρποῖσι χρέονται ἄνθρωποι, ἡμερῆντες ἐξ ἀγρίων, καὶ εἰς ἐπιτήδην μεταφυτέοντες. Τα τὲ εὐτρεφόμῃμα κτήνεα εὐθύνην εἰκόσ καὶ μάλιστα, τίχτην τε πυκνότατα, καὶ ἐκτρέφειν κάλλιστα. Τὲς τε Ἀνθρώπους εὐτραφεῖς εἶναι, καὶ τὰ εἶδεα καλλίστα, καὶ μεγέθη μεγίστα, καὶ ἡκιστα διαφορῆς ἐς τάτε εἶδεα αὐτῶν καὶ τα μεγέθεα. Ἐικόσ τὲ τὴν χάριν ταύτην πρὸς ἐγγύτατα εἶναι, τ' κατὰ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν μετρίότητα τ' Ὠρέων; Τὸ δὲ ἀνδρείον, καὶ τὸ ἀταλαίπορον, καὶ τὸ εἰμπονον, καὶ τὸ θυμοσδῆς, ὅσκα εἰ δυνατό ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φύσ' ἐγγίνεσθ, μήτε ὁμόφυλον, μήτε ἀκόφυλον; ἀλλὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν κρατεῖν. Ἰπτοκράτης αὐτὸς τοπῶν, &c.

To the same Purpose the Philosopher, Ἡ Θέος (Ἀθηνᾶ) προτέρως ἡμᾶς κατέκτισεν, ἐπέλεξα μὲν τὸ τόπον ἐν ᾧ γενήσασθαι, τὴν Ἑυκρασίαν τ' Ὠρῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κατεδῆσα, ὅτι ΦΡΟΝΙΜΟΤΑΤΟΥΣ ἄνδρας οἶσθ.

Πλάτωνος Τίμαιος.

other Plants, from the happiest Exposition and most friendly Soil ^e.

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

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

^f *Thales of Miletus*, contemporary with *Cyrus*: *Anaximander*, *Anaximenes*, his Scholars, of the same Place. *Pythagoras of Samos*. *Heracitus of Ephesus*; and *Hermagoras*, who was banished that City for his too great Sobriety. *Chrysisippus* was of *Solis*, *Zeno* of *Cyprus*, *Anaxagoras of Clazomene*. *Xenophanes*, the Naturalist, was of *Colophon*. *Cleanthes*, the Stoick, of *Affus*, where *Aristotle* stay'd for many Years. *Metrodorus*, the great Friend of *Epicurus*, was of *Lampsacus*; where this Philosopher too dwelt so long that he may almost pass for a Native. *Theophrastus*, and his Companion *Phanias*, were of *Ereffiis*, and his Successor *Neleus*, the Heir of *Aristotle's* Library, was of *Scepsis*. These, and *Xenocrates* the Platonick, *Arcefflas* the Academick, *Protarchus* the Epicurean, and *Eudoxus* the Mathematician, *Plato's* Friend (all great Names in Philosophy) drew their first Breath on the same Coast: As did likewise *Hippocrates*, *Simus*, *Erasistratus*, *Asclepiades*, *Apollonius*, the greatest Masters of Medicine. It is also observable, that of the seven early Sages, called the *wise Men of Greece*, four belonged to this Climate: *Pittacus* of *Mitylene*, *Bias* of *Priene*, *Cleobulus* the *Lindian*, and the abovementioned *Milesian Thales*.

^g *Hecatæus* and *Pherecydes*, the two oldest Historians the *Greeks* had, was the one of *Miletus*, and the other of the little Island *Syros*. *Hellanicus* was of *Lesbus*, *Theopompus* of *Chios*: The old *Scylax* was of *Caryanda*. *Ephorus*, the great Historian, was of *Cumæ*; *Ctesias*, Physician to *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, and a great Writer of Wonders, was of *Gnidus*: To whom if you join the inimitable *Herodotus*, you will have the Names of the chief Historians among the *Greeks*, excepting the two *Athenians*, *Thucydides* and *Xenophon*.

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and *Poets* ^h, were Natives of the *Asiatick* Coast, and adjacent Islands. And after an Interval of Slavery, when the Influences of the *Roman* Freedom, and of their mild Government, had reached that happy Country, it repaid them, not only with the Delicacies of their Fields and Gardens, but with the more valuable Productions of Men of Virtue and Learningⁱ; and in such Numbers, as to fill their Schools,

^h *Hesiod*, near *Homer's* own Days, was of *Cumæ*; *Mimnermus* of *Colophon*, *Archilochus* of *Paros*, *Tyrtæus* of *Miletus*; *Thales*, the Poet and Law-giver, and *Epimenides*, the Charmer, were of *Crete*. *Anacreon* was a *Teian*, *Simonides* a *Cean*, *Arion* and *Terpander* were *Lesbians*: And not to mention the particular Places of every one's Birth, The admired *Sappho*, her Lover *Alcæus*, *Bacchylides*, *Chærilus* (not *Alexander's*), *Phocylides*, *Bion*, *Simmius*, *Philetas*, *Ion* the Tragedian, *Philemon* *Menander's* Rival, *Hegemon* *Epaminondas's* Panegyrist, and the Astronomick Poet *Aratus*, were all born in this *Poetical* Region. It had also the Honour of producing the *Erythræan Sibyl*, and another inspired Lady, *Athenais*, under *Alexander*. But what is by far the most remarkable upon this Article is, That the famous FIVE, who distinguished themselves in *Epick-Poetry*, were all Natives of this very Climate. Hear the Testimony of the learned *Tzetzes*: Γεγόνασι δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ Ποιητῶν (Ἐπικῶν) ἄνδρες ὀνομαστοὶ πέντε; Ὀμηροῦ ὁ καλλιόδης, Ἀντίμαχος ὁ Κολοφώνιος, Πανύσιος, Πείσανδρος ὁ Καυκίρευσ, καὶ ἕτερος ὁ Ἡσίοδος. Ἰωάν. Τζέτζης εἰς Ἡσιώδον. *Pisander* was of *Rhodes*, and of great Reputation. Πείσανδρος ὁ διασημώτατος Ποιητὴς, Καυκίρευσ ἦν, Στεφαν. πρὸς πολέων. *Antimachus* wrote the *Theban* War; and *Panyasis* the *Labours of Hercules*: He was of *Halicarnassus*. *Suidas* says of him, Σχεσθείσαν τὴν Ποιητικὴν ἐπαγγαγῆ.

ⁱ *Panzetius*, *Stratocles*, *Andronicus* the *Peripatetick*, *Leonidas* the *Stoick*, and before them *Praxiphanes*, *Eudemus*, and *Hieronimus*, were all of *Rhodes*. *Pofidonius* was of *Apamea* in *Syria*, but lived, governed and taught in the same Island. *Charon* the *Historian*, *Adeimantus*, and *Anaximenes* the *Rhetor*, were of *Lampsacus*. *Agatharchides* the *Aristotelick*, of *Gnidus*. *Erastus* and *Caryscus*, of the *Socratick* School, were Natives of *Scepsis* near *Troy*. That little Place was formerly famous for the Birth of *Demetrius*, the celebrated Critick, contemporary with *Aristarchus*; and of *Metrodorus*, a Man of high Spirit and Eloquence, the unhappy Favourite of the great

Schools, and the Houses of the Great; to be Companions for their Princes^k, and to leave some noble Monuments for Posterity.

It will probably be thought too great a Refinement to observe, that *Homer* must have been

great *Mithridates*. *Hegeſias*, *Xenocles*, and *Menippus*, were the Authors and greateſt Ornaments of the *Aſiatick* Eloquence: And in general, the Teachers of Oratory and Philoſophy came from the ſame Coaſt: *Diophanes*; *Potamon* and *Leſboeles*, great Men and Rivals, from *Mitylene*; *Crinagoras*, *Dionyſius Atticus*, *Diodorus Sardinianus*, *Diotrephes*, *Alexander* ſurnamed *Lychnus*, *Dionyſocles*, and *Damaſus* called *Scombrus*; *Apollonius Nyſeus*, *Menecrates*, *Apollonius Malacus*, *Nicias* of *Cos*, who grew Ambitious and turned Tyrant; *Theodorus Cronus* the Dialectick, *Archidamus*, *Antipater*, *Neflor*, Stoicks; with many others, whom ſee in *Seneca* the Father, his *Controverſer*. & *Suaſor*. where he relates the Sentences of the *Grecian* Maſters.

^k *Theophanes* the Hiſtorian, *Pompey's* great Friend and Counſellor, was of *Mitylene*: His Son was afterwards Prefect of *Aſia*. *Ariſtodemus* of *Nyſa* had been *Pompey's* Maſter; and his Couſin-German of the ſame Name, was entrusted with the Education of the Children of that great Man. His younger Son *Sextus Pompey*, when he was Lord of the Seas, had *Dionyſus* the *Halicarnaffeſean* among his Friends, the celebrated Hiſtorian and Critick. *Theopompus* of *Gnidus*, and his Son, were both Favouriteſ of *Julius Cæſar*; and the Father had a great hand in his ſhort Adminiſtration. *Apollonius Molo* was *Cicero's* Maſter. *Pompey* going to his Eaſtern Expedition, paid *Poſidonius* a Viſit in his School at *Rhodes*, and humbled his *Faſces* at the Gate as they uſed to do to a Superior: When he was about to take leave, *Pompey* asked his Commands, and this courtly Philoſopher bid him, in a line of *Homer*, ἄνερ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἅπαντος ἕξει πρῶτος ἐν κόσμῳ; *Always excel and ſhine above the reſt*; the thing in the World he moſt wanted to do. *Hybreas* the fineſt Speaker in his time, was in high Favour with *Marc Antony*; and the Care of *Auguſtus's* Manners was committed by *Cæſar* his Uncle, to *Apollodore* the *Pergamenian*. The elder *Athenodore* needs no other Proof of his Virtue and Merit, than that he lived and died with *Nicias* *Cato*. The younger held a high Place in *Auguſtus's* Favour, grew dearer to him the longer he lived, got great Honour; and when weary of the Court, returned with abſolute Power from the ſame to reform and govern his native City. He was ſucceeded in Favour and Honour by *Neflor* the Academick, who was charged with the Education of the noble *Marcellus*, *Octavia's* Son, and apparent Heir of the Empire.

been the first or second Generation, after the Transplantation or rather the final Settlement of this Colony, from the rocky *Morea* to these happy Lands: A Situation, in which Nature is observed to make the most vigorous Efforts, and to be most profuse of her genial Treasure. The Curious in Horses, are concerned to have a mixed Breed, a Remove or two from the foreign Parent; and what Influence it might have here, will belong to the Curious in *Mankind* to determine.

IF *Homer* then, came into the World, in *such* a Country, and under so *propitious* an Aspect of Nature, we must next enquire, what Reception he met with upon his Arrival; in what Condition he found things, and what Dispositions they must produce in an exalted Genius, and comprehensive Mind. This is a difficult Speculation, and I shou'd be under no small Apprehensions how to get thro' it, if I did not know that Men moving, like your Lordship, in the higher Spheres of Life, are well acquainted with the Effects of *Culture* and *Education*. They know the Changes they are able to produce; and are not surprized to find them, as it were, new-moulding human Creatures, and transforming them more than *Urganda* or *Circe*. The Influence of Example and Discipline is, in effect, so extensive, that some very acute Writers have mistaken it for the only
Source

Source of our Morals¹: tho' their Root lies deeper, and is more interwoven with our *Original* Frame. However, as we have at present only to do with *Homer*, in his Poetical Capacity, we need give ourselves no further Trouble in considering the Tenour of his Life, than as it served to raise him to be the *Prince* of his Profession.

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

¹ *Monf. Mothe le Vayer, &c.*

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

FROM these Accidents, *My Lord*, Men in every Country may be justly said to draw their Character, and derive their Manners. They make us *what we are*, in so far as they reach our Sentiments, and give us a peculiar Turn and Appearance: A Change in any one of them makes an Alteration upon *Us*; and taken together, we must consider them as the Moulds that form us into those Habits and Dispositions, which sway our Conduct and distinguish our Actions.



SECT.



Gravelot, del.

Scott, sculp.

S E C T, II.

THERE is, *My Lord*, a thing, which, tho' it has happened in all Ages and Nations, is yet very hard to describe. Few People are capable of observing it, and therefore Terms have not been contrived to express a Perception that is taken from the widest Views of Human Affairs. It may be called a *Progression of Manners*; and depends for the most part upon our Fortunes: As they flourish or decline, so we live and are affected; and the greatest Revolutions in them produce the most conspicuous Alterations in the other: For the Manners of a

I

People

People seldom stand still, but are either polishing or spoiling. In Nations, where for many Years no considerable Changes of Fortune happen, the various Rises and Falls in their moral Character are the less observed: But when by an Invasion and Conquest the Face of things is wholly changed; or when the original Planters of a Country, from a State of Ignorance and Barbarity, advance by Policy and Order, to Wealth and Power, it is *then*, that the Steps of the Progression become observable: We can see every thing on the growing Hand, and the very *Soul* and *Genius* of the People rising to higher Attempts, and a more *liberal Manner*.

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

^a *Thucydides*, Lib. 1.

^b Cur supera Bellum Thebanum & Funera Trojæ,
Non alias alii quoque res cecinere Poetæ?

Quo tot facta Virum toties cecidere? Nec usquam,
Æternis famæ Monumentis insita florent?

T. Lucret.

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

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

of

^c ἡ Ἑλλάς ἐ παλαιῖ βεβαίως οἰκεμένη, ἀλλὰ μετανασάσῃς τὰ πρότερον.
Θυκυδ. β. α.

^d Nec robustus erat curvi Moderator Aratri
Quisquam; nec scibat ferro molliri Arva;
Nec nova defodere in terram Virgulta; nec altis
Arboribus, veteres decidere falcibu' ramos.
Quod Sol atque Imbres dederant, quod Terra creatat
Sponte sua, fatis id placabat Pectora donum:
Glandiferas inter curabant Corpora Quercus.

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

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

THESE

^e Πορθηταὶ ἢ Ἰσάνοι Ἕλληνας, καὶ ἐπιθυμηταὶ τῆ ἀποτορίας, κατὰ σπάνον γῆς. Strabo Geograph. Lib. 17.

^f Thucydides, Lib. 1. Καὶ μέχρι τῆδε πολλά τῆ Ἑλλάδος τὰ παλαιὰ τρεῖσιν νεωτέροιαι, ὡς τε Λόκρος τὸς Ὀζόλιας, καὶ Αἰτωλὸς καὶ Ἀκαρνανίας, καὶ τὴν ταύτην Ἠπείρον. See also Plutarch, in the Life of T. Q. Flaminius.

THESE, *My Lord*, were the *Manners* in *Homer's Days*, and *such* we find them in his Writings. *Ulysses* returning in disguise to his own Country, was received by his Servant *Eumæus*, as a poor old Man, into his Cottage; and being questioned *who* and *whence* he was, tells this plausible Tale; "That he was of
" *Crete*, a natural Son of the renowned *Castor*, and much beloved by his Father while
" he lived; but at his Death, his Brothers drove
" him out of the House, and defrauded him
" of his share of the Patrimony: That however,
" his Worth and Bravery had procured him a
" rich and honourable Match:" Then he bids him judge of the Ear by the Stalk; expatiates a little upon his own martial Character, and adds,

ΤΟΙΟΣ Ε' ΕΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΔΕ ΜΟΙ
ΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΝ ΕΣΚΕΝ.

*Such in the War; I scorned Country Toils
And Household Cares, and bringing up of
Children:*

*But Ships with Sails and Oars rejoic'd my Soul;
Battles, and burnish'd Arms, and glitt'ring
Spears,*

*Things that to others Terror bring, and Dread,
Were my Delights; so God had form'd my Heart.*

HERE is plainly a Man who *professes* Piracy; and accordingly he tells, that in nine several Courses he gained so much Wealth, that he

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was held in great Esteem among his Countrymen,
 — ΑΙΨΑ Δ' ΟΙΚΟΣ ΟΦΕΛΛΕΤΟ, &c.

*My House was soon advanc'd ; and afterward
 I Reverence had and Awe among the Cretans.*

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

*But come, and tell me truly what I ask ;
 Whether the spacious Town was pillaged,
 In which thy Father, and thy Mother liv'd ?
 Or whether Men came unawares upon thee,
 Left single with the Oxen, or the Sheep,
 And dragging thee aboard, sail'd over hither
 To this Man's Dwelling ? — 8*

These being the Manners of the Times, we need not wonder at *Homer's* representing the good *Nestor*, as entertaining *Telemachus* and his Company very honourably in his House, and after the Repast, asking them, Whether they were Merchants — Η ΜΑΨΙΔΙΩΣ ΑΛΛΑΛΗΣΘΕ,

ΟΙΑ ΤΕ ΛΗΙΣΤΗΡΕΣ ?

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

NOR WAS *Homer's* own Country behind-hand with the rest of the *Greeks*. We learn from

Hero-

Herodotus, that *Latona's* Oracle in *Boutoo* had assured *Pſammetichus* (one of the twelve Kings, when *Egypt* was broken into petty Governments) That *brazen Men* would come to his Assistance: They were no other, ſays the Hiſtorian, than Ἴῶνες τε καὶ Κάρρες ἄνδρες κρητῶ λιλῶ ἐκπλώσαντες, *Ionian* and *Carian* Crews, who had ſailed out on Piracy, and were forced by Storm to land in *Egypt*.

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

C 2

POVER-

^h Condere cœperunt tum Urbeis, Arcemque locare
Præſidium Reges ipſi ſibi, perſugiumque;
Et Pecudes & Agros diviſère; atque dedère
Prò facie cujuſque, & viribus, ingenioque.

POVERTY was still prevalent in the Country, when *Pelops* came from *Asia* with a Flood of Wealth, 'till then unknown to *Greece*; and by that and his Skill in the necessary Arts of Life, he gained such Power among the rude Inhabitants, that he gave his Name to a great Part of the Country. His Descendants *Atreus* and *Thyestes* added to their hereditary Dominions; and Fortune made a Present of a new Kingdom to the elder Brother. *Eurystheus* his Nephew, King of *Mycenæ*, of the Line of *Perseus*, going against the *Heraclides*, or Posterity of *Hercules*, entrusted him with the Government during his Absence. The Expedition proved fatal to *Eurystheus*; and the Inhabitants of *Mycenæ* being afraid of a victorious Tribe, and having proof of the Ability of their Governor *Atreus*, unanimously offer'd him the Kingdom. Thus the Family of *Pelops* got the possession of two Kingdoms, and became superior in Wealth and Power to the *Perseids* their Rivals. This *Atreus* seems to have been the first, who after the Days of *Minos*, had fitted out a Fleet; for besides a large and flourishing Kingdom on the Continent, he left to *Agamemnon* the Sovereignty of many of the *Islands*, which cou'd never be held in Subjection without a naval Force. They had been, as hath been above observed, early enriched by Commerce with *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Egypt*, the first civilized Countries.

AGAMEMNON possessed of this wide Dominion and great Wealth, as things then went, was more in a Condition, than by the Oaths sworn to *Tyndarus*, to resent his Brother's Wrongs, and to put himself at the Head of the first Expedition which *Greece* made in common against a foreign Enemy^l. But the length of the War, and the Misfortunes the *Greeks* met with in their Return, brought new Disorders upon the victorious Nation. Many of the Princes^m being killed, and some of them lost by the way, Parties started up in the Cities, and the *Greeks* fell to their old Trade of one Tribe's expelling another, as formerly. But now the Contentions were longer and more obstinate, and more Blood was spilt before either Side wou'd submit. Their Cities were better worth fighting for, and were not easily given up by People grown expert in War. Nor did the Tribe that was worsted wander up and down as before, to seek new distant Habitations; but they fortified their Cities, to secure themselves and their Posterity against the like Calamities. Thus for some Ages after the taking of *Troy*, *Greece* was indeed increasing in Cities and Wealth, but was continually engaged in Wars; Taking of Towns, Battles of Tribes,

C 3

Piracy,

^l Πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἔθεν φαίνεται πρότερον κοινῆ ἔργασαμένη ἡ Ἑλλάς.
Θεοιδ. α.

^m Τῶν ἡγεμόνων οἱ βιοιωτὲς εἰς Τροίαν ἤγαγον μόνον ἀνέστρεψεν δίκασε
ὁ Λήϊτος.
Πλαυσ. βιοιωτ. βίε. δ.

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Piracy, and Incurfions, were common Adventuresⁿ.

IN THE second or third Age of this Period was *Homer* born; that is, at a *Time* when he might, as he grew up, be a Spectator of all the various Situations of human Race; might observe them in great Calamities, and in high Felicity; but more generally they were increasing in Wealth and Discipline. For, *My Lord*, I cannot help observing, that from these hard Beginnings, and jarring Interests, the *Greeks* became early Masters of the *military* Art, and, by degrees, of all others that tend to enrich or adorn a City, and raise a Commonwealth: Shipping and Commerce, domestick Order, and foreign Influence, with every subservient Art of Policy and Government, were invented, or improved; and some of them brought to a very great degree of Perfection.

AND truly it cou'd not be otherwise, while each City was independent, rivalling its Neighbour, and trying its Genius in Peace, and its Strength in War^o. Upon good or bad Success, the Citizens, all concerned in the Administration, made a careful Enquiry into the Cause of it;

What

ⁿ Μέλιση μὲν ἔην κατὰ τὰ τρωϊκά, καὶ μὲν ταῦτα, γενεᾶς τὰς ἐφόδους καὶ τὰς μεταναστάσεις σιπέβη τῆ τε βάρβαρον ἄμην καὶ τῆ Ἑλλήνων, ἐρωτῆ τίνι χρησαμένων πρὸς τὴν τῆ ἀλλοτρίας κατάστησιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῆ τρωϊκῶν ἢ ταῦτα· τὸ τε τῆ Πηλεσγῶν ἢ Φύλον, καὶ τῆ Καυκάνων, καὶ Δελέγων· Ἐπιρταί δ' ὅτι πολλαχῆ τῆ Ἑσρώπης ἐτύγχανε το παλαιὸν πλανώμενα, ἄπειρ ποιεῖ ταῖς Τρωσὶ συμμαχῶντα ὁ Ποιητὴς σὺν οὐ τῆ περὶ αὐτῶν. Στρατιῶν Μυσία. βιβ. ιβ.

^o Πᾶσα τῆ Ἑλλάς ἐσιδησαμένη Διὸς τὰς ἀφράκτες τε Οἰκίσεις καὶ ἐπὶ ἀσφαλείῃ παρ' ἄλλοις ἐφόδους. Θακιδίδης ζυγιστῆς α.

What Fault in their Conduct had procured the one, or what Excellency in their Constitution the other? This Liberty produced Hardiness and Discipline; which at length arose to that height, that ten thousand *Greeks* were an Overmatch for the *Persian* Monarch, with all the Power of the *Asiatick* Plains.

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

C 4

great

^P *Homer* says of *Antiope*,

Καί ρ' ἔτεκεν δύο παῖδ', Ἀμφισιά τε Ζηθόν τε;

Ὅι πρῶτοι Θήσος ἔδ' ἐκτίσαν ἑπταπύλοιο;

Πυργῶσαν τ'; ἐπεὶ ἔ μὴ ἀπύργατον γ' ἔδωμαντο

Ναιίμεν εὐρύχορον Θήσῳ, κρατερώ περ ἴοντι.

Ὅδυσ. Ράψωδ. λ. In the Νεκρομαντεία.

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great Parent of Invention, *Necessity*, in its young and untaught Essays.

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

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

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

IT HAS been an old Complaint, that we love to disguise every thing, and most *Ourselves*. All our Titles and Distinctions have been represented

as Coverings, and Additions of Grandeur to what Nature gave us⁹: Happy indeed for the best of Ends, I mean the publick Tranquillity and good Order; but incapable of giving delight in Fiction or Poetry.

BY this time your Lordship sees I am in the case of a noble Historian, who having related the constant Superiority his *Greeks* had over the Inhabitants of the *Assyrian* Vales, concludes “That it has not been given by the
“ Gods, to one and the same Country, to pro-
“ duce rich Crops and warlike Men¹:” Neither indeed does it seem to be given to one and the same Kingdom, to be thoroughly civilized, and afford proper Subjects for Poetry. The *Marvellous* and *Wonderful* is the Nerve of the Epic Strain: But what marvellous Things happen in a well-ordered State? We can hardly be surprized; We know the Springs and Method of acting; Every thing happens in Order, and according to Custom or Law. But in a wide Country, not under a regular Government, or split into many, whose Inhabitants live scattered, and ignorant of Laws and Discipline; In such a Country, the Manners are simple, and
Accidents

⁹ Quel suon fastoso e vano,
 Quel inutil Sogetto
 Di Lusinghe, di Titole e d' Inganno;
 Ch' Honor dal volgo infano
 Indegnamente è detto,
 Non era ancor' degli Animi Tiranno.

Pastor Fido, Choro dell' Atto 4^o.

¹ *Herodotus*.

Accidents will happen every Day: Exposition and loss of Infants, Encounters, Escapes, Rescues, and every other thing that can inflame the human Passions while acting, or awake them when described, and recalled by Imitation.

THESE are not to be found in a well-governed State, except it be in a *Civil War*; which, with all the Disorder and Misery that attends it, is a fitter Subject for an Epic Poem, than the most glorious Campaign that ever was made in *Flanders*. Even the Things that give the greatest Lustre in a regular Government; the greatest Honours and highest Trusts, will scarcely bear Poetry: The *Muse* refuses to bestow her Embellishments on a *Duke's* Patent, or a *General's* Commission. They can neither raise our Wonder, nor gain our Heart: For Peace, Harmony and good Order, which make the happiness of a People, are the *Bane* of a Poem that subsists by Wonder and Surprise.

TO BE convinced of this, we need only suppose that the *Greeks*, at the time of the *Trojan* War, had been a Nation eminent for Loyalty and Discipline: that Commissions in due Form had been issued out, Regiments raised, Arms and Horses bought up, and a compleat Army set on Foot. Let us suppose that all Success had attended them in their Expedition; that every Officer had vied with another in Bravery against the Foe, and in Submission to his General. That
in

in consequence of these Preparations, and of this good Order, they had at first Onset routed the *Trojans*, and driven them into the Town: Suppose this, and think, What will become of the glorious *Iliad*? The Wrath of *Achilles*, the Wisdom of *Nestor*, the Bravery of *Diomedes*, and the Craft of *Ulysses* will vanish in a moment. But Matters are managed quite otherwise;

*Seditione, Dolis, Scelere atque Libidine & Irâ,
Iliacos intra Muros peccatur, & extrâ.*

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

BUT NOW that I have ventured so far, I begin to apprehend, *My Lord*, that I shall be deserted. The Habit of reconciling Extremes when a publick Concern calls for Attention, is become so natural to your *Lordship*, that it must incline you to wish our Epic Affairs not so desperate; and your Knowledge of the Poetical Privilege, will immediately suggest, "That *Our*
" *private Manners*, 'tis possible, admit not such
" Representation; nor will our mercenary
" Wars,

“ Wars, and State Intrigues, receive the Stamp
“ of *Simplicity* and *Heroism* : ” But why may
not a Poet *feign*? Can't he counterfeit Man-
ners, and contrive Accidents as he sees good?
Is he not intituled to shift Scenes, and introduce
Persons and Characters at pleasure? Let him
but exercise his Prerogative, and all will be well :
Our Manners need be no Impediment ; he may
give his new-raised Generation what *Turn* and
Cast he pleases.

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

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

* See the Note, pag. 33.

^s As for the Poets in particular, says *Cervantes*, En resolucion, todos los Poetas antiguos escribieron en la Lengua que mamaron en la Leche ; y no fueron a buscar las estrangeras para declarar la alteza de sus Conceptos.
Don Quixote, Parte II. lib. 5. c. 16.

Archilochus is well known; nor is it a Secret, that he indulged his Passions, which were neither weak nor few. The *Sententious Writings of Euripides*, and *Menander's* polite Pictures of Life, represented their daily Conversation. *Plato's* admired Dialogues are but corrected Transcripts of what passed in the *Academy*: And *Lucilius*, preferred by some *Romans* to all that ever wrote^v, wrote himself just as he spoke. *Herodotus's* History shows the *Traveller*, *Thucydides's* the *Politician*, *Dionysius's* the Scholar, *Xenophon's* the *Captain* and the *Philosopher*, as truly as they acted these Characters in their Lives: Nor cou'd those *Heroes* have excelled each in his different Way, had they done otherwise.

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

^v *Lucilius* quosdam ita deditos sibi habet Amatores, ut eum omnibus Poetis præferre non dubitent, Quintil. de Satyr.

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

Pietro Bembo was of a noble Family in *Venice*; his early Merit recommended him to *Leo*, who filled his Court with learned Men, and had a true Judgment in such things himself. *Bembo* was made Secretary for the *Apostolick Briefs*; and, after two Successions to the *Pontificat*, was raised to the Dignity of the *Purple*, chiefly for his Reputation in Literature: And indeed his Learning and Abilities are unquestionable. But at the same time, this great Man admiring only the *Roman* Eloquence and Manners, wrote a History of his own Country, so much upon the Model of a *Latin Annal*, that not only the Cast of the Work is servilely copied, but the Peculiarities of their Style, their Computation of Miles and Time, and the *Forms* of their Religion and Government, are with infinite labour wrought into a *Venetian* Story. The effect of it is, to enervate and deaden his Work, which a Writer of half his Knowledge and Accomplishments, would have told better without his *Affectation*.

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A LITTLE younger than the Cardinal was *Giovanni Giorgio Trissino*, a Native of *Vicenza*. He was look'd upon as one of the greatest Masters of ancient Learning, both *Greek* and *Roman*, of his Age; and, which rarely happens, was blest at the same time with a Flow of *Tuscan* Eloquence. A Man so qualified, easily saw the Faults of his contemporary Writers; and thought it not impossible, with his Talents and Judgment, *To produce such a Poem in Italian, as Homer had done in Greek.*

H E S E T about it, and placed this great Model before his Eyes: He abandoned the use of Rhyme, followed the natural Run of Speech in his Verse; and endeavoured to adapt his Inventions to the State and Temper of his Age and Nation. He took *Italy* for the Subject of his Poem, as *Homer* had *Greece*: He has Champions of the same Country, as *Homer* has *Grecian* Heroes: He uses *Angels* for his Divinities, and supplies the ancient *Furies* with modern *Devils*: In his Geography, as *Homer* described *Greece*, and chiefly *Thessaly*; *Trissino* describes *Italy*, and dwells on *Lombardy*. He has even attempted *Fable*, and interwoven allegorical Stories of Life and Morals, with the Body of the Narration. But after all, the *native Italian* Manners are lost; and the high Spirit and secret Force which bewitches a Reader, and dazzles his Eyes, that he can see no Faults in *Dante* and *Ariosto*, is here crush'd by Imitation. Its Fate has been answerable: The *Italia liberata*

berata (for so he called his Poem) being no more read or known, than *Chapelain's Pucelle* wou'd be without *Boileau*, or Sir *R***s A***d* without the *D****. *Triffino* owes his Fame to his Tragedy of *Sophonisba*, and to his *Miscellanies*; and the *Cardinal* is preserved from Oblivion by his *Letters* and *Love-Verses*; and there too, the same Inclination *to copy* has made him check his natural Fire, that he might attain *Cicero's* Elegance in the one, and *Petrarcha's* Purity and Softness in the other.

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

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OR

* Καὶ ἐπὶ γε ταῦτων, φαίνεται μοι, ἐς μικρότερα κατακεκερματισθῆναι ἢ τὸ ἀνθρώπου φύσις, ὥστε ἀδύνατον εἶναι πόλιν καλῶς μιμεῖσθαι; ἢ αὐτὰ ἐκείνα πράττειν, ἃν δὴ καὶ τὰ μὴμύματα ἐστὶ ἀθοροισίμα.

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

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

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

^y ————— Et quæ
Desperat tractata nitescere posse, relinquit.

Horat.

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

WALLER.

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

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

* The SEASONS, by Mr. Thomson.



*Gravelot inv**G. Vander gucht. del*

S E C T. III.

WHOOEVER reflects upon the Rise and Fall of States, will find, that along with their Manners, their *Language* too accompanies them both in their Growth and Decay. Language is the Conveyance of our Thoughts; and as they are noble, free and undisturbed, our Discourse will keep pace with them both in its Cast and Materials. By this Means a Convention of Men of Spirit and Understanding, who have the Business of a City or State to manage (if they have not their Orders to receive in silence from a Superior) will naturally produce

duce Speakers and Eloquence. The same Men, if they quit their Town and look abroad, will speak of the Objects presented to them by Nature's Face, with the same Freedom and Happiness of Expression: And if, in a wide Country, there are many such Societies, speaking the same Tongue, but in different Dialects; the Language will reap the Benefit, and be enriched with new Words, Phrases, and Metaphors, according to the Temper and Genius of the several People: While each approve their own, because it is used by their Governors in their own *independent* State.

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

*Cum prorepserunt, primis Animalia Terris,
Mutum & turpe Pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter
Unguibus & Pugnibus, dein Fustibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant Armis, quæ post fabricaverat usus;
Donec Verba, quibus voces sensusq; notarent,
Nominaque invenêre. —^a*

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

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been

^a Horat. Sat. 3. Lib. 1.

^b Ἐργονομῶν δὲ ἡμῖν ἔπειθ' ἐν ἀλλήλας, καὶ δηλοῦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς
αἰεὶ ἂν ἂν βεβληθώμεν, ἔ μόνον ἔ ΘΗΡΙΑ Ω Δ Ω Σ Ζ Η Ν ἀπηλλά.
γνημῶν; ἀλλὰ καὶ συνελθόντες πόλεις ἀκίσαμην, καὶ νόμους ἐθέμεθα, καὶ
τέχνας ἔυρομεν: καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπαντα τὰ δὲ ἡμῶν μεμηχανημέλια ΛΟΓΟΣ
ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ καλίσσενάσασας. Ἰσοκράτῃ, πρὸς ἰκοκλήν

been certain rude accidental Sounds, which that naked Company of scrambling Mortals emitted by Chance^c.

