Abraham T. Lowe

A

DISSERTATION

CONCERNING THE

WAR OF TROY,

AND THE

EXPEDITION OF THE GRECIANS,

AS DESCRIBED BY HOMER;

SHEWING

THAT NO SUCH EXPEDITION WAS EVER UNDERTAKEN, AND THAT NO SUCH CITY OF PHRYGIA EXISTED.

BY JACOB BRYANT.

Μη προς δοξαν ὁρα, εθελων σοφος αιψα γενεσθαι·
Μηδε φοβε πολλων ακριτον και αναιδεα θυμον.
Ου γαρ τελητος εχει συνετην κρισιν, ὑδε δικαιαν,
Ουτε καλην· ολεγοις δε παρ' ανδρασι τουτο κεν ευροις.
Cleanthes Stoicus, apud Clement. Alexand. L. 5. p. 655.

Oxford

PREFACE.

AS I am likely to encounter much prejudice from the novelty of my notions, it may not be improper to ſay ſomething concerning this Affection of the mind; and to ſhew its fatal biaſs, when oppoſed to true judgment. It ariſes from pleaſing habits, and connexions; and ſometimes from ſelfiſh views of convenience, or advantage, which beget in us a blind partiality. It conſiſts in a wrong attachment to any object; which attachment is unduly maintained without a proper appeal to reaſon, or a regard for truth. And though we might expect, that this wrong propenſity would be as eaſily rectified, as any other miſtake; yet upon experience we find it quite otherwiſe: and opinions deeply rooted are very difficult to be removed. Notions, which we have imbibed in our childhood, and which have been recommended by thoſe, whom we honour, and eſteem, paſs as it were into our very ſyſtem; in ſuccum et ſanguinem abeunt, *and have the force of a ſecond nature. The evil by theſe means becomes inveterate; and ſcarcely any alternative can prevail. Hence the brighteſt minds have oftentimes their predilections; and cannot by any means be weaned from a wrong, but favourite opinion. Few have the fortitude to ſay with the Hero of Homer.*

---------- δος δ' οφθαλμοισιν ιδεσθαι.
Εν δε φαει και ολεσσον. ----------

Diſpel the cloud, and kill me in broad day.

We are in general unwilling to be brought from habitual darkneſs into ſudden light. For however pleaſing in the end, it is often found in the beginning painful. We cannot ſubmit, though Wiſdom it's ſelf makes an offer to remove all dimneſs from our underſtanding; and to give us a power to diſtinguiſh.

Αχλυν δ' αυ τοι απ' οφθαλμων ἑλω, ἡ πριν επηεν,
Οφρ' ευ γινωσκῃς τα ψευδεα, και τοδ' αληθες.

It may ſeem extraordinary, yet it often happens, that when people become convinced of the falſneſs of a ſyſtem, the laſt errour, which they give up, is that which they ſhould have firſt rejected. The excellent Cranmer, when at the Reformation he changed his religious opinions, ſtill retained for ſome time a biaſs for that particular article, which was thought to be the moſt exceptionable. This was the laſt thorn, which was plucked from his ſide, and which ſhould have dropped of itſelf. It ought to have come forth like the barbed arrow frow the Hero in the Æneis——

Jamque ſecuta manum, nullo cogente, ſagitta
Excidit, atque novæ rediere in priſtina vires.

Dion Chryſoſtom has a paſſage very much to this purpoſe. [1] You muſt know, *ſays that Author*, that Truth has in it ſomething diſtaſtfull, and unpleaſing to perſons of little underſtanding: to whom fiction and fable ſeem agreable and amuſing. Juſt, I imagine, as when people have a diſorder in their eyes; who find the light hurts them, when they look at it: while darkneſs is not at all painful; but on the contrary acceptable, by preventing all power of viſion. Otherwiſe, how could falſities have

1 Το μεν γαρ αληθες πικρον εςι, και αηδες τοις ανοητοις. Το δε ψευδες γλυκυ, και προσηνες. Ὡσπερ γε, οιμαι, και τοις νοσουσι τα ομματα το μεν φως ανιαρον ὁραν· τοδε σκοτος αλυπον και φιλον, ουκ εων βλεπειν. Η πως αν ισχυον τα ψευδη πολλακις, οντων αληθων, ει μη δι' ἡδονην ενικα. χαλεπον δε, ὡς εφην, οντος του διδασκειν, χαλεπωτερον το μεταδιδασκειν. αλλως τε, ὁταν πολυ τινα χρονων ωσι τα ψευδη ακηκοατες, και μη μονοι αυτοι εξαπατημενοι, αλλα και οἱ πατερες αυτων, και οἱ παπποι, και σχεδον παντες οἱ προτερον. Ου γαρ ῥαδιον εςι τουτων αφελεσθαι την δοξαν, ουδ' ει παιυ τις εξελεγχη. Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. XL. p. 151.

such

ſirch a ſuperior influence in oppoſition to exiſting truths; were it not from their being too acceptable to the human mind? If it be hard, as I ſaid before, to teach, it is ſtill far more difficult to teach anew; and to eraſe any former impreſſion: eſpecially when perſons have been accuſtomed to any figment. When they have not only been for a long time in a ſtate of deception themſelves; but their fathers alſo, and their grandſires, and almoſt all who have gone before them, have been equally deceived. For it is not eaſy to remove their prejudices, though conviction ſtares them in the face. *Cicero accordingly is very ſevere upon thoſe, who blindly maintain errour in oppoſition to Truth.* [1] Quid tam temerarium, tamque indignum ſapientis gravitate, atque conſtantiâ, quam aut falſum ſentire; aut, quod non ſatis explorate perceptum ſit et cognitum, ſine ullâ dubitatione defendere? *This is ſalutary admonition: yet it does not in general prevail: for which the ſame great Orator gives the following reaſon.*— [2] Sed, neſcio quomodo, plerique errare malunt, eamque ſententiam, quam adamaverint, pugnaciſſime defendere, quam ſine pertinaciâ, quid conſtantiſſime dicatur, exquirere.

Theſe precautions I thought proper to take, as I have reaſon to think, that I ſhall have much oppoſition to encounter. Some perſons have without reſerve intimated, that they do not wiſh to be diſabuſed. Others have been alarmed; and ſuſpected, that much miſchief may enſue from the detection of errours of ſo long ſtanding. For they ſay, to what can we truſt, if we are to give up hiſtories ſo univerſally believed, and admitted through all ages? But the detection of errours can never be attended with any bad conſequence. Beſides, ſome of the moſt reſpectable Writers of antiquity, who were the moſt early, and, as will be ſhewn, the beſt judges, did not admit the hiſtory; but denounced it to be abſo-

1 Cicero de Nat. Deor. L. 1. C. 1. P. 1204. Gronov.
2 Academ. Quæſt. L. 4. P. 1064.

lutely

lutely a Fable. Hence we ſhall find, that it was by no means univerſally believed, and particularly in the firſt ages; whatever blind credit may have been in later times afforded.

And here, I hope, it will be conſidered, that whatever I may ſay about the truth of the hiſtory, the work itſelf will not be in the leaſt affected. The character of the Poet, and the beauty of the Poem will ſtill remain unimpeached. Their excellence can never be diminiſhed.

Some have thought that my opinion concerning the War of Troy was a late fancy, and lightly taken up. But it is by no means ſo. I believe that I am the firſt of the Moderns, who have thus ventured to entertain theſe doubts. And theſe commenced long ago: for it is above thirty years, ſince the groundwork of this Diſſertation was firſt laid. This ſome time afterwards was dilated, and diſpoſed after the manner in which it now appears. Many of the Verſions, particularly thoſe from Homer, were of later date. And here let it be obſerved, that though I pull down, it is my intention likewiſe to build up: and I ſhall endeavour to afford ſome curious lights in reſpect both to the Poet, and the hiſtory, which poſſibly may not have been obſerved before. Come on then, Gentle Reader—Dum veteres avias tibi de pulmone revello.

A DIS-

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DISSERTATION

CONCERNING THE

TROJAN WAR, &c.

Concerning the Excellence of HOMER, *and of his preciſion.*

ALL the ancient Writers, who have treated of Homer, ſpeak of him, as the moſt excellent of Poets. And whoever at this day is bleſt with a true taſte, and acquainted with his writings, muſt allow him the ſame pre-eminence. Ὁμηρος δὲ και μεσος, και ὑϛατος, και πρωτος, παντι παιδι, και ανδρι, και γερονϛι, τοσϑϛον αφ' ἑαυτϑ διδϑς, ὁσον ἑκαϛος δυναϛαι λαϐειν. *Homer is the medium, the ultimate, and the principal, from whom every youth, every perſon of maturity, and every man of years may have his portion: as he affords at all times matter ſufficient for every man according to his capacity to borrow.* Dion Chryſoſt. περι λογϑ ασκησεως. Orat XVIII. p. 255. Other Poets ſhine with a borrowed light; He only with native, and intrinſick luſtre. His poem is founded upon the Hiſtory of a long,

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and intereſting war: which is ſuppoſed to have been carried on by the Powers of Greece for ten years. Towards the expiration of this period they took the City of Troy, and regained the prize, for which they had been ſo long contending. In the deſcription of this ſiege, and the great events, with which it was attended, the Poet is very particular and preciſe. The ſituation of the City is pointed out, as well as the Camp of the Grecians. The Scæan gate likewiſe, and the Beech-tree near it, and the Ερινεος, or Wild-figtree, the beautiful Hill Callicolone, the tomb of Ilus, and Bateeia, together with the courſe and fords of the river, are diſtinctly marked: ſo that the very Landſcape preſents itſelf to the eye of the Reader. Hence the whole ſeems to be attended with the greateſt appearance of truth. The Poet alſo in many parts of this work introduces incidentally ſeveral paſt events, as well known—*in medias res non ſecus ac notas auditorem rapit*. He alludes to the arrival of the Ethiopians, and the death of Memnon: alſo to the death of Antilochus by that Hero. He ſpeaks alſo of Pyrrhus, as ſucceding to his father Achilles and diſplaying his hereditary valour. Laſtly he makes mention of the Chieftains, who were incloſed in the Machine, by which Troy was taken. All theſe caſual references ſeem to have been portions of a traditional hiſtory well known in the time of Homer. And as they are introduced almoſt undeſignedly, they are generally attended with a great ſemblance of truth. For ſuch incidental and partial intimations are ſeldom to be found in romance and fable.

But notwithſtanding all theſe favourable appearances, the account of the Trojan War, as delivered to us by Homer, and other Grecian Writers, is attended with ſo many inſtances of inconſiſtency, and ſo many contradictions, that it is an inſult to reaſon to afford it any credit. If I may deliver my ſentiments without diſguiſe, I do not believe, that Helena of Sparta was ever carried away by Paris: and conſequently, that no

ſuch

ſuch armament ever took place, as we find deſcribed by the Poet: and that Troy in Phrygia was never beſieged. Indeed I am confident, that it never exiſted.

Theſe notions may create to me ſome ill will, for though the alternative may be quite innocent: and it matters little, which ſide a perſon takes: yet I go contrary to the popular opinion, which has had the uniform ſanction of many ages. This is by no means pleaſing to thoſe, who think themſelves better informed: and have eſpouſed from the days of their childhood the contrary notion. I venture however to aſſert again, that there is no truth in the hiſtory of the Trojan War: or if there were any original foundation for ſuch an hiſtory, it was borrowed from another quarter, and adapted to the nation, where it is now found: but to which it did not originally belong. I adhere firmly to Varro's [1] aſſertion, that the Greeks had no certain intelligence before the Olympiads. Now the War of Troy is placed ſome centuries before that æra. Juſtin Martyr therefore in treating of the vain pretenſions of the Greeks, tells them—— [2] Αλλως τε ωδε τωτο ὑμας αγνοειν ωροσηκει, ὁτε ωδεν Ἑλλησι ωρο των Ολυμπιαδων ακριβες ἱστορηται· ωδε εστι τι συγγραμμα ωαλαιον Ἑλληνων η βαρβαρων σημαινον ωραξιν. *Beſide, you ought to be well appriſed, that the Grecians have no hiſtory, upon which they can depend, antecedent to the Olympiads. They have no written evidence of any antiquity, relating either to themſelves or other nations.*

1. Cenſorinus. C. 21. p. 111.
2. Juſt. Mart. Cohort. p. 16.

Obſervations

Obſervations upon the grounds of the War.

To know what credit the Hiſtory may deſerve, let us conſider the chief cauſe of the War; and the grounds upon which it was carried on. It was undertaken, we are told, upon the account of Helena, the wife of Menelaus, King of Sparta. He had entertained a Phrygian Prince, named Paris: who ſeduced his wife, and carried her away to his own Country, the capital of which was Troy. This Helena is ſaid to have been the daughter of Leda, the wife of Tyndarus, whom Jupiter deceived in the ſhape of a ſwan. In conſequence of this her daughter was ſaid to have been hatched from an egg: and when ſhe arrived at years of maturity, ſhe became the admiration of the world for her beauty. Paris was the ſon of Priam, and of Hecuba; who dreamed, when ſhe was with child of him, that ſhe ſhould be delivered of a torch. This was thought to portend evil to her Country: upon which the child after it's birth was expoſed to the wild beaſts upon Mount Ida. But ſome of the Mountaineers found him, and brought him up, and he became a Shepherd. In this occupation, upon account of his great [1] juſtice, and love of truth, he was choſen arbitrator between three Goddeſſes, who were contending about ſuperiority in beauty. The prize was a golden apple, which he adjudged in favour of Venus. She promiſed, in return for his juſt judgment, that he ſhould have the moſt handſome woman in the world. Soon after, when he had made himſelf known to his father, and the reſt of his family, he built a fleet of ſhips, and ſailed to Greece; where this peerleſs beauty Helena reſided. He was courteouſly received at Sparta by Menelaus: and in return this man of Juſtice abuſed the confidence of his hoſt, and ran away with his [2] wife.

This

1. Hic cum adoleviſſet magnam ſibi juſticiæ, et æquitatis, gloriam comparavit. Natalis Comes. Mythog. L. 6. p 349.

2. It will not I hope, be thought amiſs, if I take this opportunity to correct a miſtake of the learned Meurſius; who in his comment upon Lycophron, p. 46.—ſays, that the judgment of Paris is never mentioned

This may be eſteemed the proëme to the War of Troy. We are here brought—*veſtibulum ante ipſum:* and we ſtand—*ipſo in limine.* And what can we ſay? Even that which the man in Terence ſaid to a perſon, whoſe veracity he ſuſpected——*Fabulam inceptat.* For let any body judge, if there be a circumſtance in Lucian's True Hiſtory, or in the Metamorphoſes of Apuleius, which has not as good pretenſions to be believed. The whole is a figment, and every ſtep, that we take, is upon fairy ground. *Pergula pictorum, veri nihil, omnia ficta.*

Some would palliate part of this narration by ſuppoſing, that Helena was ſaid to have been produced from an egg, becauſe ſhe reſided, or was born, in an apartment called the ὑπερωον. But what authority have we for this? What ancient Author has given us any account of the room either of her birth, or reſidence? Beſides, if her firſt entrance into life had been in ſuch an apartment, yet what was there ſo particular in this circumſtance as to give riſe to the notion of her being produced from an Egg? Were there not ᾠα, and ὑπερῳα, in every province of [1] Greece? Why were not other perſons ſaid to have been hatched in the ſame manner; as the circumſtance muſt have been common to thouſands? Add to this, that the explanation above does not ſuffice for the whole difficulty. It does not account for the appearance of Jupiter, as a ſwan, any more than

mentioned by Homer.—Apud Homerum Judicii Paridis nuſquam mentio: quod obſervavit Macrobius. This is certainly affirmed by that Author—Nullam commemorationem de judicio Paridis Homerus admittit. L. 5. C. 16. P. 350. But he was miſtaken, and has miſled Meurſius. The hiſtory occurs in Homer in theſe words,——

——————————απηχθέτο Ἴλιος ἱρη,
Και Πριαμος, και λαος Αλεξανδρε ἑνεκ' ατης.
Ὁς νεικισσε Θεας, ὁτε οἱ μεσσαυλιν ἱκοντο,
Την δ' ἡμος, ἡ οἱ πορε μαχλοσυνην αλιγεινην.