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

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

^c Τὰς δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενηθείσας τῶ ἀνθρώπων, Θεοὶ ἐν ἀτάκῃ καὶ θηριώδη βίῳ καθεστῶτας, σποράδην ἐπὶ τὰς νομάς ἐξίεναι; καὶ προσφέρειν τῶ τε βοτάνης τὴν προσπνευστήν, καὶ τὰς αὐτομάτας ἀπὸ τῶ δένδρων κέρπας. Καὶ πολεμικὰς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶ θηρίων, ἀκλήλους ἢ βοήθειν, ὑπὸ τῶ συμφίρον^Θ διδασκαλίας, — Τῆς φωνῆς δὲ ἈΣΗΜΟΥ καὶ ΣΥΓΚΕΧΥΜΕΝΗΣ ἕσης, ἐκ τῶ καὶ ὀλίγον ΔΙΑΡΘΟΥΝ τὰς λέξεις. Διοδορ. Σικελ. βίβλιον. α.

^d Καὶ ἢ εἰκὸς ἀνθρώπου ΕΝ ΧΡΕΙΑ λόγῳ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ φωνῆς ἐνάφρη γενέσθαι, τὰς τε πράξεις καὶ τὰς πράττοντας αὐτὰς, καὶ τὰ ΠΑΘΗ καὶ τὰς ΠΑΣΧΟΝΤΑΣ ἀκλήλους διασφαεῖν καὶ ἀποσημαίνειν, βυβλιον. Πλαταρχ. Πλυτωνικῶν. Ζητηματιῶν.

been Poetry before : And the admired Judge of the Sublime, in the Fragment of a Treatise we have unhappily lost, has this remarkable Sentence.

“ MEASURE, says he, belongs properly to Poetry, as it personates the various *Passions* and their Language; uses Fiction and Fables, which naturally produce Numbers and Harmony : ’Twas for this reason, that the Ancients in their *ordinary Discourse* delivered themselves rather in Verse than Prose ”.

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

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ting

Ἐ μᾶλλον δὲ πρόσσει τὸ μέτρον τῷ ποιητικῷ, πάθεισι πλείστοις χρωδῶν ἢ λέξεσι; Καὶ δὴ, ἢ μύθοις ἢ πλάσμασι, δι’ ἧν ἁρμονία κατασκευάζεται. Ταῦτ’ ἄρα ἢ οἱ Παλαιοὶ ἐμμέτρως μᾶλλον τὰς οἰκίους ἐποίησαν λόγους ἢ πεζῶς. Λογὴς ἄρα ΜΕΤΡΟΥ, ἀπὸ κατασκευῆς.

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

FROM

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

Abenamar! Abenamar!
 Moro de la Moreria!
 El dia que tu naciste,
 Grandes Señales avia:
 Estava la Mar en Calma,
 La Luna estava crecida;
 Moro que en tal Signo nace
 No deve dezir Mentira.

And in the same Spirit,

Reduan! Si se te acuerda
 que me diste la Palabra,
 Que me darias a Jaën
 en una noche ganada:
 Reduan! Si tu lo cumples
 darete paga doblada:
 Y si tu no lo cumplieffes
 desterrarte hé de Granada.

Histor. de las Guerras Civiles de Granada.

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

^g As this way of tracing a Language places it in an uncommon Light, it will be proper to illustrate it by a few such Examples, as are most connected with ordinary Life. The two usual Words in *Hebrew* for Meat and Food, *Lecham*, and *Tereph*, signify at the same

FROM THIS Deduction, it is plain that any Language, formed as above described, must be full of Metaphor; and that Metaphor of the boldest, daring, and most natural kind: For Words taken wholly from rough Nature, and invented under some Passion, as Terror, Rage or Want (which readily extort Sounds from Men) would be expressive of that Fanaticism and Dread, which is incident to Creatures living wild

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

Ἦν χεῖρόν ἢ ἡνίκα φῶτες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων βίον ἔειχον

Σαρκοδακῆ κρείσων δὲ τ' ἥττονα φῶτα δαίζε.

Σέξτ. Ἐμπειρικῶς πρὸς Μαθημ. βιβ. β.

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

^b At varios Linguæ sonitus *Natura* subegit
Mittere; Et *Utilitas* expressit Nomina rerum.

Lucret,

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

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

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

go-

ⁱ Nam fuit quoddam tempus, cum in agris Homines passim Bestiarum more vagabantur, & sibi victu ferino Vitam propagabant: Nec ratione Animi quicquam, sed pleraque Viribus Corporis administrabant. Nondum divinæ Religionis, non humani Officij ratio colebatur: Nemo legitimas viderat Nuptias; non certos quisquam inspexerat Liberos: Non jus æquabile, quid utilitatis haberet, acceperat. Ita propter errorem atque inscitiam, cæca ac temeraria dominatrix Animi Cupiditas, ad se explendam viribus Corporis abutebatur, perniciosissimis Satellitibus.

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

IT WERE easy, *My Lord*, to prove these Assertions by abundance of Grammatical Examples, but they can only be understood by Men who, like your Lordship, have it in their Power to recollect them at pleasure. I will only observe, that the *Turks*, *Arabs*, *Indians*, and in general most of the Inhabitants of the *East*, are a solitary kind of People: They speak but seldom, and never long without Emotion: But when, in their own Phrase, they *open* their *Mouth*, and give a loose to a fiery Imagination, they are poetical, and full of Metaphor. *Speaking*, among such People, is a matter of some Moment, as we may gather from their usual Introductions; for before they begin to deliver

their

^k Εἰκὸς τε τὰς πρώτας, εἴτε γηγενεῖς ἦσαν, εἴτ' ἐκ φθορᾶς τινὸς ἐσώθησαν, ὁμοίως εἶναι; καὶ τὰς τυχόντας καὶ τὰς ἀνοήτους, ὡς περὶ καὶ λέγεται κατὰ τὸ γηγενῶν. Ἀριστοτέλ. Πολιτικ. Β.

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their Thoughts, they give notice, *that they will open their Mouth; that they will unloose their Tongue; that they will utter their Voice, and pronounce with their Lips*¹. These Preambles bear a great Resemblance to the old Forms of Introduction in *Homer, Hesiod, and Orpheus*, in which they are sometimes followed by *Virgil*.

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

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

^m (Κρηνη νησ) πάση επικείται τη θαλάσση; αεθόν τ' ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ
ιδρυμένων πρὸς τὴν θαλάσσαν πάλαν, Αριστοτέλ. Πολιτικ. β.

ⁿ *Danaus, Cadmus, &c.* See the *Marmora, Arundel*, Epoch. 9, concerning the Πηληγιόντορ.

were the first Instructors of the ancient Greeks°.

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

THESE were the Stages thro' which the *Greek* Language passed. It went thro' them slowly, and had time to receive the Impression of each: It lasted long, and far out-lived the *Latin*, as it had begun before: The reason was, that

° Τὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἕκαστα χρόνον, οἱ δυσυχῆτες ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἔκλειπεν πόλιν ἤξιεν ἀρχὴν. Καὶ Δαναὸς μὲν ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου φεύγων, Ἄργον κατήχε. Κάδμῳ δὲ Σιδάνῳ Θησῶν ἐσασίλυσσε. Κάρες ἢ τὰς Νήσους κατέκταν. Πελοποννήσου ἢ συμπάσης ὁ Ταντάλῳ Πέλοψ ἐκράτησε. Ἰσοκράτης, Ἑλληνικὰ Ἐγκώμια.

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that amidst all the Broils of *Greece*, they had still Liberty and Employment enough, either in Business or Literature, to keep alive something of their Spirit and Language: *That* will always follow our Fortunes, and be fitted to our Affairs and Condition ^P. For, in fact, what else do we talk of? For this reason, a flourishing, happy Nation, not over-disciplined at the Beginning, that after a long Struggle, and much Trial, comes to excel in every Art of Peace and War; such a Nation must speak the noblest Language; which, in its turn, because of the Instability of human Affairs, has no Security for its Duration.

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

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

^P Format enim Natura prius nos intus ad omnem
 Fortunarum Habitum —

Horat. ad Pison.

^Q When the Poet mentions them in his own Person, he commonly introduces them with *φασί*, *They say*.

prevailing Language of the Country. It is given as a Rule in Poetry^r, “To strip the common Accidents of Life of their plain Dress, and in order to keep up their Dignity, ascribe them to some superior Power; and for inanimate things, to give them Life, cloath them with a Person, and proper Attributes;” But few People imagine that the *ordinary* Language wore this metaphorical Habit at that time. Yet it wou’d be inexcusable else, to put Poetical Expressions in the Mouth of any other than the Poet himself: ’T wou’d be really *false Writing*, and is a common Fault in many excellent Performances. *Homer’s* grand Copier, who has wrought one wonderful Poem out of the other’s two, seems to a very candid Judge, to have come short of his Original in this particular: It is the ingenious *Monf. De la Motte* I speak of, who thinks *Eneas* by far too great a Poet; and owns, that he could not help feeling that Impropriety thro’ the whole of the second and third Books of the *Eneid*; where the Hero is not less florid and figurative in his Narration, than *Virgil* the Poet in the rest^s.

His writing so long after *Eneas’s* Expedition, and in a Language too refin’d for the Manners then in use, makes this Incongruity the more perceptible: But in the *Trojan* Times, their Speech, as well as their Manners retained much of

^r See *Baileau’s* Art of Poetry.

^s Discours sur l’Ode: & Reponse a la XI Reflexion de *Monf. Despreaux* sur Longin.

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of the *Eastern Cast* ; their Theology was a *Fable*, and their moral Instructions an allegorical *Tale*. *Achilles* comforts *Priam*, when he came to beg the Body of his slaughter'd Son, with a parabolical Story concerning the two Vessels, out of which *Jupiter* dispenses to every Man his Proportion of Good and Evil^r ; and *Glaucus* tells *Diomedes*,
 “ That like the Leaves of the Trees, first spread-
 “ ing, and then decaying, so are the Generations
 “ of mortal Men^u.

^r *Iliad* ω.

^u *Iliad* ζ.



Gravelot inv.

J. Gucht scul.

SECT.



S E C T. IV.

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

I SHALL soon have occasion to make a stricter Enquiry into the Origin both of the *Grecian Religion* and *Learning*. At present it is sufficient to say, that they came from the great Pa-

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rent of sacred and civil Institutions, the Kingdom of *Egypt*. That wise People seem to have early observed the Curbs of the human Passions, and the Methods of governing a large Society. They saw the general Bent of Mankind, *to admire what they do not understand*, and to stand in awe of unknown Powers, which they fancy capable to do them great good or ill: They adapted their religious Belief and solemn Ceremonies, to this Disposition; made their Rites *mysterious*, and delivered their allegorical Doctrines under great Ties of profound and pious Secrecy.

Ω ΤΕΚΝΟΝ! ΣΥ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΣΙ ΝΟΟΙΣΙ ΠΕΛΑΖΕΟ, ΓΛΩΣΣΗΝ
ΕΥ ΜΑΛ' ΕΠΗΚΡΑΤΕΩΝ. ΣΤΕΡΝΟΙΣΙ Δ' ΕΝΘΕΟ ΦΗΜΗΝ^α.

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

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

^α Ὁρφεὺς πρὸς Μυσαίων. In Fragment. Ὁρφικῶν Ἐπιγν.

^b *Diodorus* the *Sicilian*, after having explained the natural Signification of the Allegory of *Bacchus's* being the Son of *Jupiter* and *Ceres*, or *Wine's* being the Production of the *Earth* and *Moisture*, adds these remarkable Words, συμφωνα δὲ τούτοις εἶναι τὰτε δηλόμα, δια τῶ ὉΡΦΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΩΝ, καὶ τὰ παρυσταγόμα κατὰ τὰς τελιτάς, ὡς ἂν ἔδειμι τοῖς ἀμύτοις ἰσορεῖν τὰ κατὰ μέτρον. βιβ. γ. Which plainly shews the Nature and Tendency of the *Orphick* Rites.

of warm Fancies, who thought they might invent as well as their Masters, there were many traditional Stories tacked to the former; sometimes untowardly enough, and sometimes so as to make a tolerable Piece of the *literal* Relation, but confounding when applied to the *Allegory*. These are all the ΙΡΟΙ ΛΟΓΟΙ (*Sacred Traditions*) mentioned so often by *Herodotus*, with a Declaration that he will not publish them; and of the same kind is the ΘΕΙΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ (*the divine Tradition*) recommended by *Orpheus* to his favourite Scholar, and quoted by a primitive Father for another purpose^c.

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

* *Justin Martyr*. 'Εἰς δὲ ΘΕΙΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ βλέψας, τέττη προσέ-
δξουίς
λόγῳ παραειντικὸς πρὸς Ἐιδημάχῳ

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one great Reason of the constant Allegory in the ancient Writings.

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

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

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

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

IN effect, *Arms* at that time was the honoured Profession, and a *publick Spirit* the courted Character: There was a Necessity for them both. The *Man* who had bravely defended his City, enlarged its Dominion, or died in its Cause, was revered like a God: Love of Liberty, Contempt of Death, Honour, Probity and Temperance, were *Realities*. There was, as I said, a Necessity for those Virtues^e: No Safety to Life or Fortune without them; while every State, that is to say, almost every City was necessitated either to defend itself against its warlike Neighbour, or shamefully submit to Oppression and Slavery. And no wonder if the Man who learns

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these

^d Περὶ ὕψους. Τμήμα μὲν. ζήτημα λαμπρόν.

^e Ὁ γὰρ δὲ χρόνος ἐκεῖνος, (the Age of *Theseus*, a little before the *Trojan War*) ἦεν ἄνδρ' ἄριστος, χρόνος μὲν ἔργου, καὶ πεδῶν τάχιστα, καὶ σωματῶν ῥάμῃσι (ὡς ἴοικεν) ὑπερφυῖς καὶ ἀκαμάτους; πρὸς ἑδὴν δὲ τῆ φύσιν χρωμῆς ἐπίσης ἑδὲ ἀφίλιμον. ἀλλ' ὕβρις τὴ χαίροισιν ὑπερηφάνῃ, καὶ ἀπολαύοντας τ' ἀνὰ μίαν ἀμύθητι καὶ πικρίᾳ, καὶ τῶ κρατῶν βιάσει, τὴ καὶ διαφθείρει τὸ παραπίπτον. Ἄιδῶ δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τὸ ἴσον, καὶ τὸ φιλόφρονον, ὡς ἀτολμία τ' ἀδικίᾳ, καὶ φέρον τῶ ἀδικεῖσθαι, τῶς πολλὰς ἐπαινεύοντας, ἑδὲν ἐφόρῃς προσήκον τοῖς πλείοις ἔχον δυναμῆσι.

these Virtues from Necessity, and the Things themselves, knows them better than Schools and Systems can instruct him; and that the *Representations* of such genuine Characters bear the Marks of *Truth*, and far outshine those taken from counterfeit Worth, or fainter Patterns.

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

^f They had no well digested Body of Laws, or Plan of a Civil Constitution, before *Onomacritus*. So *Aristotle*, 'Ονομακρίτης γενόμενος πρῶτος δέσινος ἀπὲρ Νομοθεσίαν. Πολιτ. α.

^g Γὰρ τῶν ἀρχαίων Νόμοις λίαν ἀπλῆς ἔιναι καὶ βαρβαρικῆς. Ἐσιδησοφροσύντο ἢ οἱ Ἑλληνες, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐανῆντο παρ' ἀκλήλων. Ὅσα τε λοιπὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐστὶ περὶ Νομίμων, ἐν ἡδὴ πάντων ἐστὶ.

Ἀριστοτ. Πολιτ. β.

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

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

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“ their

^h Quin ipse (Tiberius) compositus aliàs, & velut eluctantium Verborum, *solutius* promptiusque eloquebatur quotiens subveniret.

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“ their ancient Poetsⁱ :” Before they are polished in Flattery and Falshood, we feel the *Force* of their *Words*, and the *Truth* of their *Thoughts*.

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

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

ⁱ ——— Græcorum sunt antiquissima quæque Scripta vel *Optima*. ———

Horat. ad Augustum. Ep. 1. Lib. 2.

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

Martial. Eprigr. Lib. 1. 10.



Goussier del.

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

S E C T. V.

BY TRACING the Causes that have the greatest Influence upon a Language, we are led to a Thought that must give Pleasure to the *truly Good*. We find that without *Virtue* there can be no *true Poetry*: It depends upon the *Manners* of a Nation, which form their Characters, and animate their Language: If their Manners are sound and entire, their Speech will accompany and do them Justice: And if we rise higher, and suppose them not only sound, but *Noble* and *Heroick* (as we must do, when speaking of Manners fit for Poetry) What

is

is this but *Virtue's* Self in all her Lustre and Dignity? Your Lordship must have viewed her at times in this glorious Dress, and will forgive me if I am inquisitive upon so amiable a Subject. Is what we call *Heroism* indeed any thing else, than a disinterested Love of Mankind and our Country, unawed by *Dangers*, and unwearied by *Toils*? If it is not, the social Passions, and noblest Affections must prevail in an *Epic-Poem*. They may vary indeed, and shew themselves very differently in different Characters: They may likewise have their *own Shades*, and must be sometimes drawn upon dark Grounds, to raise and give them a *Relief*; but still they must be the *principal Figures* in the Piece, if it is meant to give real and lasting Pleasure.

BUT, *My Lord*, there is another Conclusion offers itself, and appears so *odd*, that one does not know what to make of it: For does it not sound something like Treason in *Apollo's* Court, to say that a *polished Language* is not fit for a great Poet? And yet, if the Maxim be true, "That no Man describes well but what
 " he has seen, nor talks with Ease and Mastery,
 " but in the Language and Idiom he has been
 " used to," I apprehend we must assent to it. Your Lordship is so well acquainted with what passes for Politeness of Stile, that I need be at no pains to make out the Consequence. Let me only observe, that what we call *Polishing*
 dimi-

diminishes a Language; it makes many Words obsolete; it coops a Man up in a Corner, allows him but one Set of Phrases, and deprives him of many significant Terms, and strong beautiful Expressions, which he must venture upon, like *Virgil*, at the hazard of appearing antiquated and homely.

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

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

PARTS

^a *Critique des Aventures de Telemaque*. A Piece equally cruel and unjust; without other Handle in fact, than what arises from the Glow of an elevated Fancy, and the Incompatibility of Manners.

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Parts of it lie exposed, as attempt a Mixture of ancient and modern Manners; that is, when he would reconcile *old Heroism* with *Politicks*, and make Poetry preach *Reasons of State*.

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

BESIDES,

^b When the Cardinal *Richelieu* had obliged the *French Academy* to censure the *Cid*, a Piece of the celebrated *Corneille's*, the Author wrote a Letter to the Cardinal's Favourite *M. de Boisrobert*, where he tells him, " J'attens avec beaucoup d'Impatience les Sentimens de l'Academie, afin d'apprendre ce que dorenavant je dois suivre : Jusques là, je ne puis travailler qu' avec défiance, & n'ose employer un Mot en seureté.

P. Peliffon. Hist. de l'Acad. Française.

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

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

NO WONDER if the frightened Author, haunted with such *sable Spectres* instead of *Muses*, is delivered of a distorted Production. Their

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

I N

^c A Book in *Spain* must pass through six Courts before it is published. I. It is examined by the *Examinador Synodal* of the Archbishoprick, commissioned by the *Vicario*. II. It goes to the Recorder of the Kingdom where it is to be published, *Chronista de Castilla, Arragon, Valencia, &c.* III. If approved by them, it is licensed by the *Vicario* himself, attested by a *Notario*. IV. The Privilege must be had from his *Majesty*; and a *Secretary* countersigns. V. After it is printed, it goes to the *Correitor General por su Magestad*, who compares it with the licensed Copy, lest any thing be inserted or altered. And VI. The Lords of the Council tax it at so much a Sheet. In *Portugal*, a Book has seven Reviews to pass before Publication. I have smiled at some of their Title-Pages, bearing for the greater Security of the Buyer, *Com todas as licenças necessarias*.

IN Opposition to these Opinions, it may be advanced by such as are acquainted with the Progress and Periods of Literature, That the *Interval* between the high Liberty and Enslavement of a State, has been observed to shew the World some noble Productions. The *Fact* is unquestionable; and to discover the Causes of it, we need only consider the *Steps* by which a Government falls from its Rights, to be at the Mercy of a *single Person*. In general this Disaster is laid to the Door of *Corruption*, and very justly: *Ambition* and *Luxury* seldom fail, when they have attained their full Growth, to throw a State into Convulsions, and make it ripe for a Master. They dispose Men to *give* and *take*, upon certain Considerations, which in time grow *weighty* enough to affect the Publick: But at the same time there is no Season on Earth when Men are so thoroughly known. When the Offers are tempting, and Bribes run high^d, it is then that Men discover what they

^d Biduo, per unum servum, & eum ex gladiatorio ludo, confecit totum negotium: Accersivit ad se, promisit, intercessit, dedit. Jam verò, O Dii boni Rem perditam! etiam *Noctes certarum Mulierum*, atque Adolescentulorum nobilium *Introducti-ones*, nonnullis Judicibus pro mercedis cumulo fuerunt.

Cicero writing to *Atticus* the History of *Clodius's* Acquital by the Assistance of *Crassus*. Lib. 1. Ep. 13.

Curio's Bribe to change Sides, and betray his Country, was *Centies*. H.S, or 80,729 l. 3 s. 4 d. He wanted this and five times more to free him of Incumbrances; for he had a Debt of *Sextenties*, H.S. 484,375 l.

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they are worth, or what they will sell themselves for. The Man of real Virtue appears with double Lustre after the Refusal; and he who has withstood one Temptation, when his *Foible* is found out, and rightly applied to, gives way upon the second, and fixes his Price. Mankind in this respect are like certain *Indian Feathers*; they do not shew to Advantage in one Light only, but the Disorder and Dangers frequent at such Junctures, set all their Passions a going, and turn them into every Shape they are capable of: And these Attitudes, when well observed, and justly copied, give us the excellent Pieces above-mentioned.

BESIDES, the Times of such Struggles have a kind of *Liberty* peculiar to themselves: They raise a free and active Spirit, which overspreads the Country: Every Man finds himself on such Occasions his own Master, and that he *may be* whatever he can *make* himself: He knows not how high he may rise, and is unawed by Laws, which are then of no Force. He finds his own Weight, tries his own Strength, and if there is any hidden Worth, or curbed Mettle in him, certainly shews and gives it vent. Accordingly we see, that the Genius's produced at these Times, give great Proofs of *Reach* and *Capacity*, especially in politick Managements and civil Affairs, in
the

the largest Sense^e. The abstract *Sciences* are generally the Product of *Leisure* and *Quiet*^f; but those that have respect to *Man*, and take their Aim from the human Heart, are best learned in Employment and Agitation.

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

F *Civil*

^e *Thucydides, Aristotle and Demosthenes* among the *Greeks*, and *Cicero, Virgil and Horace* among the *Romans*, were Witnesses to Civil Wars, or Attempts made upon the Publick Liberty. Some of them surviv'd it, and some fell in its Defence.

^f Καὶ πρῶτον ἐνεργήθησαν (αἱ Ἐπισήμαι) - οἰοῖς τοῖς τότε ἐπι-
 ἐχόλασαι· διὸ περὶ Ἄιγυπτος, αἱ μαθηματικαὶ πρῶτον τέχναι σιμεί-
 ησαν; ἐκὶ ἧς ἠφέειδη χολάζει τὸ ἴ ἱερέων ἔθου.

Αριστοτ. μϚ τὰ φυσικ. α. τὸ μίξιν.

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Civil Rage, that our high-spirited Poem took its Birth. It is true, the *Plan* of *Paradise Lost*, has little to do with our present Manners; It treats of a sublimer Theme, and refuses the Measure of Human Actions: Yet it every where bears some Analogy to the Affairs of Mankind; and the Author (who had viewed the Progress of our Misery) has embellished it with all the proper Images his Travelling, Learning and Experience could afford him.

BUT AS few of the Changes which Letters have undergone, pass unobserved by so quick an Eye, your Lordship will probably ask; “ Since a polished Language, and the
 “ Deference paid to an absolute Court, are
 “ incompatible with the nobler kinds of
 “ Poetry, how came the *new* Comedy
 “ to excel the *old*, which had all liberty of
 “ Language and Manners, while the other
 “ grew up under the Influence of Luxury,
 “ and the Awe of the *Macedonian* Power?
 A learned and sententious Writer will not allow this to be true: “ The Old Comedy, according to him, was employed in the
 “ formation of *Manners*, in recommending
 “ Virtue, and pointing out the Abuses of the
 “ State; whereas the New was contented to
 “ trifle with Punks and Pandars; the *old*
 “ *Chuff*, the *Davus*, or Knave of the Family, and his young *Master*: The Scene,
 “ he

“ he says, is always at *Athens*, and all the
“ Pother is some little jilting Story, or kna-
“ vish Prank; proposing only some trifling
“ *Mirth* or silly *Pastime*!

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

F 2

Digni-

§ Pinxit & Dêmon (ΔΗΜΟΝ) Atheniensium, Argumento quoque ingenioso. Volebat namque varium, iracundum, injustum inconstantem; eundem exorabilem, clementem, misericordem, excelsum, gloriosum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque, & omnia pariter ostendere.

Plinius, de Parrhasio, Lib. 35. § 10.

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

I MUST however own, that while the high *Democracy* prevailed at *Athens*, and the Commonalty were possessed of that uncontrouled Power which *Pericles* had put in their hands, and *Cleon* exercised, during that time, *Aristophanes* and his Fellows had *Originals* to draw from; and in that respect their Wit and Writings, which appear to us *theatrical* and *false*, are *natural* and *true*. But that wild licentious Government was no sooner check'd by Fears from abroad, (which always produce Regulations at Home) than the κἀλοὶ κ'ἀγαθοί, the Men of Capacity and Worth, began to distinguish themselves and appear eminent; A Secrecion was made; Manners were formed, and Characters observed and valued. Here was the Rise of the *new* Comedy; *Ribaldry* was banished, and *Menander* wrote. That is, at a Season when *Liberty* was not lost, but the Excrecencies of it lopp'd off; when the Humour of that witty People was not quashed but regulated: So true it is, *That every* kind of Writing, but especially the Poetick, depends upon

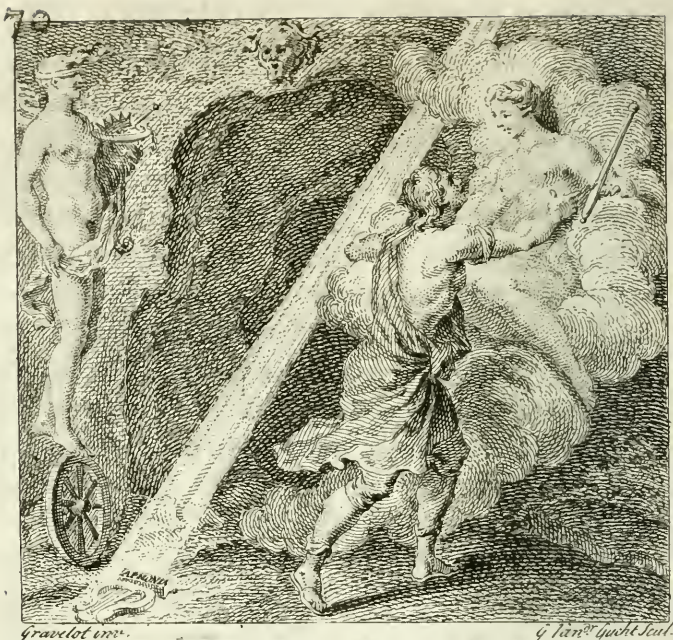
upon the Manners of the Age when it is produced. The best *Poets* copy from *Nature*, and give it us such as they find it. When once they lose Sight of this, they write false, be their natural Talents ever so great. Let *Torquato Tasso* witness the Truth of this, and the rapid *Ariosto*; each endowed with a fertile Genius, and a happy Expression; but who quitting Life, betook themselves to Aerial Beings and *Utopian* Characters, and filled their Works with *Charms* and *Visions*, the modern Supplements of the *Marvelous* and *Sublime*.



velot inv.

S. E. C. T.

1st Gucht. Seul.



S E C T. VI.

WHEN I reflect, *My Lord*, upon this way
of reasoning, from the Influence that
publick *Manners* have upon Writing, I make
no doubt but the Question will recur ; Since
it is absolutely the *Conjuncture*, and *Man-*
*n*ers of the *Times* that produce Poets, “ How
“ have we but one *Homer* ? Cou’d a Space
“ of two or three hundred Years, when
“ *Greece*, and the Coast of *Asia*, was in a
“ proper Temperament for such Formations,
“ bring forth but *one* ?

THE Answer is obvious; That tho' it be absolutely necessary, yet it is not the *only Condition*: There are many required besides; too many to be here enumerated; there is an universal and elevated Genius; a Quality so rare, that an excellent Author of our Nation seems to think, "That of all the Numbers of Mankind, that live within the Compass of a thousand Years, for one Man that is born capable of making a *great Poet*, there may be a thousand born capable of making as great Generals, or Ministers of State, as the most renowned in *Story*"^a. But tho' this were exaggerated, there are many subsequent Circumstances of Life, many Advantages of Education, and Opportunities of knowing Mankind in general, and seeing particular Subjects fit for Poesy, which can hardly meet in one and the same Person.

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

^a Sir William Temple. Miscell. Part 2. Essay 4. Poetry.

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

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

^b Musæum ante omnes — *Æneid.* 6. *Horat.* Ode 11. *Lib.* 3. & de *Arte Poetica*.

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

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

“ THO’

^c C. Vellei Paterc. Hist. Roman. Lib. 1. in fine.

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

“ IN LIKE manner, the *Philosophical*
 “ Sages of the *Socratick* School, how short
 “ did they last after *Plato* and *Aristotle’s*
 “ Death? As to *Oratory*, who can be said
 “ to have *excelled* in it before *Isocrates*, or
 “ after the second Descent of his Scholars?
 “ They came all so close together, that no
 “ one great Man can be seen at any distance
 “ of Time from another.” Then the Histo-
 rian proceeds to shew, that the same thing had
 happened among the *Romans*; and, with great
 Reason, extends his Observation not only to
 the sublimer Sciences, but also to *Gram-*
marians,

marians, Painters, Statuaries, Sculptors, Founders, and to all the subservient Arts. The same Event might be shewn to have fallen out in any Nation, where Learning ever flourished, and whose History is known.

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

sings,

^d See *Discours Physique sur les Influences des Astres*; where the Planetary Powers are reduced to *Des Cartes’* Principles, and accounted for by the *Materia Subtilis*. 12^{mo} Paris chez Coignard.

^e Les Astres, & principalement les Signes & les Planetes sont (après Dieu) la seconde Cause des Mœurs. Le Poete marque la Force qu’elles ont sur la Complexion des Hommes, quand, &c. — Voilà comment Virgile fait l’Horoscope de l’Empire Romain, en sa naissance. P. Bossu du Poeme Epique Liv. 4.

^f ————Distat enim, quæ
 Sydera te excipiant, modo primos incipientem
 Edere Vagitus, & adhuc a Matre rubentem
 Ventidius quid enim? Quid Tullius? Anne aliud quàm
 Sydus, & occulti miranda Potentia fati? Juvenal.

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

* Livij Hist. Lib. 26. † Heroda. Erato. ‡ Justin. Lib. 1.

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

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

I H A V E

^h Naturaque quod summo studio petitum est, ascendit in summum, difficilisque in perfecto mora est, naturaliterque, quod procedere non potest recedit.

Velle. P. Hist. R. Lib 1.

ⁱ In *Hesiod's* Days, who, if not Contemporary, lived at no great Distance of Times from *Homer*, a Poet, or $\Lambda\omicron\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$, was as common a Calling as a Potter or a Joiner, and as liable to Emulation and Envy.

Καὶ Κεραμεὺς Κεραμῆ κατέβη, καὶ Τέκτωνι Τέκτων;

Καὶ Πτωχὸς Πτωχῶ φθονεῖ, καὶ $\Lambda\omicron\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$ $\Lambda\omicron\iota\delta\omicron\omega$.

^h Hesiod. Ἔργ. καὶ Ἡμέρ.

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

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

Pii Vates & Phæbo digna locuti^l;

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

^k See Page 45 & 46.

^l Virgil *Æneid.* 6.

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

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

*Et sævos Lapithas, & nimium Mero
Hyleum, domitosque Herculeâ manu
Telluris Juvenes, unde Periculum
Fulgens contremuit Domus
Saturni veteris.— m*

THESE, *My Lord*, were their Subjects: They are some of the ΒΡΟΤΩΝ ΘΕΛΚΤΗΡΙΑ, as *Penelope* calls themⁿ; the

ΕΓΓ' ΑΝΑΡΩΝ ΤΕ ΘΕΩΝ ΤΕ, ΤΑΤΕ ΚΛΕΙΟΥΣΙ ΑΟΙΔΟΙ.

*Doings of Gods and Men, which Poets use
To celebrate.—°*

They

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

ⁿ Songs to sooth Mankind. Οδυσ. α.

^o Ibid.

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

THIS APPEARS from the Accounts given of them by *Homer* himself: particularly when he relates, that the greatest Prince of the Confederate *Greeks* put his beautiful Wife under the Tuition of a *Bard*; and takes care to let us know, that the *Lady* was inaccessible, until that faithful Guardian was removed. *Many* of them lived contemporary with *Homer*: No Prince's Court seems to have been without one or more of them; and they resorted to all the great Feasts and high Solemnities, to assist at the Sacrifices, and entertain the People. We know some of their Names, who tuned their Lyres to the foregoing Subjects; but their Songs are lost, and with them many a *Strain* of true *Poetry* and *Imitation*.





Gravelot inv

G. T. ar Gucho Sculp

S E C T. VII.

HITHERTO, *My Lord*, we have view-
 ed *Homer's* publick Advantages, and have
 found that they afforded him the fittest *Man-
 ners* for Poetical Compositions, and the noblest
Language to express them. We have viewed
 these in their *own Beauties*, and tried them
 both by the *Foils* of their Contraries, and
Strength of their Consequences. His *Person-
 al Good-fortune* is now before us; I mean,
 “What effect, his private *Education*, his
 “*Way of Life*, and *Success* in it, must have
 “upon him as a *Poet*.”

THE

THE TRADITION concerning his Education is very lame. *Plutarch* having related his Mother's Adventures about the time of his Birth, passes over the first part of his Life in silence. But if the Relation of it ascribed to *Herodotus* be true, he was educated in the only way that Learning was to be had at that time. *Letters* were then but little known, and it seems strange, that in such a Place as *Smyrna*, where according to the cruel Practice of these Ages, the *Lydians* had been just expelled by another Tribe, there should be any Body who understood or taught them.

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

G of

^a Τὸν δὲ ΦΗΜΙΟΝ, ἡ παλαιὰ ἱστορία, διδάσκαλον γενεᾷ λέγει τῆ Παιητῆ, ἄνδρα σόφον, καὶ μέσαις κάτοχον—— φιλόσοφον ἢ ὁ Φήμιον, κατὰ καὶ πᾶς ΑΟΙΔΟΣ.

¹Ευσαθ. εἰς τὴν α' Ραψωδ. Οδυσσ.

He is said to have written a Poem, ΝΟΣΤΟΝ ἢ δὲ Τροίας μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονα ἀνακομισθένταν.

²Ἡοκκλ. παρὰ Πλάταρχ. περὶ Μυσικῆς.

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of Knowledge it was possible, in that Age, for a Man to acquire ?

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

^b De Poëmatum Origine magna quæstio est : Ante Trojanum Bellum probantur fuisse. *Plinij Hist. Nat. Lib. 7. Cap. 56.*

^c Herodot. Euterpe, Lib. 2.

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

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

THE WAY I would understand this Maxim is, Since it is natural to all Nations to employ Allusions, and speak in Similitudes, the *Egyptian* Priests have built upon it, settled the Tropes and Metaphors, and improved it into an *Art*. Nor did they stop here; but, as

a second *Wrapper*, and a Remedy against the growing Knowledge of the *Country*, they invented, or borrow'd, a *new Character* for writing these Allegories. They called it *ΙΕΡΑ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ*, or *Holy Letters*, because they must be known by none but the Priests, nor used by them but in divine Matters.

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

'TIS TRUE, there was as yet no *Separation* of *Wisdom*: The Philosopher and the Divine, the Legislator and the Poet, were all united in the same Person^g. Such was *Orpheus*,
and

^d 'Αἱ ΔΑΝΑΟΙ θυγατέρες ἦσαν, αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην (τὴν Σετμοφοσίαν Δήμητρος) ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου ἐξαγαγῆσαι, καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγικῆς γυναικας. Ἡροδοτ. Ἐυτερεπῆ.

^e Ἄλλαι μὲν (Μυθοποιῖαι) ἐπὶ Μάγοις γεγονόσιν (to wit in *Affyria* or *Babylon*) ἄλλαι δὲ παρὰ Φυζῆι, καὶ ἤδη παρ' Ἀιγυπτίους, &c. Φορβῆ, Περὶ τῶν παραδεδομένων Μυθῶν. Cap. 17.

^f Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐνόμια τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου ἐλήλυθε εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Ἡροδοτ. Ἐυτερεπῆ.

* See Page 98.

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

G 3

Fable,

^ε Θ Α Λ Η Σ, Μελοποιὸς ἀνὴρ, καὶ νομοθετικὸς. Strabo, Lib. 10. *Lycurgus*, they say in his Travels, found *Thales* in *Crete*, and sent him to *Lacedæmon*.

^h Πρώτερον μὲν ἐν ποιήμασι ἐξέφερον οἱ φιλόσοφοι τὰ δόγματα, καὶ τὰς λόγους, ὡς περ ΟΡΦΕΥΣ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ.

Πλωταρχ. περὶ Πυθ. καὶ Σι.

ⁱ *Pythagoras* & *Democritus*.— ambo, peragratis *Perfidis*, *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, *Ægyptique* Magis. Plin. Lib. 25. cap. 2.

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

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

Ἦν ποτὲ χρόνον ἕτερον ἔν ᾧ ἅμα πάντ' ἐπιφύκει.

It contains an Idea of the ancient *Chaos*, or that primigenial State of Nature, when the Elements lay blended together, and Confusion and Darkness exercised an uncontrouled Dominion. The same Author adds, That *Anaxagoras* was thought to have taken occasion from thence to advance his celebrated Position,

“ That originally, all things lay jumbled together in one jarring and disorderly Mass,
“ but

^k Diodorus Sicul. Biblioth. Lib. 3.

^l Ibid.

^m In Proœmio,

“ but that a *Mind* came and put them in
“ Order.

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

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

G 4

copied

ⁿ *Pausanias*, *Bœot.* Lib. 9.

^o *Plutarch.* De Musicâ.

^p *Horat.* Ep. 1. Lib. 2. Ad Augustum.

^q Ἐξαμετρῶν κατάρξαι λέγεται τις ΦΗΜΟΝΟΗ γυνή, προ-
φῆτις Ἀπόλλωνος. Ἐυσαθ. Προσίμ. πρὸς Ὀμήρον.

And *Strabo*, Πρώτῳ δὲ ΦΗΜΟΝΟΗΝ φασὶ γενιάσθαι Πυθίαν.
Lib. 9:

^r *Pausanias* *Bœot.*

copied the *Hymn to Jupiter*, and changed it much for the better^s.

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

^s *Pampho* had said, Ζεῦ κούδισε. μέγιστε θεῶν, εἰλημημένη κόπρω,
Μηλείη τε, καὶ ἱππείη, καὶ ἡμιονείη.

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

Ζεῦ κούδισε, μέγιστε, κελαϊνεφές, ἀιδίρι ιαίων.

Φιλοσράλ. Ἑραιοῶν.

^t Ὁ δὲ Ὀρφεὺς οὐδένα φαίνεται μεμιμημημένη.

Περὶ Μουσικῆς.

^v In *Orphæo*.

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

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

ΟΡΦΕΥΣ μὲν γὰρ τελετὰς δὲ ἡμῖν κατέδειξε;
φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι.

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

As

^x Hesung, Ἀρχαίς μὲν πρώτῃ ΚΛΟΥΣ ἀμίγαρτον ἀνάγκη, καὶ ΚΡΟΝΟΝ, ὅς τ' ἐλόχευσεν ἀπφρῆστοῖσι ὑφ' ὄλοις Αἰθερᾷ; καὶ διφυῆ παλαιὰ κυδρὸν Ἐρωτᾷ, Νυκτὸς ἀγέννητης Πατέρα κλυτὸν; ὃν ῥα Φανητᾷ Ὀπλοτέρῃ καλέεσι βροτοί, πρώτῃ ἢ ἐφάνθη. Βριμοῦς τ' εὐδυνάτοιο γονῆς; ἢ δ' ἔργ' αἰδήλα Γίγαντων; οἱ λυγρὸν ἀπ' Οὐρανῶ ἐσάξοντο Σπέρμα γονῆς τὸ πρόσθεν; ὅθεν γένε' ἐξεργέοντο Θνητῶν, οἱ κατὰ γαίαν ἀπερίττον αἰὲν ἔεσι.

ΟΡΦΕΥΣ Ἀργοναυτῶν.

^y Horat. ad Pison.

^z Βατσαχ.

AS HIS *Name* for many ages was the first in *Greece* for Sanctity and Wisdom, his Doctrines, if they were not by himself committed to Writing, must be current by *Tradition*. The Prince of the Philosophers quotes two Lines from his *Theogony* without insinuating any Suspicion of their not being genuine ^z; as *Aristotle*, the grand Critick, does both from him ^a, and from his Successor ^b. Nay so late as the Reign of *Augustus Cæsar*, *Diodorus the Sicilian* mentions the *Poem of Orpheus* as a Piece then held in great Admiration ^c. And truly I cannot doubt but that the Writings that passed under his Name, whether written by *Musæus* or *Onomacritus* contained his genuine Dogmas ^d.

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

^z ΟΚΕΑΝΟΣ πρώτῳ καθ' ἑρῶς ἤρξε γάμοιο;

^a Ὅς ῥα κασιγῆτην ὁμομήτορα Τητύον ἔπειεν.

Κεάτυλῳ.

^b Ἄριστῳ. Ὀικονομικῶν α.

^c Φησὶ γυνὴ καὶ ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ εἶναι, — Βεῖσῳ ἠδίστον ἀσίδῳ.

^d Ἄριστῳ. Πολιτ. θ.

^e Καὶ τῷ Πόημα συντάξε τὸ θαυμαζομένον καὶ κατὰ τὴν ᾠδὴν ἐμμελεῖα διαφέρειν.

Διοδ. Σικελ. βιβλ. β. δ.

^d They were called the ΟΡΦΙΚΑ ΕΠΗ: ἐν τοῖς Ὀεφικαῖς καὶ λαμβάνοις ἔπεισι, says *Aristotle*, πρὸς ψυχῆς α.

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

CONTEMPORARY with these was *Syagrus*, whose Character is still more confined to the Province of a Poet. ^h *Eliau* says he too sung of the War at *Troy*, and was “the first who gave
“ a loose to his Muse upon that noble Subject.” *D. Laertius* calls him *Sagaris*, and brings him down to *Homer*’s own Days; whose Rival and Enemy he says he was while alive, as *Xenophanes* proved after he was deadⁱ.

WE

^e *Diog. Laertius* in Proœm: Where he gives a Principle of *Musæus*’ Philosophy.

Ἐξ ἐνὸς τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι, καὶ εἰς τ’ αὐτὸν ἀναλύεσθαι.

^f *Atticis* & *Messeniacis*.

^g *Hephaestio* apud *Photium* CODICE CXC. *Suidas* in *Eumolpo*.

^h Ὅτι ΣΥΑΓΡΟΣ τις ἐγένετο Ποιητῆς μὲτ’ Ὀρφείᾳ καὶ Μυσαῖον, ὅς λέγεται τὸν ΤΡΩΙΚΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ πρῶτον ἄσαι; μεγίστης ἐστὶν ὑποδίσεως λαεόμην, καὶ ἐπιτολήσας ταύτην.

Ἄλιαν. Ποικιλ. Ἰσορ. βίβ. ιδ. κεφ. α.

ⁱ In Proœmio, And in *Xenophanes*’ Life, γεγεναφε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἐλευσίᾳ, καὶ Ἰάμβοις κατ’ ἩΣΙΟΔΟΥ καὶ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ, ἐπισκόπων αὐτῶν τὰ ὡς θεῶν εἰρημνία.

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WE CAN tell with more certainty, that *Amythaon's* Son, the prophetick *Melampus*, brought the Mysteries of *Proserpine* from *Egypt* into *Greece*. He taught them the Story of the *Titans*, and according to *Diodorus*, τὸ σύνολον, πῶς ὡς τὰ Πάθη τῶν Θεῶν ἱστορίαν, “The whole
 “History of the Transactions and Disasters of
 “the Gods^k.” He is celebrated by *Homer* himself, who without all doubt was acquainted with his *Mythology*^l.

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

T H Y

^k Diodor. Biblioth. Lib. 1.

^l Ὀδυσσ. Ραψωδ. λ. and again, Ραψωδ. ο.

^m Ὀυτὸ δὲ ὁ ΟΛΗΝ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς παλαιὰς ὕμνους ἐποίησε ἐν Λυκίᾳ ἐλθὼν τὰς ἀφροδίτας ἐν Δήλῳ. — Ἡροδοτ. Μελπομένη βιβλ. δ.

ⁿ Λύκιον δὲ ὈΛΗΝ ὅς καὶ τὰς ὕμνους τὰς ἀρχαιοτάτας ἐποίησεν Ἐλλησι.

Πausan. Βοιωτ.

Plutarch upon the Authority of *Anticles* and *Istrus*, two ancient Authors, says, that the Statue of *Apollo* in *Delos* had a Bow in one Hand, and with the other supported the three *Graces* who held each an Instrument of Musick; one a Lyre, another a Flute, and the third a *Syrinx*, or Pipe. As to the Antiquity of it, they said, οὕτω δὲ παλαιὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ἀφίδρυμα τῆτο, ὥστε τὰς ἐργασαμένους αὐτὸ, τῶ κατ' Ἡρακλέα μισθόπων φασὶν εἶναι.

Περὶ Μουσικῆς.

^o See below, Page 107.

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

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

THE

^P Diodor. Biblioth. Lib. 3.

^Q *Plato* speaking of the Invention of *Arts*, says, Τὰ μὲν ΔΑΙΔΑΛΩ κἀαφρονῆ γέγονε τὰδὲ ΟΡΦΕΙ, τὰδὲ ΠΑΛΑΜΗΔΕΙ; τὰ δὲ περὶ Μουσικὴν ΜΑΡΣΥΑ ἢ ΟΛΥΜΠΩ, περὶ λύραν δὲ ΑΜΦΙΟΝΙ. Νομῶν. γ.

^r *Musicam* invenit *Amphion*; *Fistulam & Monaulum* (ΜΟΝΑΥΛΟΝ) *Pan Mercurii*; *Obliquam Tibiam Midas* in *Phrygiâ*; *Geminas Tibias Marsyas* in eâdem gente. *Lydios Modulos, Amphion*; *Dorios, Thamyras Thrax*; *Phrygios, Marsyas Phryx*: *Citharam, Amphion*; ut alii *Orpheus*; ut alii *Linus*; *Septem Chordis additis Terpander*; *octavam Simonides* addidit; *nonam Timotheus*. *Citharâ sine voce, cecinit Thamyras primus, cum Cantû, Amphion*; ut alii *Linus*. *Citharœdica Carmina composuit Terpander*; *Cum Tibiis canere voce, Trœzenius Dardanus* instituit.

Plinii Histor. Nat. Lib. 7. § 56.

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

HIS SCHOLAR, *OLYMPUS* shares with him the Glory of the Invention of the *Phrygian Measure*^u, and pretends to be the first himself, who sung a *Nenia* or funeral Song. He is said on the Death of *Python*, ἀυλῆσαι ΕΠΙΚΗΔΕΙΟΝ λυδικῶ, “To have
 “play’d a funeral Tune upon the Flute in
 “the *Lydian Strain*.^w” His Compositions are selected by *Aristotle* as the most rapturous, and the aptest to inspire Passion and Enthusiasm^x into the minds of the Hearers. And he hath the Testimony of the knowing *Plutarch*, as having greatly advanced his Art, by introducing

^s *Suidas* in *Μαρστιάς*.

^t *Xenophon*, Ἀναξασ. βιβλ. α.

^u Νόμοι δὲ ΟΛΥΜΠΟΥ καὶ ΜΑΡΣΥΟΥ *Phrygion καὶ λυδίοι; καὶ*
Ὀλύμπυ Ἐπιτύμβιοι. Πολυδεύκ. Ὀνομαστικόν.

^w Πλάταρχ. περὶ Μουσικῆς. He says there were two of that Name.

^x Ὀλύμπυ μελῶ, ὁμολογεῖσθαι ποιεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνθεσιαστικὰς. Πολιτικ. δ. And a little afterwards, speaking of the different Harmonies and their Effects, he says, Ἐνθεσιαστικὰς δὲ ἡμᾶς ποιεῖ ἢ Φρυγισί (ἁρμονία); So that *Olympus* has been the Author.

ducing some kinds of Musick 'till then unknown to the World, and of being the Prince and In-venter of the beautiful *Grecian Manner* γ.

THE MUSES Lover in more Senses than one^z, the *Thracian THAMYRAS* first played upon a Lyre without singing. This he did to show the Variety of his Genius, for at the same time he composed *Hymns*^a, the pious Exercise of the ancient Poets. He likewise sung the Wars of the *Titans*^b, and wrote a Poem of three thousand Verses upon the great Foundation of their Religion and Morals, the ΚΟΣΜΟΓΟΝΙΑ, or *Generation of the World*, or the ΘΕΟΓΟΝΙΑ, which is an equivalent Expression^c.

THE *Træzenians*^d boast an Epic Poet, *OROEBANTIUS* by Name, who wrote before *Homer*, I cannot tell upon what Subject: But *Melesander the Milesian*, sung the Battle of the *Lapithæ* and the *Centaur*^e, which seems

γ Φαίνεται δὲ Ὀλυμπῷ ἀνέχσας Μουσικὴν, τῷ ἀγγέλλοντι τὴν καὶ ἀγνοῦσθαι ὑπὸ τῷ ἔμπροσθεν εἰσαγαγεῖν, καὶ ἀρχηγὸς γενέσθαι τῆς ἑλληνικῆς καὶ καλῆς Μουσικῆς. Πλάταρχ. ibid.

^z See the Catalogue *Ιλιαδ. β* and the Article of the *Pyliaus* under *Nestor*, where *Homer* mentions *Thamyris*; as also *Eustathius*'s Notes.

^a Πλάτων. Νόμων η.

^b Πλάταρχ. περὶ Μουσικῆς.

^c Suidas in *Thamyre*.

^d Ὅτι ἦν ΟΡΟΙΒΑΝΤΙΟΥ Ἑ τριζηνίης Ἑπη πρὸ Ὀμήρου, ὡς φασὶ οἱ τριζηνιοὶ λόγοι. Καὶ τὸ Φρύγα δὲ ΔΑΡΗΤΑ, ἔφρυγίαν Ἰλιάδα ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν ἀπασωζομένην οἶδα, πρὸ Ὀμήρου καὶ τῆτον γενέσθαι λέγουσι. ——— Ἄλιαν. Ποικιλ. ἑσφ. βιβ. ια. κεφ. σ.

^e Μελίσσανδρῷ ὁ Μιλήσιῳ, ΛΑΠΙΘΩΝ καὶ ΚΕΝΤΑΥΡΩΝ Μάχην ἔγραψεν. Ibid.

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

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

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

^f Suidas in Παλαιίφατι.

^g Ψόνιας ἐν λόγῳ Ἀφροδιτῆς ἐν Ἐρωτῷ. Id ibid.

enabled *Hesiod* and *Homer*, their Successors, to give their Theology a *Body*, and reduce it to a Standard that flourished while *Greece* was a free Country, and lasted some time after their Liberty was gone.

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

H

WHAT

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

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

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

Temples, Priests, Prayers and Songs long before either *Hesiod* or *Homer* were born.

BUT, *My Lord*, it is to no purpose to use other Arguments than this noble Historian's own Words. In the beginning of the same Book, speaking of the Origin of the Word OCEAN, he says, ΟΜΗΡΟΝ ΔΕ, ἢ ΤΙΝΑ ῥ' ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ Ποιητῶν, δοκέω τὸ ὄνομα εὐρέντα, ἐς τὴν Πόινσιν ἐσενείχασθαι. "Homer, I believe, " or some of the Poets *that lived before him*, " having invented the Word, inserted it into " their Poetry. Or if we should be so indulgent as to allow, that he spoke *negligently* in this place, and according to the vulgar Opinion; how shall we reconcile it, when he tells us expressly that *Melampus*, a Man placed by *Homer*ⁱ himself three Generations before the *Trojan War*, " first taught the *Greeks* the " Name and Sacrifices of *Bacchus*^k? That " the Rites about Funerals called *Orphick* and " *Bacchick*, were really and originally *Egyptian*? And in general, that the *Egyptians* " were the first of Mankind who used Solemnities, made Processions, and appointed " Initiations; and that ὡς δὲ τῆτων Ἕλληες μαμαδίησσι^l, *from them the Grecians learned " to do the same?*" For it is not an easy Conclusion, that if Funeral Rites, Sacrifices and the Name of *Bacchus* are found in *Homer*; and the

ⁱ Ὀδυσ. Πρῶτῳ. Ο.

^k Ἐυτέρτῃ. βιβ. 6.

^l Ibid.

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

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

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

^m Ἄλλ' ἔργῳ Ἡτιόδα τελεσιτέρον τὸτ' ἀνὴ ἐξήγησις γένοιτο, (speaking of the Nature of *Saturn*) τὰ μὲν τίνα, ὡς οἶμαι, παρὰ τῶν ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΑΤΩΝ αὐτῆ παρήληφον, τὰ δὲ μυθικώτερα αὐτῆ πρόσθεν τῶν; ὡ τρόπων καὶ πλεῖστα θεολογίας διεφθάρη.

ΦΟΡΝΟΥΤ. Περὶ τῶν παραδεδομένων Μύθων. κεφ. ιζ.

ⁿ ——— Fuit hæc sapientia quondam,

Publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis;

Concubitu prohibere vago, dare jura maritis,

Oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno:

Sic honor & nomen divinis Vatibus, atque

Carminibus venit. POST hos insignis Homerus, &c.

Horat. ad Pisones.

wholly *fabulous* and *allegorical*. “The Powers of Nature, and Human Passions made the Subject; and they described their various Effects with some Analogy and Resemblance to *Human Actions*. They began with the *Rise* of Things, their Vicissitudes and Transformations, defined their Nature and Influence; and in their metaphorical Stile, gave to each a *Person*, a *Speech*, and *Method of Operation*, conformable to their fancied *Qualities*.” Nor is there any other kind of Learning to be met with in *Homer*: I mean such Learning as we get from Books and Masters; for what Knowledge he acquired as a *Traveller*, is of another kind, and falls in more properly to be considered in another Place.





G. Gravelot inv.

J. A. Gucht scul.

S E C T. VIII.

BUT HERE, begging your *Lordship's* Pardon, I must be permitted to think of my own good Fortune in addressing this Enquiry as I have done: Whoever has a Diffidence of his own Opinions, naturally seeks for a wiser Man than himself with whom to communicate them: And if he is conscious of any singular Humour, or Inclination to judge with a *few* against the Multitude; to laugh perhaps at what they highly esteem, and esteem what they think contemptible, he must then find either one of the same Sentiments with himself, or, if

if he should be mistaken, one of that Candour and Knowledge of Mankind, as will make Allowances, and bear with the Infirmities of his weaker Friend. In this case, *My Lord*, I find myself bound to give fair Warning of the Forbearance I shall want; since I am upon the matter about to assert, “*That Homer’s being born poor, and living a stroling indigent Bard, was in relation to his Poetry, the greatest Happiness that cou’d befall him.*”

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

continue in the Profession of an $\alpha\omicron\iota\alpha\omicron\varsigma$, or *Strolling Bard*.

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

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

THO'

^a See Page 140. in the Notes.

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

THAT

^b On the old Altar of *Pan*, says Sannazaro, *Pendeano due grandi Tavole di Faggio, scritte di rusticane lettere, lequali contenevano le antiche Leggi, e gli Ammaestramenti della Vita pastorale. Nell' una eran notati tutti i Dì dell' Anno, i Mutamenti delle stagioni e la inequalità della notte e del giorno; insieme i Pronostici delle Tempestate, e quali giorni son della Luna fortunati, e quali infelici alle Opere de' Mortali; e che ciascuno in ciascuna hora dovesse fuggire ò seguitare per non offendere le osservabili volontà de gli Dij. Nell' altra se leggeva qual Governo si convenga alle Pecore, quale dovesse essere la bella forma della Vacca e del Toro, e le età idonee al generare, &c.* And the ancient Priest of the God had perfect Knowledge of, *e la Terra, e'l Cielo, e'l Mare; lo infatigabile Sole, la crescente Luna, e tutte le Stelle di che il Cielo si adorna; e così per consequente, i tempi del arare, del metere, di piantare le Viti e gli Olivvi; di inestare gli Alberi, vestendoli di adottive frondi.* Sannazaro Arcadia.

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

IN OTHER respects, we find the Testimony of the oldest Poets used by the later Writers as the *Great Masters* of Science; and have a noble Instance in *Hecatæus* the *Milesian*, who in the grand Assembly of the *Ionians* fairly distinguished himself both by his Knowledge and Capacity^d. The Question in agitation was of no less Importance, than

“ Whether they should continue in their Obedience,

^c Ὅθεν περ καὶ Ὀμηρίδαι,
ῥαπτῶν ἱπέων τὰ πόλλ' ἄοιοι,
ἄρχονται Διὸς ἐν προσημίῃς, —

^d Herodotus. Τερψιχώραν.

Πινδαρος Νεμ. Ἐιδὸς β.

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

’TIS TRUE *Hecataeus* lived after *Homer*: But we find the Character the same in his Writings both for Sanctity and Science. AN ΑΟΙΔΟΣ or *Bard*, according to him, must know ΠΟΛΛΑ ΘΕΛΚΤΗΡΙΑ, *many soothing Tales*; their Subject must be ΕΡΓΑ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΤΕ ΘΕΩΝ ΤΕ, *The Deeds of Gods and Men*; and their Occupation is

ΘΕΟΙΣΙ ΤΕ, ΚΑΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣΙ ΑΕΙΔΕΙΝ.

To Mortals and Immortals both to sing.

THAT *Homer* himself was one of the Number, is what I can find no reason to doubt. Besides the concurring Opinion, and constant Tradition of all Antiquity, the Place where he makes the most immediate mention of himself, declares him to be an ΑΟΙΔΟΣ, and the *foremost* of the Profession. I touched upon the

Passage before, which is wonderfully wrought, and of vast Simplicity. It is addressed to *Latona*, and her prophetick Offspring *Apollo* and *Diana*, whose Feast was held at *Delos*, and was frequented by vast Multitudes of People from *Ionia*, and the adjacent *Islands*. “Hail, Heavenly Powers, says the Bard, whose Praises I sing; let me also hope to be remembered in the Ages to come: And when any one born of the Tribes of Men, comes hither a weary Traveller, and enquires, Who is the sweetest of the Singing Men that resort to your Feasts, and whom you most delight to hear? Then do you make Answer for me; *’Tis the blind Man that dwells in Chios;— His Songs excel all that can e’er be sung.*”

BUT I must deal fairly with your Lordship, and own, that this same *Hymn* is by some said to be none of *Homer’s*; but the Composition of one *Cynæthus*; a *Chian* too, and a great Rhapsodist, who has the Honour to be the first Man that sung *Homer’s* Works in *Sicily*; and who is said to have been the Author of a good many of the Verses, that pass under the Poet’s Name in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. These Poems, they tell you, *Homer* did not commit to Writing

• ——— Τίς δὲ ὑμῖν ἀνὴρ ἦδ’ ἰσθῶ Α Ο Ι Δ Ω Ν

Ἐνθάδ’ ἐρωτῆται? ἢ τίω τέρεσσθε μάλιστα?

† Τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ; οἰκίῃ δὲ Χίω ἐνὶ παρπαλοίῳσῃ:

Τῶ πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν ἀριδύσειν Ἄοιδοι.

Ἄοιδοι. Ἰμνῶ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα.

ting himself; but his Posterity in *Chios*, and the *Rhapsodists* who were for ever repeating, had got them by Heart; and this *Cynaethus*, their Chief, while he preserved *Homer's* Verses, and put them together, did intermix a good many of his own Invention. The Hymn to *Apollo*, in particular, is pointed out as one of his Compositions; so that we could not draw much from it relating to *Homer*, if there was sufficient Authority to support the Assertion.

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

Judg-

^g Ἐν Δήλῳ, τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ Ὀμηροῦ Ἀοιδῶν
Μέλπορον, ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥάψαντες ἀοιδίην,
Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορον, ὃν τίκει Λητῶν.

^h Lib. 1.

Judgment is of more weight than a hundred Annotators.

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

ⁱ *Aristotle* was of Opinion, that *Homer* was a *Chian*.

^k *Athenæus* Deipnosophist. Lib. 12. Horat. Lib. 3. Ode 19.

Quo *Chium* pretio cadum? —————

ΟΙΝΟΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ φέρουσα ἢ ἐλληνικῶν, (Χίος). Στρατ. βιβ. ιδ.

^l BALNEA, VINA, VENVS, CORRVPVNT CORPORA NOSTRA.

SED VITAM FACIUNT, BALNEA, VINA, VENVS.

Homer himself when he describes a Man newly come out of the Bath, and anointed with Oil, generally adds, that he appeared *taller* and *larger* than before, and was grown Εἰκέλει Ἀθανατοῖσιν, *Something like the Immortals*.

of *Chios* bore an excellent Character among the other Islanders, and in particular proved excellent Seamen; insomuch that while the Power of *Greece* was but yet in its Infancy, they were able to fit out a powerful Fleet, and formed Designs upon the *Sovereignty* of the Seas: and sometime afterwards, when they were attacked by a superior Force, they shewed great Spirit in the defence of their Liberties^m. Our Poet therefore in this Situation was settled as it were in the *middle*, between *Ionia* and *Greece*. He had the advantage of going to either when he pleased; and cou'd be easily transported to *Delos*, which was just in his Neighbourhood, to attend the Feast of his *favourite Divinity*.

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

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

For

^m Strabo *ibid.*

ⁿ Οδυσ. Παψιδ. χ.

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

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

———— ΕΡΗΡΟΝ ΑΟΙΔΟΝ
ΔΗΜΟΔΟΚΟΝ, ΛΑΟΙΣΙ ΤΕΤΙΜΗΜΕΝΟΝ.

— *Valde amabilem Vatem,
Demodocum, Populis honoratum.*

IT WILL easily be granted, that Men pinched in their *Living*, and forced to have their Thoughts ever upon the stretch for Subsistence, can-

° See *Sperone Speroni*. The Name remains still in *Spain*, as Todos o los mas Cavalleros andantes de la Edad passada, eran grandes *Trobadores* y grandes *Musicos*. Parte 1. Lib. 3. de *Don Quixote*.

cannot have room for rapturous Views, and poetick Strains^p. The same Reason excludes all Men of *Business*, who are thoroughly so, from the Society of the *Muses*^q; not only because our Capacities are narrow, but because our *Minds* as well as Bodies, when once inured to a Habit, seldom or never quit their wonted *Track*: Or if at any time, by main force, we are beaten out of it, yet “ a certain Manner of thinking and reasoning always recurs, bearing a Resemblance “ to the Education and Course of Business we “ have run through.” In short, whoever confines his Thinking to any *one* Subject, who bestows all his Care and Study upon *one* Employment or Vocation, may excel in that; But cannot be qualified for a Province that requires the *freest* and *widest*, as well as the most simple and disinterested Views of Nature.

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

I

that

^p *Sed Vatem egregium, ———*
Hunc, qualem nequeo monstrare & sentio tantum,
Anxietate carens Animus facit; omnis acerbi
Impatiens, cupidus Silvarum, aptusque bibendis
Fontibus Aonidum. Neque enim cantare sub Antro
Pierio, Thyrsum-ve potest contingere morsa
Paupertas, atque Æris inops; quo nocte dieque
Corpus eget. ———

Pectora nostra duas non admittentia Curas. Juv. Sat. 7ⁱ

^q Or the small Genius which my Youth cou'd boast,
 In Prose and Business lies extinct and lost,

that is unawed by *Laws*, and the *Regards* that molest us in Communities; that knows no Duties or Obligations but those of Hospitality and Humanity: that subjects the Mind to no Tincture of Discipline †, but lays it open to all the *natural Sensations*, with which the various Parts of the Universe affect a *sagacious, perceptive, mimicking Creature*.

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

† Plato calls a Mind fit for Poetry, ψυχὴν ἄετον. Φαίδρ. 270.

‡ The Poet himself, when speaking of the People we gladly admit into our Houses, enumerates Μάντιν (a Diviner) ἢ Ἰατῆρα κακῶν (or a Physician) ἢ τέκτονα δῦραν (a Carpenter).

Ἡ δὲ θεῖσιν ΑΟΙΔΟΝ. ὅς κεν τέεργσι αἰσίδων. Ὅδουο. Παψωδ. ρο.
A divine Bard, to charm us with his Song.

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

Memoir. de Retz.

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

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

————— Ἔρματα δ' ὕω,

Τεῖβλῶ ἰμερόεντα· χάρεις δ' ἀπελάμπετο πολλή·

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

————— πολυδαίδαλα ὄρμος

Χρῦσεσσι, ἠλέκτροισι ἑέρμασσι, ἠέλι.σσι ὡς.

He has them too of several Sizes; for *Lucina* was to receive at *Latona's* Lying-in, from the Goddesses that were Gossips,

———— ΜΕΓΑΝ ΟΡΜΟΝ

Χρυσείοισι λίνοισι ἐρδμένον, ἐννεάπηχυν.

———— *A Necklace huge,
Strung upon golden Threads, three Yards
in length.*

In a word, there is scarce a Circumstance in *Oeconomy* but what he has somewhere described, or made it evident that he knew.

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

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

on; but with an Analogy or Likeness, such as the Tenour and Circumstance of the *tender* or *woeful* Tale wou'd bear.

HERE TOO, *My Lord*, was abundance of Opportunities not only for *judging* what was amiss, what was true or false in his *Song*; but for *helping it*. While he was personating a *Hero*; while his Fancy was warming, and his words flowing; when he had fully entered into the *Measure*, was struck with the *Rythmus*, and seized with the *Sound*; like a Torrent, he wou'd fill up the Hollows of the Work; the boldest Metaphors and glowing Figures wou'd come rushing upon him, and cast a *Fire* and *Grace* into the Composition, which no Criticism can ever supply ^z.

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

I 3

THE

^a Πλάτωνος ἸΩΝ ἢ ΠΑΨΩΔΟΣ. ^a See *Plutarch* in his *Life*,
^b Excerpta è Lib. 4. Controvers. Senecæ: in *Poem*,
 Her Name was *La Forêt*.

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THE MORE we consider its Influence upon Poetry, the wider it appears: To this Necessity of pleasing his Audience, I wou'd ascribe that *just Measure of Probability and Wonder* which runs thro' the greatest part of his Works. The People must be entertained: that is, they must be kept at a *gaze*, and at the same time must comprehend the Dangers, and feel the Passions of the Description. The Adventure must be such as they can understand; and the Method it is brought about, must surprize their Imagination, draw forth their Attention, and win their Heart^d. This at once accounts for the Stories which *Homer* tells, improbable indeed in themselves, and yet bearing such a *Resemblance* to Nature and Truth.

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

HIS STYLE, properly so called, cannot be understood in any other light; nor can the *Strain* and *Manner* of his Work be felt and relished unless we put ourselves in the place of his Audience, and imagine it coming from the Mouth of a
Rhap-

^d Καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅλον παρ' αὐτῷ διήγησις τῶν πραγμάτων, ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΣ, καὶ ΜΥΘΩΔΗΣ καὶ ασκιδάσαι, ὑπὲρ δὲ πληροῦ ἀγωνίας καὶ θαύμασι τῆς ἐντυχάνουσι, καὶ ΕΚΠΛΗΚΤΙΚΗΝ τῶν ἀκρόασι καθεύδαναι.

Πλάταρχο. βίος Ὀμήρου.