Iliad. L. Ω. v. 27, &c.

1 They are to be found in Ariſtophanes, Plutarch, and others.

2 They are mentioned by Homer, as being common in his time, and in different places—ſuch as Ithaca, Theſſaly, and Locris. See Ilias B. v. 514. Π. 184.—Odyſſ. Σ. v. 31.

for his repreſenting at another time a Bull. Theſe ſolutions, and palliatives can never remedy the evil, which is inveterate; and affects the whole ſyſtem of Grecian Mythology. And after all this interpretation is fundamently wrong: for it is manifeſt, that Helena was ſaid to have been produced from an egg, not on account of the room, where ſhe was nurſed; but from the bird, in whoſe ſhape her father was ſaid to have been concealed.—*Gemino ab ovo dicit (Poeta) reſpiciens ad Cygnum. Scholiaſt. in Horatii Art. Poeticam.*

Farther Obſervations upon the War, and upon the antecedent Armament.

When Helena had been thus carried away, Tyndarus, her reputed father, ſent notice of this outrage to all the States of Greece: not only to thoſe in his vicinity, and in the Peloponneſus; but to thoſe, who were far removed. Among theſe were the Bœotians, Locrians, Magnetians, Ætolians, and the Theſprotians of Dodona. Theſe are all ſaid to have antecedently entered into an alliance to revenge any wrong done to the huſband of Helena, whenever ſhe ſhould be married. The people alſo of Samos, Rhodes, and Crete, and of other iſlands, far and near, joined the grand Confederacy, and contributed their portion of men, and ſhipping. Deputations were ſent as far as Thrace. They were ten years in the preparation for this great work: [1] at the concluſion of which they had got together 1200 Ships; and an army by eſtimation of more than an hundred thouſand men. The general place of rendezvous was at the ſeaport Aulis in Bœotia. Here they were detained for ſome time by contrary winds through the ill will of Diana: becauſe Agamemnon

1 Concerning the æra of this War, and the antecedent Confederacy,—ſee Euripides—Iphigenia in Aulis.—v. 49. &c. &c.

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in hunting had killed an hind, that was her favourite. At laſt Agamemnon was perſuaded by the prophet Calchas to ſacrifice his Daughter Iphianaſſa, the ſame as Iphigenia, that the anger of Diana might be appeaſed. The taſk of bringing her for this purpoſe was delegated to Ulyſſes, and Diomede: who deceived her mother Clytemneſtra, and brought her to the camp. She was in conſequence of it ſacrificed; or as ſome ſay, the Goddeſs ſubſtituted a female deer in her room: and carried her to be her prieſteſs in the Tauric Cherſoneſus.

This part of the hiſtory will be found upon inquiry to be as incredible, as the former. The loſs of his wife, who ſeems to have left him voluntarily, was a private misfortune, in which Menelaus was only concerned. It is not to be believed, that ſo many unconnected States, ſhould think it their buſineſs to engage in a quarrel, with which they were not concerned. Achilles is made to confeſs as much—

Ου γαρ εγω Τρωων ενεκ' ηλυθον αιχμηταων
Δευρο μαχησομενος, επει ϑτι μοι αιτιοι εισιν.
Ου γαρ πωποτ' εμας βοας ηλασαν, ϑδε μεν ἱππους,
Ουδε ποτ' εν Φθιῃ εριβωλακι κυδιανειρῃ
Καρπον εδηλησαντ', επειη μαλα πολλα μεταξυ
Ουρεα τε σκιοεντα, ϑαλασσα τε ηχηεσσα. A. 150.

I came not hither to engage in warfare on account of any injuries from the Trojans: for they never aggrieved me. They robbed me not of any herds; nor carried away my horſes: nor did they damage the corn and fruits of my land. Between us is a vaſt barrier of towring mountains; and a boiſterous ſea intervenes, ſo as to preclude all acceſs. He therefore gives another reaſon for his engaging in the war: and ſays, that it was intirely out of regard to Agamemnon, and Menelaus.

---------'αμ' εοπομεθ', οφρα συ χαιρῃς,
Τιμην αρνυμενοι Μενελαῳ, σοι τε, κυνωπα,
Προς Τρωων------ibid. v. 158.

Homer acted artfully in obviating this objection. But the misfortune is, that it remains in full force in reſpect to the other States; eſpecially to thoſe at a great diſtance: none of whom had received the leaſt injury: and to whom the name of Troy could not well have been known. For in thoſe times there was little correſpondence carried on between nation and nation: and though the Poet makes a grand diſplay of the many cities of Greece, which entered into this alliance; yet ſuch an union could not have been formed. For why ſhould people engage, who were not aggrieved. The region of Hellas abounded with many petty Kingdoms, which were very limited in extent: and had little intercourſe with their neighbours: much leſs with thoſe, who were farther removed. Between thoſe, which were near, there was perpetual warfare, on account of cattle and ſheep, which they were mutually invading, and driving away. They engaged not in diſtant expeditions; nor did they paſs the ſeas. Their views were confined to thoſe in their vicinity; whom they either plundered or were plundered by them—Βασιν επ' ειλιποδεσσι, και αργεννης οϊεσσι. Il. Z. v. 423. Their marches were of a few miles: and their inroads of ſhort duration. To theſe feuds and inroads the poet often alludes: and in the ſhield of Achilles he gives a deſcription of an invaſion made by the people of one City upon the cattle of another, as being characteriſtic of the times. The Shepherds think themſelves ſecure but the enemy takes them by ſurprize.

Οι μεν τα προϊδοντες επεδραμον, ωκα δ' επειτα
Ταμνοντ' αμφι βοων αγελας, και πωεα καλα
Αργεννων οϊων, κτεινοντ' επι μηλοβοτηρας. Σ. 527.

At the diſcovery they ruſhed on, and hewed down and ſlaughtered both the herds and flocks, and ſlew the people who tended them.

The free booters are in their turn attacked by the true owners of the herds; and a fierce conflict enſues.

Εν δ' ερις, εν δε κυδοιμος ὁμιλεον, εν δ' ολοη κηρ.

Then were ſeen Diſcord and tumult and fell deſtiny in conjunction.

A like deſcription is given by Milton in a viſionary ſcene of events to come, which were diſplayed by the Angel before the eyes of Adam.

One way a band ſelect from forage drives
An herd of beeves, fair Oxen, and fair Kine,
From a fat meadow-ground; or fleecy flocks,
Ewes and their bleating lambs, acroſs the plain,
Their booty: ſcarce with life the Shepherds fly:
But call in aid; which makes a bloody fray.
With cruel tournament the ſquadrons join.
Where Cattle paſtured late, now ſcattered lies
With carcaſſes and arms th' enſanguin'd field.

Neſtor mentions, that he plundered his neighbours, the Eleans, of their cattle to a great amount: and ſlew many of the people, who came in their defence. The battle was ſevere: but the people of Pylos gained the victory, and carried off a rich booty.

Πεντηκοντα Ϝοων αγελας, τοσα πωεα οιων,
Τοσσα συων συϜοσια, τοσ' αιπολια πλατε' αιγων,
Ἱππους δε ξανθας ἑκατον και πεντηκοντα,
Πασας θηλειας, πολλῳσι δε πωλοι ὑπησαν, IL. Λ. v. 677.

Fifty herds of kine: fifty flocks of ſheep: as many rout of ſwine: as many drove of goats: with one hundred and fifty Mares of a fine bay colour; many of which had foals at their udder.

All theſe, he ſays, were brought before his Father Neleus, who was wonderfully delighted with ſo much unexpected plunder. In the time of Theſeus (if any credit may be given to thoſe very early hiſtories) Greece abounded

abounded with a rude and ſavage [1] race of men, who lived by robbery, ſo that there was no travelling with ſafety. Pirithous firſt got acquainted with Theſeus by driving away his flocks and herds. They met each other afterwards with a diſpoſition to fight: but a compromiſe took place, and they became everlaſting friends. In theſe rude and turbulent times Helena firſt lived: for ſhe is ſaid to have been ſtolen away from Sparta by theſe very perſons, as ſhe was ſacrificing in the Temple of Diana Orthia, and carried by force to Athens. She was at that time a [2] woman grown: for her brothers, who were preciſely of the ſame age, purſued [3] Theſeus in order to recover her. It is farther ſaid, that ſhe became with [4] child by Theſeus.

It ſeems ſtrange, that ſo many Cities and States ſhould combine to regain her, when ſhe went away voluntarily: and that not a ſingle hamlet ſhould riſe in her favour, when ſhe was carried away by force, and in violation of the Goddeſs, whom ſhe ſerved. It may be ſaid, that ſome part of this hiſtory is a fiction. In truth the whole is a fable; and inconſiſtent throughout from the beginning to the concluſion.

The farther improbability of this Hiſtory.

Thucydides, however ſagacious and a lover of truth, could not ſet aſide the hiſtory of the Trojan War. For the glory of Greece was thereby

1 Plutarch. Theſeus, p. 3. Thucydides. L. 1. C. 2. P. 2.

2 I mention this, becauſe ſome have conceived, ſhe was not above ſeven years old. Πρωτος Θησευς ἐπταετη ταυτην ἡρπασεν. Tzetres on Lycophron. v. 143.

3 Hyginus. Fab. LXXIX. p. 152—3. See Plutarch's Life of Theſeus.

4 Pauſanias. L. 2. p. 162. It is mentioned, that ſhe was afterwards brought to bed of a daughter in conſequence of this rape. Her daughter's name was Iphis. Some ſay, that ſhe had twins.

Ιφις———— ἑνεκα δη μιν Ιφι βιησαμενη Ἑλενη ὑπεγεινατο Θησει. See Scaliger Obſervat. in Euſeb. Chron. p. 49.

greatly

greatly enhanced: and it afforded a powerful ſanction to the religion of the Country. He however produces very ſtrong evidence, that it never took place. He [1] ſays, that before this event (προ των Τρωικων) there had been nothing done in common: that the natives of Greece were not yet compriſed under one name, Hellenes; but lived ſeparate, and independant; and in an uncertain and flux ſtate. For the roving [2] Pelaſgi drove thoſe, who were in any degree ſettled, before them: ſo that there was no ſecurity. In conſequence of it there was no traffick, and little correſpondence between the ſeveral diſtricts. They did not venture to lay up any thing for future uſe—[1] αδηλον ον, ὁποτε τις επελθων, και ατειχιστων ἁμα οντων, αλλος αφαιρησεται. *It being uncertain, how ſoon ſome foreign body of men might come upon them in their defenceleſs ſtate, and carry all away.* Hence he very juſtly judges of the weakneſs, and independance of the ſeveral little States, before this war, from their never cooperating in any enterprize—[2] Ουδεν προ των τρωικων δι' ασθενειαν και αμιξιαν αλληλων ἀθροοι επραξαν. *Before the æra of Troy there was nothing done by the Grecians collectively by reaſon of their debility and want of union.* He might have added, that they were equally diſunited for ages afterwards: and performed nothing in common, on account of the ſame weakneſs, and want of correſpondence.

How comes it then, that juſt at this criſis there ſhould have been ſuch unanimity between the moſt diſtant States: and that they ſhould all without exception join together to recover a runaway woman; with whom none but the huſband was concerned. Inſtead of a gang of rough banditti a ſet of Heroes preſent themſelves, ſuch as the world never before ſaw. And an army of an hundred thouſand men are collected by thoſe ſtates, who ſix or ſeven hundred years afterwards did not aſſemble above ten thouſand againſt the Perſians at Marathon. Nay, when the

[1] Thucyd. p. 3. [2] ibid. p. 5.

liberties

liberties of all the Grecian States were in the utmoſt danger, Leonidas was ſent with ſcarcely ſeven thouſand men to defend the paſs at Thermopylæ. Of theſe the greater part retired: and he maintained himſelf for ſome time with only a few hundred. And ſo little did unanimity prevail at this critical ſeaſon, that many ſtates, ſuch as Argolis, Theſſaly, Phocis, Bæotia, were either covertly, or openly friends to the enemy. And even among the other ſtates there was little unanimity, though the cauſe was general, and all at ſtake. At the time, of which we are ſpeaking, Greece entertained the higheſt notions of liberty: and abounded both with wealth, and men. Yet ſo ſmall were her armaments: and her Councils thus divided. At the battle of Platæa their army was much larger: but ſtill, if we exclude the Helots, or Lacedæmonian ſlaves, it will be found to have amounted to no more than 72500 men: as we learn from Herodotus. (L. IX. p. 706.) But the army under Agamemnon exceeded an hundred thouſand.

Concerning the Ships mentioned.

The number of Ships in the catalogue of the Poet is equally incredible: for they amount according to Homer to 1186. Whereas the Ships at Artemiſium, where was the firſt ſtruggle for the liberties of Greece againſt the Perſians, were only—271, with ſix or ſeven Pentecontores, or ſhips, of fifty oars. Soon after at Salamis there appear to have been, with the ſhips of the Iſlanders, collectively three hundred and ſeventy eight, with a few open veſſels of fifty oars. It is true, that the principal ſhips were triremes, and of a large ſize. But ſtill, if we take the quota of men, thoſe under Agamemnon will be found greatly to exceed. We are told by Herodotus, [1] that at the invaſion of the Perſians, Clinias, the ſon of Alcibiades built a Trireme at his own coſt; and as it is intimated he fitted it out in a ample manner. The complement of this ſhip in men

[1] L. 8. C. 17. P. 627.

was

was two hundred. Now if we multiply the Ships at Aretmiſium, which were 271, by 200, the amount is only 54200: which falls very ſhort of thoſe, who were in the fleet of Agamemnon. But the diſparity will appear much more clearly, if omitting the other Provinces, we ſtate the number of ſhips ſent out from Corinth, and the Cities of the Peloponneſus, both to Artemiſium, and to Salamis in the Perſian War. And then ſtate thoſe, which were fitted out from the ſame places to Troy.
Now there went

To [1] Artemiſium		To [2] Salamis	
From Lacedæmon	10	From Lacedæmon	16
Sicyon	12	Sicyon	15
Epidaurus	8	Epidaurus	10
Trœzen	5	Trœzen	5
Corinth	40	Corinth	40
		Hermione	3
Total	75	Total	89

If we multiply 75 by 200 it gives—15000. And if multiply 89 by the ſame, we ſhall have 17800. Theſe will be nearly the numbers of the Peloponneſians in each engagement. If we add ſix or ſeven hundred more for the Pentecontores, the whole will be about 18000, or 19000 men. This is the greateſt [3] number of perſons from thoſe ſtates, in either of thoſe memorable ſeafights. Now the ſhips from the ſame part of the world mentioned by [4] Homer, are as follow.

1 Ibid. L. 8. C. 1. P. 620.

2 Ibid. L. 8. C. 43. P. 638.

3 In this eſtimate I have allowed to the Grecian Ships, in the Perſian war, the full complement of two hundred men to each. But this is probably too great a conceſſion, and the numbers may have fallen far ſhort of this computation.