Rhapsodist: Neither, to tell the truth, is there any thing but *this* situation, that will fully account for all his Heroes telling miraculous Tales as well as himself, and sometimes in the *Heat of a Battle*. But when we remember his *Profession*, and his common *Audience*, we see the Necessity of *Stories*, and of such as he usually tells. He had not the Inhabitants of a *great luxurious City* to entertain with unnatural Flights, and lewd Fancies; but the martial Race of a wide and free Country, who listen willingly to the Prowess of their Ancestors, and Atchievements of their Kings.

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

[†] See Pelisson, Histoire de l'Acad. Française.

“ *Verse*, and was so possess’d with the *Heroic-Muse*, as to speak in *Numbers* with more
 “ ease than others in *Prose*.”

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

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

ε “Οτι ἔπνεε τὰ ΕΠΗ ΟΜΗΡΟΣ; καὶ ἔτ’ ὡς ἔειχε τ’ περιέρχων καὶ ΕΜΜΕΛΟΥΣ ΜΟΥΣΗΣ, ὡς ἔδει β’ ἐν ἀπλότῃ πιζολογιῇ ἑτέροι. Εὐσταθ. Προσίμ.

^b The Poet has describ’d it himself, we may suppose from Experience, ——— Μετὰ γὰρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τίεπεται ἀνὴρ,

“Οσις δὴ μάλα ποικίλ’ ἀπάθη, καὶ πάλλ’ ἐπαληθῆ. Οἰδυσσ. ο.

ⁱ Satur est cum clamat Horatius, EVOE! Juvenal. Sat. 7

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

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

BEFORE I leave the subject, I wou'd observe once for all, that the Ancients believed both *Homer's Poverty*, and his subsisting by his *Muse*. A Man of great Learning and Eloquence, says^k, “ That many thought his *Life* more
“ wonderful than his *Poetry* ; that to live
“ *poor* and *wandering*, and earn just so much
“ by his Poems as barely to support him, is a
“ noble Proof of his Fortitude and Magna-
“ nimity.

^k Dion Chrysostome.

“nimity”¹. This, *My Lord*, is spoken a little in the Spirit of an ancient *Cynick* or modern *Capuchin*; where Poverty is a Merit, and a contempt of Wealth, a title to deserve it. But *Dion* is not singular as to the Matter of fact. *Plato* is of the same Opinion: He seems to have dealt a little hardly with *Homer*, because his *Theology* and the Ἴωνικὸς βίος, the *free Ionian Life* which he described were not compatible with the Manners of his *perfect City*; but it is plain he has studied him with all the Attachment and Pleasure of a professed Admirer.

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

¹ Τὸ ἥδ' ἐν πείρᾳ διαγενέσθαι, καὶ ἀλώμενον, καὶ τοσούτων ἀπὸ τῶν Ποιημάτων περιζουῖα, ὅποσον ἀποζῆν, θαυμάσια τῆ ἀνδρείας καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης.
Διῶν^Θ Χρυσος. λογ. νη.

^m We wou'd translate it *Love-meat*, or *Mr. Fleshly*.

ⁿ He is said to have entertained *Homer* in his House upon Condition he wou'd give him some Work, to be published under his (*Creophilus*,) Name; and accordingly got a Poem upon the taking and sackings of *Oechalia*. Καὶ ἰσσοδὲν ἐξάμενον Ὀμήρου, λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ Πόισμα τὴν τῆ Ὀρχαλίας ἄλωσιν. Σειδ. ἐν Κρεφίλῳ.

“ careless about him. In this respect *Homer* has
“ not been able, like *Prodicus* the *Cean*, or
“ *Protagoras* of *Abdera*, to gain Admirers, or
“ instruct his Followers from a *real Skill* or
“ Knowledge of the things he describes; but
“ has only been good at *mimicking* and de-
“ scribing others: For do you imagine *Glauco!*
“ (this is *Socrates’* Companion in the Dia-
“ logue) that *Homer’s* Co-temporaries wou’d
“ ever have permitted *him* and *Hesiod* to wan-
“ der up and down the Country, singing and
“ playing the *Rhapsodists*, had they been able
“ to improve their Manners, or promote their
“ Affairs military or civil? Wou’d they not
“ have thought they had fallen upon a *Treasure*
“ when such Men came to their Town, done
“ them all possible Honours, and *pensioned*
“ them to stay? Or if they cou’d not fix them,
“ wou’d they not have *followed* these Po-
“ ets wherever they went, until they had fully
“ learned the Science of so great Masters? *Pro-*
“ *tagoras* and *Prodicus* can demonstrate, that
“ no Family nor City ever thrives without their
“ Instructions, and are so revered by their
“ Disciples, that they wou’d almost bear them
“ upon their Heads!

THIS PART then of *Homer’s* Life, I mean his exercising the Profession of an *ΑΟΙΔΟΣ*, may be considered at the same time as the chief Part of his Education. To it he owed many of the *Speciosa*,

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ſa Miracula°, which are admired by *Horace*. For as he travelled over the ſeveral Provinces of *Greece*, he might pick up the *Country Miracles*: They commonly take their Riſe either from the natural Hiſtory of the Place, or they are *Traditional Stories* of their mighty Progenitors. They are always happy in ſome *Air of Probability*, and have ſome foundation in *Nature*; Something in the Mountain, Cavern or River which at firſt ſtruck the gazing Mortals that approached it, and made them conceive ſtrange notions concerning the *Causes* of the apparent Wonder. Theſe, paſſing from hand to hand are enlarged, their Circumſtances varied and refined, until they grow by degrees into an *Allegory* or *mystick Tale* P.

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

° Beautiful ſtriking Miracles.

P It is an Obſervation of *Strabo's* concerning our Poet, ἐκ μηδενός ἐλ' ἀληθές, καινὴν ἀνάτην τετρατολογίαν, ἐκ Ὀμηρικῶν. Βιό. α.

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

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

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

* DEMODOCUS the Pheacian.

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

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

ΙΟΤΝΟΤΜΑΙ Σ’ ΟΔΤΣΣΕΥ.— *

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

INDEED, the Epithets he bestows, and the Insinuations he makes concerning the Characteristick of his Brethren, wou’d make one suspect that they were frequently under the power of an *Impulse*. A Bard with him, is ΘΕΙΟΣ, *Divine*, ΘΕΣΠΙΣ, *Prophetick*; ΕΠΙΗΡΟΣ, *most venerable*:
 He

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

THE OTHER Parent of our Poetry, the peaceful *Hesiod*, tells us, “That it is by Inspiration of the *Muses*, and of the *far Shooting Apollo*, that there are singing Men upon the Earth, and Players upon the Harp^x.”

Not is it only the *Poetick Tribe* who make these Pretensions, or the credulous Multitude that believe them; but we find the Men of greatest Knowledge and severest Thought, both admitting and supporting their Claim.

IT IS a strange Saying to come from the Mouth of a wise Philosopher, “That God, depriving the Poets of their understanding, uses them as his *Ministers*, *Sooth-sayers* and *holy Prophets*, to make us, the Hearers
“ know^y”

^a Τὸν παρὶ Μῶσ' ἐφίλησε. Ὀδυσ. θ.

^r Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ΑΟΙΔΟΝ ἀνὴρ ποτιδέχεται, ὅς τε ΘΕΩΝ ΕΞ Ἀείδῃ, διδάσκει ἐπεὶ ἡμερόεσσα βροτοῖσι; Τῆσδ' ἀμοτον μεμάασιν ἀκέκμη σπότη ἀείδῃ. Ὀδυσ. ρ.

^s He sings, Ὀπη ὁ ΝΟΟΣ ὄρνυται: Ὀυ νυτ' ΑΟΙΔΟΙ Αἰτιοί. ἀλλὰ ποτι ΖΕΥΣ αἰτιοῖ; ὅς τε δίδωσιν Ἄνδρασι ἀλφειῆσι, ὅπως ἐθλήσιν ἐκάστω. Ὀδυσ. α.

^t Καλίσασθε τὸ ΘΕΙΟΝ ΑΟΙΔΟΝ Δημοδοκόν; τὸ δ' ἢ ὁ ΘΕΟΣ παρὶ ᾧ κεν Ἀοιδὴν Τέρπει; ὅπη ΘΥΜΟΣ ΕΠΟΤΡΥΝΗΣΙΝ ἀείδῃ. Ὀδυσ. δ.

^v ΜΟΤΣ' ἀρ' ἄοι ΑΗΗΚΕΝ, ἀρδελυαὶ κλέα ἀνδρῶν. Ὀδυσ. α.

^x Ἐκ γὰρ ΜΟΤΣΑΩΝ, καὶ ἐκ ἠέρας ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ Ἄνδρες ΑΟΙΔΟΙ ἴασι ἐπὶ χθόνα, καὶ ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΑΙ. Οἰεγ.

“ know, that it is not of themselves they say such
 “ wonderful and high things, not being in their
 “ Wits: but that it is *God* himself who speaks
 “ to us, and pronounces by themy”. For In-
 “ stance, he names *Tynnichus* the *Chalcidean*,
 “ who never in his Life made a Poem worth
 “ mentioning, except the celebrated *Pæan*, or
 “ Hymn to *Apollo*, which was in every Body’s
 “ Mouth, and was perhaps the finest Poem that
 “ ever appeared. This he says he composed,
 “ ΕΡΦΜΑΤΙ ΜΟΥΣΑΝ, *by the Invention of*
 “ *the Muses*.

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

Υ Διὰ ταῦτα ἢ ὁ ΘΕΟΣ ἐξαιρέμην τέτων νῦν, τέτοις χρῆται
 ΤΠΗΡΕΤΑΙΣ, καὶ τοῖς ΧΡΗΣΜΩΔΟΙΣ, καὶ τοῖς ΜΑΝΤΕΣΙ τοῖς ΘΕΙΟΙΣ,
 ἵνα ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἀκρόντες εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι ΟΥΚ ΟΥΤΟΙ εἰσὶ οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες.
 ἐτῶ πολλῆ ἀξία, οἷς νῦν μὴ πάρεσιν, ἀλλ’ ὁ ΘΕΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ, ὁ λε-
 γων, Ἄγε τέτων δε φθίγγεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Πλάττω ἸΩΝ, ἢ ᾠδὴ Ἰλιάδ
 To the same Purpose *Guarini*,

*Questa Parte di Noi, che intende e vede,
 Non è nostra virtù. ma vien dal Cielo :
 Eſſo la dà, come a lui piace, e toglie.*



gravelot inv.

G. Janet gucht Sculp.

S E C T. IX.

HOWEVER noble and natural the Affects of Mankind might be, which *Ho-mer* had from the young *Common-Wealths* that were beginning to form themselves all over *Greece*, yet his Views were not confined to them. The Manners of his Pœms are generally of the *Grecian Stamp*; but he quits them at times, and by some artful Touches inserted here and there, he lets us know, *that* he is not ignorant of other Nations, nor unacquainted with the State of Foreign Countries. He appears, upon Occasion, a great

K

Genea.

Genealogist, a knowing *Historian*, and, which is most to our purpose, a wonderful *Geographer*. This, no Inspiration will account for: We must therefore accompany him in the second Part of his Travels, his visiting *Egypt* and the *East*.

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

BESIDES the constant Belief of his being in that Country, among the Ancients; and besides the *Authority* of the *Egyptian* Priests themselves, who affirmed it upon the Faith of their Records,^b there are other Presump-
tions

^a Apud Photium, in Biblioth. §. 190.

^b Diodorus Sicul. Lib. 1. Biblioth. in fine

tions in his Works, that will probably have considerable Weight with such as can take them from the *Original*.

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

K 2

Let

c Παρ' δ' ἴσαν Ὠκεανὸν τεβοῶς καὶ Λευκίδα πέτρην,

* Ἡδὲ παρ' Ἥλιου οὐρύλαι, καὶ Δήμον Ὀνείρων

* Ἴσαν Ἄϊψα δ' ἴκοντο κατ' Ἀσσοδελὸν Λεϊμῶνα,

* Εὐθα τε ναίεισι ψυχᾶι, Εἰδωλάκαμοντων. Οδυσ. ω.

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

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

* CHARONI in the old *Egyptian*, signified simply a *Ferry-man*.

^d Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 1.

^e Οδυσ. δ.

say the Priests, with all its Circumstances, (the surprising Qualities of the Drug, and Names of the Persons) he could learn no where so exactly as in *Egypt*.

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

I MUST own, my Lord, this looks plausible: But there are some other Considerations that give it still a greater Air of Veracity. From the most authentick Accounts we have of *He- len's* Adventures, *f* it appears, that she was for some time in the Power of this *Thon*, (whether a Prince of the Country, or the Governour of a Province) and consequently in Company with his Lady: For we can never suppose, that so beautiful a Creature, so dis-

e Οδυσ. α.

f Ἡρόδοτος Εὐτέρτη. Βιβλ. β.

creet, and of such high Birth, would be treated as an ordinary Prisoner.^g It appears also, that the *Egyptian Ladies* were much addicted to the use of this Medicine; and if we believe a later Historian, *They* were the first People in the World who found out an Antidote against *Grief* and *Sorrow*.^h The *Egyptian* Complexion, which was thoughtful and melancholy, made them fonder of an *enlivening Potion*, than an airy People would have been; and the same excellent Writer, *Diodorus*, who was himself in the Country, informs us, that the *Recipe* was still known when he lived, and as much in Vogue as ever.

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

Νηπένθης, ἀχολόν τε, Κακῶν τ' ἐπιληθῶ ἀπάντων.

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

It is not much above a Century and a Half, since a young Physician, who proved afterwards

^g *Her che non può di bella Donna il pianto?*

Et in lingua amorosa i dolci Detti?

Esce da vaghe Labbra aurea Carena,

Che l' alma, à suo voler, prende et affrena.

Tasso.

^h *Diodorus Siculus. Biblioth. Lib. 1.*

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

THE first of these, my Lord! are the very Virtues of *Homer's* Opiate: And to shew that he knew the Place where it grew, as well as the Persons that used it, *Diodorus*, after he has told that *Thon* and *Polydamna* were *Thebans*, immediately subjoins, that the Ladies of *Diospolis* (the ancient *Thebes*) had the Honour of the Invention: And the Physician, as if he had travelled with him, adds to his former Account, “ *Hunc succum, quo*
“ *omnes utuntur, ex locis SAIETH, ubi*
“ *olim Thebarum erat Urbs præclarissima*
“ *deferunt.*” It is true, they use Opiates for

Pleasure all over the *Levant*; but by the best Accounts of them, they had them originally from *Egypt*;ⁱ and *this* one appears plainly to be a Production of that Country, and a Custom, which your Lordship sees, can be traced from *Homer* to *Augustus's* Reign, and from thence to the Age preceding our own.

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

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

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

^k See *Sirabo, Book I.*

^l Ὅς (Ζεύς) μ' ἄμα Ληϊστῆραι πολυτλήγοισι ἔνεθεν
ΑΙΛΥΠΤΟΝ δ' ἰέναι, δολιχὴν ἔδδεν. — Ὅδυσ. ρ.

told the *same* Tale more particularly to his Servant *Eumeus* before, and even specified the *precise Time* it takes to sail, with a favourable Gale, from *Crete* to the only *Egyptian* Port; (περὶ λαῖσι ἡμέραις) *in five Days*. When *Antinous*, one of the *Wooers*, is displeas'd with *Ulysses's* Behaviour, the first Threat that offers to him, is, *to send him as a Slave to Egypt or Cyprus* ^m And in his Hymn to *Bacchus*, the Poet repeats the *same two Places* as the Common Market for *Slaves*. He takes Occasion to give a nice Description of the Pirate's Method of scouring the Coast, from the Story of their having once seiz'd upon *Bacchus*, as some noble Youth, for whom they expected an immense Ransom: After they had dragg'd him aboard, he makes the Captain say to the Steersman, (who was beginning to suspect, that their Captive would prove troublesome, and was advising to let him go)

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

As

^m Begone, says he,

Μὴ τάχα πικρὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον ἴδῃαι. Ὅδυσ. β.

* Copied by Ovid, in his *Metamorph.* Lib. 3.

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

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

ⁿ Pellusium, oppidum nobile, quod Peleus, Achillis Pater dicitur condidisse. Ammian. Marcellin. Lib. 22.

^o Iliad. ι. ^p Odyss. δ.

^q Αιγυπτίη, τῇ πλεῖστα Φέρει ζείδωρος ἄμρα
Φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλά, μεμιμμένα πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά.

Some of those I take to have been the *Μέρον λεύκον αἰγυπτίου πυώδες*, so often mentioned by *Hippocrates*; the *Σάσινον μύρον*, in the same Author: It was an Extract of Lilies used by the Ladies, and retains the *Egyptian* or *Asiatick* Name, from *Susan*, a Lilly. *Hippocrates* likewise mentions the *Ἀκάνθα αἰγυπτίη*, the *Βάλτιον αἰγυπτίον*, the *Βύλανος αἰγυπτίος*, the *αἰγυπτίη συπληρίη*, and even the *αἰγυπτίος ἐπὶς* itself. This last is thrown out by a *various Reading*, or rather a Conjecture; the more improbable, that in another Place, he prescribes the *Ἵπος Μηκῶνος*, and the *Μηκῶνιον ὑπνωτικόν*. ^q Iliad. ι. ^r Ibid.

leave but small Room for doubting, when we consider, that he failed with *Mentes*, a *Merchant* and *Ship-master*; and that no considerable Trade was carried on in *those Days*, but with *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, or *Cyprus*: They furnished the *Chief Commodities* then known; *Greece* at that time labouring under a great *Ἀχρηματία*,* as *Thucydides* calls it, and having no Superfluities to barter; but fetching the little Wealth they had, and the Beginnings of their Arts, from these Fountains of Science and Government.^s

Now

* Want of Goods or Merchandize.

^s The *Greek* Historians have been all condemned by *Bochart*, a Man of very great Learning, for asserting, that the lower *Egypt* was a Plain made out by the continual Congestion of the Slime, which their wonderful River swept along, in its Course thro' *Ethiopia* and the high Country. He has likewise chastised *Homer*, who favours that Opinion, in his Account of the Distance of the *Pharos* from the Land. He founds his own Opinion upon the small Alteration which the River has made upon the *Egyptian* Coast, for Two thousand Years and upwards: For it is so long since *Alexandria* was built, which still continues a Sea-port Town: And he sees no Reason, why it should not be making constant Additions to the Land, if it had ever made any. But there is a Reason why that Effect of the River should cease. Where-ever the wide Communication of the Sea, and the Agitation that is frequent on the Main Ocean, is broken by the Intervention of *Promontories*, there Slime and Mud, and all the Dregs of a mighty River, fall to the Ground, and settle, being neither driven by the Stream, now dissipated, nor tossed by the Waves; and the Slime thus settled, will receive Additions, as long as it is protected by such powerful Bulwarks, and no longer. The same River, if it find any Rocks at a small Distance from its Mouth, will heap Earth upon them, form an Island, and continue to increase it, until it leave only Space sufficient for a free Egress to itself, and the natural Play of the Waves on either Hand, as they are directed by the adjacent Shore. The Mouths of the *Ganges*, the *Euphrates*, the *Danube*; and, nearer Home, the *Maander* and the *Po*, are all Proofs of what is asserted above.

Now, if your *Lordship* will join, to so many Marks of *Homer's* being a Traveller, the Character given of him in *two* Words by a Man of the same Cast, in what he calls ΤΟ ΦΙΛΕΙΔΗΜΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΦΙΛΕΚΛΗΜΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΟΙΗΤΟΝ,^t his Love of *Knowledge* and *Travelling*, you will both encrease the Probability of his being in *Egypt*, and find a *Spectator* worthy of so august a Scene: Here he might see, "What the utmost Stretch " of *Human Policy* is able to perform:" He might see *Riches*, *Pleasures*, and *Magnificence*, reconciled (as far as the Nature of things will allow) with *Safety* and *good Order*. Here was the noblest *Contrast*, and most instructive *Opposition*, that *any* *Conjuncture* can offer to our View: He came from a Country where *Nature* governed; and went to another, where from the highest *Achievement* to the smallest *Action* in Life, every thing was directed by *settled Rules*, and a *digested Policy*.^u

HERE was a *People* so thoroughly moulded to their Government, that *Education* seemed to have taken the Place of *Nature*, and by a Depth of Thought in the
Lc-

^t Strabo, Geograph. Lib. 1^{mo}.

^u 'Ου γὰρ μόνον τῷ χρηματίζειν ἢ κρίνειν ἦν καιρὸς ὀρισμένος; ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ περιπατεῖσαι, καὶ τῷ λούεσθαι, καὶ κοιμηθῆναι μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς; καὶ καθόλου τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραττομένων ἀπάντων.

Διοδ. Σικελ. Βιβλιοθ α.

Their very *Musick* and *Sculpture* was circumscribed by Law,^u and continued invariable, says *Plato*, for many Thousands of Years. Legum, Lib. 2^{do}.

Legislature, was laid so *true*, and made to take such *hold* of the Passions, that it seem'd rather to *create* than *direct* them. This appeared long after *Homer's* Days, in their Tenaciousness of their own Customs, under a frequent Change of Masters,^x and their infecting all the Nations that learned their Religion or Politicks from them, with the same *Stubbornness* and *Bigotry*.

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

^x *Ægyptii plerique subfusculli sunt et atrati, magisque mœstiores. — Controversi, et reposcenes acerrimi. — Nulla tormentorum vis inventi adhuc potuit, quæ — invitum elicere potuit, ut nomen proprium dicat. Ammian. Marcellin. Lib. 22.*

and governed by a *Mind* now *Master* of the Subject ?

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

T H E R E

γ Πᾶς δ' ἔπερὶ τῶν θεῶν λόγος ἀρχαίως μεταξὺ δέξας καὶ μύθους ἀνιτιβλημένων τῶν παλαιῶν ἄς ἔχον ENNOIAΣ ΦΥΣΙΚΑΣ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ προσθεντῶν ἀεὶ τοῖς λόγοις τῶν ΜΥΘΩΝ.

Στραβ. Βιβ. ι.

And the excellent *Vincenzo Gravina* : *Perloche gli antichi Poeti con un medesimo colore, espremiavano sentimenti teologici, fisici e morali : Colle quali scienze, comprese in un solo corpo, vestito di maniere popolari, allargavano il campo ad alti e profondi Misteri.*

Della Ragion Poetica, Lib. 1. § 8.

THERE is scarcely a Page in *Homer's* Poems, where *your Lordship* will not meet with Proofs of this Assertion; and if we consider the Stroke it must have in Poetry, we shall find, *That here* is an Advantage for Description lost beyond retrieving: When to these *natural Sensations*, the Belief of *Sanctity* was joined, and the Apprehensions of a *Divine Presence* was filling the Mind, the Image would be *irresistible*, and raise such *Affections*, as best account for this Poet's being *deify'd* by the Ancients,^z and *doated* on by the Moderns.

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

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

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

z 'Ει Θεός ἐστὶν Ὅμηρος, ἐν ἀθανάτοισι σεβέσθω,

'Ει δ' αὖ μὴ Θεός ἐστι, νομιζέσθω Θεός εἶναι.

Ἐπιγραμμ. Βιβ δ.

* Ovid. de Arte Amandi, Lib. 1.

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

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

WOULD *not this* tempt one to conclude, that the *Commonality* in all Ages is the *same*? always ready to swallow a wondrous Tale, be it ever so gross or senseless, and to believe a Metaphor in its literal Meaning.

Our

^a ————— Μύθους δ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ

Κάββαλον, ὄφρα πέλοιτο καὶ ἰσοσμένοισι τυθέσθαι.

Καὶ δείκνυνται, Φασὶ, ὑπὸ τῶν περιηγήτων, οἱ τοῖστοι Μύθοι, ὅς ἀνωτέρω ἌΚΜΟΝΑΣ εἶπεν, Ἐυσαθ. εἰς τὴν ὀ Γ' αΨωδ. Ἰλιάδ.

Our modern *Sages* are indeed widely different from the ancient : *They*, as I observed, employed their Wit in *composing* sacred Allegories, and their Authority^b among the People in supporting them. They look'd upon them as the great *Bridle* of the Multitude, to whose Passions, they knew, they were obliged to speak, and could never pretend to govern them by *Reason* and *Philosophy* : But many of the *Moderns*, who would fain be thought wise, employ their Talents and Learning, such as they are, to very different Purposes.

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

Ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισι ὁμοῖα :

Ἴδμεν, ἔϋτ' ἐθέλομεν, ἀληθεία μυθήσασθαι.

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

L

“ Then

^b *Plato* having first mentioned what he calls his ΤΟ ΟΝ ἀειγενέσιν δ' οὐκ ἔχον, and Ο γεγονώς τὲ, καὶ ὄν, καὶ ἐσόμενος μόνος, with great Modesty adds, Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων εἰπεῖν, καὶ γινῶναι τὴν γένεσιν, ΜΕΙΖΟΝ ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς. Πεισθεὶν δὲ τοῖς ἐρηκόσιν ἔμπροσθεν ἐγγόνους μὲν θεῶν ἦσιν, ὡς ἔφασαν; σαφῶς δὲ πρὸς τὴν τε αὐτῶν προγόνους εἰδῶσι. Ἀδύνατον οὖν τοῖς Θεῶν παισὶν ἀπιστεῖν, καίπερ ΑΝΕΤ τε εἰκότων καὶ ἀνασκαίων ἀποδείξεων λήβουσι, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰκέτα Φάσκουσιν ἀπαγγέλλειν, ΕΠΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΩ ΝΟΜΩ, πρὶς εὐτέτυν. Τιμαίος.

“ Then they gave him a fair Rod, a Shoot
 “ of verdant Laurel, breathed into him a di-
 “ vine Song, and made him celebrate things
 “ *past*, and things *to come*.

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

THE *eloquent Attick* Moralist is of the
 same Opinion: “ *Those*, says the Orator, d
 “ who would write or paint any thing agree-
 “ able to the Vulgar, should not choose the
 “ most

c Ἡ θαῦμα τὰ πολλὰ
 Καί που τὶ καὶ βροτῶν φρένα,
 Ἵπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον,
 Δεδαϊδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις
 Ἐξίπατῶντι ΜΥΘΟΙ.

Πινδάρου Ὀλυμπ. α.

d Isocrat. πρὸς Νικοκλέα.

“ most profitable, but the most fabulous Sub-
“ jects. For this Reason, *Homer*, in his
“ *Epick*, and the Inventors of *Tragedy*, de-
“ serve our Admiration. They observed
“ this original Bias in Mankind, and have
“ adapted their *Poetry* to it. *Homer* has
“ wrapt up the Wars and Conflicts of the
“ *Heroes* in Fable; and the Tragedians, in
“ the publick Games, entertain us with the
“ same Fables, by Gesture and Action.”

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

BUT WE have at present so little Fic-
tion, and so much Poetry, that I believe
your Lordship will not be displeas'd to know,
among the rest, *Socrates's* Sense of the Mat-
ter. He had been often commanded in his
Sleep, to apply himself to *Musick*: At first;
he understood the Admonition as if it re-
lated to *Philosophy*; That being, in his Opi-
nion, the truest Harmony, which consisted
in the Numbers and Measures of Life. But

^e St *W. Davenant's* *Gondibert*,

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

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

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

* Ἐννοήσας ὅτι τὸν Ποιητὴν δεῖσι, ἕπερ μέλλοι Ποιητὴς εἶναι, ποιεῖν ΜΥΘΟΥΣ ἄλλ’ οὐ λόγους. Πλάτωνος Φαίδων.

† *Plato*, Πολιτείας §.

‡ *Spectator*, Numb. 411.

“from the *Fancy* than from the *Understanding*.”

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

ORPHEUS had never been said to have charmed the wildest Beasts of the Woods, and to have made the rigid Oaks keep time to his Numbers, had he simply told the Import of his Song: Had he acquainted his savage Audience, “that *Time* and *Space* were
“ the ancientest of things; that they had
“ brought forth many wild and strange Pro-
“ ductions, arising from the jarring Natures
“ and uncouth Combinations of the various
“ *Seeds of Being*; but at length, *in Time*,
“ the Heavens appeared, with the Air, the
“ Earth, and Seas; which were the last of
“ Things,

“ Things, *Time* having been neither able to
 “ destroy them (as it had done its former
 “ Productions) nor to make any Addition to
 “ them, and bring forth the like.” Such
 Doctrine as this would have found no Ad-
 mission into the Minds, nor welcome from
 the Fancy of the uncultivated Crowd: They
 could receive little Pleasure from the Narra-
 tion, and be impressed with no Reverence
 for the Subject.

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

themselves struck with an Awe and Dread of the Deities which he sung.

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

*Auditis? An me ludit amabilis
 Insania? Audire & videor pios
 Errare per Lucos, amœnæ
 Quas & Aquæ subeunt & Auræ!*

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

the Joy of the Discharge, like throwing off a Burthen or Deliverance from a Pressure*.

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

* At Phœbi nondum patiens, immanis in Antro
Bacchatur Vates; magnum si pectore possit
Excuſſiſſe Deum. Tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera Corda domans, fingitque *premendy*.

Virgil. *Æneid*. Lib. 6.

† Ἐπὶ δὲ Φύσει ἡ Ποιητικὴ ἢ σύμπασα ἀνωμαλῶδης, καὶ οὐ τὴ προσ-
τυχόντος ἀνδρὸς ἰνωρῶσαι. Ἐπὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸ Φύσει τοιαυτὴ εἶναι, ὅταν
λάβεται ἀνδρὸς φθονερῆ τε, καὶ μὴ βεβλομένῃ ἡμῖν ἐνδεικνύσθαι, ἀλλ'
ἀποκρύπτειν ὅτι μάλιστα τὴν ἑαυτῆ σοφίαν, ὑπερφυῶς δὲ τὸ χρέημα
ὡς δόσγνωστον φαίνεται, ὃ τὶ ποτὲ νοθεῖ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν.

Πλατων. *Αἰκισιαδ.* β.

‡ See *Aristotle's Rhetor.* Lib. 3. § 17. of *Epimenides*.

continued Train of *wild* and *daring* *Meta-
phor*.

BUT it is time, *my Lord*, to look back, and remember that we are treading upon *enchanted Ground*; for so is every Inch that belongs to the Poets: And as we have lately been informed of certain Countries where every thing in Nature is *reversed*, it is so here in fact, where a little Folly is preferable to the deepest Wisdom, and all Persons of cool Sense are incapable of the highest Honours: Nor have the *Possessed* any Cause to complain, while they may comfort themselves that they are not without Company; and those of the most eminent of Mankind. “*That* there is a Grain of Folly incident to “*great Minds*,” is an Observation not entirely confined to *Poetry*; but extending itself to Persons that excel in every Art and Character of Life: The same Flow of Spirits, and Energy of Thought, which enable them to excel in Science, and reach the *Heights* of their Profession, carrying them often beyond the *common Measures* of ordinary Life, by which alone, the Vulgar judge of Wisdom and Folly. In *natural* Knowledge it makes a *Democritus* or an *Archimedes*, who were sometimes thought a little crazy by their Countrymen. But when it was applied to what *They* thought *Divine Matters*, it assumed a more venerable Habit and severer Mien: It

It then required *Submission* and *Obedience* ^c; Yet still it preserved something of the Air and Look of the original Passion; something of the *ecstasick Manner* of an agitated Mind. This is so true, that those who had a mind to falsify the Character, and pass themselves upon Mankind for the truly inspired, were obliged to adopt likewise the *Appearance*, and affect a maddish Behaviour, to give a Sanction to the *Cheat*.^d

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

^c Sic fieri jubet ipse Deus; sic magna sacerdos
Est mihi divino vaticinata Sono:
Hæc ubi Bellonæ motu est agitata, nec acrem
Flammam, non *amens* verbera torta timet.
Ipsa bipenne suos cædit violenta lacertos,
Sanguineque effuso spargit inulta Deam:
Statque latus præfixa verû, stat faucia pectus,
Et canit eventus quos Dea magna monet.

Alb. Tibul. Eleg. 1, 6.

^d ——— Bona pars non unguis ponere curat,
Non Barbam; secreta petit loca, Balnea vitat:
Nanciscetur enim prætium nomenque poetæ, &c.

Horat. de Arte Poet.

^e Καθ' ἃς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἱερῶν μέναις ΜΥΘΟΛΟΓΙΑΙΣ οὐκ
ἐκ πάντος τρέπῃ πικρῶ, τὴν ἀλεβείαν ἐξετάσσει.

Διοδ. Σικελ Βιβλ. δ.

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

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

† *Non copri sue Bellezze, e non l' espose.* Tasso.

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

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

of Time: And of course, they admired the darkeſt Hint given by an *Oracle*, and received the moſt diſtant Notice of an approaching Event, as a Meſſage from *Heaven*. “ We
“ reap, ſays the Philoſopher, notable Advan-
“ tages from *Madneſs*, which comes to us as
“ a Gift of the Gods. There is, for Inſtance,
“ the Prophetes of *Delphi*, and the Priest-
“ eſſes of *Dodona*, who in their Madneſs
“ have done great and ſignal Services to
“ *Greece*, both of a publick and private Na-
“ ture, but little or nothing *when in their*
“ *Wits*. ’Twou’d be tedious to begin and
“ tell of the *Sibyls*, and many others, who,
“ under the Power of a furious divining
“ Spirit, have forewarned numbers of Peo-
“ ple of things that were to come. At times
“ there fall upon certain Families ſome cruel
“ Diſtempers, or other ſevere Affliction, to
“ puniſh them for the Crimes of their Pro-
“ genitors; but if any one of them is ſeized
“ with this *Ecſtatick Spirit*, and begin to
“ prophecy, a *Cure* is found: They fly
“ to Prayers and Holy Ceremonies, and
“ light upon certain expiatory and myſtick
“ Rites which free the Perſon thus inſpired,
“ and is a ſtanding Remedy in all ſuch Caſes to
“ Poſterity. But the moſt *beautiful Madneſs*,
“ and amiable Poſſeſſion, is, when the *Love*
“ of the *Muſes* ſeizes upon a ſoft and ſuf-
“ ceptible Mind; it is then that it exalts the
“ Soul,

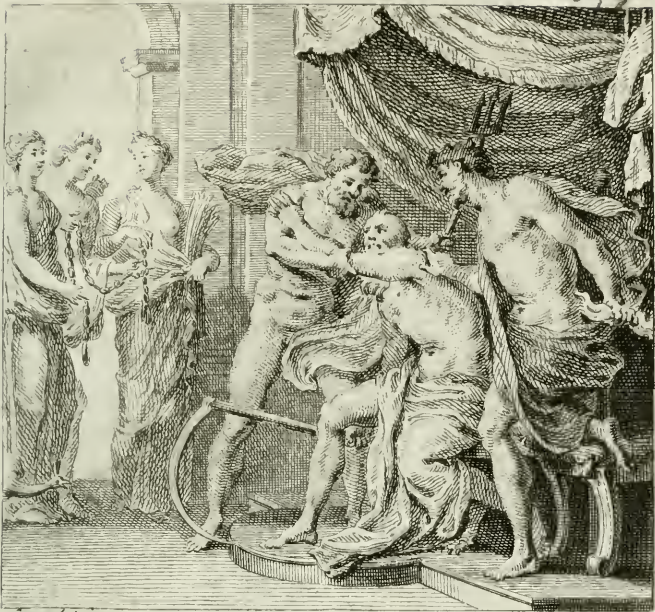
158 *An Enquiry into the Life, &c.*

“ Soul, and throwing it into Ecstasies, makes
“ it break forth in *Hymns* and *Songs*, and
“ other kinds of *Poesy*, and celebrate the
“ high Atchievements of ancient Times, and
“ instruct the Generations to come. This
“ is so certain, that whoever he be that pre-
“ tends to the *Favours* of the *Muse*, without
“ partaking of this Madness, from an Opi-
“ nion perhaps, *That Art alone is sufficient*
“ *to make a Poet*, he may assure himself that
“ he will *fail* in his *Character*; his Work will
“ be lame; and while the Productions of the
“ *inspired ecstactick Train* are read and ad-
“ mired, his *sober* Performance will sink in
“ Oblivion.^h

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

^h *Plato in Phadro.*





Gravelot inv.