4 Iliad. B. v. 494. &c.

Argolis, Hermione, Trœzen	80	Lacedæmon and neighbouring Towns	60
Mycene, Corinth, Sicyon, &c.	100	Pylos	90
		Arcadians	60
		Elis	40
		Total	430

It is to be obſerved, that the Poet, when he gives an account of the Bœotians, and their neighbours, who ſtand firſt in the Liſt, mentions, that each of their Ships held an hundred and twenty men. After wards he ſpeaks of the Ships, which belonged to Philoctetes: of theſe the complement was only fifty men. Some of the Commentators have taken theſe two numbers for the extremes; and ſuppoſe, that one ſhip with another had at a medium eighty five men. If then we multiply 43 , the number of Peloponneſian ſhips under Agamemnon, by 85 (the number of men at an average in each ſhip) there will be found to have been 36,50, men. Whereas there were at Artemiſium but 15000: and at Salamis, 18600, or 19000. The diſparity is apparent. If then the Peloponneſians in general, at their matured ſtate, and in the height of their power, and grandeur, when they abounded with every requiſite, brought together no more, than has been above mentioned: how can we ſuppoſe, that ſuch numbers could have been produced in thoſe times of miſrule; and in the infancy of thoſe States, when many of them where hardly conſtituted? Of theſe one of the chief was Attica, the capital of which was Athens. This became in time the moſt noble and powerful of them all. We are told, that it was ſo named by Theſeus; in whoſe time Helena was born. He out of ſeveral ſcattered, and independent, hamlets, formed this City; and united the people by a general community. Plutarch. Theſeus. p. 10. He then divided them into claſſes, and appointed rites, and particular laws,

to

to keep them cemented. By theſe means they were brought off from their national rudeneſs; and became humanized by degrees. Such in the time of Theſeus was the infant ſtate of Athens, which could hardly at the time ſuppoſed, in the days of Helena, have afforded [1] fifty ſhips, and 4250 men. The ſame may be preſumed concerning the Cities of Ætolia and Epirus: and even of the principal Provinces of Greece. They had no call for ſuch a contribution; and if there had been a demand, they could not have anſwered it. The pretended cauſe of this general commotion was the elopement of a woman from her huſband: or call her a Princeſs, and Queen of Sparta; ſtill this could not affect the people of Elis and Epidaurus, much leſs thoſe of Locris, and Epirus; or of the Iſlands Rhodes, and Crete. There was little intercourſe between nations, as I have ſhewn; and conſequently little traffick. The chief communication, that was kept up, proceeded, from piracy and war. Hence it was as common to aſk a perſon, whether he were a pirate, as to inquire, whether he was a fair trader

Ω ξεινοι τινες εστε; ποθεν πλειθ' υγρα κελευθα;
Η τι κατα πρηξιν, η μαψιδιως αλαλησθε,
Οιατε ληιστηρες υπειρ αλα; Odyſſ. Γ. v. 71.

Say Strangers, who you are, and why ye traverſe the deep. Is it for the ſake of merchandize: or do ye rove at random, like Pirates over the ſeas?

Such was the ſtate of Greece, when this great armament under Agamemnon is ſuppoſed to have been formed. It was, we have ſeen, of ſuch magnitude, that long after in the moſt flouriſhing times, when Greece abounded in wealth, and men; and when they were to fight for their Temples and Altars; for their wives and children; and for their

[1] Οι δ' αρ' Αθηνας ειχον ευκτιμενον πτολιεθρον——
——Των δ' αυθ' ηγεμονευ' υιος Πετεω Μενεσθευς,
Τω δ' αμα πεντηκοντα μελαιναι νηες επουτο.
Il. B. v. 546, &c.

lives and liberties; it could not be equalled. All which is incredible. Yet ſuch were the powers, which are ſuppoſed to have been aſſembled at Aulis.

There are other reaſons, which lead us to believe theſe diſtant alliances, and this armament, impoſſible. It was a long time before the Greeks of Hellas proper had the courage to engage in expeditions upwards towards the north: but it was ſtill much later, that they ventured to croſs the Ægean ſea. The utmoſt of their efforts was to Delos: beyond which they ſeldom treſpaſſed. [1] Libanius ſays—[1] τοις Ἕλλησι ὑπερενεχθηναι Δηλον φοβερον. *The Grecians eſteemed it hazardous to proceed by ſea above, or beyond Delos.* In the Perſian war a fleet from Argolis, and Sparta were deſired by the Ionians to quit their ſtation at Delos, and to come over and aſſiſt them: and by their timely arrival they might have got poſſeſſion of Samos. But they dared not comply, and accordingly returned to the coaſt of Sparta.—[2] Των Ἑλληνων δεομενοι (οἱ Ιωνες) καταπλωσαι ες την Ιωνιην, οἱ προηγαγον αυτες μογις μεχρι Δηλε. Το γαρ προσωτερω παν δεινον ην τοισι Ἕλλησιν, ουτε των χωρων εουσι εμπειροισι.——τηνδε Σαμον ηπιστατο δοξη και Ηρακλεας στηλας ισον απεχειν. *When the Ionians ſolicited the Helladians to paſs over to their coaſt; the utmoſt, that they could obtain was to get them as far as Delos. All beyond ſeemed full of danger: as they had little knowledge of thoſe parts.——An expedition to Samos was to them a voyage to*[3] *Gades, and the Mediterranean Straits.* If then they knew ſo little of Samos in the time of the Perſian war, we cannot think, that they were better acquainted with it in the days of Agamemnon, much leſs with Rhodes, which is ſtill farther off.

1 Libanius Orat. XIX. p. 480.

2 Herod. L. 8. C. 132. P. 682. Weſſel.

3 However, this paſſage in Herodotus muſt not be taken too literally: for the Lacedæmonians, and other Grecians, had been at Samos in the time of Cambyſes. Herod. L. 3. C. 47. P. 219. The meaning of the Author is by an hyperbole to ſhew, that their acquaintance with the Iſland and Coaſt was but little: and they eſteemed the diſtance very great, and the ſea too dangerous for people ſo unexperienced to encounter without good cauſe: eſpecially with a large fleet.

Concerning

Concerning the proceeding of the Grecians after that they had landed at Troas.

We are told, that after they had arrived upon the coaſt of Troas, they were oppoſed by the Trojans, but the Enemy was ſoon repulſed, and their landing ſecured. This however was not effected without ſome loſs; for one of the principal Leaders of the Theſſalians was ſlain by Hector. After their camp had been formed, and their troops regularly diſpoſed, we may ſuppoſe, that in a day or two they proceeded to action. The Town was within their view: and in it lay the prize of their future labours, Helena; the great object, for which they had embarked. The Trojan army was not by one half ſo large as the Grecian. This may be ſhewn from the deſcription of the Trojan camp and the fires, which were lighted up; and by the numbers allotted to each fire.

Χιλι' αρ' εν πεδιῳ πυρα καιετο, πάρ δε ἑκαστῳ
Ειατο πεντηκοντα σελᾳ πυρος αιθομενοιο. Θ. v. 558.

There were a thouſand fires lighted up in the plain, and fifty perſons repoſed themſelves by the ſide of each fire.

Agamemnon mentions the ſuperiority of the Grecians: and how diſgraceful it muſt prove to be worſted by them.

Αισχρον γαρ τοδε γ' εστι, καὶ εσσομενοισι πυθεσθαι
Μαψ ὅτω τοιονδε, τοσονδε τε λαον Αχαιων
Απρηκτον πολεμον πολεμιζειν, ηδε μαχεσθαι
Ανδρασι παυροτεροισι——B. v. 121.

* It is ſaid in another place——
Τρωες δ' αυ ἑτερωθεν ανα στολιν ὡπλιζοντο
Παυροτεροι. Il. Θ. v. 55.

It is quite ſcandalous, and will prove an everlaſting diſgrace, to have ſo noble, and ſo numerous, an army carry on an endleſs war with an enemy ſo inferiour. Their Leaders ſeem to have been much inferiour to thoſe of Greece. Hector is generally obliged to withdraw from battle, when Agamemnon, Diomede, or Patroclus, diſplay their valour: and ſometimes nothing but the intervention of a Deity preſerves him. In his engagement ſingly with Ajax, he is worſted in every effort; and his inferiority made manifeſt to both armies. But when Achilles fought, the Trojans ſeldom dared to come out of their city.

Οφρα μεν ες πολεμον πωλεσκετο διος Αχιλλευς,
Ουδεποτε Τρωες προ πυλαων Δαρδανιδαων
Οιχνεσκον· κεινο γαρ εδειδισαν οβριμον εγχος. IL. E. 788.

As long as the great Achilles was active in the field, the Trojans never ventured out beyond the gates of Troy: for they dreaded the force of his ſpear.

Hector is ſaid to have ventured to a ſmall diſtance from the Scæan Gate; but was ſoon glad to retire; as we may learn from the words of Achilles.

--------Οφρα δ' εγω μετ' Αχαιοισιν πολεμιζον,
Ουκ εθελεσκε μαχην απο τειχεος ορνυμεν' Εκτωρ,
Αλλ' ὅσον ες Σκαιας τε πυλας, και φηγον ἱκανεν.
Ενθα ποτ' οιον εμιμνε, μαγις δε μευ εκφυγεν ὁρμην. IL. I. v. 352.

As long as I kept the field with the army Hector did not chooſe to engage beyond the ſhelter of the wall: and only advanced ſometimes to the Scæan gate, and the figtree near it. There he once waited my approach, and with difficulty eſcaped my proweſs.

We ſhould therefore from theſe circumſtances ſuppoſe, that an attack was made upon the City in four or five days.------No, not in nine years. This was the place which Patroclus had nearly taken in the proceſs of a few hours

hours: and which, if aſſaulted, would have ſoon ſunk under the proweſs of Diomede, or Agamemnon, as the Poet repreſents them. To the ſuperiority of Patroclus Homer bears witneſs

Ενθα κεν ὑψιπυλον Τροιην ἑλον υἱες Αχαιων
Πατροκλε ὑπο χερσι. IL. Π. v. 698.

Then had the Grecians taken the City of Troy with its lofty gates through the proweſs of Patroclus.

The ſame is ſaid of Achilles, who would have ſtormed it the firſt day that he took the field, after his receſſion: but was prevented by a feint of Apollo. IL. Φ. v. 600. When Diomede intends to attack Hector and the Trojan army, the Poet tells us--------

Ενθαγε λοιγος εην, και αμηχανα εργα γενοντο,
Και νυ κε σηκασθεν κατα Ιλιον ηυτε αρνες,
Τρωες------ IL. Θ. v. 130.

Then there had been ſad deſtruction: and terrible confuſion would have enſued. The Trojans would have been driven back into their city, like ſheep into a pound. Notwithſtanding this manifeſt ſuperiority, the City was left to the tenth year, before any attack in form commenced—*decimo tandem pugnavimus anno.* During this long interval detachments were ſent to take and deſtroy every ſubordinate town in the neighbourhood, while the main body of the army lay inactive before Troy. This is an article paſt credibility: and there are others equally incredible.

In the firſt place, I do not believe, that there is any inſtance of a Grecian army carrying on a ſiege or blockade in winter, till the Peloponneſian war And even at that time, the Lacedæmonian army, whenever it had made it's inroad into Attica in the ſpring time, generally retired before

before winter. The Romans had been in a ſtate of warfare from the foundation of their City with very little intermiſſion. Yet they never made a winter campain, till the ſiege of Veiæ. At this time—[1] *hibernacula, res nova, militi Romano ædificari cæpta.*—— [2] *Tum primum hiematum ſub pellibus.* It is therefore ſcarcely to be believed that in theſe very early times an army ſhould have ſubſiſted in this ſituation ſo long: that a King of Mycene, or of Sparta ſhould have kept his ſoldiers to this hard duty for ten years in a diſtant foreign Country, when other Generals of the ſame nation could not maintain them for a ſingle winter in their own.

Another difficulty ariſes from the ſtate of their ſhipping, which one would imagine, in the ſpace of ten years muſt have been rendered uſeleſs. This is in ſome degree confirmed by Agamemnon, who ſays------

Και δη δορα σεσηπε νεων, και σπαρτα λελυνται. IL. B. v. 135.

The timbers of the ſhips are decayed, and the rigging is quite looſe.

In the ſpace of time above mentioned the army muſt have been greatly diminiſhed: and the ſame perſon is made to ſay----πολυν ωλεσα λαον. B. v. 115. *I have loſt numbers out of my army.* Yet there is no mention made of recruits. Indeed the contrary is intimated. And though the Fleet muſt have been in a ſtate of ruin, yet we read not of any repairs; much leſs of any ſupply of new veſſels. On the contrary, we are informed, that the Ship, to which Hector ſet fire, was the ſelf ſame, which brought over Proteſilaus. The ſhips of Ulyſſes had been particularly employed, yet he navigated the ſeas for three years in his own ſhip, after he had left Troas. Menelaus is ſaid to have uſed his ſhips for near eight years after the taking of Troy. He ſpeaks of his ſpoils, and of the wealth, which he had obtained; and adds------

1 Livy. L. 5. C. 2. AUC. 350.
2 Florus. L. 1. C. 12.

Ηγαρ

---Ηγαρ πολλα παθων, και πολλ' επαληθεις
Ηγαγομην εν νηυσι, και ογδοατῳ επει ηλθον. Odyſſ. Δ. v. 81—2.

Theſe things after many ſufferings and various wanderings I have brought ſafe in my ſhips, and have arrived in the eighth year of my travels after my departure from Troy.

Concerning the little correſpondence.

Another circumſtance, which ſeems inexplicable, is this. During the whole interval of ten years, there ſeems to have been no correſpondence kept up between the army, and the mother Country. No inquiries were made: no intelligence ſent. If the perſons engaged in the war, were too much employed, yet ſurely ſome of their friends, either their parents, or their relations, might have been ſolicitous to have heard of their welfare and ſucceſs: and have diſpatched at particular times a veſſel for intelligence. How can we account for the Princes, and Magiſtrates, who remained in Hellas, being ſo ſupine, and void, not only of a ſenſe of duty, but of natural curioſity? It could not have been much above three days ſail from Troas to Theſſaly: and four days to Argos. This we may learn from the return of Diomede's companions.

Τετρατον ημαρ ειην, ὁτ' εν Αργει νηας εἰσας
Τυδειδεω ἑταροι Διομηδεος ἱπποδαμοιο
Εσασαν. Odyſſ. Γ. v. 182.

It was the fourth day, when Diomede and his Companions moored their veſſels in Argolis.

Notwithſtanding this we do not find any regular correſpondence, or any correſpondence at all, maintained. Achilles is made to ſay, that his father was ſtill living, as well as the father of Patroclus. Ζωειν μαν ετι φασι Μενοιτιον. IL. Π. v. 14. *They ſay, that Menætius is alive.* But he afterwards intimates, that he knew nothing certain either about his father; or about Menætius: for he ſuppoſes, that Peleus muſt be either dead; or upon the eve of departure.

Ηδη γαρ Πηληα γ' οἰομαι η κατα ϖαμπαν
Τεθναμεν, η ϖϐ τυτθον ετι ζωοντ' ακαχησθαι. IL. T. v. 334.

For I ſhould think, that my father Peleus is either abſolutely dead, or barely alive: and under the laſt afflictions of old age.

He appears equally uncertain about the fate of his ſon, whom he left in the iſland of Scyros.

--------ὁς Σκυρω μοι ενιτρεφεται φιλος υἱος,
Ειπϐ ετι ζωει γε Νεοπτολεμος θεοειδης. IL. T. v. 327.