J. Tan. Jucht. Sculp.

S E C T. X.

I HAVE somewhere read of a famous Painter, who, to give Proof of his Art, had represented a *sleeping Satyr*; that after the first Design was finished, he began to think it might be proper to diversify and enliven it, with the addition of a Country Boy, standing aside and gazing at the Creature, as if afraid to awake him. He tried it; and expressed so happily the Curiosity and Wonder in the innocent Face of the young Peasant, that when the Picture was exposed to view, and the People came flocking to see it, their whole Atten-

Attention turn'd upon the Adjunct of the Piece: They admired the wondering Boy, were delighted with the native Simplicity and Surprize in his Look; and all the Master's Art, in expressing the Character and uncouth Proportions of the *principal Figure*, was overlook'd and thrown away.

I MAKE little doubt, *my Lord*, but this may be frequently the Case of those who attempt to design after *moral Originals*, as well as *natural ones*. They enter so deeply into *one* Passion or Bias of *Humanity*, that, to use the Painters Phrase, they quite *overcharge it*. Thus I have seen a whole System of Morals founded upon a single Pillar of the inward Frame; and the entire Conduct of Life, and all the Characters in it, accounted for, sometimes from *Superstition*, sometimes from *Pride*, and most commonly from *Interest*. They forget how *various* a Creature it is they are painting; how many Springs and Weights, nicely adjusted and balanced, enter into the Movement, and require a *just* Allowance to be made to their several *Clogs* and *Impulses*, e're you can define its Operation and Effects. But few of them are willing to acknowledge so much; and like the honest Painter, go and dash out the *superfluous* Boy, and put a Tree or impending Rock in his room, that will not eclipse the principal Representation.

WHETHER any such Enormity has happened in some Step or other of this Enquiry, or whether it would be worth while to lop off the Excrescence, if it prove troublesome, I submit to your Lordship's Determination. All I beg for, is a short *Demur* in the Sentence, until we regain a *cooler* Temper to conduct us to the end of our Search, and to teach us, What *Use* is to be made of the *mad mythological Vein*? A chief Part of *Homer's* Works cannot be understood without some knowledge of its Nature and Origin, nor tasted without a Consciousness of his Dexterity in the Application. Even the lively Author of the *Dialogues of the Dead*, with all his Penetration, has put it as a Maxim in the Mouth of the Poet, "That
 " as it is the best way, to *prophecy* of distant
 " things, and wait for *Events* to fulfil it;
 " So in *Poetry*, there is nothing like send-
 " ing forth a *Fable* into the World, in hopes
 " that some time or other it may stumble
 " upon an *Allegory*.

MYTHOLOGY, taken in the largest Sense, must be distinguished into two sorts: The one *abstracted* and *cool*; the Result of great Search and Science: " Being a Com-
 " parison of the Harmony and Discord, the
 " Resemblance and Dissimilitude of the
 " Powers and Parts of the *Universe*." It often consists of their finest *Proportions* and hidden

Aptitudes set together, and personated by a *Being* acting like a *Mortal*. “The other, “ sudden and flashy; rapid Feelings, and Starts “ of a Passion not in our Power.” The first of these may be called *artificial*, and the second *natural* Mythology; the one is a Science, and may be learn'd; the other is the Faculty that for the most part, if not always, invents and expresses it. This last cannot be learned; but like other natural Powers, admits of *Culture* and *Improvement*. The Use I would make of such a Division is to observe, That *Homer* had the happiest Opportunities the World could give, to *acquire* the one, and *improve* the other.

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

I N

a Ὁμηρὸς ΦΥΣΕΩΣ ΛΑΧΩΝ ΘΕΑΖΟΥΣΗΣ.

Δικτὸν Λόγος νῆ.

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

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

M 2

“ Nature

^b Εκεί φασι, τὰ τὸν πολὺν χρόνον σεσωσμένα χρόνια μέλη τῆς Ἰσίδος ποιήματα γεσόνεσσι.

Πλάτωνος Νόμων. β.

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

THUS, in order to explain the *Overflowing* of the *Nile*, they firſt painted a *Lion*; becauſe the Inundation of *Egypt* happens conſtantly in *June*, when the Sun is in that *Sign* of the *Zodiack*. Under him ſtood three *Water Veſſels*; and the Figure of a *Heart* with a *Tongue*, in the miſt of them. The three *Urns*, neither more nor leſs in number, denoted the *three Cauſes*, as they conceived, concurring in the Production of the *Phenomenon*. One they aſcribed to the *Soil* of *Egypt*; of ſuch a nature, they ſaid, as to generate *Moifture* in itſelf: The ſecond ſtood for the Influence of the *Ocean*, whoſe *Waves*, according to *Thales*, were then impelled into the River's Mouth by the *Eteſian Winds*: tho' that Part aſſigned to the Ocean may rather favour the *Opinion* of *Euthymenes*,
 “ That the *Nile* took its riſe from the *At-*
 “ *lantick*, and yearly overflowed *its Banks*,
 “ at the *Seaſon* when theſe *Winds* beat upon
 “ the *Coaſt*, and drove a greater quantity of
 “ *Water* into the mouth of the *Cavern* that

“ fed it c.” The third *Urn* expressed the true Cause of the annual Deluge; the prodigious *Rains*, that fall about that time in the Southern Parts of *Ethiopia*, and are gathered by a large Circuit of Mountains into the Bafon or Lake, where the *Nile* has its Origin. These make it swell above its Banks, and lay the *lower Egypt* under water for three Months in the Year d.

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

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

Sun

c Navigavi Atlanticum mare: Inde Nilus fluit major quam-
diu Etesiaë tempus observant; tunc enim ejicitur mare instanti-
bus ventis. Cum resederint, et pelagus conquiescit; minorque
discedenti inde vis Nilo est. Cæterum dulcis maris sapor, et
similes niloticis Belluæ.

Euthym. Massiliens. apud Senecam. Nat. Quæst. Lib. 4. § 2.

d Ὀραπόλλωνος Νειλώθι ἑρογλυφικῶν. Β.β. α. κεφ. κα.

e *Inales*, and the *Ionick School*.

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

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

M 4

we

^f The Opinion which the wise and learned *Plutarch* entertained of their Rites and religious Ceremonies, is something singular. Ὀυδὲν γὰρ ἄλογον, οὐδὲ μυθῶδες, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας (ὡς περ ἔνιοι νομίζουσι) ἐφαττοχοιχοῦντο ἹΕΡΟΥΡΓΙΑΙΣ; ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἠθικὰς ἔχοντα καὶ χρειῶδεις ἀτίας, τὰ δ' οὐκ ἄμοιρα κομψότητος ἹΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ ἢ Φυσικῆς ἐσὶν: And the very Example he subjoins is, ζῆον τὸ περὶ ΚΡΟΜΜΥΟΥ, the Regard they pay to the *Onion*. “ The *Egyptians*, says he, have inserted nothing into “ their Worship without a *Reason*, nothing merely *fabulous*, “ nothing *superstitious*, (as many suppose); but their Institutions “ have either a Respect to *Morals*, or to something *useful* in “ *Life*; and many of them bear a beautiful Resemblance of “ some *Fact* in History, or of some Appearances in *Nature*.

ἹΙλυτ. περὶ ἹΙσίδος καὶ ἹΟσίριδος.

we know was delivered by *Orpheus*, and in the same *veiled* and *mystick* manner: So that with the same certainty as we can say, such a Man is a *Stoick*, another an *Epicurean*, and another a *Sceptick*, we can affirm that *Homer* is an *Egyptian Mythologist*. We immediately suspect a Man to be a Disciple of a particular *Sett*, and instructed in this or the other School, from his way of writing, and using the Terms peculiar to either of them. But if we find him building likewise upon the same *Principles*, and delivering the same Maxims, we no longer doubt of his *Preceptor*.

THE *Egyptian* Religion and Doctrines, were settled in the southernmost Parts of *Greece*, by *Danaus* and his Posterity. Afterwards *Orpheus*, *Musæ*. *Melampus*, and their Successors, spread them over all the Country. *Homer*, who came after them, made no change upon those Rites and Opinions: And yet, *My Lord*, we find his Writings appealed to, as the Standard of their private *Belief*, and grand Directory of *publick Worship*. Is not this the same as to say, “*That Homer’s*
 “*Poetry contains the same Principles and Pre-*
 “*cepts with those of the Egyptian Theologue,*
 “*and was the perfectest Collection of them*
 “*the Grecians had in Writing?*” Nor are there wanting other Proofs, not only of our Poet’s following the general Doctrine of the
Egypt-

Egyptians, and of the *Grecian Law-giver* their Scholar, but plainly borrowing *Images* and *Descriptions* from him, and inserting them in his Poetry: Especially if *your Lordship* will take it upon the Word of the early *Fathers* of our Church, it will be easy to make out nothing less than downright *Plagiarism*.

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

Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Διὸς Ἀημίτερος ἄλλαοχόρπις;

Homer copies

Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆϊ :

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

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

’Ως

* *Justin Martyr*.

† *Clemens Alexandrin. Stromat. 8.*

Ἔως εἰ κύντερον ἦν, ἢ ρίγιον ἄλλο γυναικός ;

Nothing so fierce and impudent as Woman :

Homer had just changed a Word, and said,

Ἔως εἰκ ἀνότερον ἢ κύντερον ἄλλο γυναικός.

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

Κεῖτ' ἀποδοχμώσας παχὺν ἀυχένα ; καδδὲ μιν
 ἔπνευε,

Ἥρῃ πανδαμάτωρ —

— *Out-stretch'd he lay*

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

WITH what views these ancient Authors have made such Observations, or how far they
 they

they have succeeded in them, is a Question remote from our present Subject : Only so far we may presume to use their Authority in secular matters, as they intended to prove in the first place, “ That *Homer* was not himself the Author of the *Poly-theism* which he sung, nor the *Inventor* of his religious and philosophical Allegories; but had received them, at first or second hand, from the *Egyptians*.” In this respect, it would not be difficult for any body who is acquainted with *Homer*, and who looks over the few Fragments of *Orpheus*, to make other Remarks to the same purpose. As for instance, that beautiful Description of *Heaven*, so justly admired, and transcribed by *Aristotle*.

Ὀυλυμπόνδ' ἔθι φασὶ θεῶν ἔδρα, &c.

Radiant from Heaven he came, the blest Abodes,

And Seat unshaken of th' immortal Gods :

*The happy Land, where Tempests never blow,
Nor chilling Showers descend, nor fleecy Snow;
Th' unclouded Sky smiles with perpetual Day,
And Light eternal darts a gladdening Ray.*

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

————— Διώρισε δ' ἀνθρώπους —————

Χωρὶς ἀπ' ἀθανάτων, νύειν ἔδρα.

Th'

—Th' Abodes of Men

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

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

Νῦν δ' αἶε μοι κύβη Λειβηθρις ἔνεπε Μοῦσα;

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

Μήπατο δ' ἄλλην Γῶαν ἀπέροχτον, ἰὼ τε ΣΕΛΗΝΗΝ
'Αἰθρίατοι κλήζουσιν; Ἐπιχρόνιοι δὲ τε ΜΗΝΗΝ,
Ἥ πόλλ' ἔρε' ἔχει, πόλλ' ἄστεια, πολλα μέλαθρα.

Another

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

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

I WOULD not be understood in this, as if I affirmed that *Homer* had gone thro' a Course of *Hieroglyphicks* in *Egypt*: Perhaps that Science was not then brought to such Perfection, as it afterwards attained; tho' their high Pretensions to *Antiquity* and *legal Institutions* in Religion seem to assure us that it was. But the Design of the Examples in that way, was to shew their *Manner of Thinking and Writing* upon natural and religious Subjects: From which of consequence we must suppose, That if *Homer* was at all among them,

them, as it appears he was, a *Man* so capable and inquisitive, could not return without learning something of their *Rites*, and the reasons of them; that is, of their *Mythology*.

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

AFTER him, *Aristeüs* the famous *Northern Traveller* has the fairest Pretensions. He was a Native of *Proconnesus*, a little Island in

z Biblioth. Lib. 3.

* A Poet of great *Genius*.

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

BETWEEN

^h Herodot. Melpomene. Lib. 4.

ⁱ Ἄριστος ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν Ἀριμασπίων καλυμμένων ἑκῶν, ἀνὴρ γίγης ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης. Στραβ. Βιβ. ιγ.

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

BUT there is another Channel still, thro' which this kind of Science might flow down to *Homer*; not indeed directly from *Egypt*; but from a *Phœnician* or *Egyptian Colony*. Your Lordship knows the invidious Story that goes of *Hippocrates* the Father of Medicine: It was customary among the Ancients, when any one recovered of a Disease, to write or engrave an account of their Cure upon a *Tablet*, and hang it up in the Temple of *Esculapius*, in sign of Gratitude to the God; who they thought had directed them to the Remedy. These Tablets, they say, contain-
 ing

k 'Ομήρου μὲν γὰρ ἄσπερ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν, καὶ τὸτο ἀδελαν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. Διων. Χρυσος.

ng the *History* of all sorts of Distempers, and their *Method of Cure*, *Hippocrates* perused; and having made himself Master of the Knowledge they afforded, afterwards set fire to the Temple, that he might enjoy such a Treasure without a Rival.

MUCH of the same kind is the account we have of *Homer's* Instruction; only he spared the *Records* from which he drew it: 'Twas in the first or second Generation after *Oedipus*, says *Diodorus*, that *Thebes* was sack'd a second time by *Alcmaeon*. "Among
 " the Captives he carried off, was the old blind
 " Prophet *Tiresias*, who died by the way:
 " But his Daughter, the celebrated *Manto*,
 " was sent to *Delphi* as a part of the Spoil.
 " She was no less skilled in *Divination* than
 " her Father; and while she stayed in *Apollo's*
 " Temple, made great Improvements in the
 " *Art*. She was favoured by the *God*; and
 " having a wonderful Genius, composed
 " *Oracles* of all kinds, and in different
 " Forms, *allegorical, prophetic, and moral*.
 " These were preserved in the Temple; and
 " from them, says the Historian, *Homer bor-*
 " *rowed many Verses, and inserted them*
 " *as Ornaments into his own Poetry*¹.

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

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Face,

¹ *Diodorus*, Book IV.

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

BUT when we take in the other Presumptions, arising from the *Oracle* itself and *Homer’s own Works*, it becomes difficult for us to refuse our Assent: As first, That the Places where *Hymns, Songs, Pæans, and Poetry* in general was used and known, were anciently no other than the *Temples and Altars* of the Gods: Next, That the ΘΕΣΦΑΤΑ or *Sayings* of the God were preserved with a peculiar Care: They were inscribed sometimes in Wood, and sometimes in Plates of Metal, and hung up on the Pillars that enclosed the ΑΔΑΤΟΝ or *Sanctuary*. Nay *Plutarch* assures us, That there was commonly about the Temple at *Delphi*, a Set of Men of a *Poetical Turn*, whose Business it was to sit round the Oracle on solemn Days, and receive the *Voice* from *Pythia’s Mouth*, which they

were afterwards to wrap up in a *Vehicle of Words*, in what Phrase and Measure they thought convenient ^m. “ For such was the
 “ kind of Life, continues *the humain Philo-*
 “ *sopher*, in these early Times, and so gene-
 “ ral was the *Propensity* to Harmony and
 “ Numbers, that every *Science* was delivered
 “ in *Versè*: Nothing in History, nothing in
 “ Philosophy, and in a word, no Accident
 “ or Transaction that wanted *Voice* and *De-*
 “ *scription*, but what wore the Garb of the
 “ *Muses*, and in it was admired. Nor for
 “ certain, did the *Delphian God* refuse the
 “ loved Ornament to his *own Art*, or drive
 “ the *divine Muse* from the sacred *Tripod*:
 “ He invited her to it, and fanned the poet-
 “ ick Fire: He cherished the pregnant Breast,
 “ inspired it with Images, and exalted the
 “ mysterious Sublime of the Soul, until it
 “ burst forth in Strains besitting his *Shrine*.

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

N 2

the

^m This is confirmed by *Strabo*: Πυθίαν δεχομένην τὸ πνεῦμα
 ἀποθεσπίζειν ἕμμετρα τὰ καὶ ἀμμετρα: Ἐντείνειν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα εἰς μέ-
 τρον ΠΟΙΗΤΑΣ τίνας ὑπεργούνας τῷ Ἴερῳ.

Στραβ. Βιβ. θ.

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

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

η Ὅς γὰρ δι χρείων μυθήσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
 Πυθοῖ ἐν ἤλαθέῃ, ὅθ’ ὑπέρβη λάϊνον Ὀυδῶν
 Χρησίμενος ; Τότε γὰρ ῥα κυλίνδετο πήματος ἄρχῃ
 Ἐρωσί τε καὶ Δαναοῖσι. Ὀδυσ. θ.

° *Iliad*. IX.

p Δελφοῖς, πέρωδες χωρίον, θεῶν τοῖς ἰδῆς, κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔχον τὸ ΜΑΝ-
 ΤΕΙΟΝ. ΣΤΡΑΒ. Β. C. θ. See also *Pausanias*, Phocis.

we remember the Want of Records already mentioned; and that they had in those days no other Method of knowing the Transactions of former Ages than by *Tradition* and *Converse* with the *Guardians of Knowledge*. With such Assistance it is easy to make out *Homer's* Acquaintance with *Delphi*. To him, *my Lord*, we owe our Information of the *Antiquity* and *first Settlement* of that *sacred Seat*: From him we learn, “*What*
 “*wise Nation* or *artful People* was then
 “able to project such an Establishment; or
 “endowed with the necessary Address for
 “executing the great *Design* of explaining the
 “*Purposes of Heaven*, and foretelling the
 “*Fortunes of Men*.” A little Reflection will tell us, they could hardly be *Greeks*: The *Grecian Tribes* had not as yet attained the ordinary Arts of Life; much less had they reached this Height of *human Policy*¹. Or if it was a *Grecian Settlement*, the *Planters* must have been some *Exception* from the Rule; some privileged Nation, and the first instructed in *Religion* and *Government*.

IT WAS so, *my Lord*; and to make amends for the Silence or Trifling of the succeeding Historians², *Homer* hath assured us, That the *Founders* of this *prophetick Colony* were *CRETANS*. “There were many of

N 3

“them,

¹ See Page 23. and *Section II.* throughout.

² *Ephorus* apud *Strabonem*, Lib. 9.

“ them, he says, and *goodly Men*, who came
 “ in a Ship from *Cnossus* the City of *Minos*,
 “ and were chosen by *Apollo* to offer Sacri-
 “ fices, and relate the Oracles of the *God*
 “ of the *Golden Tripod* ; whatever *Phæbus*
 “ should utter, when he prophesied from
 “ the *Laurel*, under the *Hollows* of *Parnaf-*
 “ *sus*.” And that we may not doubt of
 the Manner in which this was done, He tells
 That they sung such *Pæans* or *Hymns* of
 Praise,

Ὅιοι τε Κρητῶν Παῖνες ; ὅισι τε Μῆσα
 Ἐν σήθεσσι ἔθηκε Θεὰ μελιγῆρω ἀειδῶν.

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

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

* Ὁμήρου Ἰάνος εἰς Ἀπόλλ. It is exactly *Strabo's* Description of
 the Oracle, Φασὶ δ' εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον, ἌΝΤΡΟΝ ΚΟΙΛΟΝ καὶ
 βόβρυς, ἐν μᾶλλον εὐρύσεμον ἀναφέρεσθαι δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἐνθουσιασ-
 κόν.

and make a *Holy War* in its Defence. But the greatest honour it had, was to be the Place of Assembly of the *Amphietyons*, or great Council of *Greece*. They were Deputies sent from the *Sovereign States*, to consult in common the general Welfare of their Country, and determine Differences between the jarring Cities.

DURING their Meeting, the *Pythian Games* were celebrated in honour of *Apollo*. The reason why I mention them, is to observe that it was long before *Horse-Races* and *Wrestling* came to be a part of the Entertainment. The *first* and *sole* Actors for many Years, were the ΚΙΘΑΡΩΔΟΙ or *Rhapsodists*; and their Contest was, who should sing the finest *Paean* in presence of that august Assembly. This Custom was established before the *Amphietyons* met at *Delphi*: And tho' there were no other Evidence of *Homer's* being there, yet I should never think, that the sweetest Singer in *Greece* would foolishly shun the Place where the *greatest Honours* were paid to his *Art*. 'Tis plain he was *fond* of the Character; was sensible to Glory and publick Esteem; and as for his liking to the *Subject*, the Praise of *Apollo*, besides the first and longest of his *Hymns* dedicated to that *Theme*, there goes a *Second* under his Name, where he tells the *God*, " That a
" sweet-spoken *Bard*, who holds in his *Hand*

an *harmonious Lyre*, makes *him* always the first and last Subject of his Song †.

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

† ——— Σέ δ' ΑΟΙΔΟΣ ἔχον Φόρμιγγα λίγαιον
Ἥδυστήρ, πρῶτον τε καὶ ἕσχατον ἀνὰ δέδει.

canvassed, with more curious Eyes and anxious Attention, than any thing in the World besides: And after all, it seems, “*They flocked to Delphi, and believed the Oracle.*”

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

To account for this, without supposing a *Succession* of knowing Men in the Service of the Temple, and a Stock of Literature unknown to the rest of *Greece*, would prove a difficult

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

THE *Truth* is, such a Settlement neither could have been projected nor executed at that time, by any other than a *wise People*, skilled in the Arts of Government both religious and civil, and not without some Experience in *Naval Affairs*. Without this last, it was impossible to know the *State of Greece*; the different Nations that inhabited the several Coasts; their Cities, and Product of the Soil; the Revolutions in their *Republicks*, and Origins of their Families. But a People skilled in Navigation had good Opportunities to know such things; because, as was already
observed,

observed, the greater part of *Greece* lay upon the Sea. These Conditions are hard to be found together; and when found, they agree to no *Greek* Nation then in being, but to the *Cretans*; the very Men whom our Poet names as the *Founders* of the *Oracle*. Let us take a View of this ancient Island, and, if possible, trace this *Oracular Science* to its Fountain.

IT APPEARS from History, That before the Days of *Minos*, *Crete* lay under the common Calamities of *Greece*: It was afflicted with Incurfions, Devaftations, and frequent Removes of its old Inhabitants: But from his time, it became a regular flourishing State; and, by virtue of his Laws, with the affiftance of its Situation, had the Happinefs to *preserve its Liberty long after the Continent was enslaved*. From fuch a thorough and fudden Change in their Affairs, it is natural to infer, “*That the Cretan Laws were not invented by degrees, like the Athenian and Roman, or enacted piece meal according to the Urgencies of the State; but laid down all at once; and refembling in this refpect, the Spartan or Venetian Conftitution.*” And when we confider it in this Light, we muft allow fuch a Plan of Government to be the Effect of *abstracted Knowledge*, and of a juft View of *human Nature*, in its Paflions and Relations to outward Objects. But this could hardly come from a *Barbarian*: It muft be the
 Child

Child of a Man who had either himself seen, or was soundly instructed in the *Arts of Policy*; who knew a legal civilized Life, and could provide against the Turns of Manners arising in populous Cities and rich Communities, either from inward Luxury or foreign Violence.

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

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

^u Diodor. Sicul. Lib. 5.

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

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

* Plato in *Minoe* et *Epinomide*.

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

‡ Homer calls him Δ'ος μεγάλησ' Ὀαριζός, which Horace translates ——— *Jovis Arcanis Minos amissus*, Lib. 1. Ode 28.

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

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

^a Apud Diodor. Lib. V.

“ That the Knowledge of the *Gods*, their
 “ Temples, Priests, and Oracles, with the
 “ necessary subservient Arts, were first brought
 “ to *Crete*, by *Phrygians*, *Phœnicians*, and
 “ *Egyptians*.”

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

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

^b Sir Isaac Newton, Chronol. Chap. I.

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

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

^c *Genus et indocile, et dispersum montibus altis.*

Virgil. *Æneid*. Lib. 8.

^d Pausanias Corinth. Lib. 2. ΦΟΡΩΝΕΑ ἐν τῇ σῆ' τάυτῃ γενέσθαι πρῶτον; ἸΝΑΧΟΝ δὲ οὐκ ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἰοῦαμὲν πατέρα εἶναι ΦΟΡΩΝΕΙ. — Φορωνεύς δὲ ὁ Ἰνάχου τῆς ἀνθρώπου συνήγαγε πρῶτος εἰς κοινὸν, σποράδιον τῶος καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστωε δικούλας; καὶ τὸ χωρίον εἰς ὃ πρῶτον ἠθροίσθησαν ἄστυ ἰονομάσθη ΦΟΡΩΝΙΚΟΝ.

Rhodes, and some of them passed over from thence to *Crete*^a. In both Places they are called the *Inventors* of *Arts* of every kind; as well they might appear to a People so void of Contrivance, and destitute of the Necessaries of Life. They were the first of Mankind who reared *Temples*, and made *Images*, and *Statues* of Gods. Some of the ancientest Statues in *Greece* bore the *Telchine* Name, and preserved the Memory of their Authors: Thus the *Lindians* called theirs, the *Telchinian Apollo*. The old *Camirus* had a *Telchinian Juno*; and in *Ialyssus*, both *Juno* and the *Nymphs* were distinguished by the same *Epithet*^b.

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

O

After

^a Eusebius, Num̄b. 229.

^b Diodor. Sicul. Lib. 5.

^c Διῶδεκα τε Θεῶν Ἐπωνυμίας ἔλεγον πρώτους Ἀἰσυπλῆες νομίσαι, καὶ Ἑλλήνας παρὰ σφέων παραλαβεῖν. ΒΩΜΟΥΣ τε καὶ ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑ καὶ ΝΕΟΥΣ Θεοῖσι ἀπονείμει σφέας ΠΡΩΤΟΥΣ; καὶ ζῶα ἐν λίθοις ἐγλύψαι.

^d Ἡροδοτ. Ἐυτέρπη. Β. Β. 3.

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

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

^d Τῆς ἑ' ἱερέας τῶν ἈΙΓΥΠΤΙΩΝ, καὶ Χαλδαίους καὶ Μάγους σοφία, τινὲ διαφέροντας τῶν ἄλλων, ἡγεμονίας καὶ τιμῆς τυγχάνειν παρὰ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν. Στραβ. Βιβ. α.

^e *Strabo*, Lib. 10. It is admirably told by the Author: Τῆς ἀντιῆς δὲ τοῖς ΚΟΥΡΕΣΙ Τῆς ΚΟΡΙΒΑΝΤΑΣ καὶ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΥΣ καὶ

People come from a *Land of Priests*, and fond of propagating their *native Arts*; those Arts by which they could raise the greatest Admiration in Mankind, and gain the most Reverence to themselves.

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

○ 2

“ went

καὶ ἸΔΑΙΟΤΕΣ ΔΑΚΤΥΛΟΤΕΣ καὶ ΤΕΛΧΙΝΑΣ ἀποφαίνουσι. Ὅτι δὲ συγγενεῖς ἑλληῶν, καὶ μικρὰς ἰνῶς αὐτῶν πρὸς ἑλληῶν διαφοράς διαξέλλουσι Ὡς δὲ τύπω ἔπειν, καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλεόν, ἅπαντας ἘΔΘΤΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΤΕΣ τινὰς, καὶ ΒΑΚΧΙΚΟΤΕΣ, καὶ ἐνόπλιον κινήσει μὲν θεοῦ καὶ ψόφου, καὶ κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ ὄπλων, ἔτι δ' αὐτῆ καὶ βοῆς ἐκπλήττοντας κατὰ τὰς ἱερουργίας, ἐν σχήματι διακονούντων. Καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τρίπον τὴν κεινοποιεῖσθαι, ταῦτα τε καὶ τῶν Σαμοθρακῶν, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀθήνῃ καὶ ἄλλα πλείω, διὰ τοῦτ' Προσπόδης λέγεσθαι τὸς αὐτοῦ. Ἐστὶ μὲν οὖν ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΣ πᾶς ὁ τοῖσδε Τρίτοσ τῆς Ἐπισκέψεωσ, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλότριος τῆσ τῆ Φιλοσοφῆ θεωρίας.

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

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

DELPHI

^f Τῶν ἀρχαίων μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τιμῇ, καὶ ἡ ΜΑΝΤΙΚΗ καθόλου, καὶ τὰ ΧΡΗΣΙΜΕΥΤΙΑ· οὐκ ὁ δὲ ἐλιγορία κέρει πολλή.

Στραβ. Β. 6. 13.

* See Page 92 of *OLEN* the *Lycian*.

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

A LITTLE before this, the *Clarian Oracle* near *Colophon* was founded by *Mopsus* the Son of the inspired *Manto*, and Grandson of the *Theban Prophet*. It stood in a beautiful Grove, as did most of the Temples that were consecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, and was still in vogue in the Days of *Germanicus* the Son of *Drusus*, and *Livia's* Grand-child. There were many of them all along the *Ionick Coast*, which seems to have been anciently a *prophetick Soil*: It came afterwards to be productive of *Poetry*, and turned at last to *Rhetorick* and *Philosophy*. *Apollo* had Oracles at *Zeleia*, *Priapus*, *Larissa*, *Thymbrus*, *Cilla*, *Grynium*, and many other Places.

The multitude of them shews a particular Attachment to his Worship; and the reason of it is worth our notice, and belongs to our Subject.

THE little Island *Delos* is commonly assigned by the *Greek* Historians, as the Birth-place of *Apollo* and *Diana*: But the *Asiatics* have likewise a Claim, and perhaps equally ancient with the other. “ A little
 “ up from the Sea-shore, not far from *Ephesus*, there stands a stately Grove of all sorts
 “ of Wood, but chiefly *Cypress*: They call
 “ it *Ortygia*, and thro’ it runs the River *Cenchrius*, in which they say the Goddess
 “ *Latona* bathed herself after Child-bearing.
 “ For here it was that her Delivery happened
 “ under the Care of *Ortygia* the Nurse; and
 “ here they shew the *Recess* or *Sanctuary* in
 “ which she was brought to bed, and the
 “ *Olive Tree* on which she first leaned,
 “ when her Pangs had ceased. Above
 “ the *Grove* stands *Solmissus*, the Mount
 “ where the *Curetes* took their Station, and
 “ with the Noise of their Armour, amazed
 “ the jealous *Juno*, until *Latona* was brought
 “ to bed. Many *old Temples* are to be seen
 “ around the Place, and some new built:
 “ The first are adorned with *ancient Statues*;
 “ such as a Statue of *Latona* with a Sceptre
 “ in her hand, and another of *Ortygia* with
 “ the *Twin-Gods* in her Arms. A grand
 “ Assembly

“ Assembly is yearly held in honour of the
 “ *Birth* ; the Youth from the adjacent parts
 “ appear sumptuously habited, and keep the
 “ Feast with all possible Magnificence ; and
 “ the ancient *College* of the *Curetes*, make
 “ an Entertainment for themselves, and per-
 “ form some *mystick Sacrifices*, I suppose
 “ after the manner of their *Founders* &c.

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

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

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tho'

l. ^g *Strabo*, Lib 14.

^h *Ephorus* apud *Strabon*. Lib. 14.

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

—*Th' immortal Race*
Who first prescrib'd a Prayer to weak Man-
kind ^k.

And

ⁱ The Hymn begins,

Ἐλθε μάκαρ ΠΑΙΑΝ, τιτυκλόνος Φοῖβε, λυκωρεῦ,
 ΜΕΜΦΙΤ', ἀγλαύτιμα, ἰήιε, ἐλειοδάτα, &c.

^k Ἀθανάτοι ΚΟΤΡΗΤΕΣ, ἀρήϊα τεύχε' ἔχοντες,
 Ἵμεῖς καὶ τελετῆν ΠΡΩΤΟΙ μερόπεσσιν ἔθεσθε.

And in the Address to *Latona*, 'tis plain the Author knew the Pretensions of *Asia* to her Reception; but he has divided the Honour, and made her bear *Apollo* in *Delos*, and *Diana* in *Ortygia*¹.

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

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

¹ Γειναμένη Φοῖβου τε καὶ Ἀρτεμιν ἰωχέριαν,
Τὴν μὲν ἐν ὈΡΤΥΓΙῃ, τὸν δὲ κραναῇ ἐνὶ ΔΗΛῶ.

tan and *Egyptian* Customs, with more Attention and Understanding than falls to the share of most Travellers, hath left us a Draught of the *Resemblance* he found in many Particulars, both of their Religion and Government¹. I will not enter into a *Detail* of them, but take notice of an obvious Question; “How great the Resemblance “ must have been between the Originals (the “ *Egyptian* and *Cretan*) since so much of it “ was preserved in the *Copy* at second hand, “ the *Lacedemonian* Constitution?”