I am quite ignorant about my dear ſon Neoptolemus, whom I have directed to be educated in the iſland of Scyros, whether he be ſtill alive.

Now Scyros could not be above two day's ſail, or at moſt two days and an half from the coaſt of Troas; and Theſſaly not much farther. Achilles ſays------

Ηματι τῳ τριτατῳ φθιην εριϐωλον ικοιμην. IL. I. 363.

I could arrive at Pthia upon the third day of my departure.

Scyros lay nearly in the way for any ſhips, which paſſed, or repaſſed, to bring intelligence. Yet no intelligence ſeems to have been obtained during the whole time, that the army was before Troy. In the converſation,

ſation, which was afterwards held between Penelope and Ulyſſes at their firſt interview, not the leaſt hint is given, that ſhe had ever heard from him or the Grecian army ſince his departure. How can we account for this want of intercourſe, when the means were ſo obvious and eaſy. That, when there were a thouſand Ships, many of which muſt have been at various ſeaſons unemployed, not one ſhould be ſent in the ſpace of nearly ten years to give an account of the army, and to receive reciprocal intelligence. From their ignorance it is manifeſt, that no correſpondence was carried on, and not the leaſt intercourſe kept up.

Inferences made from the age of Helena.

The Beauty of Helena is often mentioned by the Poet. The very Elders of Troy when they ſaw her paſs by could not help expreſſing their admiration

Αινως αθανατῃσι θεῃς εις ωπα εοικεν. IL. Γ. 158.

She diſplayed in her countenance and appearance all the marks of a Deity. Agamemnon promiſes to Achilles the choice of twenty captive women

Αι κε μετ' Αργειην Ελενην καλλισται εωσιν. IL. I. v. 140.—*next to Helena of the moſt exquiſite beauty.*

By this he ſtrongly intimates the ſuperiority of her charms. But if there were the leaſt truth in the hiſtory of this perſon, and in the chronology of the times ſhe muſt have been at this period a very old woman. For her brothers were in the Argonautic Expedition, and in a ſtate of compleat manhood. One of them is mentioned, as contending in fight with Amycus, a Bebrycian, a perſon of uncommon ſtature and ſtrength. His oppo-

nent therefore could not have been a ſtripling. We cannot well allow leſs than twenty five years for his time of life. Now from the Argonautic Expedition to the taking of Troy there were, according to [1] Scaliger, ſeventy nine years. If then we add to theſe her age at the time of the Argonauts, which we have preſumed to have been twenty five years, it makes her no leſs than an hundred and four, in the laſt year of the ſiege. Or if we allow her to have been only twenty at the time of the Expedition ſtill ſhe will prove ſufficiently old to have been Hecuba's mother. Hence Seneca ſays very truly, when he is treating of the priority of Heſiod and Homer------ [2] *utrum major ætate fuerit Homerus an Heſiodus non magis ad rem pertinet, quam ſcire, an minor Hecuba fuerit, quam Helena; et quare tam male tulerit ætatem.* Petavius makes the interval between this celebrated Expedition, and the fall of Troy, of the ſame [3] extent. The former he places in the year 3451 of the Julian Period: and the latter in 3530. The difference in both is 79. To theſe if we add 25 for her age at that æra, it will amount to one hundred and four. [4] Clemens of Alexandria gives the following Chronological account of the principal events in theſe times from Thraſyllus, the Mendeſian. He firſt mentions the Argonautic

1 Joſeph. Scaliger. Animadverſiones in Euſebium. p. 46.

2 Senecæ Epiſt. 384. Concerning theſe and other anomalies, ſee Scaliger. Animadvers in Euſebii Chron. p. 54. 5.

3 Petavius ſtates it as follows. Rationale Temp. p. 290. 291.

	API
Troja capta	3530
Expeditio Argonautica	3451.
Difference	79.
Ætas Helenæ——	25.
Ejuſdem Ætas anno Belli Trojani ultimo	104.

4 Clemens Alexand. Strom. L. 1. p. 401.

Expedition:

Expedition: from which to the time of Theſeus and the Minotaur were 32. years

From thence to the Theban War	10.
To the firſt Inſtitution of the Olympic games	3.
To the carrying away of Helena by Theſeus	9.
To the Apotheoſis of Hercules	11.
To the rape of Helena by Paris	4.
The total are	69 years.

After the ſeduction of Helena by Paris the Grecians are ſaid to have been ten years in preparing for the war, and ten years in carrying it on. This agrees with the account given by Helena of herſelf in the laſt year of the ſiege, which was the twentieth from her firſt arrival from Sparta.

Ηδη γαρ νυν μοι τοδε εικοστον ετος εστιν,
Εξ ου κειθεν εβην, και εμης απεληλυθα πατρης. Il. Ω. v. 765.

If we then add theſe twenty years to the ſixty nine, and likewiſe twenty five for her age at the time of the Argonautic embarkation, it will make her ſtill older, than ſhe was eſtimated above, and increaſe her years to 114. Telemachus, the ſon of Ulyſſes is ſaid to have ſeen her at Sparta ten years afterwards: and ſhe is repreſented even then—Αρτεμιδι χρυσηλακατῳ εικυια—*beautiful as Diana:* though at that time, if theſe computations are true, ſhe muſt have been an hundred and twenty four years old. Theſe things are paſt all belief. Yet upon this baſis is the hiſtory of the Trojan war founded: and if the foundation is bad, the whole edifice muſt tumble.

I mention theſe chronological computations, in which however I place not the leaſt truſt. They form an artificial ſyſtem, deſigned to determine the

the times of ancient events, and reconcile the hiſtories of the firſt ages. But thoſe hiſtories are not to be reconciled, and they are rendered more and more contradictory by the very means uſed to make them agree.

Of the Lovers, and Suitors of Helen.

Another inſtance of inconſiſtency will be in the hiſtory of thoſe Princes, who formed the grand Confederacy, in order to recover her, if ſhe ſhould at any time be ſtolen away. They are ſaid to have been for the moſt part her lovers, who bound themſelves by an oath to unite for that purpoſe, whenever they ſhould be called upon. Neſtor afterwards puts them in mind of this engagement, and aſks them

[1] Πϖ δη συνθεσιαιτε, και ορκια ϐησεται ἡμιν. IL. B. v. 339.

In what will our engagements and oaths terminate?

Upon this the Scholiaſt gives the following hiſtory. Τυνδαρεως, ὁ πατηρ αυτης, ὡς τινες φασι, φυλασσομενος, μη ποτε ἑνα αυτων προκρινας τους αλλους εχθρους ποιησηται, κοινον αυτων ὁρκον ελαϐεν, η μην τῳ ληψομενῳ την παιδα, αδικουμενῳ περι αυτην, σφοδρα επαμυνειν. Διοπερ Μενελαῳ αυτην εκδιδωσι. Και μετ' ὀ πολυν χρονον ἁρπαχθεισης ὑπο Αλεξανδρου, εκοινωνησαν της στρατειας δια τους γενομενους [2] ὁρκους. Scholia. ibidem.

Tyndarus, her father, as we are told, being cautious, and foreſeeing, that by giving the preference to one of the Lovers he might make the reſt his enemies, engaged them all to enter into an agreement upon oath, that they would effectu-

1 See Pauſanias L. 3. p. 262.
2 See alſo Apollodorus L. 3. p. 238. 9. Edit. Heynæ.

ally

ually revenge any injury done to the perſon, whoever it might be, that gained the Lady. He then beſtowed her upon Menelaus; and ſhortly afterwards when ſhe was carried away by Paris, they cooperated in a general expedition to regain her.

At what time of life may we ſuppoſe Helena to have been, when theſe engagements were made in her favour, in conſequence of her ſuperior beauty? We may reaſonably conclude, that ſhe was about her twentieth or twenty fifth year: and her lovers could not well be younger. But at this rate the principal Leaders of the Grecians at the ſiege of Troy, muſt have been an hundred years old. Not only Idomeneus, Ulyſſes, Mneſtheus, Philoctetes, and Agamemnon; but [1] Antilochus, Meriones, Machaon, Patroclus, Diomede, Nireus and Ajax Oileus. For theſe are mentioned among the Suitors of Helen. In conſequence of this it follows, that Menelaus and his competitors, muſt have been above an hundred years of age, when they are mentioned by Homer. But the contrary is evinced in every part of the poem, whereever theſe Heroes are introduced. Such is the inconſiſtency of this hiſtory, when the ſeparate accounts, are collated.

It has been mentioned, that before the ſeduction of Helena by Paris, ſhe was ſaid to have been ſtolen from her father's houſe by Theſeus: and we are told by ſome Writers, that ſhe was then but ſeven years old. This has been ſaid in order to lower the time of her birth, that ſhe may not appear ſo old in the laſt year of the war. But this is a poor expedient which in ſome degree remedies one evil, and at the ſame time creates another. How can it be conceived, that a King of Athens ſhould betake

1 See Hyginus. Fab. 81. p. 156. and Notes upon Thucydides L. 1. C. 9. p. 8. 56.

himſelf

himſelf to Sparta in order to run away with a child ſeven years old: and how could ſhe at that age have been officiating at the altar of Diana Orthia? This leads to another circumſtance equally incredible. For if ſhe were ſo young, her brothers muſt have been preciſely of the ſame age: for one, if not both, was hatched from the ſame egg. Yet theſe children, ſo little paſt their infant ſtate, are ſaid to have purſued Theſeus, and to have regained their ſiſter. They muſt have been ſturdy urchins, and little ſhort of the ſons of Aloëus------

Εννεωροι γαρ τοιγε, και εννεαπηχεες ησαν
Ευρος, αταρ μηκος γε γενεθην ενοσοφυλοι

They were nine years old and nine cubits wide in the ſhoulders, and near ſixty feet in height.

Of the Arcadian Allies.

Homer was upon his guard in many reſpects; but it is difficult to render a complicated fable conſiſtent. The Arcadians were a mediterranean people; and conſequently removed from the ſea: and not at all experienced in navigation. He therefore to obviate any objection tells us, that the ſhips, which they navigated, were procured for them by Agamemnon. They were in number ſixty------

Εξηκοντα νεες. B. 609.

In conſequence of this we muſt ſuppoſe, if we allow only eighty five perſons to a ſhip, that they amounted to above five thouſand in the whole. This is an incredible number for ſuch a diſtrict. And when the Poet has

to ſupply theſe Arcadians with ſhips, he forgets to tell us who taught them to row, and to ſteer, and to manage the ſails. He does not ſay----Εν δ' εκριν' ερετας, και επισκοπον ανδρα κυβερναν. Indeed they had not room for ſupernumeraries, there being the full complement of their own people—πολεες δ' εν νηι ἑκαστη Αρκαδες. Hence it is difficult to account for theſe ſhepherds getting to Troy.------επει ȣ σφι θαλασσια εργα μεμηλει. IL. B. v. 614. The Poet confeſſes, that they knew nothing of navigation. The only expedient, of which we can avail ourſelves in this difficulty, is to ſuppoſe, that ſome inſight might have been obtained during the ten years of preparation but how could it be effected: and where were they taught? Knowledge without practice could never be gained.

Concerning the Foſs and Rampart.

Homer ſhews a proper precaution in reſpect to the fortification, which the Grecians are ſaid by him to have erected for the ſecurity of their camp and fleet. It conſiſted of a Wall and rampart, with a deep ditch; all which was effected during the receſſion of Achilles. IL. H. v. 435. &c. We have many ſuch ditches and ramparts in different parts of England: ſome of which were made many hundred years ago by the Saxons: and will probably remain as long as the Iſland exiſts. The Poet was ſenſible, that ſuch a mound of earth was permanent: and that if it ever exiſted, people in aftertimes would expect to find it: and the credibility of his narration depended upon it's appearance. He therefore tries to obviate the objection, which would be made, when not the leaſt remains ſhould be diſcovered. He accordingly informs us, that

when the Grecians undertook this great work, they forgot to make proper offerings to the Gods. IL. H. v. 450. Upon this account, after the war was over—Αργειοι δ' εν νευσι φιλην ες πατριδ' εβησαν. IL. M. 16. *and all of them were returned ſafe into their own Country*, Neptune and Apollo, upon account of their neglect, were reſolved to ruin this rampart by an inundation: and to carry all the ſoil and materials by the force of waters into the ſea. Thus theſe Deities took no notice of the Perſons, who are ſuppoſed to have ſhewn this mark of irreverence, they never puniſhed the offenders, but veſted all their wrath upon the unconſcious rampart: whoſe exiſtence or nonexiſtence, was at this time of little conſequence. They, who had been guilty, knew nothing of the God's diſapprobation. They were gone far away: and could receive neither good nor evil from the tranſaction. The means uſed are very remarkable. For the Deities are ſaid to have brought the waters of all the rivers in thoſe parts to bear collectively upon the fortification. By theſe means it was looſened to it's foundation, and at laſt born violently into the deep. The rivers were ſufficient, if well directed, to have effected all that was ſuppoſed; and much more. They are mentioned in the following order.

[1]--------ποταμων μενος εισαγαγοντες,
Οσσοι απ' Ιδαιων ορεων αλαδε προρεουσι,
Ρησος θ', Επταπορος τε, Καρησος τε, Ροδιος τε,
Γρηνικος τε, και Αισηπος, διος τε Σκαμανδρος,
Και Σιμοεις.
Εννημαρ δ' ες τειχος ιει ῥοον, υε δ' αρα Ζευς
Συνεχες.------

* IL. M. v. 18.

The

The Gods were determined to ruin the rampart by bringing upon it the whole force of thoſe rivers, which deſcended from mount Ida. Theſe where the Rhæſus, Heptaporus, Careſus, Rhodius, Granicus, Æſepus, Scamander, and Simoeis. Theſe poured with their whole weight of water for nine days upon the rampart: and all this time Jupiter ſent down an inceſſant rain.

Hence we find, that Jupiter alſo lent his aſſiſtance towards this wonderful operation. But the misfortune is, that theſe rivers ran in different directions: and were too widely ſeparated to have thus acted in concert. The Granicus and the Æſepus ran into the Propontis, and according to the Itinerary of Antoninus were about ſixty miles from the ſite of Troy. The Rhyndacus was ſtill farther to the north, and the Rheſus, the ſame as the Rhebas, was near the mouth of the Thracian Boſporus. [1] *A faucibus Boſpori eſt amnis Rhebas, quem aliqui Rheſum dixerunt.*

[2] Ῥηβας, ὁς τουτοιο παρα στοματεσσιν ὁδευει.
Ῥηβας, ὁς καλλιστον επιχθονι συρεται ὑδωρ.

The Rhebas, which makes it's way by the mouth of the Pontus Euxinus. The Rhebas, that ſhapes its courſe with the moſt beautiful ſtream upon earth.

This river therefore could never have formed a junction with the Xanthus and Simoeis of Troy. It might take it's riſe, as the Poet ſays, from the Mountains of Ida; but it was from the wrong ſide of the mountains which intervened, and prevented any communication with the Grecian rampart. The Simoeis and Scamander ran from eaſt to weſt and emptied themſelves in the Ægean Sea. The Granicus, Æſepus, as well as the Rhyndacus

1 Pliny. N. H. L. 6. C. 1. p. 300. It was in Bithynian Thrace, as we may judge from Rheſus, the King, who was denominated from it by Homer. For he borrowed the names of ſeveral of his Heroes from rivers, as will be ſhewn.