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

¹ *Herodot. Erato, Lib. VI.*

^m Παιδας δὲ γράμματα τε μαθηάνειν, καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ΝΟΜΩΝ ὨΔΑΣ, καὶ τινὰ ἘΙΔΗ τῆς Μουσικῆς. Βιβ. ι.

things in Life, the Sallies of *Musick* and Raptures of *Poetry*. But this, we are toldⁿ, was the most ancient *Philosophy* in Greece; and their first *Sophists*, taught by the *Egyptians*, run their Science in this *politick* Strain. They chose, like their Masters, to begin at the Source; and thought it the greatest Wisdom to fashion and regulate the human Passions, by adjusting the *Springs* that set them agoing.

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

η ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ ἐξὶ παλαιότητι τε καὶ πλείσῃ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ΚΡΗΤῃ τε καὶ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙ; καὶ σοφισταὶ πλείστοι γῆς ἐκεῖ εἰσὶν. Πλάτων. Πρωτάγορας.

of the Strefs upon their *Instruction* from the *Oracle*°.

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

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

ο Παιδείαις τε καὶ ἐκ Δελφῶν μαντείαις χρημίστης.

Πλάτων. Ἐπιπολ.

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

THERE are Circumstances in many of *Homer's* Stories, which have little Connexion with the Transaction where they are employed: "Some of his Fables, says *Eustathius*, were invented by himself for his present purpose; others of them are *purely allegorical*: And he has many *be-* sides, that were composed at first by the *Ancients*, and are inserted in their proper places in his Poetry, tho' their Allegory does not always respect the *Trojan Affairs*, but points at what was intended by its *first Inventors*." To shew the Truth and Extent of these Observations throughout *Homer's* Writings, would be upon the matter, to write a regular Treatise of *Mythology*. It has been done in part by the learned *Proclus* in his Notes upon *Hesiod*, and upon *Plato's Timæus*; where the Objections raised against our Poet's Representations of the Gods are answered, sometimes with more Deference than Judgment. But there are some other
Parts

Parts of his Management with respect to his *Divinities*, their ranging themselves on different *Sides*, and his *Chiefs* being protected by *opposite* Powers, that it will be worth while to examine. They are Beauties in Poetry for the most part but little observed, and give great Pleasure, when we enter into their Meaning, and perceive the Justness of the Application.

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

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

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

mitted any Outrage when drunk, was under the displeasure of *Bacchus*. The other Chiefs mentioned in the *Iliad* are frequently assisted or protected by some *Divine Person*, according to the nature of the Occasion, and their personal Qualities.

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

to make her appear in a *virtuous Cause*, or direct the Enterprizes of the pious Hero, in any other Capacity than his *traditional Parent*; except she had condescended to accompany him when he went a hunting, and conducted him into the Cave with *Dido*.

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

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

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butes

^a Continuation de Pensées diverses par M. Bayle, Tom. 2.
§ 119.

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

THAT the Commonalty of *Greece* and *Rome* believed a State of future Rewards and Punishments ; and that *this Belief* kept them in their duty, is affirmed, as I said, by the wisest of the Ancients. 'Tis needless to tell your Lordship, that TIMÆUS LOCROS was of the number : The Character he bears of *Plato's Master* is sufficient to justify his Claim. The little Treatise of his, which 'tis thought his illustrious Scholar purchased at an immense Price, is no less than a *System*
of

of the World^b. His Expressions are simple, but his Doctrines are drawn from deep Observation, and explained in the Harmony and Proportions of the *Pythagorick Philosophy*. He begins with *Creation*, which he attributes to a *good Principle*, whom he calls, “ The “ invisible God, the Prince and Parent of “ all things.” Then he goes thro’ its *Parts*; the Nature of the *Elements*, the Course of the *Planets*, and Periods of *Time*, and concludes with *Man*, and the Doctrines of *Morals*, in these remarkable Words: “ The “ Mind, says he, that is exercised in such “ Contemplations, and attains to a *Contentedness* with the State of Humanity, and to “ a *just Use* of the appointed Measure of “ Life, is undoubtedly happy: And whofo- “ ever receives this Attainment as his Lot “ from Heaven, is led by *Truth* to *Felicity*. “ But if any Disposition happens to be per- “ verse and unruly, then *Chastisement* should “ be applied; both that appointed by the “ *Laws*, and also what can be drawn from “ those *Traditions* that introduce numberless “ Terrors from *Heaven*, and Tortures in “ *Hell*; threatening endless Punishments that

P 2

await

^a Τιμαίω τῷ Λοιπῷ περὶ ΨΥΧΑΣ ΚΟΣΜΩ καὶ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ.

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

Πολλῶν δ' ἀργυρίων ὀλίγον ἠλλάξατο βίβλον
 *Ἐνθεν ἀΦορμήθεις ΤΙΜΑΙΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΝ ἐπιχείρει.

“ await the wretched Ghost *below*, with all
 “ the Torments which the IONICK POET
 “ has laudably, and from ancient Tradition,
 “ represented the Souls of wicked Men to
 “ endure *hereafter*. For as sometimes, when
 “ wholesom Remedies will not prevail, we
 “ procure Health by administering a sickening
 “ Potion; so we curb the Stubborn and Dis-
 “ obedient by *false* Relations, when the
 “ *true* have no Effect. Of necessity there-
 “ fore THE FOREIGN TORMENTS must be
 “ inculcated^b — And it must be told, that
 “ *Nemesis*, the distributive and avenging
 “ *Power*, hath appointed all these things to
 “ happen in the *second Period*, and to be
 “ executed by fierce infernal *Genii*, who
 “ witnessed the Conduct and the Crimes of
 “ Men. To them the all-governing God
 “ has committed the Administration of the
 “ World, which consists of Gods and Men,
 “ and of the other Animals he himself has
 “ formed, after the perfect Model of the
 “ *eternal and intellectual Idea*^c.

IT APPEARS then that Mythology, and
Homer's Mythology in particu'ar, was thought

to

^b Λέγοντο δ' ἀναγκαίως καὶ ΤΙΜΟΡΙΑΙ ΞΕΝΑΙ:

^c Ὅτις ὁ πάντων Ἀγεμὼν Θεὸς ἐπέτρεψε διοίκησιν Κόσμῳ, συμπε-
 πληρομένῳ ἐν θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων; τῶν τε ἄλλων ζώων ὅσα δεδι-
 μιύρηται ποτ' ΕΙΚΟΝΑ τῶν ἀρίστων ἘΙΔΕΟΣ ΑἰΩΝΙΩ καὶ
 ΝΟΗΤΩ.

Τιμαίος Λοκρ. περὶ Ψυχ. Κόσμου,

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

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

THERE was a beautiful Spot of Ground a little without the Walls of *Athens*, upon the Banks of *Ilissus*, where it was believed that *Boreas* had run off with the Nymph *Orithya*, while she was sporting with one of her Companions upon the Brink of the River. Thither came *Socrates* with a young Gentleman of the Town, in quest of an agreeable Retirement. They were to read a paradoxical Discourse of *Lysias*, the greatest

Orator then in *Athens*, proving, “ That
 “ *Favours* in Love should rather be granted
 “ to those that never felt the Passion, than
 “ to the real Lover.” And having talked a
 little of the Beauty of the Place, how proper it
 was *for Girls to sport in*, and mentioned some
 other Circumstances of the Story, the Youth
 very naturally turns to his smiling Com-
 panion, and says, “ But be sincere with me,
 “ *Socrates*; Do you really believe this *Le-*
 “ *gend* to be true^d? — Why, says the Philo-
 “ sopher, tho’ I did not, (as they say your
 “ *learned* People do) I would not be far
 “ in the wrong; and then I should go *alle-*
 “ *gorize*, and say, that the real Wind had
 “ come in a Gust, and blown the Nymph off
 “ the Steep, and so was reported to have
 “ carried her away, while she and *Pharma-*
 “ *cia* were intent upon their Play. *But* for
 “ my own share, *my Boy*, I look indeed up-
 “ on these *moral Meanings* as very pretty
 “ and curious; but think they belong to a
 “ profound *laborious Genius*, and are the
 “ Work of not a very happy Man. My
 “ reason is, (and I have no other for it)
 “ That after one has got thro’ this Allegory,
 “ he must next undertake the Race of the
 “ *Hippocentaur*s; and when he hath adjusted
 “ them, then the *Chimera* comes upon him:
 “ Next

d Ἄλλ’ ἐπέμειν πρός Διδος, ὃ ΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ, καὶ οὐ τὸτο τὸ
 ΝΥΓΟΑΟΙΛΜΑ πείθη ἀλήθες εἶναι.

Πλατ. Φαῦδος.

“ Next follows a Train of *Gorgons* and *Pegasus's*, and other unweildy Monsters, inexplicable both for their Number and Absurdity. *These*, should one go about to explain without *believing them*, and attempt to give, according to their Texture and Likeness, but a *homely Solution* of their Meaning, it would be an Undertaking of great Pains and Leisure. *But I*, my Friend, can find no Leisure for such Enquiries; and the reason of it is, That I cannot as yet, in obedience to the God of *DELPHI*, UNDERSTAND MYSELF. Now it appears ridiculous to me, to be searching after *other* Matters while I am ignorant of *this*. Wherefore bidding these Subjects *adieu*; and being persuaded of the Truth of the Opinion settled concerning them by Law, (which I just now told you) I fix my Attention upon *myself*, and consider not the *Gorgon* or the *Centaur*, but *what kind of a Monster I am*; whether more double and slippery than *Proteus*, and more fiery than *Typhon*: Or perhaps a *tamer, milder* Animal, designed by Nature for a *divine Lot*, and a *peaceful Destiny*.”



Gravelot inv.

P. Fourdrinier Scul.

S E C T. XI.

THERE are few things in the *ancient Poetry* more moving than the Story of *Orpheus* and *Eurydice*. It hath acquired new Beauties by falling into the Hands of the tender and passionate *Virgil*; and is told by him in so melting a strain, that some of the Touches he hath given it can hardly be read without Tears. When we are wrought up to such a Temper, it naturally leads us to compassionate the hard Fate of the unhappy Lovers; and we begin to feel some Indignation at the captious Condition, upon which he

he was to possess his Beauty, or lose her for ever: *Not to look at his loved Eurydice.* Arbitrary and capricious! Unbefitting the just Brother of *Jove*, and unlike the Bounties of a *divine, unenvious Nature*: Unless indeed there be something else understood than appears; some *Truth* in Life or Morals that lies latent under this Circumstance of the *Tale*.

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

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

* F. Bacon, *De Sapientiâ Veterum.* § 11.

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

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

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

persuaded be disagreeable to *your Lordship*, since it leads to a People and Nation whose Memory you are in Gratitude bound to honour.

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

THIS Happiness of *Phenicia* in the inventive Genius of its Inhabitants, and its Situation between *Judæa* and the Sea, have made me often wonder at the Observation of an ancient Historian. He is treating of the Rise of Arts, and what every Nation had found out for the common Benefit of Mankind; and concludes his Account with this Remark, *Soli omnium Judæi nihil in medium contulere. The Jews alone of all the rest*
have

have contributed nothing for the publick Good.

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

^b On est surpris de voir les Habitans d'un petit Canton de la Terre, plus éclairés que le reste du Genre humain.

M. Leibnitz Preface à la Theodicée.

^c En nuestra ley se comprehende todo lo subtil y profundo de las sciencias ; lo que no es asy en las otras. And afterwards : Los fundamentos y conclusiones de todas las sciencias, fueron trasladados de Nosotros, à los Chaldeos primero, despues à los Persas y Medos, y despues à los Griegos.

R. Yeuda. Cunary, Discurs. 2^{do}.

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

THEY were a very ancient Nation ; so
 ancient, that tho’ they are among the first
 Countries that make any Figure in our Histo-
 ries, and that *Letters* were early in use
 among them, yet their Origin is quite uncer-
 tain ; and in this respect they are upon a level
 with their Neighbours the *Egyptians*, or the
 ancient *Athenians*, who both called them-
 selves ΑΡΤΟΧΘΟΝΑΣ^d, and the *first of Men*^e.
 Some of the old Writers said, they came
 from about the *Arabian Gulph*, and settled
 upon the *Mediterranean Coast* : And others
 of them affirmed quite the contrary ; “ That
 “ some Merchants of *Sidon* had gone from
 “ thence, and first set on foot a Traffick in the
 “ *Red-*

^d Sprung from the Earth where they lived.

^e Φασὶ τοίνυν Ἀἰετῆριοι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν ὅλων γένεσιν, ΠΡΩ-
 ΤΟΥΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ γενᾶσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἈΙΓΙΠΤΟΝ.

Διοδώρ. Σικελ. Βιβλ. α.

222 *An Enquiry into the Life*

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

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

f Όι μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῆς Φοίνικας καὶ τῆς Σιδονίης τὸς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀποίκους εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ ὨΚΕΑΝῳ Φασι; προσιβέντες καὶ διὰ τὴ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΕΣ ἐκαλέσθη, ὅτι καὶ ἡ θάλαττα ΕΡΙΘΡΑ: Όι δὲ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΤΕΣ ΤΟΤΩΝ.
Στραβ. Βιβλ. α.

g Τῆς τε ἱερῆς κἀλατήσασθαι παραπλησίως τοῖς κατὰ Ἄϊψπλου ΑΤΕΛΕΙΣ, καὶ πάσης ΔΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ ἀπολελυμένους, ἕς Βαβυλωνίους κἀλασι ΧΑΛΔΑΙΟΥΣ.
Διοδωρ. Βιβλ. α.

inferior in Power and Splendour to their own^h.

THEY WERE busied about these Settlements for some time after the *Trojan War*ⁱ: That is, *My Lord*, “ While the *Phenicians* “ were in a State of high Prosperity, popu- “ lous and powerful, acquainted with foreign “ Countries and useful Arts, *then it was*, “ that by a strange Constancy of good For- “ tunc, *Homer* had Opportunities to know “ and converse with them.”

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

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

ⁱ Θρουλλεῖται καὶ ἡ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΩΝ ναυτιλία; οἱ καὶ τὰ ἕξω τῶν Ἑρακλείων ζηλῶν ἐπήλθον, καὶ Πόλεις ἕκισαν κἀκεῖ, καὶ περὶ τὰ μέγα τῆς Λιβύης παραλία, ΜΙΚΡΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΟΙΚΩΝ ΤΣΤΡΟΝ.

tread cautiously, as we have done hitherto; and to take as little upon *Supposition*, as the distance of Time and Nature of the Subjects will permit.

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

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

THUS *CADMUS*, when he had staid long in *Phœnicia*, went to *Lemnos*, *Imbrus*, and *Samothrace*, and is said to have carried
thither

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

BUT besides this early Intercourse between the *Greeks* and *Phenicians*, and principally the *Islanders*, among whom *Homer* lived, there was another Piece of good Fortune

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

TO THIS intelligent and wide-spread Nation, I am apt to think our Poet stands indebted for *his foreign Geography*. — This is an uncommon way of speaking; but it will be easily understood when we reflect, That *Homer* was more capable of giving than receiving Instruction in the *Geography* of *Greece*, *the lesser Asia*, and perhaps the *Egyptian Coast*: But what further Knowledge appears in his Writings of the other Tracts of Land in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, That I judge he has received by Information from the *Phenicians*. My Reasons for this Opinion are these: By staying in *Greece*, and making short Voyages

2

among

among the *Islands*, or even down to *Egypt*, he could never learn that the *Earth* was begirt on all sides with the *Ocean*, as he often says it is: But the *Phenicians* who had made long Voyages upon the *Red* and *Mediterranean Seas*, who had passed thro' the *Streight of Gibraltar*, and sailed the Coast on either hand before *Homer's* days, and were actually making such Voyages every Year during his Life, *They* might tell him, that where-ever they came, they found the general Barrier was the *Ocean* ^a.

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

Q 2 frequently,

^a They named it so from the very Circumstance. See Page . in the Notes.

^b ΠΕΙΡΑΤΑ ΓΑΙΗΣ. Ὀδυσ. δ.

^c ΕΡΕΜΕΟΥΣ,

frequently, *That the Sun rises from c, and sets in the Ocean d*; which can have no other Meaning, than that the *Asiatick Continent* on the *East*, and the *European* on the *West*, are bounded by the *Watery Element*. This is the only Sense the Expression will bear; and any other put upon it, makes it a plain Absurdity.

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

c Ἡέλιος μὲν ἔπειτα νέον προσέβαλλεν ἀρήραις,
Ἐξ ἀκαλαρρήϊταιο βαθυρρύοι ὨΚΕΑΝΟΙΟ.

Ὅδυσ. η.

d Ἐν δ' ἔπεσ' ὨΚΕΑΝΩ, λαμπρὸν Φάος ἡελίοιο,
Ἐλκον νύκτα μέλαιναν.

Ὅδυσ. θ.

e Ὅμηρος γ' οὖν ἔτε τὴν τῶν ΣΤΡΩΝ, ἔτε τὴν ΜΗΔΩΝ ἀρχὴν
εἶδεν: Ὅυδὲ γὰρ ἂν ΘΗΒΑΣ ἈΙΓΥΠΤΙΑΣ ὀνομάζων, καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ,
καὶ τὸν ἐν Φοινίκη πλάτων, τὸν ἐν Βαβυλωνί, καὶ Νίνῳ, καὶ Εκβα-
τάνοις παρεσιώπησε.

Στραβ. Βιβλ. ιε.

the *Sea*^f: So that I believe *Homer* was acquainted with little more of the *In-land Country*, than what was under *Priam's* Dominion, or inhabited by his *Allies*.

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

Q 3

to

f "Ειρετο ὁ Κλεομένης (βασιλεὺς τῆς Λακεδαιμόνου) τὸν Ἀρισταγό-
ρην, Ὀκοσέων ἡμερέων ἀπὸ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΣ τῆς Ἰώνων ὁδοῦ εἰς παρὰ
ΒΑΣΙΛΗΑ ? Ἡροδοτ. Τερψιχ.

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

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

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

* Omnis Græciæ fabulositas, sicut et literarum claritas, ex hoc primum *sinn* effulsit: Quapropter in eo paululum commorabimur.
P. n. Lib. 4. § 1.

in amazing People with Stories of *Giants* and *Monsters*, *Witches* and *Wilds*, or of any thing out of the common Road of Life, either for *Good* or *Ill*. And yet, *My Lord*, these very Stories, *strange* as they are, and disguised with all the *Ornaments* of Fiction, bear still about them some *Marks of Truth*: The Ground-work of the Wonder is commonly something *real*; and shews the *Justness* of our Philologist's Observation, "That to frame a *New Wonder*, without any previous Foundation from Truth, is not in the manner of *Homer*g."

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

Q 4

Life

g See the Notes, Page 125.

h — Πάλιν τρέπεν ὄσσε φαεινῶ
 Νόσφιν ἐφ' ἵπποπόλων Θρηκῶν, καθ' ὁρώμενος ἄϊαν·
 Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων, καὶ ἀγαυῶν ἵππομολγῶν ἔ
 Γλαυκοφάγων, ἀβίοντα, δικαιοτάτην ἀνθρώπων.
 Ἱλιάδ. N. initio.

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

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

B U T

* Anno 1586.

i ΓΑΛΚΤΟΦΑΓΩΝ εἰς αἶαν, ἈΠΗΝΑΙΣ εἰκί' ἐχόντων.

¹ Ησιόδ.

² Ευ

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

Ἐν τοῖς ΣΚΥΘΑΙΣ ὀδυρεῖα χρεῖα ὈΙΚΙΑΣ ἔσιν: Ὀὐδ' ἀν' προτιμήσειε σκύθης ἀνὴρ δικίαν αὐτῷ τὴν καλλίστην εἶναι, μᾶλλον ἢ περ ΣΙΣΤΡΑΝ ΔΕΡΜΑΤΙΝΗΝ.

Ἄισχιν. Διαλογ. β. Ἐρυζίας.

Campestres melius *Scythæ*

(Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos)

Vivunt, et rigidi *Gætæ*;

Immetata quibus jugera, liberas

Fruges et cererem ferunt,

Nec cultura placet longior annuâ.

Horat. Carm. Lib. 3. Ode 24.

ing : He calls it ΠΙΚΡΗΝ ἈΙΓΥΠΤΟΝ, *the bitter Egypt*.

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

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

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

TO THE *North* and *North-east* of Greece, Homer mentions the *Thracians, Cimmerians*, and hints at *Colchos* and the *Euxine*. These People he might know *three* several ways : Either from the Relations of *Jason*

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

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

ITALY

^k *Cimmar nigrescere*; *Cimmar Tenebrarum atror*; *Cimmarum jona Atrorcs dici*. *Canaan, Lib. 1. § 33.*

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

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

AFTER you had passed them, the *Sirenusæ* appear'd, or *Rocks* inhabited by the enchanting *Syrens*, who first allured the passing Mariner with their Voice, and when he approached, destroyed him. Further up the Coast were the *Lestrygons*; *Cannibals* likewise, who fed

upon the unhappy Wretches that were shipwreck'd on their Shore ; and beyond their Country was the supposed Boundary of *Ulysses'* earthly Navigation, the Habitation of a powerful Sorceress, the infamous *Circé*. She dwelt in a *Peninsula*¹. “ Where, says *Homer*, was the *Abode* of the *Morning*, and “ *Out-goings* of her Parent *the Sun*.”

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

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

¹ 'ΑΙΑΙΑ ΝΗΣΟΣ, A Land-Island.

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

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

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

m *Οι δὲ δύο Σκόπελοι, ὁ μὲν Ὀυρανὸν ἔνυρτον ἰκάνει
 Ὀξείῃ κορυφῇ γεφέλη δὲ μιν ἀμφιπέθεσκε
 Κυανέη.

Ὀδυσ. Μ.

ⁿ SCOL; Exitium, Infortunium lethale.

^o CHOR-OB DAN; Foramen perditionis.

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

Now, *My Lord*, the Courſe of a Ship from the *Circean Promontory* to *Ithaca*, lies directly either thro' the *Faro*, between *Sicily* and *Reggium*; or if you will not hazard that Paſſage, there is a Neceſſity to fail thro' the *Lipareans*, and ſo round the *Iſland*^P. After you have paſſed the two neareſt of theſe Iſlands, if you caſt an Eye back upon them, you will find, that they appear to be running together, and in a little time, that they are become *one*, ſince you left them.

The

P Ἀὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τὰς γε παρέελάσωσι ἑταῖροις
 *Εὐβα τοι ἔνκ' ἔτ' ἔπειτα διηνεκέως ἀφορεύσω
 Ὀπποτέρῃ δὴ τοι ὁδὸς ἔσσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς
 Θυμῷ βεβλεύειν, ἔρέω δὲ τοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν.

The reason of it is, the *Current* that sets in between them, and does not allow you to keep a streight Course after you have made good your Passage : Whereas if you vary but a very little from it, you lose the *Line* that directs your Eye thro' the Void, and take them up under *one*. Hence the Foundation of the Fable, that they were *floating Rocks*; which run together as any Ship passed, to catch and crush her. The same Appearance will ensue in the Case of any two Prominences that are contiguous ; and for the very same reason, the *Cyanean Islands* in the Mouth of the *Bosphorus*, got the Name of *Symplegades*, as if sometimes they had been separated, and afterwards had closed and coalesced into one.

BUT THIS Appearance, tho' it may have served to confirm the Fiction, was not sufficient to raise the *dreadful Idea* that *Homer* gives of them. I believe the *Phenicians* have happened to pass, or been lying at Anchor among these Islands, at the time of an *Eruption* and *Earthquake*. All over the *Lipareans*⁹, there are *Clefts* in the Surface

R of

⁹ *Petrarcha*, speaking of a *Lover's Heart*, describes it thus :

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

Triomfo d' Amore, Capitol IV :

of the Ground, and Vents in the Rocks, that emit Flame by night and Smoke by day; Some of them have noted *Volcanos*, that like *Vesuvio* or *Mon Gibel*, disgorge with their Flames immense quantities of Ashes, and throw out Stones of such a monstrous Size, that a great part of the Sea is choaked up, and one of them almost joined to *Sicily* by an *Isthmus* of the Rubbish. At such a Juncture, the frightened *Mariners* might see the *Rocks really clashing*, and to their dire Experience feel *Πυρὸς ἐλοοῖς θυέλλας*, *Storms of destructive Fire*.

THIS Circumstance alone, were there no other Signs of Agreement, ties down the *Planctæ* either to the *Liparean Islands*, or to the *Rocks* that surround *Ischia*, and participate of the Disasters of the *Neapolitan Shore*: Here the *Phenician* Vessels that escaped, and perhaps saw their Companions perish in the infernal Tempest, needed only relate the terrible Scene of *Seas*, and *Flames*, and *Rocks* in an uproar: Their literal Description is the Sum of the Fable; and what is added wears the same Appearance of Probability. *Circé*, to exaggerate the danger of coming near these Rocks, says "That the " *Birds* of the Air could not pass them." The same thing is told of the *Aornos*, and other pestilentious Places, where yet the Air is not put in such Commotion, as by the

Flame and Vapour issuing from a *burning Mountain*. The Storm it raises, and the sulphureous Steams it throws all around it, might very readily bring down a flying Fowl, and give a handle to the beautiful Fable which *Homer* has grafted upon such an Accident^r.

“ IT IS NO rare thing, says *Strabo*,
 “ among these Islands, to see *Flames* rolling
 “ upon the Surface of the Deep. They
 “ proceed from the Caverns of *Fire* that are
 “ below, which often find a vent, and force
 “ their Passage thro’ the Waves. *Posidonius*
 “ writes, That within his own memory, one
 “ morning about the *Vernal Equinox*, the
 “ Sea between *Hiera* and *Ustica* appeared to
 “ heave, and was raised to a strange height;
 “ that it continued for some time to swell
 “ and to fall by turns, and afterwards ceased.
 “ That those who ventured to sail near it,
 “ seeing the Fishes driving *dead* with the
 “ Current, and being scorched with Heat
 “ themselves, and almost choaked with
 “ a noisom Vapour, made what *Speed*
 “ they could to the *Shore*: Some of the
 “ Sailors in the Skiff that went nearest
 R 2 “ expired;

τ Τῆ μὲν τ' οὐδὲ ποτιῆα παρέρχεται, οὐδὲ τέλειαι
 Τρήρωνες, τὰ τ' ἀμυροσίην Διὶ πατρὶ φέρουσιν.
 Ἄλλὰ τε καὶ τῶν αἰεὶ ἀφαρῆται λίς πέτρῃ:
 Ἄλλ' ἄλλῃν ἐνίησι πάγῃρ, ἐναριθμίον εἶναι.

“ expired ; the rest, with great difficulty, got
 “ back to *Lipari*, where they fell into Fits,
 “ like Persons subject to the *Epilepsie*, and
 “ frequently lost, and then recovered the
 “ use of their Reason. For some time
 “ after, there was a kind of Clay and Slime
 “ found floating upon the Sea ; and in many
 “ places of it, Flames were seen to burst
 “ forth, and sometimes Clouds of *Smoke*
 “ and *Ashes* : The floating Matter hardened
 “ by degrees, and when thrown on shore,
 “ grew like Pieces of Millstone. *Titus Fla-*
 “ *minius* was then *Pretor* of *Sicily* ; he gave
 “ the *Roman Senate* an account of what had
 “ happened, and they sent some of the *Col-*
 “ *lege* of the *Priests*, both to *Lipari* and
 “ *Ustica*, to do *Sacrifice* to the *Sea*, and to
 “ the *Subterranean Gods*^s.

AFTER ULYSSES had escaped the hands
 of the *Cyclops*, he left the Coast of *Sicily*,
 and came to the *Eolian* Island, where *EOLUS*
 lived. The Palace and Oeconomy of this
 Prince, seem to be purely of the Poet's In-
 vention ; tho' *Diodorus* hath given a long and
 particular Deduction of the *Names* and *For-*
tures of his Children. But *Homer* had some
 reason to add, in his figurative strain, “ That
 “ he was beloved by the immortal Gods ;
 “ that *Jupiter* had appointed him to be
 “ *Governour of the Winds*, and given him
 “ Power

^s *Strabo*, Lib. VI.

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

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

R 3 of

* *Strongyle*, or the Round Island, now *Stromboli*.

^a Ὀυδαμὲ γὰρ τῆς Ὀικυμένης τῆς Στυπληρίας γενομένης, —
Ἐν μίῃ γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ ΜΗΛΩ φέεται μικρὰ τις στυπληρία, μὴ δυνα-
μένη διαρκεῖν πολλαῖς πόλεσιν. Διοδωρ. Σικελ. Βιβ. 6.

^b — ἔνθα δ’ ἔαεν

* Αἰολοσ Ἰππολύδης, φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι
Πλωτῆ ἐν νήσῳ: Πᾶσαν δὲ τέ μιν περὶ τείχος
Χάλκειον ἀρρηκτον, ΛΙΣΣΗ δ’ ἀναδέδρομε ΠΕΤΡΗ.

Οδυσ. Κ.

^c Ταύτης δὲ (τῆς Λιπάρης) μεταξύ πῶς ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς Σικελίας, ἣν
ἰὺν Ἰερλὺν ἠΨαίσεσ καλῶσι, περὶ ὁδῆς πᾶσα, καὶ ἔρημος καὶ διάπυρος.

Στραβ. Βιελ. 5.

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

from the STORMS^d he assisted them to shun.

THIS WAY of accounting for *Eolus*' Knowledge of the Weather, has found credit from *later* Observations. There is a Sympathy and Connexion observed between the Winds and the Agitation of the Fires, both here and in *Etna*. They are fierce and violent when the Winds are high, and subside when the Air regains a Calm. It is observed besides, that particular Winds produce different Effects. The accurate *Polybius*, who sailed round these Coasts with very inquisitive Eyes, affirms " That before the
 " *South-wind* blow, the Island *Hiera* is
 " covered over with Smoke like a thick
 " *Fog*, so that it obstructs the Prospect of
 " *Sicily* beyond it: That before a *Northerly-*
 " *wind*, the Flames arising from the *great*
 " *Crater*, mount with a clearer *Blaze* than
 " at other times, and greater Noise is heard
 " from below: That the *West-wind* is pre-
 " ceded by a middle kind of Appearance, a
 " mixture of *Smoke* and *Flame*, and a fainter
 " Noise from the *Hollows* of the *Rock*." He concludes his account with what is most immediately for our purpose, " That from
 " the Diversity of these Sounds, and the
 R 4 " various

^d From *AOL* Procella, Tempestatas: MELEC AOLIN Rex Tempestatu n. Thence the *Greeks* have formed their Αἴλλα.
Bochart. Canaan. Lib. i. § 33.

“ various Eruptions of the Fire and Vapour,
 “ it was possible to know *what Wind* would
 “ blow for three days to come; and accord-
 “ ingly, that there were People in *Lipari*
 “ then living, who forewarned the wind-
 “ bound Ships of an approaching Change,
 “ and seldom failed in their Prediction^e. In
 confirmation of this, we find that the *Lipa-*
reans to this day are generally *Seamen*, and
 of such Knowledge in those matters, that
Bocaccio affirms there are even few *Women* in
 the *Island*, who have not some Skill *dell'*
arte marinaresca of the Art of Naviga-
 tion ^f.

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

^e Naturalis divinatio aliquando certior est, aliquando magis in
 lubrico prout subjectum se habet circa quod versatur: Quod
 si fuerit naturæ constantis et regularis, certam efficit prædicti-
 onem, si variæ, et compositæ (tanquam ex naturâ et casu) fallaxem.
 Attamen etiam in subjecto vario, si diligenter canonizetur,
 tenebit prædictio ut plurimum: Temporis forte momenta
 non assequetur, à re non multum errabit.

Fr. Bacon. de Verulam. *Histor. Ventorum*.

^f Decamerone, *Giornata V. Novella II.*

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

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

ε' Ὅτι πᾶς ὁ πόρος ἔστος ἀπὸ τῆς Κυμαίας ἀρξάμενος μέχρι τῆς Σικελίας, ΔΙΑΠΥΡΟΣ ἐστὶ, καὶ κατὰ βάθους ἔχει ΚΟΙΛ' ἌΣ τινας εἰς ἓν συναπλίσσας, πρὸς τε νήσους, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἥπειρον. Διόπερ ἢ τε Ἄιτιν τοιαύτην ἔχειν δεικνύται φύσιν, διὰν ἰσχυροῖν ἅπαντες; καὶ αἱ τῶν Λιπαραίων νήσοι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Δικαιαρχίαν, καὶ Νεάπολιν καὶ βαίης χωρία, καὶ αἱ Πιθηκῆσαι. Στραβ. Β. β. ε.

h Λέγουσι γὰρ τινες ἐκ τούτων τῶν Νήσων ὙΠΟΝΟΜΟΣ εἶναι κατὰ γῆς μέχρι τῆς Ἀῆνης, καὶ τοῖς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα σομίσις συνειμένους. Διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ΕΝΑΛΛΑΞ καίεσθαι τὴς ἐν ταύταις γαί; νήσοις Κρατῆρας, τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀῆλην.

Διοδώρ. Σικελ. Βιβλ. η.

very Story of *Eolus* and his *windy Empire*. He owns it looks extremely fabulous at first telling: *The Winds sowed up in a Bag, and given to Ulysses!* And yet here is a Foundation for it, and some Vestiges of Truth in the Heart of the Fable: The Poet indeed has used his Privilege; has told it in his own way, and dressed it up with several strange Circumstances, to increase our Wonder¹: *Wherefore*, says the Historian, somewhat seriously, “*This should make us believe, that the most extravagant things that are sung by Homer, are only so in appearance: But that tho’ we do not comprehend it, there is still some Principle in Nature, some Fact in History, or Lesson in Morals, at the bottom of the Tale.*”

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

¹ *Personæ. — S’ inteso Fregi al Ver. Taffo;*

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

of

^k Ἄν' ἴεται δὲ καὶ τῆδε ; τί ἀγαθὸν τί κακόν, τι ἔτε ἀγαθὸν ἔτε κακόν ἴσθιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ : Ταῦτ' ἔν ἔάν μὴ τις συνίη ἀπόλλυσσι ὑπὸ τῆς ἈΦΡΟΣΤΗΝΗΣ : ἂν δὲ τις βίῳ ἀνάπαλιν ἢ μὲν ἈΦΡΟΣΤΗΝΗ ἈΠΟΛΑΥΓΑΙ, αὐτὸς δὲ σώξεται, καὶ μακίριος, καὶ, εὐδαίμων γίνεσθαι ἐν παντί τῷ βίῳ. Κέβητος Θέβαις ΠΙΝΑΣ.

¹ PALERMO in Sicily.

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

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

¹ From *SIR* Cantilena: Inde *SIREN* Canens, Canorum.

Bochart, Lib. 1. § 33.

^m Ἀρκῶν μακρὸς — ἐπὶ θάλασσα μὲν τῆς Ὀρεινῆς, τὸ τῶν ΣΕΙΡΗΝΩΝ ἴΕΡΟΝ ἔχων, ἐπὶ θάλασσα δὲ — νησίδια τρία προκείμενα, ἔρημα, πείρωδη, ἃ καλεῖται ΣΕΙΡΗΝΟΥΣΑΣ. Στραβ. βιβλ. α.

ⁿ Ὅτι ἐν Νεαπόλει Παρθενόπης δέικνται μνήμα, μιᾶς τῶν Σειρήνων Στ. αβ. βιβλ. α.

Sirenes, — primò juxta Pelorum, post in Capreis insulâ habitatant. *Serv. in Æneid. V.*

ⁿ Sirenum voces, et Circes pocula nosti ;
Quæ si cum fociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,
Vixisset Canis immundus, aut amica luto Sus.

Horat. Epist. 2. Lib. 1.

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

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

° She is Θεὸς ἀυδήσασα, *The Vocal Goddess*; and when they approached her Palace,

Κίρκης δ' ἔνδον ἄκνον, ἀειδέσσης ὀπί κελῆ.

And afterwards,

Καλὸν ἀοιδίαισι, δάπεδον δ' ἅπαν ἀμφιμέμυκεν.

Ὅδυσ. Κ.

^P From *Kirkar*, diruere, perdere, pessundare : Unless the Walls that inclosed her Palace have got her that Name from *Kir*, & Wall.

Ἐυρον δ' ἐν βήσσησι τεύγμενα δώματα Κίρκης

Ἐισοῖσι λάεσαι, περισκήπτω ἐνὶ χώρῳ.

Ὅδυσ. Κ.

Means for obtaining her cruel Purpose besides the Charms of her *Voice*.

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

IT WAS still in many Places, the Age spoken of by *Orpheus*.

*When Men devour'd each other like the
Beasts,
Gorging on human Flesh —*

The Subject is dismal, and a particular Description of such horrid Deeds, would be shocking: It will be enough to put your Lordship in mind, That our modern *Indians* have not been the only Guilty of the dreadful Act of *feeding upon their Fellow-Creatures*. The same Barbarity is attributed to most Countries, before the *Arts of Life* reached them, and stript them by degree, of their inhuman Customs. The *East* was de-
test-

testable for offering Children to their furious King^q, and *Egypt* was once infamous for Inhospitality and Murder^r. The *Euxine* was forced to change its savage Name, and the *Altar of Diana* at the Mouth of it, stood reeking with the Blood of Strangers. The human Sacrifices in *Britain* and *Gaul* remain an indelible Stain upon the Memory of our Forefathers; and *Greece*, with all its boasted Humanity, was not entirely rid of them at the time of the *Trojan Wars*. The *Carthaginians* continued them long in *Africk*; and they were not disused in *Italy*, until the Days of *Numa Pompilius*. Nor did that religious Law-giver think fit to abolish them utterly at first: He chose to *elude* the cruel Rite, and substituted *Images of Straw* in place of the human Creatures whom they used to butcher. 'Twas upon the *Ides of May*, a little after the *Vernal Equinox*, that the *Priests* of the greatest Dignity, and the *Virgins* that guard the eternal Fire^t, accompanied with the *Pretors*, and other Citizens, made a Bridge over the *Tiber*, and in a solemn manner, cast thirty of these *Images* into
the

^q *Moloch*, from *Melech*, a King.

^r — Quis aut Eurythea durum,
Aut illaudati nescit Busiridis aras? *Virgil.*

^s Tu cum pro vitula statuis dalcem Aulide Natam
Ante ARAS; spargisque MOLA Caput, Improbe, falsa,
Rectum animi servas? — *Horat. Lib. II. Sat. V.*

^t Οἱ καλούμενοι ΠΟΝΤΙΦΙΚΕΣ, ἱερέων ἐὶ διαφανέσασαι, καὶ οὖν
ἑλοῖς αἱ τὸ ἀθάνατον πῦρ διαφυλάττειν παρθένοι.

Διονυσ. Αλικαρν Β:βλ. α

the Stream : In throwing them over, they called them, by ancient Tradition, ARGIVES^u; which, as it preserves the Footsteps of this Cruelty in *Italy*, so it lets us know what People for the most part furnished the wretched Victims, and what reason the *Phenician*, and afterwards the *Grecian* Sailors had to give out, that this Coast was inhabited by *Cannibals*, and *Destroyers of Mankind*.

THE opposite Shore of *Greece*, the EPIRUS, continued long in the same savage Condition. The Islanders, even to the West, were beginning in *Homer's* time to unlearn their rude Behaviour to Strangers; and as conscious of being a civilized People, they threaten their Offenders “with transportation to the Continent, to King ECHETUS, the Scourge of all the human Race.” So true it is, that the Islands were first brought under Discipline, and that Arts and Policy came to *Greece* from beyond Sea.

THEY first settled and took root in the *maritime Places*, and afterwards spread by degrees into the Heart of the Country. It was long before they penetrated to the West of *Italy*, which we therefore find full of Prodigies; and the Appellations given them by *Homer*, are as monstrous as their own Natures, and sound as strangely in a *Grecian Ear*: The *Etymologies* of their Names are in

in vain fought for in his Language, which they only resemble in their Terminations : But the *Aramean* affords them, and derives them from words that shew how these Names have been given at first : They point at the very *Act of Ravening*, beheld by such *Phenicians* as had the good fortune to escape the merciless Hands of the Barbarians *; and have been afterwards fixed as *proper Names*, by being often repeated in the sad Relation of the Fate of their Companions.

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

S Tropicks,

* The *Lestrygons* (Λαιστρυγῶν) from *Lais-tirgan*, Leo mordax; their King *Lamus* from *Laham* vorare, deglutire; or *Lahm* Caro: Thence the Goblin's Name, that swallowed Children alive, *Lamia*; and the Greek word for the Throat, *Λαιμος*. These two, the *Lestrygons* and *Lamus*, have been observed by *Bochart*. The King of the Continent's Name likewise points at his Nature. It comes from *Catath* contundere cædere, whence *Echetosh* contufurus, contufor erit; and agrees nicely with *Homer's* Epithet :

Ἔϊς ἘΧΕΤΟΝ βασιλεῖα βροῶν ΔΙΛΗΜΟΝΑ πάντων.

Ὀδυσ. Σ.

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

WHILE the *Phenicians* were making but annual Voyages, and had not ventured to *winter* in foreign Ports, they wou'd happen to be in the *Tyrrhene Sea* and *Gulf of Genoa*, about the time of the longest day. The Distance of these Parts from *Sidon*, and the common Accidents in slow trading Voyages, (which the *Phenicians* could only make to unknown Nations) must have employed the
Spring-

Spring-months, and protracted their Voyage till that Season. For I make little doubt but this Fable has been framed, when they were neither such Geographers, nor Astronomers as they came to be afterwards : It has been in the Infancy of their Navigation at least to the *North Seas* ; and such a Tradition, when once broached, would not fail to be preserved, and find a Place in all the Relations of that barbarous Coast. It is too remarkable a Circumstance not to have struck Men, whose *Employment* forces them to observe the *Weather*, and fixes their chief Attention upon the *Heavens* : To such People the *Abode of the Morning was in Circe's Isle*, for the same reason that we here in *Britain* are characterized by *Virgil*,

Et minimâ contentos nocte Britannos.

FROM CIRCE'S Isle, and by her Directions, *Ulysses* sailed to the *infernal Regions* : We are told, in the poetick Stile, “ That
“ after passing the Ocean, he first arrived at
“ a gloomy *Beach* covered with Thickets
“ and the Groves of *Proserpine* ; *Poplars*
“ and *Yews* casting a dismal Shade. Here he
“ drew his Ship on shore, and entered him-
“ self into the Mansions of *Hell* : He trode
“ the Threshold of the Habitations of the
“ *Dead*, and saw within,”

*The four infernal Rivers that disgorge
 Into the Burning Lake their baleful Streams:
 Abhorred Styx, the Flood of deadly Hate,
 Sad Acheron of Sorrow, black and deep,
 Cocytus nam'd of Lamentation loud
 Heard on the rueful Stream, fierce Phlegethon,
 Whose Waves of burning Fire inflame with
 Rage^a.*

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

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

^a Milton. ^b Strange foreign Tortures. ^c p. 212. ^d Lib. V.

Bay : It is surrounded with steep Banks that hang threatening over it, and is only accessible by the narrow Passage thro' which you sail in. These Banks were anciently quite o'er-grown with a wild Wood, impenetrable by a human Foot. Its gloomy Shade impressed an awful Superstition upon the Minds of the Beholders ; and the neighbouring People affirmed, That the Birds^e fell into the Water as they flew over it, being choaked with the infernal Steam.

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

IN THIS very Bay *Ephorus* places the *Cimmerians* : He says They lived in subterraneous *Cells*, which they called ARGILLÆ ;

S 3

and

^e Hence its Name *Aornos* ; and by inserting the *Eolick F*, *Afornos* ; thence in the *Italick* Pronunciation AVERNUS.

and that they had Communication with one another by means of certain dark Passages cut thro' the Earth, and by them conveyed Strangers down to the *Oracle of the Dead*. He says further, that they lived upon the Produce of the Metals which they dug out of the Earth, and upon the Sacrifices that were offered to the subterraneous *Oracle*; whose Ministers had it as a Custom handed down from Father to Son, *That none of them should ever see the Sun, nor quit their Grotts, but under Covert of the Night*. This, he gives as the reason why the Poet asserts, "That *Phebus*, who enlightens the World, never looks upon them, nor visits them with his gladdening Beams."

THIS ACCOUNT of the *Cimmerians* is ingenious, and has something in it very entertaining to the Imagination; but as I wou'd be far from rejecting it, so the Poet's describing their Town and Tribes in this Part of the Country, is no strict Proof of their being really *Italians*. *Homer* often transports and mixes his Miracles; especially if they are of a kind, and bear any Analogy in their Natures, or resemblance in their Manners. *Circe* is of the same Blood with *Aetes*, and is allied to the Sorceress *Medea*, tho' she lived in *Italy*, and they in *Colchos* at the furthest end of the *Euxine*, separated by Seas and Continents of immense Extent.

THE *Idea* of the *one-ey'd Cyclops*, whom he places in *Sicily*, he is thought to have taken from the *Arimaspians* in *Thrace*; and the *Cimmerians*, from the long Nights and cloudy Sky, in the same Country. This last is the more probable, that the *Phenicians* might be passing homeward from the *Bosphorus* pretty late in the Year, and might perhaps be tempted to tarry upon some Prospects of Gain, until the Winter surprized them in that cold Climate, and froze up their Ship: In that Case they wou'd literally see a People *ἤρει ἐν νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένους*, wrap up in *Darkness and Clouds*, and might give them a Name, which indeed will agree either with *Thrace* or the *Avernus*.

WE MUST NOW pursue our Voyage round the *Mediterranean*, and for that reason must leave *Ulysses* sailing back to *Circe*, and associate ourselves with the other Traveller celebrated by *Homer*, the famous *Mene-laus*. The South and South-east Coast of this Sea seem to have fallen to his Share, as the North and North-west were visited by *Ulysses*; tho' I know that the latter is likewise said to have been driven both to *Spain* (where there was a Town of his Name, and a Temple of *Minerva*) and to the Coast of *Africk*, where he saw the *Lotophagi*: But as the PHENICIAN Accounts of these Parts are related by the

Poet under the Person of *Menelaus*, it will be proper for us to follow him.

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

THUS *Diomedes* and *Teucer* went and settled, the one in *Apulia*, and the other in *Cyprus* : *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* revived the old Practice of *Greece*, making Descents with their Squadrons upon several Coasts, and carrying what Plunder they met with to their Ships : And when the Disasters incident to a piratical Life had disabled them from continuing such Violences, they wandred about from place to place, and set on foot a kind of *Contribution* (what the *French* call a *Quête*) where-ever they came. Their high Reputation procured them a kind reception from

from all that had heard of the Destruction of *Troy*, the greatest Transaction the World had then to talk of: And accordingly they received many *Ξεῖνία* (*Presents to Strangers*) from the Princes they visited, and both, tho' late, returned rich to their own Countries.

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

THERE

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

THE Richness of the *Spanish Mines* afforded ample Materials of Hyperbole and Description to the ancient Writers ^a; and we find in the Poets coming after *Homer*, that the Ease and Affluence of their Princes, had passed into a *Proverb* ^b. This cou'd be known to *Homer* in no other way but by the Report

^a Ποσειδάωνιος συνενθουσα ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς. Στραβ. Βιβ. 5.

^b Εγὼ τ' ἂν οὐτ' Ἀμαλθίης βυλοῖμην κέρας;

οὐτ' ἔτεα πενήκοια καὶ ἱκατὸν

ΤΑΡΤΗΣΣΟΥ βασιλευσαι.

Ἄνακρ. Ἀποσπασ.

port of the *Phenicians*; who, when they spoke of this happy Country, called it MΕ-CHOS ELYSOTH, *The Place of Joys* or *Land of Mirth* c. From them therefore our Poet has learned the Nature of the *Western Region*, the *Blowing of the Zephyrs*, and the *Fertility of the Soil*; and has described his ELYSIUM just such a Place as the *Fields about Cadix*, and the *Andaluzian Plains* d.

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

c *Bochart, Canaan.*

d Los fertiles Campos de *Andalusia*, tan celebrados de la Antigüedad por los *Campos Elifios*, reposo de las Almas bien aventuradas — Miré aquel pedaço de tierra, que en fertilidad y influencia del Cielo, hermosura de tierra y agua, no he visto cosa mejor, en toda la Europa. — *And speaking of the neighbouring Plain of Malaga, he says*, Fue tan grande el consuelo que recibí de la vista della, y fragancia que traía el Viento, regalándose por aquellas maravillosas Huertas, llenas de todas especies de Naranjos y Limones, llenas de Azahar todo el Año, que me pareció ver un pedaço de Parayso: Porque no ay en toda la *Redondez* de aquel Orizonte, cosa que no deleyte los cinco Sentidos. Los ojos se entretienen con la vista de *Mar y Tierra*, llena de Arboles hermosísimos: A los Oydos deleyta con grande admiracion la abundancia de los Pajarillos, que dia y noche no cesan su dulce Armonia: Los Mantenimientos son abundantes y sustanciosos para el Gusto y la Salud: El Trato de la Gente muy apazible, afable y cortésano; y *todo* es de manera, que se pudiera hazer un grande Libro de sus excelencias.

Vida de Obregon.

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

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

AFTER

^c *Addison's Journey thro' Italy.*

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

AND FIRST, He knows their *Character* perfectly. When he speaks of them in general, they are always Φοίνικες ναυσικλισοι ἄνδρες, *The Phenicians fam'd for Shipping*, or *renowned at Sea*; which is the distinguishing Mark of the Nation. Then their chief City is πολυχάλκη Σίδων, *Sidon abounding with Metals*; and the *Sidonians*, πολυδαίδαλοι ἄνδρες, *ingenious artful Men*. It is impossible for any Man, tho he had lived a great part of his Life at *Sidon*, to give more proper Epithets to the Nation and City, or more expressive of the Genius of the Inhabitants. But *Homer* goes further, and shews that he has been acquainted with all Ranks of the *Phenicians*.

THE mean People of a trading Nation naturally fall into Tricking and low Cozenage; and in this respect the *Phenician* Pedlars were the *Jews* of *Antiquity*; and bore
such

such a Character among them as the *Jews* do among *us*. *Such* exactly hath *Homer* painted them. He calls them *Τρωκταί*, *Scrapers of Money* from any thing ^f; and to explain how they did it, he subjoins, that they were *πολυπάλαιοι ἄνδρες*, *Men with a thousand small Wiles*. There was besides a great Intercourse between the two Nations: The *Phenician* Ships, our Poet tells, frequently wintered among the *Grecian* Islands, and the Prince ^g of one of them had a *Phenician* Mistress: She was, according to his Description,

*Tall and beautiful, and skill'd in curious
Work* ^h.

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

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

^f *Τρωκταί*: δ' ἐκ πάντος κερδαίνων, ἕϊον ἀπορώγων.
Συίδα.

^g *Ctesius*, the Son of *Ormenus*, Prince of the rich Island *Syria*. or, as the latest Geographers called it, *SYROS*.

^h *Καλή τε μεγάλη τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' εἰδύια*.
Ὅδυσ. Ο.

ⁱ *Ἄγελας*: Softened from *Asrubas* or *Asdrubas*, *ASDRUBAL*.
Bochart.

facture of the Country. Most of the fine things he mentions, Gifts to the Gods, or Presents from great Men, are (he says) of *Sidonian* Workmanship. The finest Garment in the *Trojan* Queen's Wardrobe, was bought in *Sidon* by *Paris*, who must no doubt have been a *Judge* in those Matters^k; and the prettiest Utensil in *Menelaus'* Palace was a *Silver Bowl* edged with Gold, which he had received as a Present from the King of *Sidon*; and it is not improbable that *Homer* had seen many like it, when in that City himself^l. In short, he seldom describes *Toys* or *Jewels*, or any Piece of curious Work, but he very readily adds, that it was made in *Sidon*, or brought over in a *Phenician* Ship: And herein he hath the Happiness to agree with our *sacred Chronicle*, where we learn, that the wise *Solomon*, when he was about to build his magnificent Temple, received a cunning Man from *Tyre*, “ Skilful to work
 “ in Gold and in Silver; In Brass, in Iron, in
 “ Stone, and in Timber; In Purple, in Blue,
 “ in fine Linen, and in Crimson; also, to
 “ grave every manner of Graving, and to
 “ find out every *Device* which should be put
 “ to him.

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

^k *Iliad* VI.

^l *Odyss.* IV.

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

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

^a *Monf. St. Evremond.*

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

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

HIS Country is pointed at in *Homer* in a very remarkable manner: "Above Ortygia, says the Poet, there is a certain Island called SYRIA, if ever you heard of it, Ἐν Τροπῶν Ἡελίου, where are the Returns or Tropicks of the Sun. This, it seems, is the Mark of the place, that will help us to distinguish it from the neighb'ring Isles: But without the assistance of succeeding

History, and particularly where it relates to *Pherecydes*, we shou'd never have known what to have made of it: To have gone in search of such an Island under the *Tropicks*, wou'd have been as foolish as to think of contriving a *natural meaning* for the Expression taken in its literal Signification; and in what Sense *the Returns of the Sun* can be said to be in any one of the *Cyclades*, is a Question that would puzzle our best Astronomers.

FOR a *Solution*, the old Scholiast upon the Passage tells us, that “*In this Island*” “*there was a Cave consecrated to the Sun,*” “*which shewed the Time of his Returns.*” These are the very words of the Commentary; and they seem to stand as much in need of an Explication as their Subject. I incline to think, that the *Phenicians* finding the Island rich in *Grain*, which they much wanted, and accommodated with a fine Harbour, may have endeavoured to fit it in every respect for their *Winter Retreat*. With this view it is probable they may have adjusted a *Meridian Line* to some Hole or Cleft in the Roof, which admitted a Ray of the Sun into the consecrated Cave, and marked the *Solstices* upon that Line, and what other Subdivisions they thought fit.

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

HAD *Pherecydes* lived before, or contemporary with *Homer*, there wou'd be no doubt but this very Machine was the thing described by the *Poet*; but being posterior, it is more likely that he himself took the Hint from the *Phenicians*, and probably out-did theirs, in the Exactness of his Invention.

THERE was nothing like this *Heliotrope* to be seen in any Part of *Greece*, save in this little Isle, whose Inhabitants, ignorant like the other *Greeks*, when they came to see it, and were gazing at the Marks, and asking the use of them, could only gather from the *Phenicians* Answer (just what *Homer* has said of them) “ That they were the Returns of “ the Sun; or, that when the Sun had advanced so far, He returned the way he “ had come.” *Homer* cou’d not miss to hear of them; for if he was not himself in this Island, which he has described so happy and healthful, he wou’d certainly be informed of every thing concerning it in *Delos*, just in its Neighbourhood, whither he came every Year to sing at the Feasts of *Apollo*.

HERE, *My Lord*, we will finish our Voyage. We set out from the *Hellespont*, and taking the Coast of *Italy* in our way, we have returned by *Spain* and *Africk* to the *Egean Sea*. What we have seen is sufficient to convince us, that *Homer* owed most of those Tales that raise our Wonder in the *Odysssey*, to his Converse among the PHENICIANS: And as they were told from the first Apprehensions the *Phenician Sea-men* and simple *Greeks* formed of them, that same *Simplicity* has been preserved in the Relation, and has accommodated them to the Understanding

standing and Taste of all Nations and Ranks of Men.

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

SUCH Reflections as these, have sometimes led me to think, that *Homer's Art* was not so great and refined as we commonly suppose

it to have been: That his *Good Fortune* was far superior to his *Skill*; Since he needed but represent things both in his own and other Countries, *almost as he heard them talked of*. The ordinary Strain in which they were related, was nicely calculated for giving them that air of *natural Wonder*, that affects us so strongly in reading them: A thing hardly to be counterfeited! For a man who understands any Subject *perfectly*, who knows the Causes and Effects of every surprizing-like thing about it, of consequence talks coolly; and having no Admiration himself, can with difficulty raise it in another. When he essays to do it, his Looks and Voice, and laboured Sentences betray him, and shew the *Artifice*; But if at any time he comes to *forget* himself, and can screw up his Fancy so as to smother his Reason, he may then succeed; and inspire his Hearers with a Passion he begins to feel: Yet his Judgment will recur when the *Fit* is over, and leave him the same cool unadmiring Person he was before.

I HAVE heard it declared, by those whose Business it is to *personate* Characters and their peculiar Passions, that they never succeed so well as when *they forget themselves most*; and have entered into some sort of Persuasion, that they are indeed the *Persons* whom they represent. But I don't know, whether

ther I dare apply *their Case* to our celebrated Poet, and venture to say, “ That the more
“ firmly *Homer* believed the Wonders he
“ tells, he wou’d tell them the better, and
“ paint their most moving Circumstances
“ with a truer Feeling than if he had not
“ been persuaded of the Truth of the Facts.”

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

THUS, WE have run over *Homer's* Advantages from Nature and Education : We have surveyed the *Climate* where he was born : We have considered the *Manners* of his Country, its *Language* and *Religion* ; and have found from the Nature of things, and their constant Effects, that they were *all* in the happiest temper for Description and Poesy. We have gone further, and traced him in his *private Education*, his *Employment* and Manner of Life, and found them of the same nature and tendency : And to account for the wide Knowledge of Men and Things that appears thro’ out his Works, we have look’d abroad, and found *foreign Countries* affording the happiest Opportunities Man’s heart cou’d wish, for *poetick* Improvement : Their joint Effects we have found verified in his Descriptions and Allusions, and in the Numbers of shining Images that grace his Writings : But take them altogether, and

280 *An Enquiry into the Life, &c.*

they had not been able to raise him to his high Station, if the noblest SUBJECT that ever fired the Fancy of a Poet had not completed his Happiness. Let us, *My Lords* consider it, and conclude the *Enquiry*.



Gravelot inv.

1749 del.

SECT.



Gravelot inv.

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

S E C T. XII.

OF THE TWO *Heroick Poems* written by *Homer*, the *first* contains an Account of the hottest Period of a long War between the confederate Princes of *Greece*, and the richest Kingdom of *Asia* with its *Dependencies*. The *second* relates the Consequences of that War, and the Fates of the several *Chieftains* after the Victory. *Homer* seems to have been destin'd for writing the History of the *whole Transaction*, by being born in *one* Country, residing in the *other*, and travelling much in *both*.

IT WOULD be a difficult matter to enumerate the Advantages of such a *Situation*: It wou'd be to resume the Conditions in *Manners, Language, and Travelling*, we found to be requisite in Poetry; and shewing that by *this means* they are included in *Homer's* Fortunes. He appears to be the *only* Bard, that equally knew the Country of his *Hero*, and that of his Enemies: And except those Poets who have sung of *Civil Wars*, where the contending Parties are of the same Country, and where for that reason, there can be no Variety of Manners; excepting those, I say, he seems in *this respect* likewise to be *singular* among the Poets.

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

Lordship will not be displeas'd to take a View of some of its Consequences.

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

^a Est urbe egressis tumulus, templumque vetustum
 Desertæ Cereris; Juxtaque antiqua cupressus,
 Relligione patrum multos servata per annos; Says Eneas
 to his Servants, who must have known those Places as well, or
 better than himself. Eneid. II.

tions his Places with an appearance of Certainty, *as already subsisting*, and already known^b: He does it almost in the Manner of an *Historian*, and leaves you to pick up your Knowledge of them from the Circumstances of the Action where they are introduced.

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

b

——— *Et in medias res,**Non secus ac notas auditorem rapit.* ——

Horat. ad Pison.

c SCEPSIS.

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

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

Or, as it is fancied by a softer Poet:

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

HERE is the great Witness for *Homer*: He appears to his Character, and attests his *Veracity* after many Searches into the Truth of his Relations. But tho' we had no such Testimony, we might know he copied from Nature, and described Realities by the *Effects* of his Descriptions upon our own Minds: 'Tis in this as in other things; no Imagination can supply the want of *Truth*: Flowery Meads and horrid Rocks, dismal Dungeons and enchanted Palaces (things all on *Extremes*) can

can be easily imagined : But they take only with young raw Fancies, fit to be entertained with stories of Dwarfs and distress'd Dam'sels. 'Tis the Traces of *Truth* that are only irresistible ; and the most fanciful *fairy Scene* in the *Argenis*, or the * * * * *, does not please like the *Callicolone*, or a Prospect from the Brow of the lofty *Ide*, because not *real*. In the one, the Harmony established between the human Understanding and *Truth*, commands our Assent : In the other, the Mind wavers, and views them passing like a *waking Dream*.

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

while to enquire narrowly into the Poet's Abilities, by dipping a little into his Subject.

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

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

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

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

d Καὶ σε, Γέρον, τὸ πρὶν μὴν, ἀκόσμητον ὄλεθρον εἶναι ;

Ὅσσον ΛΕΣΒΟΣ ἄνω, Μάκαρος ἕδος, ἐνὸς ἔργει,

καὶ ΦΡΥΓΙΗ καθύπερθε, καὶ ΕΛΛΗΣΠΟΝΤΟΣ ἀπείρων.

Ἰλιάδ. 9.

Governments, or *Provinces*^e, over which it is thought *Priam* reigned before the Arrival of the *Greeks*. Besides these, he drew Auxiliaries from the *high Countries* all around him, as far as from beyond the River *Halys* on the one hand, and the *Old Cilicia* on the other.

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

^e I. From *Esepus* down to *Abydos*, under *Adrastus* and *Amphius* the Sons of *Merops*. II. *Abydos*, with its Territory, under *Alius*. III. The *Lycians* under *Pandarus*. IV. The *Dardans* under *Eneas*. V. The *Trojans*, so called from *Troy*, under *Hector*. VI. The *Leleges* under *Altes*. VII. and VIII. Two *Lyrnessus's*: One under *Eurypylus* the Son of *Telephus*; the other, under *Myntes*, the Country of the beautiful *Briseis*, *Achilles'* Mistress. IX. *Thebes*, opposite to *Lesbus*, under *Etion*, where *Chryseis* was taken, *Agamemnon's* loved Captive; and it was also the native City of the faithful *Andromache*.

into the World, and had access to hear from his own *Countrymen* their Exploits, and from his *Neighbours*, the Descendants of *Priam's* Allies, the traditional accounts of what passed in the War.

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

are preserved, and faithfully handed down to the young Branches of a warlike Family.

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

ANOTHER Consequence of *Homer's* Situation with regard to his *Subject*, is the Smoothness of his Language. I do not mean the Genius of the *Ionick* Dialect, or its general Aptness for Poetry; tho' the frequent Return of *Vowels*, and the *sportive Disposition*
of

of the People, are Circumstances of no small Importance, either for *Sound* or *Character*. The Advantage I mention, is the *Softness* of the proper Names of *Places* and *Persons* that fill his Poem; and their being as it were ready polished to his hand, and fit to be employed in a Work where Delicacy and Grandeur must combine to bring it to perfection. Here seems to be *another Singularity* in *Homer's* Destiny, "To speak as easily of a foreign Country as he does of his own." His Ancestors had come and possessed themselves of all the Dominion of *Troy*, had softened the Names of the Mountains, the Rivers, and Vales, and given them *Grecian* Terminations: They had familiarized them into their Language before he was born, and he just came in time to reap the Benefit of it in his Poetry.

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

U 2

most

^a Mansuri Oppidulo, quod *Versu* dicere non est.

Horat. Lib. I. Sat. V.

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

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

^b Des villes que tu prens les noms durs et barbares,
N'offrent de toutes parts que syllabes bizarres:
Et qui peut sans fremir aborder *Woerden*?
Quel vers ne tomberoit au seul nom de *Hensden*?
Quelle Muse a rimer en tous lieux disposée,
Oseroit approcher des Bords du *Zuiderzée*? *Epir. 4.*

^c WURTS l'esper du Pais, et l'Appui des ces Murs
WURTS.—Ah quel nom, Grand Roi, quel Hector que ce *Wurts*?
Sans ce terrible nom ———
Bientot — Mais *Wurts* s'oppose. *Epir. 4.*

think that these *Colonies* were not the *first* that crossed the *Hellepont*, and carried with them something of the *Western* Language and Manners. I believe there were many Bodies of People from *Thrace* and the *Islands*, who may have gone over at different times, and taken Possession of some Parts of the Coast, and who were afterwards incorporated with the former Inhabitants. A Presumption of this may be drawn from the *Trojan Names*, which are supposed to have existed before *Homer's* People came and settled in their Country. They are for the most part of *Grecian* Composition: Nay even the Names of the *Trojan Auxiliaries* are generally *Grecian*, tho' further removed from that Country than the *Asiatick Shore*. But as these may have been imposed by the subsequent Inhabitants (the new *Greek* Plantation) we could not build upon this Circumstance without the Concurrence of other Proofs.

AND FIRST, We are assured by a Native of *Pontus*^a, one of the Northern Countries, formerly in alliance with *Priam*, "That
 " the *Trojan* Language had many Words and
 " Names in common with the *Thracian*." Of this he gives several Instances, which it would be to little purpose to transcribe: But what appears very remarkable in them is, That those very Instances are generally *Gre-*

^aSTRABO.

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

TO CONFIRM us in this Opinion, it is certain that the *Thracians* had anciently great footing in *Greece*: *TEREUS* a *Thracian* governed at *Daulis* in the *Phocean* Territory, where the tragical inhuman Story of *Philomela* and *Progne* was acted. From thence a Body of *Thracians* passed over to *Eubæa*, and inhabited the Island: They are constantly called *Abantes*, by *Homer*, from *Abas*, the Town in *Phocis* whence they came. Of the same Nation were the *Aones*, *Tembices*, and *Hyantians*, who made themselves Masters of the old *Bœotia*; and even the polished *Attica* itself was inhabited by the *Thracians*, under the Command of the renowned *EUMOLPUS*. In a word, the great Tracts of Land occupied by them, and by the *Egyptian* and
Phry-

Phrygian Colonies, have made the celebrated Geographer assert, “*That almost all Greece was formerly possessed by Barbarians* d.”

THIS INTERCOURSE between the Nations, and Affinity of their Dialect, will appear still stronger, if we call to mind *Who* were the Masters of the ancient Musick and Poetry, and the first famed for these Arts among the *Greeks*? It was *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Thamyris*, and *Eumolpus*, all **THRACIANS**; who were not only understood by the then *Greeks*, but able to charm them with their Eloquence and Melody, and persuade them to exchange their Fierceness for a social Life and peaceful Manners e. No wonder then if the *Thracian Tribes* that crossed the *Hellespont* and settled in the Dominion of *Troy*, the *Caucones*, *Treres*, and *Cimmerians*, gave Names to their new Habitations, which bear an Analogy to the Language of *Greece*.

U 4

BUT

d ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΣ μὲν ἔν ὁ Μελήσιος περὶ τῆς ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΥ Φησὶν, ὅτι πρὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ᾤκησαν αὐτῶν Βάρβαροι: Σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ ἡ ΣΤΡΑΒΩΝ ΕΛΛΑΣ κλιτοικία ΒΑΡΒΑΡΩΝ ὑπῆρξε τὸ παλαιόν. Στραβ. Β. βλ ζ.

e Θραῖκες ἦσαν οἱ ἐπιμεληθέντες τῆς ἀρχαίας Μουσικῆς, ΟΡΦΕΥΣ ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ καὶ ΘΑΜΥΡΣ; Καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἀκτῇ τῇ περὶ τὴν Ἄθων ΘΑΜΥΡΙΣ ὁ ΘΡΑΞ ἐβασίλευσε, τῶν αὐτῶν Ἐπιηδευμάτων γενομένος ἔν καὶ ὁ ΚΙΚΩΝ ΟΡΦΕΥΣ: ὅς Ὁρφεὺς τὰ πρῶτα μὲν ἀγρυπείων διέζη Ἐβρα καὶ μειζόνων ἀξίων ἐαυτὸν καὶ Ὀχλον καὶ λυγνάμιν περιποιόμενος, διεφθάρη ἐξ Ἐπισυβάσεως Ἄνηρ ΓΟΗΣ ἀπὸ Μουσικῆς τε καὶ Μαντικῆς, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς Τελείας ὈΡΓΙΑΣ ὦΝ. Ἐυσαθ. εἰς Ἰλιάδ. Ραψωδ. β.

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

g Ἄλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἦν ταῦτα: Τό τε γὰρ ΠΕΛΑΣΓΩΝ ἦν Φύλον, καὶ τῶν ΚΑΥΚΩΝΩΝ, καὶ ΛΕΛΕΓΩΝ. Ἐιρηῆαι δ' ὅτι πολλάκις τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐτύχανε πλανώμενα τοπαλαίων, ἅπερ ποιεῖται τοῖς ΤΡΩΣΙ. συμμαχθῆναι ὁ Ποιητής, ΟΥΚ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΑΪΑΣ.