2 Dionyſius περιηγησις. v. 795.

and Rhesus, passed northward, and terminated in the Propontis. Demetrius Scepsius, who was well acquainted with this part of the world, mentions particularly the Scamander, Æsepus and Granicus, and he gives of them the following account. [1] *They took their rise from a part of Ida called Cotylus near Scepsis*—εξ ου ὁ τε Σκαμανδρος ῥει, και ὁ Γρανικος και Αισηπος. Ὁι μεν προς Αρκτον, και την Προποντιδα, εκ πλειονων πηγων συλλειβομενοι, Ὁ δε Σκαμανδρος επι δυσιν εκ μιας πηγης. *From which ridge the Scamander descends, as well as the Granicus, and Æsepus. These two last press to the north, and run into the Propontis being collected from several springs. But the Scamander makes it's way westward, and proceeds from one spring.*

Their fountains may have been at no very great distance from each other: but their streams passed in a very different direction. Hence unless most of these streams ran upward towards their fountains, it is not possible for any union to have been produced. The Rhyndacus, as I have observed, was still higher to the north near Cyzicus, and Apollonia: and the Rhesus farthest of all. Hence if such an inundation had taken place, all the Towns and Villages for the space of an hundred miles must have been ruined. It would have deluged the whole realm of Priam however far it may have once extended; also all Bithynia above, and Asiatick Thrace. Numbers of lives must have been lost, as well as much cattle: and all this is supposed to have been done, this labour of nine days, to overthrow a wall, and to fill up a ditch. Such were the expedients of the Poet to save his credit: but they do not seem to be happily calculated. Add to this, that floods make their way from the source of a river downwards to the sea, and there discharge their waters. But this flood of Homer comes

[1] Strabo. L. 13 p. 898.

across

acroſs the beds of the rivers in ſome inſtances: and in others it muſt have been quite retrograde; forcing, as I have mentioned, a paſſage upward to the fountain head, which is contrary to all experience. It is farther to be obſerved, if any additional argument be neceſſary, that Mount Ida had many ſecondary ridges, which began at the foot of the mountain, and ended at the ſea in promontories, ſuch as Ophrynium, Rhæteum, and others. They are by Strabo ſtiled προποδες, and from their number he compares the Mountain to a [1] Scolopendra. Theſe ridges were like ſo many bulwarks: and muſt have prevented any communication of waters between the rivers aforementioned. They precluded all intercourſe by their intervention. We may therefore ſay of the Grecian rampart, the ſame, which was ſaid of it by Ariſtotle of old—[2] ὁ πλασας ποιητης ηφανισεν. The rampart was annihilated by the very hand, that deviſed it.

Concerning the City of Troy, and the uncertainty of it's ſituation, and exiſtence.

As Homer had the precaution to bring an inundation to ſweep away the rampart; I wonder, he did not make uſe of the ſame expedient to account for the nonexiſtence of the City. For there were no traces of it to be found; nor any ancient memorial of it's having ever exiſted. Lucan accordingly tells us, that when the Romans under Cæſar viſited Troas, and examined the whole region, not the leaſt remains could be obſerved—*etiam periere ruinæ*. The Author, by making mention of *ruins*,

1 ἰδη—σκολοπενδρωδης.—Strabo L. 13. p. 873. The Scolopendra is noted for the number of its legs branching out from its body.

2 Strabo, L. 13. P. 894.

muſt

muſt neceſſarily have ſuppoſed an antecedent place: but Demetrius Scepſius a [1] native of Troas: alſo [2] Heſtiæas Alexandrinus, and the Geographer Strabo, an Aſiatick, with ſeveral others, could never upon inquiry find out, where the City could poſſibly have ſtood. They were unwilling to give up the fact out of their great reverence to the Poet: yet they could not determine upon any ſituation, which would truly correſpond with the deſcription given by Homer. The Simoeis and Scamander remained, and ἡ Ιλιεων κωμη, *a village of people, ſtiled Ilienſes*, near which Demetrius lived; alſo a mean place near the coaſt called Ilium, and above all Mount Ida: but no Troy. Not the leaſt veſtige or memorial was there of it: even the poſſibility of it's having exiſted could not be aſcertained. Alexander the Great had the higheſt veneration for Homer; and an enthuſiaſtick regard for his Hero. When he came to the plain of Ilium, his prejudice in favour of the place, which was ſuppoſed to have been the ſcene of ſo many great actions, led him to ſhew every mark of benevolence towards the people. Among other things he was reſolved to rebuild their ancient city: but they could not deſcribe, where it originally ſtood, as there were not the leaſt remains to direct them. However there was a ſmall Town near the ſea ſhore of the name of Ilium, Alexander rebuilt it; and laviſhed his favours upon the inhabitants, and their neighbours: and by him the place was conſtituted a City. Strabo accordingly gives the following account of it——[3] Την δε των Ιλιεων πολιν την νυν, τεως μεν κωμην ειναι φασι, το Ἱερον εχουσαν της Αθηνας μικρον και ευτελες. Αλεξανδρον

1 He was a native of Scepſis in Phrygia: which City was within the precincts of Troas, and about fifteen miles from the mouth of the Scamander. Σκηψις πολις Τρωικη. Steph. Byz.—Εν τη μεσογαια της Τρωαδος Σκηψις. Strab. L. 14. p. 941.

2 Strabo. L. 13. p. 894, 895.

3 Strabo. L. 13. p. 886.

δε

δε αναβαντα μετα την επι τω Γρανικω νικην, αναθημασι τε κοσμησαι το Ἱερον, και προσαγορευσαι πολιν· και οικοδομιαις αναλαβειν προσταξαι τοις επιμελητας, ελευθεραν τε κριναι, και αφορον. *The tradition is, that the place ſtiled now the City of the Ilienſes, was till the time of Alexander a poor hamlet, in which ſtood a ſmall and mean temple of Minerva. But after the victory at the Granicus upon his return he enriched the temple with ornaments, and honoured the place with the title of a city. He moreover ordered perſons, whom he had appointed for that purpoſe, to renew the buildings, aud to announce it a free City, exempt from all taxes.* Many Princes afterwards made large additions; and raiſed the place to a degree of ſplendour. But they were all miſled, and miſapplied theſe acts of benevolence; for this Town by its ſituation could never have been the ancient City. Homer tells us, that Troy was built in the plain—[1] εν πεδιῳ πεπολισο: and by his account quite out of ſight of the naval Camp, and the ſea. Here ſome did look for the City; and, had any wall or ruin of a wall remained; or could the natives by any other means have pointed out the true ſituation; this miſtake could not have happened. Strabo therefore, though he thought, that the City Troy did once exiſt, yet ſhews plainly, that it could not have been the place, eſteemed afterwards as that City, but ſuppoſes, that it was higher up to the eaſt, and nearer to the Hills above. He follows Homer in giving the honour to Dardanus of being the firſt of the family, who ſettled in the Country: and makes Ilus the founder of that Ilium, which was the Troy of Homer. This, he ſays, was quite a different City from that, which was ſo much favoured by Alexander.[2] Ου γαρ (Ιλος) ενταυθα ἱδρυσε την πολιν, ὁπου νυν εστιν (Ιλιον, ἡ καινη πολις)· αλλα σχεδον τι τριακοντα σταδιοις ανωτερω, προς

1 Il. T. v. 217.
2 Strabo. L. 13. p. 886.

εὖς

εω, και προς την Ιδην, και την Δαρδανιαν, κατα την νυν καλουμενην Ιλιεων κωμην. Οι δε νυν Ιλιεις φιλοδοξουντες, και θελοντες ειναι ταυτην την παλαιαν, παρεσκηχασι λογον τοις κ της Ομηρ ποιησεως τεχμαιρομενοις. Ου γαρ εοικη αυτη ειναι ἡ καθ' Ομηρον. *For Ilus, the founder, did not build Ilium, where the new city now ſtands, (near the ſea) but nearly thirty ſtadia higher up to the eaſt, and towards Mount Ida, and Dardania; where the place called the village of the Ilienſes is now ſituated. But the people of Ilium below out of vanity, and a ſtrong zeal to have their place eſteemed the true City; have afforded room for diſpute with thoſe who have formed their judgment from Homer. For this does not appear to be the Ilium mentioned by the Poet.*——This evidence is of great conſequence. We find from hence, and from ſome other parts of Strabo; that there are two places mentioned, the Ilienſium pagus; and the Ilienſium Civitas. The latter was low, not far from the ſea: and, as the Author affirms, could not be the Troy of Homer. For that is deſcribed, as inland; and ſo far from the ſea that neither the fleet could be diſcerned from it's battlements, nor the Camp of the Grecians. Hence ſcouts were ſent out for diſcovery: and the interval was ſufficiently large, to admit of attacks and retreats; alſo of advanced poſts, and ambuſcades. Strabo takes notice of this, and proves it from the converſation of Ulyſſes with Eumæus. [1] Ἡ διηγησις δ' ἡ προς τον Ευμαιον ὑπο τ Οδυσσεως διασκευασθεισα, μεγα εμφαινει το διαστημα μεχρι της πολεως απο τ ναυσταθμ. *In the deſcription, which Homer has introduced as given to Eumæus by Ulyſſes, the interval between the City and the Grecian ſhips ſeems to be conſiderable.* Hence Ulyſſes, when upon an advanced ſtation, is made to ſay—Λιην γαρ νηων εκας ηλθομεν. Odyſſ. ξ. v. 495. *We are come much too far from the ſtation of the ſhips.* The converſe is mentioned by Polydamas the Trojan.—εκας απο τειχεος ειμεν. *We are got a great way from*

1 Strabo. L. 13. p. 894.

the

the wall. Il. Σ. v. 256. But the New City near the mouth of the Scamander could not have admitted theſe remote operations.

The Pagus [1] Ilienſium ſtood in a plain higher up towards Ida; and about three miles and an half from the ſea. Strabo therefore obſerves that in this part of the diſtrict we ſhould look for the Ilium of Homer. But many have looked; and to little purpoſe. For what diſcovery could be made, if the natives of old could afford no intelligence? Had Troy ever exiſted, ſome memorial of it's name, and ſituation, however imperfect, would have remained: and ſome traditions would have been preſerved; as the honour and intereſt of the people were ſo much concerned in their preſervation. There muſt alſo have been ruins of walls, and edifices; alſo inequalities in the earth; for by ſuch the ſite of ancient places are diſcovered. But the whole is here repreſented as ſmooth, and equable. Yet we learn from Strabo, that this [2] Pagus Ilienſium was by ſome thought to be the remain of the original Troy. But this was only ſurmiſe: for the inhabitants, and their neighbours, who were a very ſenſible people, do not ſeem to have entertained any ſuch notion in the time of Alexander. Could any veſtige have been aſcertained by the people of the place, their evidence was of ſuch conſequence, that it would never have been omitted. Could they have afforded any plauſible intelligence, Alexander would have built here. and not have expended his labour upon the City below; the ſituation of which was in every reſpect incompatible with the account given by Homer.

1 Ibid. L. 13. p. 892.

2 ——ὑπερ δε ταυτα μικρον ἡ των Ιλιεων κωμη εστιν, εν ᾗ νομιζεται τα παλαιον Ιλιον ἱδρυσθαι προτερον, τριακοντα σταδιους διεχον απο της νυν πολεως. Strabo. L. 13. p. 892. D.

Still it is ſaid that if Troy ever exiſted, it muſt have ſtood near this Pagus. But then as I have urged, there muſt have been ſome remains, and the natives would have pointed them out. We know of Cities which have been long in a ſtate of ruin, in Egypt, Paleſtine, Syria; and in other regions of the eaſt. Pæſtum in Italy is ſtill viſited, though long ſince deſerted: and in our own Country we have Verulamium and Silcheſter. In ſome of theſe places there are ſplendid remains of former magnificence: and in all ſufficient marks to determine their true ſituation. But of Troy there is no ſign: no remainder: nor was there ever any upon record. [1] Ουδεν ιχνος σωζεται της αρχαιας πολεως. *Not the leaſt trace is preſerved of the ancient City.* Strabo endeavours to give a reaſon for this: but I believe, that it will not be deemed ſatisfactory.—[2] Ὁτε γαρ εκπεπορθημενων των κυκλῳ πολεων, ου τελεως δε κατεσπασμενων, ταυτης δ' εκ βαθρων ανατετραμμενης, δι' λιθοι πωαντες εις την εκεινων αναληψιν μετηνεχθησαν. Αρχαιανακτα γουν φασι τον Μιτυληναιον εκ των εκεινων λιθων το Σιγαιον εκτειχισαι. *For when all the Cities round about had ſuffered greatly, but were not reduced to a ſtate of abſolute ruin; while this City was entirely deſolated, and overturned to it's very foundations; they carried away all the ſtones from hence to rebuild thoſe other cities. In proof of this they tell us, that Archæanax of Mitylene from theſe very ſtones repaired the Town of Sigæum.* This is evidence ſufficient to prove, that there were no remains, and the reaſon given may at firſt appear ſomewhat plauſible: but upon conſideration it will be found highly improbable. For we may fairly aſk, whether this was a real and true account; or only an hiſtory framed by the people to ſolve difficulties; and to obviate objections. Troy is repreſented as ſurrounded with a high wall and battlements: and with Towers ſtill higher. It was alſo επταπυλος, ornamented with ſeven [3] gates;

1 Strabo. L. 13. p. 895.

2 Strabo. Ibid.

3 It was ſtiled Τροια, ευρεια, ευρυαγυια, επταπυλος, ευτειχος, ὑψιπυλος, ιερον Πτολιεθρον.

and

and according to the Poet's account had Temples and royal Edifices within. It is ſurpriſing, when theſe lay in ruins, that every ſtone ſhould be taken away. But ſuppoſing, that they were carried off, and not a ſingle fragment had remained; yet they could not carry away the rubbiſh; which in a Town, that had been burnt muſt have been in great quantity Nor is it poſſible to be conceived, that they could dig up all the foundations. Penelope is made to ſay—*jam ſeges eſt, ubi Troja fuit.* But from whom did ſhe get the [1] intelligence? The evidence of a latin Poet cannot in this caſe be admitted. I ſay then, that if every ſtone had been taken away, yet there muſt have remained great inequalities in the ground; mounds of earth in ſome places, and depreſſions in others: and theſe would have laſted to the lateſt ages. To lay ſuch a ground plot, as that of Troy is ſuppoſed to have been, ſmooth, was a labour, that would not in thoſe times, nor at any time, have been undertaken. To pull down is ſometimes, as laborious, as to build: and to tear up old foundations is ſtill more difficult: and the whole muſt have been quite unneceſſary. In ſhort if the Troy of Homer had ever exiſted, there would have been ſome remains of it. But there is not the leaſt evidence of any upon record: at leaſt none, to which we can give a rational aſſent.

Some arguments in favour of the place conſidered.

Though there were no remains of the City, yet we are aſſured by Strabo, that the names of many of the places in the vicinity of Troy, and the very landmarks deſcribed in the Ilias, were to be found in his time. Among

[1] Euſebius ſays, that it was never deſtroyed, but inhabited by the Sons of Antenor, and Hector. Verſio. Lat. P. 19.

other things, mentioned by him as exiſting, was the Ερινεος, or wild fig-tree. Alſo the Beech-tree; and the mount called Βατιεια, Batieia; the tomb of Ilus, the tomb of Æſuetes and the beautiful hill called Calicolone. [1] Τους ονομαζομενους τοπους ενταυθα (εν τω Τρωικω πεδιω) δεικνυμενους ὁρωμεν· τον Ερινεον, τον τε Αισυητε ταφον, την Βατιειαν, το τε Ιλε σημα.—[2] Και ἡ Καλη-Κολωνη. *We there ſee* (in the Trojan plain) *the landmarks mentioned by Homer: ſuch as the Wild Fig: the Tomb of Æſuetes: the Batiea, the monument of Ilus—and the Cale-Colone.* In reſpect to the Wild fig-tree, if the account of it were true, and this tree was the ſame, which exiſted in the time of the war, the ſituation of the City might have been aſcertained to a degree of preciſion. For the Ερινεος, according to Homer, ſtood to the weſt of Troy, not far from the Scæan gate, and in the way to the grecian camp, and harbour. Andromache ſays to Hector—

3 Λαον δε σησον παρ' ερινεον, ενθα μαλιστα
Αμβατος εστι πολις, και επιδρομον επλετο τειχος.

Range your army in order near the Fig-tree, where the City is moſt acceſſible; and where the wall may be moſt eaſily aſcended.

But it is not to be believed, that a [4] tree of this ſort, if it were a landmark in the days of Priam, could have exiſted eleven or twelve hundred years afterwards: and that neither age, nor accident, ſhould have brought it to ruin?

1 L. 13. P. 892. called alſo καλλη-κολωνη.
2 Ibid. P. 893.
3 Ilias. Z. v. 433.
4 Strabo in another place ſpeaks of the Ερινεος, as a little wood, or cluſter of Trees: but the poet ſeems to mention it as a ſingle Tree.—Ερινεον νενεμοντα. L. 13. P. 893.

Strabo

Strabo ſpeaks likewiſe of the [1] Beech-tree, which grew ſtill nearer to the Scæan Gate, as remaining in his time; which is equally incredible. The other objects, ſuch as the Batieia, the Tomb of Ilus, and of Æſuetes, were more durable; and conſequently might have exiſted at the time ſpecified. But this amounts to little; for if Homer laid the ſcene of his great actions in this diſtrict, and founded here his imaginary City, he would certainly make it correſpond with the objects round about. For this was the only way to give an appearance of truth to his fiction.

Of an apparent diſagreement.

But after all there is farther reaſon to doubt whether theſe were the original objects mentioned by the Poet: or whether they were not thus denominated long afterwards by the Ilienſes, and unduly given out to be the ſame. For had they been the true and original landmarks, they would be found to agree with the deſcription given by Homer. But they differ from it greatly. And though they are brought by Writers, as evidences for the exiſtence, and for the ſituation, of Troy, yet they will be found ultimately to make againſt their opinion. This will appear from the words of the Poet. Strabo tells us, that the hill called Colone, and Callicolone, and by him [2] Καλη Κολωνη *the beautiful hill* retained its name in his time: and that it was the ſame, which is mentioned in the Ilias. He adds, that it was ten ſtadia (near a mile and a quarter) above the Pagus Ilienſium, where ſome placed ancient Troy. He had been ſpeaking of

1 Strabo. L. 13. p. 893.
2 Ibid.

(αυχην)

(αυχην) a particular neck of land near the plain, and then proceeds—[1] Υπερ δε τουτου μικραν η των Ιλιεων κωμη εστι, εν η νομιζεται το παλαιον Ιλιον ιδρυσθαι προτερον, τριακοντα σταδιους διεχον απο της νυν πολεως. *A little above this is the village of the Ilienſes, where it is imagined, that ancient Troy ſtood of old: at the diſtance of thirty ſtadia from the new City:* or three miles and an half nearly. Again [2] Υπερ δε της των Ιλιεων κωμης δεκα σταδιους εστιν η Καλη Κολωνη, λοφος τις, παρ' ον ο Σιμοεις ρει, πεντασταδιον διεχων. *At the diſtance of ten ſtadia beyond, or above the village beforementioned is the Cale Colone, a beautiful hill, near which the river Simoeis runs; and which is about five ſtadia in circumference.* By this we learn the diſtance from the new City to the Village of the Ilienſes, or old Troy, and are farther informed that the Calicolone lay above a mile beyond the Village. Conſequently it was ſituated according to the Ilienſes to the eaſt, and higher up towards Mount Ida. But according to Homer it was lower, and in a contrary direction towards the weſt between the City, and the grecian camp upon the ſea coaſt.

[3] Εστι δε τις προπαροιθε πολεως αιπεια κολωνη
Εν πεδιω απανευθε——*Before the City is a pointed hill at a diſtance in the plain.*

In another place Mars is ſuppoſed to have taken his ſtand upon it, and to have given encouragement to the Trojans.

[4] Αυε δ' Αρης ετερωθεν ερεμνη λαιλαπι ισος
Οξυ κατ' ακροτατης πολεως Τρωεσσι κελευων,
Αλλοτε παρ Σιμοεντι θεων επι Καλλικολωνη.

Mars from the ſummit of the City roar'd,

1 Strabo. L. 13. p. 892.
2 Ibid.
3 Ilias B. v. 811.
4 Homer Il. Υ. v. 51.

Like

Like a fell whirlwind, to the Trojan hoſt
Loud hellowing. Now his ſtation quick he ſhifts,
And ſpeeds from Simoeis to the lovely Mount,
Callicolone.

We cannot ſuppoſe, that by this the Poet meant a place above a mile on the other ſide of Troy, with the whole City intervening: On the contrary he deſcribes a hill before the City, from whence was a full view of both armies. In like manner, when the Gods are deſcribed, as deſcending to ſee the fight between Æneas, and Achilles, it is ſaid

[1] Οἱ δ' ἑτέρωσε καθιζον επ' ὀφρυσι Καλλικολωνης.
The Gods were ſeated apart upon the brow of the fair Hill.

The ſcene of action was therefore before them towards the ſea, and could not have been on the farther ſide of the City, and at the diſtance, which the Ilienſes ſuppoſed. No inference can be made from ſuch evidence in proof of the ſituation, or even the exiſtence, of Troy.

Concerning the Ερινεος, or Wild figtree, I have taken ſome notice, and alſo of the φηγος or Beech; of both which Strabo has given us the ſituation as he obtained it from the Ilienſes: But in his deſcription he differs greatly from the Poet. Homer places it high up in the plain between the City and the Grecian Camp, where the Trojan army was ſometimes marſhalled againſt the enemy. This is manifeſt from the march of the Grecians upwards through that plain towards the [2] City.

[3] Οἱ δε παρ' Ιλα σημα παλαια Δαρδανιδαο
Μεσσον καπεδιον παρ' Ερινεον εσσευοντο,
Ιεμενοι πολεως—

1 Ibid. v. 151.
2 See the ſpeech of Andromache before quoted. Il. L. Z. v. 433.
3 Il. Δ. v. 166.

The

The Grecians marched briſkly by the Tomb of Ilus, the ſon of Dardanus, through the middle of the Trojan plain: and then by the Erineus, or Figtree, eager to get to the City.

In this march the firſt object by which the Grecians paſſed was the Tomb of Ilus, and next in order was the Figtree: and higher up according to the Poet ſtood the φηγος, or Beech. But the Ilienſes and Strabo have given a very different account; for they place the Beech a little below the [1] Figtree. This however could not have been the true ſituation: for the Beech was higheſt of all and neareſt to the City. It ſtood cloſe to the Scæan Gate; as may be ſhewn from ſeveral paſſages in the Poet.

[2] Ἑκτωρ δ' ες Σκαιας τε πυλας και φηγον ἱκανε.

3 Αλλ' ὁσον ες Σκαιας τε πυλας και φηγον ἱκανε.

4 Αλλ' ὁτε δε Σκαιας τε πυλας και φηγον ἱκοντο.

The Beechtree therefore was the fartheſt, and higheſt object in paſſing from the camp to the City. The Figtree was next, lower down: and the Tomb of Ilus, which was perhaps the ſame as the σκοπια, the loweſt, and neareſt, to the ſea. There is therefore no truſt to be repoſed in the accounts of the natives of late date, from whom Strabo had his intelligence: for the ſituation of theſe objects, as given by them, is contrary to the deſcription tranſmitted by the Poet. The hiſtory of Troy cannot be authenticated by ſuch evidence. The Ilienſes of old never made any ſuch pretenſions.

1 ὁ φηγος μικρον κατωτερω ἐστι τῳ Ερινεῳ. L. 13. p. 893.
2 Il. Z. v. 237.
3 I. v. 354.
4 Λ. v. 170.

Farther

Farther Obſervations.

In ſhort, whatever objects may have exiſted, one great article of evidence was certainly wanting: There remained not only no trace of any ſuch City, as Troy: but the very name ſeems to have been for a long ſeaſon unknown. We read of Ilium and Ilienſes; but the names of Troja, and Trojani, were foreign to the Country. They were not known, till the Grecians introduced them; and even then not admitted by the natives. Herodotus ſpeaks of Ilium, more than once: and particularly takes notice of Xerxes marching through the [1] Campus Ilienſis towards the Helleſpont. [2] Arrian and [3] Plutarch mention the ſame hiſtory of Alexander, who is ſaid to have offered ſacrifices at Ilium. But not one of them has tranſmitted any memorial of Troy; nor is the name of Troas to be found in their account. Hence we may apply to the City, what Ariſtotle before ſaid of the Rampart——ὁ πλασας ποιητης ηφανισεν. With the Poet, it began, and ended.

Arrian indeed tells us that in the Temple at Ilium Alexander found *ſome of the weapons uſed in the Trojan war.*—[4] τινα ὁπλων ετι εκ τε Τρωικε εργε σωζομενα. He ſays----λεγεσι, *the people ſay ſo:* but the report was certainly without any foundation. Alexander and his Friends went with a ſtrong prepoſſeſſion, that this place near the ſea was the ancient Troy. The natives took care not to contradict a notion, by which they were to gain ſuch advantages. But it has been ſhewn, that this Ilium was

1 Herod. L. 7. C. 43. P. 530. ες το Πριαμε Περγαμον ανεβη——

2——ανελθοντα ες Ιλιον——θυσαι. Arrian. Exp. L. 1. P. 24.

3——αναβας εις Ιλιον——κ. τ. λ. Vol. 1. P. 672. The name of Troas was not known till Antigonus built Alexandria in honour of Alexander the Great, which was alſo called Troas.

4 L. 1. C. 11. P. 25.

of a different ſituation from the Troy of Homer, being within a mile of the ſea, and at that time a [1] poor hamlet, with a Temple—[2] μικρον και ευτελες---*ſmall, and mean.* There was not a circumſtance, which could be made to correſpond with the City of Homer: of which there were no remains—ουδε ιχνος σωζεται *not the leaſt trace could be found.*

Corollary.

If then the Grecians were never engaged in any war with the Trojans: and if no ſuch City as Troy ever exiſted in theſe parts, to what does Homer allude in the long deſcription afforded? Is the whole a mere figment, the vague offſpring of his imagination: or is it at all founded in truth; and from whence was that truth derived? Strabo had a great veneration for Homer: and was born at no very great diſtance from the region called afterwards Troas. He alſo copied the opinions of Demetrius, who was a native of Scepſis, a city of note in this very region. He allows, notwithſtanding his prejudices, that the Poet made uſe of much fiction to embelliſh his work.----[3] παρεστι γαρ τω Ποιητη και πλαττειν τα μη οντα. *There are inſtances of the Poets forging, what never exiſted.* But at the ſame time he tells us in another place, that there was ſufficient evidence from collateral traditions to ſhew, that the whole was not a fiction.----[4] Αι δε τοιαυται μυθοποιιαι τεκμηρια των λεγομενων υφ' ημων εισιν ὁτι ουτωσι παντα Ὁμηρος αυτος επλαττεν. *Theſe traditional hiſtories are proofs of what I have maintained, that the whole of the Ilias was not a mere invention of the*

1 ——τεως κωμη——Strabo L. 13. P. 886.
2 Ibid.
3 Strabo. L. 8. P. 530.
4 Ibid. L. 5. P. 342.

Poet.

Poet. Homer had certainly ſome ancient, and foreign hiſtory before him, which he modelled to his own mind: and laid the chief ſcene of the operations in a region of Phrygia. In the performance of this work he has given a geographical account of the ſeveral States of Greece, to whoſe honour he tranſpoſed it: and alſo of the confederate Cities and people, who were to be found in Phrygia, and upon the coaſt of Aſia Minor. But the groundwork of his poem I am perſuaded was foreign and the great queſtion to be decided is from whence it was borrowed.

Conjectures concerning the two Poems, the Ilias and Odyſſea; and concerning the Author.

If I were to hazard a conjecture, I ſhould ſuppoſe, that Homer was of a Grecian family, which had long reſided in Ægypt, and was in ſome degree allied to people of that nation. Alſo that this family came away, either the whole, or in part, and ſettled in Greece. With them they brought many traditions, and hiſtories; alſo many of the rites of the Country, whence they came. Of theſe hiſtories Homer probably got the firſt intelligence from his friends, which he afterwards improved in Egypt, tranſpoſed, and adapted to the manners of Greece: and at the ſame time introduced a new ſet of Perſonages from that quarter. And as the original names were Egyptian, he in great meaſure changed them: and ſubſtituted others, which he has taken from Deities: many alſo from places: others from lakes and rivers: and ſome are denominated from circumſtances in the [1] Poem. This has been obſerved by Strabo, who ſays—[2] πολλη γαρ ἡ ὁμωνυμια

1 Such as Ασυναιξ, Πρωτεσιλαος, Σκαμανδριος, Ασιος, Αινεια, Ἑκτωρ, Κηβριονης, Νεοπτολεμος.

2 L. 12. P. 847.

ὁμωνυμια παρ' αυτῳ και ἡ απο των ποταμων και λιμνων, και χωριων επικλησις. *There is a great correſpondence and ſimilitude among the names in Homer: which names are borrowed from rivers, lakes, and other places.*

He ſeems to have been a great traveller, and a curious obſerver like his favourite Ulyſſes

[1] Πολλων ανθρωπων ιδεν αστεα, και νοον εγνω.

In his travels he muſt have been expoſed to many hardſhips by land: but particularly by ſea: for he paints the dangers of that element in a very affecting manner. He had a great curioſity, and exquiſite feelings: and all uncommon phænomena made ſtrong impreſſions upon his mind. All ancient lore afforded a rich repaſt, upon which he fed with extacy and with this turn of mind he was ſtrongly inclined to ſuperſtition. His alliance with the Egyptians encouraged this ſoothing affection. Hence in his poems we have continual references to the cuſtoms of that people. From many paſſages in the Ilias, and from far more in the Odyſſea we may judge that he was of an humane diſpoſition: but at the ſame time tinged with melancholy, which made thoſe rites of Egypt have a great influence over him. Upon theſe gloomy myſteries he reflected with pleaſure: and he continually alludes to them in his poems. He firſt introduced the knowledge of the nine Muſes into Greece: who were properly Prieſteſſes of the ſame number in the Temples of Egypt: but particularly at [2]Hermopolis, where they chanted hymns in honour of the Deity, who was principally worſhiped at that place.--Εννεα Μουσαι--λιγειαι--[3] αμειβομεναι οπι καλη. He ſtiles them ἱστορες ωδης, and addreſſes them, as knowing all things.

1 Odyſſ. A. v. 3.
2 Plutarch Iſis et Oſiris. P. 352.
3 Odyſſ. Ω. v. 60. Hence Oſiris was ſtiled Μουσαγετης.

[1] Εσπετε

[1] Εσπετε νυν μοι, Μȣσαι, ολυμπια δωματ' εχȣσαι,
Ὑμεις γαρ Θεαι εϛε, παρεϛε τε, ιϛε τε παντα.
Tell me, ye Muſes, who Olympus hold:
For ye are Goddeſſes, and all things know.