Στραβ. Βιβλ. ιβ.

h ΔΑΝΑΟΣ, ὁ πενήμονα θυγατέρων παῖδρ
 Ἐλθὼν εἰς ἌΡΓΟΣ, ὤκισεν Ἰνάχῃσιν πολιν;
 ΠΕΛΑΣΓ' ὌΤΑΣ δ' ὠνομασμένους τοπρῖν,
 ΔΑΝΑΟΙΣ καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκεν. ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔ.

i See *Dionysius Halicarnass. Antiquit. Rom. Lib. I.*

“ *Islands* : But being exceedingly given to
 “ change of Place, and a sudden Relinquish-
 “ ment of their former Seats, they both in-
 “ creased in an extraordinary manner, and
 “ were as quickly brought low :” The chief
 Blow was given them by the *Eolians* and *Io-
 nians*, at their Arrival in *Asia* ; who took
 their Towns, drove them from their delici-
 ous Fields, and forced those that escaped the
 Sword, to take Shelter in the higher Coun-
 try.

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

“ and *marched in Multitudes* to invade the
 “ Possessions of their Neighbours.”

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

THIS will appear still the more probable, if we consider that few of the *Genealogies* of the *Trojan* or *Dardan* Chiefs reach above three or four Generations : So far they can trace their Descent, and no farther. A great
 Proof

Proof of the late peopling the Country. Any of the Races that go higher, run into Mythology, and derive their Pedigree from *Heaven*; that is, they are the Off-spring of some strolling Man, or strolling God, who came into their Country three or four Generations ago, (they cannot tell from whence) and left them behind him, as his Posterity.

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

THESE

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

YET among all these there is generally a chief *point of view*; some advantageous *Stand*, which gives the sweetest Attitude, and most amiable appearance of the Figure. This, *My Lord*, is still before us: It may open up us at the next Turn, and has perhaps been luckily reserved for the *last Look*, that we may retire full of the *Idea*, and with a higher Taste of the Beauty of the Original.

THE GREAT Good fortune that attended *Homer*, I take to have been what we may call the *Material Part* of his Subject. “ It
 “ was a prodigious Rendezvous of the bra-
 “ vest Inhabitants, and Sons of the noblest
 “ Families of a free Country, wide and war-
 “ like; and engaged in a violent struggle
 “ of Passions and Arms, with another of
 “ more effeminate Manners. The Effect
 “ was, that it afforded him *real, historick*
 “ *Characters* for his MODEL.

To set this matter in a just Light, and shew the vast extent of its Influence, we need make but one Reflection; “ That such an
 “ Assembly of the Chiefs of two great Na-
 “ tions, displaying their Virtues and Vices
 “ upon the greatest and most interesting Sub-
 “ jects, *must include the prime Characters* of
 “ MANKIND; and of consequence present a
 “ Poet with the most genuine and fairest
 “ Materials that can beautify a human Com-
 “ position.” Let us remember, *My Lord*,
 what it is that gives us such perpetual Plea-
 sure in reading the *Iliad*? That makes us
 start at the Turns in the Speeches, and fills
 us with Anxiety and Wonder? It is not the
 beautiful Descriptions of *Places*, nor even
 the Rage and Ardour of the *Battles*. But
 those *High strokes of Character* that every
 where occur, and are constantly presenting
 us with new Sentiments of the human Heart,
 z such

such as we expect, and from our own Experience feel to be *true*. These can never miss their Aim : They at once charm the Fancy with Images, and fill the Understanding with Reflection : They interest every thing that is *human* about us, and go near to agitate us with the same Passions as we see represented in the moving Story.

THIS Reflection will bear to be turned on every side, and dreads no Search be it ever so severe. In the choice we make of any *Measure* in the conduct of our Business or Pleasures, we examine its Justness and Expediency, not only by considering what good end it serves ? But likewise, what Inconveniences are avoided, what Pains or Trouble spared, or what Miscarriages prevented, to which *another Method* might be liable ? Take *Homer's* Subject in the same Light, and it will appear with a Pre-eminency hardly to be expressed. *Such a Convention of Princes*, from different Countries and Soils, but all speaking the same Language, furnished him with *great Materials*, and hindered him from attempting an *Impossibility* ; “ I mean the
 “ feigning or forming new imaginary Charac-
 “ ters, without Originals from which he might
 “ copy them.” The flourishing Condition of *Greece* at that time ; the great number of Principalities, free Cities, and growing Republicks, sent forth an Assembly of Heroes, the

the World could hardly match ever since. The *Grecians* themselves confessed, that their Country, when much more polished and improved, had never produced so many *free natural* Characters, not tainted with *Politicks*, not moulded by *Laws*, nor effeminated with *Pleasures*; and for that reason, half-deified those very Persons, whom they knew at the same time to be but the *Sons of Men*.

HIS SUBJECT therefore, saved him from a *desperate* Enterprize; and prevented him from falling into those Errors and Absurdities that deprive many a lively Poet of his Reputation. To it he owed the Stateliness and Dignity with which *Idomeneus* the *Cretan* King appears on all occasions. To it he owed the beautiful and unwariike *Nireus*, the faithless *Pandarus*, and the amiable human *Patroclus*. And above all the rest, to this he was indebted for the noble CONTRAST of Characters that adorn his Poems. There we see the ancient *Nestor*, mild, and calm, and talkative, opposed to the young fiery *Thessalian*, the intractable *Achilles*: The too indulgent *Priam* stands by the prudent *Polydamas*, and the wise *Antenor*: The Hardiness of the noble *Hector*, and Debauchery of the luxurious *Paris*, serve but to illustrate one another, and come all originally from the same Fountain.

THE *Detail* of this part of his Happiness would be endless: But there are two remarkable Circumstances in *Homer's* Writings, which have been generally look'd upon as *Strokes of Art*, where I am apt to think the Nature and Situation of his Subject bore a considerable Sway. It has been observ'd to his Honour, "That the *Characters* of his " *Heroes*, tho' of the *same kind*, and excell-
 " ling in one and the same thing, are yet
 " all diversified, and mark'd with some Pec-
 " liarities that distinguish them, and make
 " a Separation." Thus, for instance, both *Achilles* and *Ajax*, *Diomedes* and *Hector*, *Ulysses* and *Merion*, are all *brave*; but it is in a different manner. *Achilles* is fierce and impetuous, *Ajax* steady and firm, *Diomedes* gallant and open, *Ulysses* cautious and bold; and both *Agamemnon* and *Hector* are mark'd with that *princely Courage* which becomes the *GENERALS* of two great Nations. *This, My Lord*, I hardly think could ever have been feign'd; it was Truth and Nature alone that could form those Differences, so real and yet so delicate, and afterwards offer them to a Representation.

TO DESCRIBE so many Men; to point out their Manners; to paint their Persons, relate their Adventures, and make a long Recital of their Families, seems to be beyond the Power of Fiction. The *making* or *feign-*
ing

ing Faculty, be it ever so rich and inventive, after an Effort or two, recoils upon itself; and if it finds no store of Originals within, either falls a repeating the same Characters with a tedious uniformity, or contrives false ones, that glare and make a Show, but by some wry Feature certainly betray their Unlikeness to Truth.

HOMER has kept true even to the Fortunes and Estates of his *Heroes*: The two richest Men in *Greece*, were *Agamemnon* and *Achilles*: The one, by reason of his large Dominions and the Sovereignty of the Isles^a: And accordingly we find him lending sixty Ships to the *Arcadians*, an inland People; and promising many Towns and Lands in Dowry with his Daughter. The other, *Achilles*, was Lord of the rich *Thessalian Plains*, early famed all over *Greece*, for Wealth and Horsemanship^b. He had likewise taken and plunder'd three and twenty Towns lying round *Troy*, and was enriched by his Share in the Spoil. We are not therefore surprized at the Treasure he throws away with such Profusion at the Funerals of *Patroclus*; nor to find him renowned for his *Horses* and *Chariot-racing*, beyond the

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rest

^a Ἀυτῶν ὁ αὐτὲς Θύες Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε Φορῆναι,
Πολλῆσι ΝΗΣΟΙΣΙ καὶ ἈΡΓΕΙ πάντι ἐνάσσειν. Ἰλιάδ. Β.

^b Ω Μένων, πρῶτον μὲν ΘΕΤΤΑΛΟΙ εὐδόκιμοι ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, καὶ ἐθαυμάζοντο ἐφ' Ἰπτικῆ τε καὶ Πλάτῳ.

Πλάτων. ΜΕΝΩΝ.

rest of the *Greeks*. He was so remarkable for it, that when *Ulysses* meets his *Shade* in the infernal Regions, the first Circumstance which occurs to him is, *That now alas ! he was there, λελασμένῳ Ἰπποσυνάων, unmindful of his Horses and Chivalry.*

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

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

Excur-

^c *Nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri,
Nec gemino bellum Trojanum orditur ab ovo.*

Horat. ad Pison.

Excursions to pillage, which are occasionally inserted in the Dialogues of the *Iliad*.

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

IT WAS SO, *My Lord*, in many respects. The Wrath of *Achilles* was in reality the *Hinge of the War*, and *that* upon which the whole of the great Transaction turned. The Time of Action ; the Counsels of the Leaders ; the Disposition and Temper of the Armies, all depended upon it, and were directed by it. This made it a kind of *Rule* for the Conduct and Disposition of his Poem : and if he kept it in his Eye, (as we see he has certainly done) it would naturally lay out his general *Plan*, and influence the Proportions of the subservient Parts. It has besides, the peculiar Ex-

cellency of shewing and exercising more *Passions*, and of more opposite Natures, than any other Period of the War. It was raised by Love and Ambition, inflamed by Pride, softened by Friendship, kept up by Glory and conscious Virtue, and only vanquished by a superior Passion, *Revenge*.

MANY OTHER Parts and Episodes, if I may say so, of the *Grecian Expedition*, furnished Matter for Epic Poems. *Demodocus* sung the *AMBUSH* of the *Trojan Horse*; *Phe-mius*, the *RETURN* of the *Greeks* with *Agamemnon*; and the *LITTLE ILIAD* (a Poem so called) contained both those Subjects, and the occasional Adventures that had followed upon the War; the adjudging the *Arms* of *Achilles*, — *Philoctetes*, — *Neoptolemus*, — *Sinon*, with some others ^d. But it is worth our notice, what Judgment the Father of Criticism has made of these Pieces: He says, That whereas the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* could furnish but two, or at most but four, regular and entire *Actions*, the *Little Iliad* could afford double the number; so that you might compose *eight* different Poems of the Materials it contained: So simple and connected a Subject was the *Wrath* of *Achilles*, and the *Wanderings* of *Ulysses*!

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^d Οἶον Ὀπλων κρίσις, Φιλοκτήτης, Νεοπτόλεμος, Ἐυρύπυλος Πρωχρεία, Ἀκαίηται, Ἴλιθ Ἡέροις, καὶ Ἀποπλης, καὶ Σίνων, καὶ Τρώαδες.

VIRGIL has been deeply indebted to this Performanc^e:

IT WAS, at the same time, not only rich in *Action*, but in *such Action* as is capable of being described, and *admits* of a *Recital*. When a great Town is taken sword in hand, the Carnage and Fury exercised in it can hardly be *told*: That horrid Face of Misery is, in the real meaning of the Phrase, *beyond Expression*: The Intensity of the Ill transcends all Language, and mocks the Words we use in the Description. Much less can we collect from every quarter, the various Scenes of Woe, and represent them *together*. But the Action that has fallen to the share of our Poet, is generally of such a nature as to give play to the Imagination: We can follow it step by step, observe its Progress, and lose but little of the *whole*. We can accompany *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* in every Motion of their nocturnal Expedition^e; and can walk up and down the *Grecian* Camp, and visit the Watch, with *Agamemnon* and *Nestor*, as if present upon the Place^f.

IT IS TRUE, We cannot comprehend the Shock of a general Engagement, nor describe what is doing in all the Parts of a Battle: But the ancient manner of

X 3

fighting

^e *Ιλιαδ. Κ.*

^f Δεῦρ' ἐς τὰς Φύλακας καθιστάμεν, ἔφρα ἴδωμεν
Μὴ τοὶ μὲν καμῆτες ἀδδηκότες, ἡδὲ καὶ ἕπνω
Κοιμήσωναι, ἅτῃρ Φυλακῆς ἐπιπέγχου λάβουσι.

Ιλιαδ. Κ.

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

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

THEY seem inclin'd to believe "that
 " the Principles of all the Sciences are to
 " be found in his Works: No Species or
 " kind of Writing for which he has not set an
 " Example; nor almost any *Art*, whose Pre-
 " cepts and Rules may not be deduced from
 " his *Poetry*." They went further, and enter'd
 into

into a Detail of his Knowledge. General Assertions did not content them; but such wise Men as *Dionysius* the *Halicarnassian*, and the ingenious *Plutarch*, thought themselves judiciously employed, in collecting the several Branches, and setting them together. They have shewn, that Poetry in all its Forms, *Tragedy*, *Comedy*, *Ode*, and *Epitaph*, are included in his Works: That *Oratory*, *Politics*, *Oeconomy*, and *War*, are bound to acknowledge him as their Master. The last we should not so much wonder at, since the great *Macedonian Conqueror*, among other Honours done to his Works, professed himself his *Scholar* in this *Kingly Science*: But some went still further, and found the greatest Secrets of *Nature*, and hidden *Mysteries* of the Universe, revealed or shadowed out by this wonderful *Poet*. Hardly a depth in *Astronomy*, or latent Principle in *Heaven* or *Earth*, which they have not discover'd him to be acquainted with, and to have hinted at its Powers in some Allusion or Metaphor.

THESE, *My Lord*, are very strange Assertions; and it seems stranger still, that the severest Men in the World, the People least obnoxious to Illusion or poetick Enthusiasm, should adopt and defend them. The famed *Antisthenes* had begun a Treatise to prove Ὅτι τὰ μὲν Δόξα, τὰ δὲ Ἀληθεῖα εἶησιαι τῷ Ποιητῇ; That the *Poet* spoke sometimes

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

THEY DID indeed imagine, that there was nothing in the World but what he understood: And being struck with *what they saw*, they gave into the common weakness of Mankind, and made large Allowances for *what they saw not*. They came at last to persuade themselves, that a Mind so vast cou'd not belong to a *Man*; that so much Knowledge cou'd only flow from a heavenly Source; and

g Διωγ; Σπυριδης: εις ΟΜΗΡΟΝ.

h Τίνα καὶ πρὸς ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΑΣ ὑποθέσεις ἔτρεψαν τῶν
Ὁμήρου Πόσειν. Στραβ. Β. 6. γ.

and having once firmly settled his APOTHEOSISⁱ in their own Minds, they wanted next, that every thing about him should appear supernatural and divine. The Uncertainty about the Place of his Birth, they improved into a *celestial Lineage*; and because they knew not the name of his Father, they called him the Son of *Apollo*.

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

BUT, the plain Account, which *Homer’s* Subject makes of these suspected Sciences, is this:

NATURE

ⁱ Deification.

^k *Plinii*, Hist. Nat. Lib. XXX. § 2.

^l See Note (b) Page 5.

NATURE *includes them all* : Her *Proportions* are just and invariable : Whoever paints her *true*, or any part of her that is full of *Action* ; and applies that *Action* to *Times, Places, Persons*, and their *Signs*, will include those *Proportions*, and their *Measures*, without intending it, almost without knowing it, but never without some *Perception* of their *Propriety* and *Truth*.

IT wou'd be ridiculous to imagine, that *Homer* first learned the *Sciences* and their *Rules abstractedly* ; that then he applied them to proper *Objects*, and these again to the *Subject* of his *Work* : That by this means he had converted the *Principles* of all the *Sciences*, natural and moral, into *human* or *divine* *Persons*, and then wrought them into the under-parts of his *Poem*. This is beginning at the wrong end ; and however proper the *Method* may be, or rather necessary in *Philosophy*, it wou'd spoil all in the hands of the *Muses*. *Homer* took his *Plan* from *Nature* : He has followed her closely in every step : He has related *Actions* and *Passions* of every kind : He has painted *Places, Persons, Animals*, and *Seasons*, with their proper *Marks* and *Qualities*. He has done this with a constant view to the *effects* which these things produce ; both as they strike upon the human *Mind*, and do good or ill in human

man

man Affairs ^m. By this means he gives us back our own Sentiments on every Accident in Life, and paints the Impressions we receive from the other Parts of the Universe. He becomes an allowed Master in *Morals* ⁿ, and is suspected of Mystery and hidden Meanings in the several Branches of natural Knowledge.

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

IT

^m Τὸν ΟΜΗΡΟΝ, καθάπερ ἐν ἀρμονίᾳ μουσικῇ, πάντας ψῆλαι τῆς ποιητικῆς τῶν Τρόπων· Καὶ τὸς Ποιητὰς ἐφ' οἷς ἐγένετο ὑπερβεβλησθαι πάντας, ἐν ὧν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἦν κράτιστος· Μεγαλοβήμοσύνην τε γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν ΟΡΦΕΑ ἀσκήσασαι· ἠδονῆ τε ὑπερβαλίσθαι τὸν ΗΣΙΟΔΟΝ, καὶ ἄλλω ἄλλον· Καὶ ΛΟΓΟΝ μὲν ὑποθέσθαι τὸν Τρωϊκόν, ἐς δὲ ἢ ΤΥΧΗ τὰς πάντων Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Βαρβάρων ΑΡΕΤΑΣ ξυνήνευγεν· Ἐσαγαγέσθαι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΣ, τὸς μὲν πρὸς Ἄνδρας, τὸς δὲ πρὸς Ἰκτῆς καὶ Τεῖχη, τὸς δὲ πρὸς Πηλεῖδαν, τὸς δὲ πρὸς Θεῶν τε καὶ Θεῶν· Καὶ ὅποσα κατ' ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ εἰσὶ, καὶ Χορὸς, καὶ Ὀδὰς, καὶ Ἐρωτας, καὶ Δαῖτας· Ἔργα τε δὲ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ ἄπεται, καὶ ὈΡΑΣ αἱ σημαίνουσιν ὅποσα χρὴ ἐς τὴν ΓΗΝ πράττειν· καὶ Ναυτιλίας, καὶ Ὀπλοποιίαν τὴν ἐπ' Ἠφαίσῳ· Εἴδη τε Ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ΗΘΗ ποικίλα· Ταῦτα πάντα τὸν ΟΜΗΡΟΝ δαιμονίως ἐξεργάσθαι; καὶ τὸς μὴ ἐρωτίας αὐτῆς μαίνεσθαι.

Φιλοστράτ. ΗΡΩΙΚΑ. § II.

ⁿ Trojani Belli scriptorem, maxime Lolli,

Dum tu declamas Romæ, Prænestæ relegi:

Qui quid sit pulcrum, quid turpe; quid utile, quid non;

Plenius ac melius CHRYSIPPO et CRANTORE dicit.

Horat. Lib. I. Epist. II.

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

HIS *manner* of writing must also be taken into the Account. A *Metaphor* is a *general Pattern*, which may be applied to many Particulars: It is susceptible of an infinite number of Meanings; and reaches far because of its Ambiguity. It leads, as we found before, even to *Madness*; and wantonly ranges the Corners of the World for Comparisons to fit its fancied Properties. This way of treating a Subject must render it still more general, and when joined with the TRUTH of *Description* will account for the MYSTERIES in *Homer's* Writings.

BUT

BUT how surprizing a thing is it to be able to *join* those Extremes? To speak in the simplest and most comprehensive manner: To soar so high, and stoop so low, as to follow Nature minutely, and at the same time fill the Images with *Expression* and *Majesty*. And yet, *My Lord*, the greatest Objections against our Poet, arise from the *too great Truth* of his Descriptions; and from his representing his Heroes in those *natural Lights* which we think below the Politeness of our Manners. They have been frequently answered; and here, their very Foundation turns out to the Honour of the Poet, and proves the grand Ornament of his Performance.

IT could, in reality, enter into no Man's mind, to have given such an Epithet, for example to a *Prince*, as Βοὴν ἀγαθὴν Μενέλαος, *The loud-voic'd Menelaus*; had not the Exigencies of War rendered this a very eminent and useful Quality. Before the Invention of Trumpets or Drums, the Leaders of an Army were often at a loss how to make a general *Signal*; especially by night, or in thick weather, when a visible Sign could be of no Service. In the famous *Scythian Expedition*, undertaken long after *Homer's* time, by *Darius* the Father of *Xerxes*, we find a Man of strong Lungs the most necessary Person in the Camp. This Epithet

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then was taken from the real state of things : And indeed it seems impossible, that either the Poet's Descriptions, or the Actions described, should be so *different*, and yet so *true*, had he followed any other Guide.

THE particular Circumstances of the several Encounters could never have been *so variously* imagined in the road of Fiction only : Neither the single Combat between *Menelaus* and *Paris*, nor that between *Ajax* and *Hector*, where every thing is managed in a very different manner, and yet with the highest Probability in both. In the first, the Prayer of the *Grecian* Hero to *Jupiter*, — the shivering of his Sword, — his Fury at the Disappointment, — and bursting the Lace that bound on the Helmet of the effeminate *Trojan*, are delicate Circumstances, and nicely adapted to the *Temper* of the Warriors, and the Inequality of the Match. In the other, where the Heroes were more upon the level, and without *personal* Enmity, how exactly do things fall out in proportion to this Equality ? The Gallantry of *Hector*, — the Bluntness of *Ajax*, — the Effects of their Spears, — and their betaking themselves to such rough Weapons as *pondrous Stones*, are agreeable to the Strength of the Combatants, and the manner of fighting then in use.

I AM not in hazard, with *your Lordship*, of being understood as if I asserted, that *Homer's* Accounts of Facts, even excluding his Allegories, are *literally* true : That, for example, the Lot of *Ajax* sprung first out of the *Urn*, just as the *Greeks* themselves could have wished ; or that *Hector's* Spear pierced exactly thro' *six* of the seven Folds of his massy Shield, and stuck in the *last*. This would lead into a peevish Disquisition of the Truth of Circumstances which Poetry will never bear, and is against its Laws : It is sufficient, if the Gross of the History and chief Characters are true.

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

° See 'Ιλιάδ. γ. line 192, and compare it with 'Οδυσ. Ζ, Θ, Σ.

fellor to the Prince of *Ithaca*; he accompanied him to the Siege of *Troy*, and held the chief place in his Confidence and Esteem: His *round compact* Shoulders, his *swarthy* Face, and *short curling* Hair, promise that kind of Perception, and Aptness for Toil and Business, which is necessary in a *second part* in Life; and make us think of a Man who knows how to resign his Passions and Appetites to those of his *Master* ^P.

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

P — Κῆρυξ ὀλίγον προγενέστερος αὐτοῦ;

Τυρὸς ἐν Ὠμοῖσι, μελανόχροος, δουλικάργμος.

Ὅδυσ. Τ.

Q Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἕτως πρὸς τὰ τῶ Ὀμήρου Ποιήματι διατίθειμαι, ὡς ΘΕΙΑ τε αὐτὰ ἠγόμενον, καὶ πέρα ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ δόξαι. Καὶ νῦν ἐκπέπληγμαι μᾶλλον, ἐκ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐποποιίᾳ μόνον, εἰ τις Ἰδοῦν ἐπίκει σφῶν; ἀλλὰ πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τε τοῖς Ὀνόμασι τῶν ΗΡΩΩΝ, ἐπὶ τε τοῖς Γένεσι. Καὶ ἰὴ τὸν Δί, ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἔλαχε τῶ κτεῖνά τινα, ἢ ἀποθανεῖν ὑφ' ἑτέρου. Πότεν γὰρ αὐτῶ ΕΥΦΟΡΒΟΙ? Πότεν δὲ ΕΛΕΝΟΙ τε καὶ ΔΗΙΦΟΒΟΙ? Καὶ ἰὴ Δί' ἐκ τῆς ἀνικειμένης Στρατιάς εἰ πολλοὶ ἄνδρες, ἕς ἐν Κεφαλῳ φράζει? Τὸ γὰρ μὴ ὑποθεῖσθαι ταῦτα τὸν ΟΜΗΡΟΝ (Φανερόν): ἀλλὰ γεφονότων τε καὶ ΑΛΗΘΙΝΩΝ ΕΡΓΩΝ ἀπαγγελίαν ποιῆσθαι, πλὴν ὀλίγων, ἃ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἐκὼν μετὰσκυάσαι, ἐπὶ τῶ ποιικίλῳ τε καὶ ἠδίῳ ἀποφῆναι τὴν Πόλιν.

Φιλοσραφ. ΗΡΩΙΚΑ, § XVIII.

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

PHILOSTRATUS manages the Cause of his neglected Hero, with the Humanity and Goodnature that run thro' all his Writings. He mixes it every where with high Praises of *Homer*, and contrives a strange enthusiastick Story of a *Paction* between him and *Ulysses'* Ghost in order to bring him off. But a later Author^a, zealous and grave, and a great Enemy to the *Grecian* Superstition, has put the matter upon a different Foot: He affirms, "that it was *Palamedes* who wrote the Poem of the *Trojan War*; that *Homer* had received it from *Agamemnon's* Posterity, and was "brib'd by them to omit the Passages that did "honour to the Author, or reflected upon "their Parent. The Poet complied, and suppressed the Name of *Palamedes* thro' Envy, "a Passion that taints the greatest Minds."

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^a ΣΟΤΙΔΑΣ. ἐν Παλαμῆδ.

THIS STORY, the *only* bad one I ever read of our Poet, as it is told by *Suidas*, contradicts itself, and therefore does not require a Refutation. I wou'd only take occasion from it to remark, That one of the greatest Changes which *Science* has undergone, and one little observ'd, had first its Birth when these Authors wrote. *Philosophy* was taking a new Face about the Age of *Philostratus*: It was beginning to forsake the natural Precepts of *Life* and *Morals*; to neglect that noble Connexion, which the first Masters had established, between *Physical Contemplations* and this prime Science of *Manners* and *Actions*. A Connexion never to be overlook'd; and which we have the Satisfaction to see revived ^b, since the Sciences have gained a new Lustre; and by the happy Application of *Geometry* and *Numbers*, to the Appearances of Nature, have lost that Uncertainty which was long their Reproach, and the Cause of their Decay.

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

^b See *Philosoph. Natur. Principia, Scholium ult. of Sir Isaac Newton. Chronology, Chap. 2 and 3, of the same Author. Cumberland de Legibus Nat. Characterist. Vol. II. Treat. V. Theodicee de Leibnitz. Derham's Astro & Physico-Theology, and Woolaston's Religion of Nature delineated.*

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

IT IS in this very Taste, *My Lord*, that *Philostratus* relates the Story of *Palamedes*, in a Conversation with a *philosophical Her-*

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

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

c 'Ράδιον δ' ἄν τις ΗΣΙΟΔΩ καὶ ὍΜΗΡΩ πιστεύσειεν ἠρωολογῆσαι καὶ τοῖς τραγικοῖς Ποιηταῖς, ἢ Κτησίῃ τε καὶ Ἡροδότῳ καὶ Ἑλλανίῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τοῖσδε.
Στραβ. Βιβλ. ιε.

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

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

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Poet.

^d *Homer's Iliad*, translated by Mr. POPE.

^e *Juvenal*, Satyr 6.

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

THIS *Difference* appears no where more strongly than in the *Chiefs* of the *Armies*. The Characteristick of *Homer's* Hero is *violent Passion*; his *honoratus Achilles* must be

Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer :

Paint him, says *Horace*,

Forward, and fierce, of unrelenting Wrath.

Nay to such height did his *Impotency* rise, that the young *Antilochus*, when he brought him the dismal News of *Patroclus's* Death, was forced to hold his Hands, lest he shou'd have attempted to cut his own Throat ^f. It is true, we are apt to make *allowances* for this Excess of Passion: We think of the *ill Usage* he met with; Our eye is turned upon his unbounded *Courage* and superior Strength, and we are willing to *bear* with his haughty Spirit: But what shall we say to the PRINCE

of

^f Αείδεις γὰρ μὴ ΔΑΙΜΟΝ ἀπομάχησαι αἰδῆρρι.

^f *Iliad.* Σ.

of the *Grecian* Powers, who was to think for them all, and lead their Armies; their Stay and Confidence, the stately *Agamemnon*? How is he tossed and agitated between *Love*, and *Anger*, and *Dread* of a Miscarriage? He thinks it no shame to own his Passion for a *Captive Maid*, in face of the whole Army: He tells them plainly “ that he likes her “ much better than his Lady, the beautiful “ *Clytemnestra*, of the prime *Grecian* Nobility.” He is besides, now and then, a little *covetous*; and tortured with *Fear* to such a degree, that his Teeth chatter, and his Knees finite; he groans, and weeps, and rends his Hair; and is in such *piteous plight*, that if we were not well assured of his personal Bravery, we should take him for a downright *Coward*.

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

HERE the Force of the *Model* appears, and the Power of *publick Manners*. VIRGIL'S Poem was to be read by a People deeply dis-

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

BUT the *natural Greek*, in *Homer's* days, covered none of his Sentiments. He frankly owned the Pleasures of *Love* and *Wine*;

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he told how voraciously he *eat* when he was hungry, and how horribly he was *frighted* when he saw an approaching Danger: He look'd upon no means as base to escape it; and was not at all ashamed to relate the *Trick* or *Fetch* that had brought him off: While the *haughty Roman*, who scorn'd to owe his Life to any thing but his Virtue and Fortitude, despised accidental Escapes, and fortuitous relief in Perils; and snuffed at the *Suppleness* and *Levity of Mind* necessary to use them.

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

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

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

κ' Ἐκ δ' ἤγαγε Κλισίης ΒΡΙΣΗΙΔΑ καλλιπάρηον ;
 Δῶκε δ' ἄγειν τῷ δ' αὔριος Ἴτην παρὰ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
 Ἥ δ' ἈΕΚΟΥΣ' ἄμα τοῖσι ΓΥΝΗ κίεν. — Ἰλιάδ. α.

ΔΜΩΑΙ' δ' ἄς Ἀχιλλεύς λήισσαλο Πάτροκλός τε,
 Θυμὸν ἀκηχόμεναί, μεγαλ' ἔαχον ἔκ δὲ θύραζε
 Ἔδραμον ἀμφ' Ἀχιλλεῖα δαΐφρονα Χερσὶ δὲ πᾶσαι
 Στήθεα πεπλήγροιο· λυθὲν δ' ὑπὸ γυῖα ἐκάσσης. Ἰλιάδ. σ.

for the softer Hours of Life, but answers *Priam* the old *Trojan* King, with all the Discretion of a *Privy-Connfellow*. She appears at times with a high Sense of *Honour*, and in the end, laments so feelingly the Slip she had made thro' the wrath of *Venus*, calls herself so many hard Names, and touches upon a *tender point* (her former Lover) with such Delicacy, that I make no doubt but many a good-natur'd Husband, to see her *look*, and hear her *talk*, wou'd approve of *Menelaus'* taking her home, after she had lived ten Years with another.

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

THE aged venerable *King*, when he wou'd persuade his daring Son to re-enter the Town, and shelter himself from the Spear of *Achilles*, ushers in his Speech with a *moving Action*. He acknowledges the Superiority of the dreadful *Hero*, and then falls into a natural Wish, "That the Gods had no greater regard for him than he:" He calls to
mind

mind the Miseries which he had brought upon him; and they are so distracting, as to make him forget *Hector* for a little, and talk of *Laot'hoë* and her *Children*. — But soon returning to the *present* Object of his Care, he again begs him to come within the Walls; not so much to save himself, but lest *Achilles* should triumph, and to defend from *Slavery* and *Death* the Men and Women of wretched *Troy*: Then rememb'ring his own feeble and destitute Condition, if *Hector* is slain, he *raises his Voice*, and calls upon him to return, at least to keep his aged Father from beholding those Miseries that stare him in the face: He bids him do it, Ἐν γέγνευλα, *while he is yet in his Senses*, which has a peculiar Beauty, and is strangely moving: It signifies either *as yet alive*, or rather, *before he begins to doat*; when he shou'd be insensible of his Fate, and like a *Captive Infant*, not know whether he was happy or miserable.

THE RECITAL which *Andromache* makes of her *own Life*, when she wou'd dissuade her loved *Hector* from going to Battle; the loss of her *Father*, her *Mother* and *Brothers*; her own forlorn state if she loses *him too*, are all the Dictates of Nature itself. But what she adds, when her Tears begin to flow; *the use* she makes of her *Orphan Cir-*
she

cumstance, is melting beyond Expression. She stops a little, — looks at him, — and then bursts forth,

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

THE remaining Characters, *Hecuba*, *Penelope*, *Nausicaa*, and *Calypso*, act and speak with the same Propriety: They serve but to lead us back to *Homer's* SUBJECT. They shew its Fitness for Poetry in every respect we can consider it, and by every Comparison we can make with it. It is so rich and luxuriant, that the Poet seems almost overwhelm'd with the flow of *Passion* and Sentiments that crowd upon him, and offer themselves to Description. He has seldom room to appear himself; and as *Strada* says elegantly of *Lucretius*, that he is frequently covered with the Machinery and Majesty of his Subject¹, so *Homer* is perpetually *personating*, and says little or nothing as immediately from himself.

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

¹ *Prolusiones Poeticæ.*

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

BY THESE Steps then, *Homer* is become the Parent of Poetry, and his Works have reached their exalted Station: By the *united Influence* of the happiest CLIMATE, the most natural MANNERS, the boldest LANGUAGE, and most expressive RELIGION: When *these* were applied to so rich a Subject as the War between *Greece* and *Troy*, they produced the *ILIAD* and the *ODYSSEY*.
Their

Their conjunct Powers afford the wish'd-for Solution; and a proper Answer to the Question, "By what Fate or Disposition of things it has happen'd, that no Poet has equalled him for upwards of two thousand Years, nor any, that we know, ever surpassed him before? SINCE IT IS NO WONDER, My Lord, if a Production which requires the Concourse of so many dissimilar CAUSES, so many wide CHANCES and uncommon INGREDIENTS, to make it excel; (the Absence or Alteration of any one of which would spoil it) That such a Production should appear but once in three or four thousand Years; and that the Imitations which resemble it most, with due regard to the Manners of the Times, should be next in Esteem and Value.



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