To their care were entruſted the Archives of Egypt: and to them application was made for any hiſtorical intelligence. Hence were derived thoſe addreſſes made to them by the Greek Poets for divine information. Many inſtances may be produced of articles borrowed by Homer from Egypt. In the firſt book of the Ilias he introduces Thetis, as ſaying, that Jupiter had paſſed the ocean to enjoy a feaſt prepared for him by the Ethiopians, and that he would not return till the twelfth day.

[2] Ζευς γαρ επ' ωκεανον μετ' αμυμονας Αιθιοπηας
Χθιζος εϐη μετα δαιτα, θεοι δ' ἁμα παντες ἑποντο.
Δωδεκατῃ δε τοι αυθις ελευσεται Ουλυμπονδε.

Jupiter went yeſterday, with all the Gods attending him, to the Ocean to partake of a feaſt with the Ethiopians: and he will return upon the twelfth day.

We learn from Diodorus Siculus, that this hiſtory was intirely *copied by Homer from the Egyptians.* [3] Την εις Αιθιοπιαν εκδημιαν εκειθεν αυτον μετενεγκειν. One name of Egypt was Ethiopia, and the natives called their river the [4] ocean, and paſſed over it at the time of this celebrity; at which time the ſtatue of Serapis was carried to the Libyan ſide of the Nile; and after a feſtivity of twelve days was brought back to it's proper Temple. He

1 Il. B. 484.
2 Il. A. v. 423.
3 L. 1. P. 88.
4 Οι γαρ Αιγυπτιοι νομιζȣσιν Ωκεανον ειναι τον παρ' αυτοις (Νειλον) ποταμον.—Diodorus Sic. L. 1. P. 12.—τον δε ποταμον αρχαιοτατον μεν ονομα σχειν Ωκεαμην (or Ωκεανην) ὁσ εϛιν ἑλληνιϛι ωκεανος. ibid. p. 17.

produces

produces many more [1] inſtances to the ſame purpoſe; by which he ſhews, that Homer borrowed largely from that Country. The ſame is confirmed by other Writers, who have given an account of the Poet. Hence [2] Juſtin Martyr mentions his being converſant in that part of the world—ὁτι δε και Ὁμηρος εν Αιγυπτῳ γεγονε. And another Writer tells us—[3] Ἱστοριας συνταττειν εδιδαξαν αι παρ' Αιγυπτιοις των χρονων αναγραφαι. *The Annals of the Egyptians, with which he had been acquainted, inſtructed him in the compoſition of hiſtory.*

It is remarkable, that he ſtiles the Princes in each army Ποιμενες Λαων, *Shepherds of the People.* This was an Egyptian title; and I believe to be found only in that Country, and ſome nations in the eaſt. He likewiſe mentions, an abhorrence of fiſh both among the ſailors in the fleet of Menelaus, and the crew of Ulyſſes. Nothing but abſolute neceſſity could force them to have recourſe to theſe means of preſervation. And even then they made uſe of theſe helps ſo ſparingly, that they ſcarcely prevented ſtarving.

---------[4] στειρε δε γαστερα λιμος. *Their bodies were exhauſted by hunger.* This diſguſt towards fiſh prevailed among the Egyptians; and was to be found alſo among the people of Syria. [5] Ιχθυων δ σφι εξεστι πασασθαι. *They were not allowed to taſte of fiſh.* Even in the Grecian army no notice is taken by Homer of the people having any aliment from the ſea; of which Plato makes mention. [6] επι στρατιας εν ταις των Ηρωων ἑστιασεσιν ουκ ιχθυων αυτους ἑστιᾳ (Ὁμηρος) και ταυτα επι θαλαττῃ εν Ἑλλησποντῳ οντας, ουτε ἑφθοις

1 Diodorus L. 1. P. 88.
2 Juſt. Mart. Cohort. P. 27.
3 Tatianus Aſſyr. C. 1. P. 243.
4 Odyſſ. Δ. v. 369.——M. v. 332.
5 Herod. L. 2. C. 37. P. 121. Athenæus L. 4. P. 157.
6 Plato de Repub. L. 3. P. 404. B. Plutarch Sympos. L. 8. P. 728, 729. See Athenæus. L. 1. P. 13. and P. 25.

κρεασιν,

κρεασιν, αλλα μονον οπτοις. *During the expedition, when the Heroes are feaſted, Homer never treats them with fiſh, nor does he allow them any boiled or ſtewed meat, but only ſuch, as has been dreſſed by fire.*

As Homer ſeems to ſhew a ſecret regard for the Egyptians in many parts of his Poems, this may have been one reaſon for his celebrating ſo particularly the Athenians, who were in great meaſure deſcended from that nation, and particularly from the people of [1] Sais. He ſtiles them [2] Δημον Ερεχθηος μεγαλητορος: *the people of the noble Erectheus*—and who Erectheus was we may learn from Diodorus Siculus. [3] Ερεχθεα λεγουσι, το γενος Αιγυπτιον οντα, βασιλευσαι των Αθηνων. *They ſpeak of Erectheus as of Egyptian race, and as reigning at Athens.* Cecrops, another King, was called διφυης, and Suidas gives the reaſon for his being ſtiled *two fold*,—δια το απο Αιγυπτου γενεσθαι, και εις Ελλαδα ελθειν. *Becauſe he was a native of Egypt, and came and reſided in Attica.*

Farther account of Homer and his connexions with Egypt.

Writers not only agree, that Homer reſided in Egypt: but ſome of them maintain, with what certainty I do not pretend to determine, that he was a native of that Country: and from thence brought the chief materials of his two Poems. [4] Tatianus gives a liſt of the principal perſons who wrote concerning Homer. But as the ſcope of his inquiry was to find out the time of his birth, rather than the place, he affords not much

1 See Diodorus, Siculus L. 1. P. 24 and 25, Tzetzes upon Lycoph. P. 16. v. 111. Scholia upon the Plutus of Ariſtophanes.

2 Il. B. v. 547.

3 Diodorus. L. 1. P. 24 and 27.

4 Tatiani Aſſyr. C. 31. P. 269.

light

light to the preſent purpoſe. However many of the Authors were known to Clemens of Alexandria and are mentioned by him: and he ſays—[1] Ὅμηρον δι πλειστοι Αιγυπτιον φαινεσιν. *Moſt of thoſe Writers declare that Homer was an Egyptian.* According to Ptolemy Hephæſtion, who was of Egypt, Homer, when he left that Country, brought with him the original hiſtory, or poem, out of which he formed his Ilias, and Odyſſea. This he is ſaid to have obtained from Phantaſia, a Prieſteſs of Memphis. [2] φαντασια, τις Μεμφιτις------συνεταξε προ Ὁμηρε τον Ιλιακον πολεμον, και την περι Οδυσσειας διηγησιν. και αποκεισθαι φασι τας Βιβλας εν Μεμφιδι. Ὁμηρον δε παραγενομενον, και τα αντιγραφα λαβοντα παρα φανιτε, τε ἱερογραμματεως, συνταξαι εκεινοις απολελυθως. *A woman of Memphis named Phantaſia------compoſed an account of the Trojan war before Homer: alſo an Odyſſea. Theſe Books were depoſited at Memphis, and in conſequence of this, Homer, when he was at that City, obtained a copy of theſe Hiſtories from Phanites a Scribe: and from thoſe evidences compoſed his two Poems.* If there be the leaſt truth in this account, the whole of the war in Phrygia is a fable. The learned Writer of the Eſſay upon Homer, prefixed to Mr. Pope's Verſion, thinks, that there is no credit to be given to this hiſtory: for he ſays, that Phantaſia was not a name of Egyptian original, but plainly from Greece, as is manifeſt from its conſtruction and termination. No Prieſteſs therefore of Memphis could have been ſo denominated. Notwithſtanding this determination, I cannot readily give up this hiſtory: nor ſuppoſe, without better proof, that the name was foreign to Egypt. It may be a little changed; and the terminating ſyllable has been new formed to the taſte of the Grecians: but it may ſtill be the genuine offſpring of the Country to

1 Clemens. Strom. L. 1. P. 354. and P. 389. concerning the different accounts of the age in which he lived.

2 Apud Photium Bibl. P. 486. l. 38.

which

which it is imputed. The perſon mentioned is ſaid to have been a Prieſteſs: and P'hant denoted ſuch an office. The Greeks imported the word; and uſed it in the ſame ſignification. Hence (Ἱεροφαντης,) Hierophantes, *was a miniſtering Prieſt.* Hierophantia *the office of a Prieſt.* Theophantor, *a Prieſt of God.* Diophantus *a prieſt of Jupiter:* Iö phantes *a prieſt of Iö,* Σεληνη. Demophantus, *a prieſt of the people.* Some would derive the word from φαινω, luceo, and appareo. But this radix is not adequate; and the purport too general. Beſides as I have before ſaid, it is an original Egyptian term; and is properly expreſſed *hant* and *hont:* but with the national prefix, it is rendered P'hant, and P'hont. This may be proved from the Coptic; in which language the word is retained in it's ancient and original acceptation. Thus, where mention is made in the Greek verſion Geneſis. C. 41. v. 45. of Petephree Prieſt of Heliopolis—Πετεφρη ἱερευς Ἡλιοπολεως, it is rendered in the Coptic [1]—Petephree P'hont On ti Baki—*Petephree, Prieſt of On the City*—i. e. the City On.

I therefore am perſuaded, that both Phantaſia, and Phanites, were Egyptian names, however altered by the Greeks. The one related to a Prieſteſs, probably Phant-Iſis, the Prieſteſs of Iſis: the other, Phanitis, was a ſacred Scribe, who adminiſtered probably in the ſame temple. He is ſaid alſo to have borrowed no ſmall part of his materials from Daphne of [2] Thebes. By this was not originally meant Thebes in Bœotia; but Θηβαι Αιγυπτιαι ἑκατομπυλοι *Egyptian Thebes with it's hundred gates,* where Daphne was a Muſe or Prieſteſs; in whoſe care were the Archives to which Homer was beholden. He was himſelf by ſome ſuppoſed to have been a native of this City; as we learn from an Epigram, or more probably an Epitaph, compoſed to his memory.

1 See Coptic Lexicon of la Croze, publiſhed by Dr. Woide, p. 157.
2 Diodorus Sic L. IV. p. 269.

[1] Ενθαδε θειος Ομηρος, ος Ελλαδα πασαν αεισε,
Θηβης εκγεγαως της εκατονταπυλε.

Here (lies) the divine Homer, who celebrated all Hellas; and who was a native (of Egyptian) Thebes with its hundred gates.

From theſe circumſtances I am induced to believe, that the original hiſtory upon which Homer founded his Ilias, was borrowed from this part of the world. This he modified, and tranſpoſed in honour of Greece. I have mentioned, that Strabo, as well as Demetrius of Scepſis, and others ſearched, and could find no trace of a City Troy in Phrygia. But he found a Troy in Egypt, a few miles below [2] Memphis: and the ſituation is deſcribed ſo preciſely, that it cannot be miſtaken. He ſays, that it was built upon a hill, where were the quarries, from whence the ſtones were taken for the conſtruction of the Pyramids. He farther adds, that it was of a rocky foundation: and had caverns underneath; from whence thoſe maſſy ſtones had been formerly dug out. [3] Περι το μεταλλον των λιθων, εξ ων αι Πυραμιδες γεγονασιν, εν περαν εν τη Αραβια, Τρωικον τι καλειται πετρωδες ικανως ορος----και κωμη πλησιον και τουτοις, και τω ποταμω Τροια καλουμενη------κατοικια παλαια Τρωων κ. τ. λ. *Hard by the ſtone quarries, from whence the oppoſite Pyramids were built, at the place of paſſage in Arabia over the River, ſtands a very rocky Hill, named the Trojan Mount.------and there is a Town near to the places above mentioned, and to the river, which is called Troy------an ancient habitation of Trojan Captives, who came into Egypt with Menelaus.* This Hill we find ſtood on the Arabian ſide at the place of paſſage, where the people croſſed the Nile.------*And there was a Town or Village*

1 Anthолog. Gr. L. 3. P. 269. Edit. Steph.
2 Strabo L. 17. P. 1162. Alſo a mountain—Τρωικον τι καλειται πετρωδες ικανως ορος.
3 Ibid.

cloſe

close by it upon the banks of the river; which Town was named Troy; and had been formerly the habitation of people called Trojans.

Strabo, while he affords us this curious history, almost ruins it through that vanity, which was so predominant among the Grecians: and which led them to make their Ancestors the chief agents in every operation, however foreign, if they could frame to themselves any seeming correspondence. He therefore, asserts, that the place had it's name from the Trojans who accompanied Menelaus to Egypt; and settled here---[1] κατοικια παλαια των Μενελαῳ συγκατακολεθησαντων, αιχμαλωτων Τρωων, καταμειναντων δ' αυτοθι. Who can possibly believe, that a City in Arabia was built, and a Colony there founded by Trojan captives? It seems, that settlements, and even kingdoms in these days were very easily obtained. But what the least evidence in history was there for this fact? The Grecians were not contented with supposing, that a large province in Egypt was denominated from Menelaus, and peopled by him: and that the chief maritime City of the Country was built by him in honour of his Pilot, but they make the very slaves and fugitives found a colony and occupy a post of the greatest consequence in those parts. The whole is an idle fiction: and contrary to the evidence of the Poet, who gives strong intimation of the [2] contrary.

Strabo stiles this place κωμη, a town or village, but Stephanus speaks of it as a city. Εστι και της Αιγυπτυ Τροια. The stones of this hill were much esteemed, and called from the place Lapides Troïci. There was a

1 Ibid.
2 Odyss. L. 4. v. 355, &c.

like quarry upon the Red-Sea, which is mentioned by [1] Ptolemy, as being called Τρωικȣ λιθȣ ορος. *The Hill of Trojan ſtone*, from the ſimilarity of the quarry. Diodorus Siculus ſpeaks of Troja Ægyptiaca, which he deſcribes, as ſo called in his time [2]—ην Τροιην την νυν ȣσαν παρα τον Νειλον. *The Place called Troy, which ſtill exiſts upon ths river Nile.* It ſtood cloſe to Litopolis, or rather Latopolis, to which it was probably a garriſon. From the Quarries near this place according to [3] Herodotus the ſtones were taken for the conſtruction of the Pyramids: which Strabo mentions as being got from Troy. This City by it's ſituation, was the key to Egypt eaſtward, and therefore the firſt object to be obtained by every power, that invaded that Country. It was the ſame as Babylon,---[4] Βαβυλων, φρȣριον ερυμνον. *Babylon, a ſtrongly ſituated Garriſon*, though Strabo makes them different: this difference aroſe merely from one being a City, and the other a Garriſon upon the hill, and an appendage to that city, named Troy.

Concerning a War of Troy in Egypt, and of Memnon, the Ethiopian.

There had been, I imagine, in ancient times, ſome great war in Egypt: and a powerful conteſt about this particular place. This conteſt laſted for a long time, and probably gave birth to the original Poem of Troy. To this war, and to this Troy, came Memnon the Ethiopian, as an auxiliary, from the upper regions of [5] Egypt. His introduction here is conſiſtent;

1 Lib. 1. P. 117.
2 L. 1. P. 52.
3 Herod. L. 2. C. 8. P. 106. Joſephus Ant. L. 2. C. 15. P. 111.
4 Strabo. L. 17 P. 1160.
5 Egypt, particularly the upper region, was called Ethiopia,——Εκληθη δε——και Αερια, και Ποταμια, και Αιθιοπια. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. ad ver. 239.

and

and there is reaſon for his lending aſſiſtance, when the Country was invaded. But it is not to be believed, that any ſuch perſon could arrive upon the coaſt of Phrygia, and Troas. There were Ethiopians upon the Tigris and others in India. They were alſo to be found in Arabia, and in upper Egypt, and beyond it, and we read of them in Mauritania.---

Αιθιοπες——————εσχατοι ανδρων,

Οι μεν δυσομενυ Υπεριονος, οι δ' ανιοντος. Odyſſ. A. v. 23.

The Ethiopians, the moſt remote of all nations upon earth. Some of whom are placed far in the weſt: others at a great diſtance towards the riſing ſun in the eaſt.

The weſtern are mentioned by Virgil; and their place deſcribed

Oceani juxta fines, ſolemque cadentem,
Ultimus Æthiopum locus eſt. Æneis. IV. v. 480.

I have mentioned four nations of Ethiopians; to which of them can we ſuppoſe that body of men to have belonged, which are ſaid to have come to the aſſiſtance of the Trojans in Phrygia: and what connexion could have poſſibly ſubſiſted between Memnon, the Son of the Morning, and the petty ſtates upon the Helleſpont? certainly none. It is not to be conceived, that in thoſe early times the name of the Helleſpont, and Phrygia, or even of Hellas ever reached thoſe nations. Beſides, nobody can ſuppoſe, that either of the two moſt diſtant nations of Ethiopians ever made their way to Troas from the Indus, or from the fretum Gaditanum. We muſt then take it for granted, that they were led from the vicinity of Perſis, or elſe from the upper region of Egypt. But how could Memnon bring them. Ου μεν γαρ μιν πωεζον οϊομαι ενθαδ' ικεσθαι. *For he could hardly have travelled ſo far on foot.* It may be anſwered, that they came in ſhips. But from which part of world?—

From

From the banks of the Tigris, and Choaſpes? or from the Cataracts of the Nile? Undoubtedly from neither. The notion is idle, as the fact was impoſſible. The hiſtory therefore has been borrowed, and improperly applied: and never related to Greece or Phrygia. It was taken from the Annals of Egypt: and to that Country it muſt be again aſcribed.

Ancient Traditions concerning a War at Troy.

There were ſeveral, who wrote, concerning this war before the time of Homer: for I do not think him to have been of that antiquity, to which he has been generally raiſed. Writers differ greatly about the year of his birth: for, when they have ſtated the ſuppoſed æra of Troy, they introduce him afterwards at various intervals, each according to his own eſtimate and conception. [1] Tatianus Aſſyrius, [2] and Clemens of Alexandria, mention the different opinions, and tell us, that he flouriſhed, according to Cretes about eighty years after the war. Eratoſthenes placed him at the diſtance of an hundred years. [3] Ariſtarchus made the interval an hundred and forty. [4] Caſſius Hemina an hundred and ſixty. Others proceeded farther: and extended the ſpace to above four hundred years from the taking of Troy. Some advance it even to five hundred; among whom are Euphorion, and Theopompus. [5] Θεοπομπος μεν, εν τη τεσσαρακοστη τριτη των Φιλιππικων, μετα ετη τριακοσια των επι Ιλιῳ στρατευσαντων γεγονεναι τον Ὁμηρον ἱστορει, κ. τ. λ. *Theopompus, in the forty third Book of his Philippics mentions,*

1 Tatianus Aſſyr. P. 269.
2 Clemens Alexand. Strom. L. 1. P. 389.
3 Clemens Alexand. L. 1. p. 388.
4 Aulus Gellius. L. 17. C. 21. P. 981, 2. See Marſham's Chron. Canon. P. 412, 413.
5 Clemens ſupra. P. 389.

that

that Homer was born above five hundred years after thoſe perſons, who warred againſt Troy. Euphorion made him as late as the 18th. Olympiad. In this manner Writers differ about the time of Homer: and there is equal uncertainty about the place of his nativity.

At whatever time he may have lived, there were certainly perſons before him, who had written upon the ſame ſubject. I have mentioned Daphne of [1] Thebes ſtiled the Sibyl, and Phantaſia of Memphis; from whoſe Egyptian hiſtories Homer is ſaid to have borrowed. There was likewiſe Siſyphus [2] Coüs, a writer ſaid to have been of great antiquity. Alſo according to Ælian a Poet [3] Syagrius, the firſt upon record among the Grecians, who wrote upon the Trojan war ὃς [4] πρωτος τον Τρωικον ησε πολεμον. Alſo a woman Helena [5] ἡ προ Ομηρȣ Ἑλενη, *who lived before Homer:* and to whom ſome ſay, that he was indebted for the ſcheme of the Ilias. Many other Perſons are to be found, who were ſaid to have brought learning from [6] Egypt.

1 ——Παρ' ἡς φασι και τον ποιητην Ὁμηρον πολλα των επων σφετερισαμενον κοσμησαι την ιδιαν ποιησιν. Diod. Sic. L. 4. P. 269. C.

2 Johan. Malala 1. P. 167. J. Tzetzes Chil. 5. Hiſt.

3 Ælian. Var. Hiſtor. L. 14. C. 21. P. 959.

4 Euſtath. ad Il. P. 3.

5 Ptolemy Hephæſtion. Photii Biblioth. C. cxc. P. 482. See Fabritii Biblioth. L. 1. Tom. 1. P. 232.

6 See Marſham's Chron. Can. P. 149.

Concerning

Concerning the different Accounts tranſmitted.

That Homer borrowed his account is manifeſt: but to whom he was principally indebted is not ſo clear. Thus much we learn, that it was the common opinion of the Grecians, that before the time of Homer there were various accounts of the Trojan War. They were brought over, I imagine, by [1] Melampus, and his followers, the Melampodes: alſo by the Cadmians, who came from Thebes in Egypt; and introduced their religion in Bœotia. Beſides theſe there were other Emigrants, who led colonies from Egypt. Theſe accounts being received in different parts, were varied according to the fancy of thoſe, who received and adopted them. Some of theſe Colonies, as we have reaſon to believe, arrived before the uſe of elementary characters had been introduced. Hence whatever original truths may have been imported, they could not by oral tradition be kept long without mixture. The ſame ſtory in the ſame age, and even in the ſame day, when told by different people, is often attended with much change, and alſo interpolation.

Among the accounts tranſmitted, which do not accord with the narration in Homer, we find theſe, which follow. If we may believe [2] Euſebius, as publiſhed by Scaliger, it was not Paris, but Meneſtheus Ilieus, who was the cauſe of the Trojan war. From another [3] quarter we learn, that Agamemnon did not command in that war, but Proteſilaus. We are alſo [4] told, that Achilles the ſon of Peleus, and Achilles the ſon of

1 Herodotus. L. 2. C. 49. P. 127.—πυθομενον εξ Αιγυπτου——Diodorus Sic. L. 1. P. 87.

2 Euſeb. Chron. P. 33. l. 46. Μενεσθευς ὁ Ιλιευς. It is differently mentioned. Syncellus. P. 172.

3 Ptolemy Hephæſtion apud Photium. P. 488. and P. 489.

4 Ibid.

Thetis,

Thetis, were two different perſons. That Achilles was the ſon of Philomele the daughter of Actor, according to [1] Deimachus. That he did not kill Memnon the Ethiopian: nor was that perſon ever at Troy—[2] αποθανειν δε και εν Τροιᾳ, ὁτι μηδε αφικεσθαι ες Τροιαν. Laſtly, that Achilles was not ſlain by Paris, but by the Amazon [3] Penthiſelea.

By [4] others his hiſtory was ſtill farther varied; as was the hiſtory of Thetis. We are told, that Iphigenia was the ſame, as Iphianaſſa, who was ſacrificed at Aulis by her father Agamemnon. The fact is mentioned by ſeveral Writers, and particularly by [5] Lucretius.

Aulide quo pacto Triviaï Virginis aram
Iphianaſſaï turpârunt ſanguine fædé
Ductores Danaum delecti, prima virorum.

[6] Propertius alſo ſpeaks of her being offered up, but calls her Iphigenia.

Hoc juvene amiſſo, claſſem non ſolvit Atreides,
Pro quâ mactata eſt Iphigenia morâ.

Some ſay, that an [7] hind was ſubſtituted in her room: and that ſhe was conveyed to the Tauric Cherſoneſus by Diana; in whoſe Temple ſhe officiated as Prieſteſs.

--------[8] ελαφον αντιδοσα μ' θεα,
Αρτεμις εσωσε μ' ἡν εθυσ' ἑμος πατηρ.

1 Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium. L. 1. v. 558.
2 Philoſtratus. L. VI. p. 262.
3 Ptol. Hephæſtion apud Photium. p. 490.
4 ——αλλοι δ' αλλως περι αυτης αποφαινονται. Ibid.
5 De Rerum Nat: L. 1. v. 85.
6 Eleg. L. 3. E. 5. v. 53. and L. 4. El. 1. v. 111.
7 Ovid. Metamorph. L. 12. v. 34. Hyginus Fab. XCVIII. p. 185.
8 Euripides Iphigenia in Tauris. v. 28. and 783.

The Goddeſs Artemis ſaved me by ſubſtituting an hind in my place, which my Father offered in ſacrifice.

According to others ſhe was herſelf turned into an hind. But [1] Antoninus Liberalis ſays, that ſhe was changed to a Cow, or Heifer. On the contrary [2] Phanodemus the hiſtorian maintained, that the change was into a Bear: while Nicander contended, that it was into a Bull. Laſt of all, others inſiſted, that ſhe was transformed to an old woman. In contradiction to all theſe Homer intimates, that ſhe never underwent any ſuch metamorphoſis, either of a bull, or a bear, or a cow, or an hind, or even of an old woman. Nor was ſhe ſacrificed, nor ever in the Tauric Cherſoneſus. Agamemnon in Homer ſpeaks of her as living very quietly with her mother, and ſiſters, in Greece; and makes an offer of her to Achilles, if he ſhould chooſe her, for a wife.

Τρεις δε μοι εισι θυγατρες ενι μεγαρῳ ευπηκτῳ
Χρυσοθεμις, και Λαοδικη, και Ιφιανασσα,
Των ἡν κ' εθελησε φιλην αναεδνον αγεσθαι.
Εις οικον Πηληος—Il. L. I. v. 145. That is, *I have three daughters, one of which is Iphianaſſa, Achilles may chooſe which he pleaſes.*

The common tradition conerning Aſtyanax Scamandrius, the ſon of Hector; and of Aſcanius Iülus, the ſon of Æneas, is, that the one was thrown from the battlements of Troy, and killed: and the other fled with his father to Italy, and built the City Alba Longa. But there were Writers, who affirmed, that this account was by no means true. For they were the perſons, who founded the City Scepſis below Mount Ida:

1 Cap. 27. p. 140. See Anton. Liberalis.

2 Η δε Αρτεμις αυτην ελεησασα, κατα Φανοδημον του Ιστορικον, εις Αρκτον μετεβαλε. κατα δε Νικανδρον εις ταυρον, καθ' ἑτερους εις γραυν, κατα αλλους εις ελαφον. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. v. 183.

and

and people of their family reigned there for a long ſeaſon. [1] Εστι δε ἡ μεν παλαι Σκηψις, επανω Κεβρηνος κατα το μετεωροτατον της Ιδης-------υστερον δε κατωτερω σταδιοις εξηκοντα εις την νυν Σκηψιν μετωκισθησαν ὑπο Σκαμανδριυ τε τυ Εκτορος, και Ασκανιυ τυ Αινειυ παιδος. και δυο γενη ταυτα βασιλευσαι πολυν χρονον εν τη Σκηψει λεγεται. *The more ancient City Scepſis ſtood above Cebrenia upon the higheſt part of Mount Ida ------afterwards the inhabitants were removed ſixty ſtadia lower to the City now called Scepſis: which was effected by Scamandrius the ſon of Hector, and by Aſcanius, the ſon of Æneas. The poſterity of theſe two perſons are ſaid to have reigned in Scepſis a long time.* This hiſtory is given by Strabo, which he ſeems to have obtained from the people of the place: who were natives of Troas. It affords evidence of great conſequence; which, if true, overturns the whole hiſtory of Æneas in Italy with all it's appendages. And what reaſon can be given for it's not being juſt as true as any other account, when we conſider the ſource, from whence it is derived, and the [2] people, who tranſmit it. It is farther ſupported in a great degree by the evidence of Homer: who ſays that the race of Priam was become hateful to the Gods, and intimates that his ſons would be exterminated, and that the family of Æneas would ſucceed to the rule over the Trojans.

Ηδη γαρ Πριαμυ γενεην ηχθηρε Κρονιων;
Νυν δε δη Αινειαο βιη Τρωεσσιν αναξει,
Και παιδες παιδων, τοι κεν μετοπισθε γενωνται. IL. Υ. 306.
For Priam now, and Priam's faithleſs kind
At length are odious to th' almighty mind.
On great Æneas ſhall devolve the reign:
And Sons ſucceeding ſons his laſting line ſuſtain. POPE.

[1] Strabo. Geog. L. 13. p. 904. B.
[2] Strabo of Amaſia in Aſia Minor and the people of Scepſis.

The account given by Homer of Polydorus, is repreſented very differently by other Writers. He is ſaid to have been quite a youth, and the youngeſt ſon of [1] Hecuba and Priam: who truſting to his fleetneſs paſſed too near to Achilles, and was ſlain by him.

———μετα ϖασι νεωτατος εσκε γονοιο,
Και ὁι φιλτατος εσκε, ϖοδεσσι δε ϖαντας ενικα.
Τον ϐαλε μεσσον ακοντι ϖοδαρκης διος Αχιλλευς. Il. Υ. v. 409, &c.

But [2] Euripides, and Virgil, who copies from him, tell us, that Polydorus was not at this time at Troy: nor was he ſlain by Achilles. He had been ſent to Thrace, to the protection of Polymneſtor, the King of the Country, who baſely murdered him. The hiſtory is given very preciſely, and circumſtantially on both ſides: which renders the contrariety and inconſiſtence the more glaring. One party muſt be in the wrong: and I judge, that neither is in the right, but that the whole is intirely a fiction.

Other inſtances to no ſmall amount might be brought of inconſiſtency among the writers, who have tranſmitted this hiſtory. Theſe contradictions aroſe from the accounts being brought over at different times; and adopted by people in various parts of the world. The Grecians of Hellas proper were diſguſted with the barbarous names; and either new faſhioned them to their own taſte in their hiſtories, or introduced others from their own language, which were more agreable to their prejudices. Theſe variations in the hiſtory exiſted long before the time of Homer: for had there been none antecedently, there would probably have been none afterwards: becauſe ſuch was the ſuperiour excellence of his poems, and ſo univerſal the reverence paid to them, that, I ſhould think, nobody without proper authority, would have ventured to have deviated

1 Euripides Hecuba. Ovid. Met. L. 13.
2 Ibid.——Virgil Æneis. L. 3. v. 49. 50.

from

from them. They were a ſtandard to which all looked up with veneration; till contraſted with prior evidence.

Inferences made from theſe ancient Accounts.

From the evidence above given, we may, I think, conclude, that the account concerning Troy was foreign to Greece; and imported from another region. For no genuine hiſtory of any Country was ever rendered ſo inconſiſtent by the Natives. There is no inſtance upon record. Variations, and miſtakes will ſometimes happen in different writings upon the ſame ſubject. But the hiſtory of Troy abounds with innumerable contradictions, and is fundamentally wrong; and utterly improbable. Had it been genuine, and the ſcene of action in that Country, where Homer places it, we ſhould have had the true names of the perſons, who were concerned on each ſide. But there is reaſon to think, that they are for the moſt part feigned. We are told by Iſocrates, and the ſame is intimated by others, that the people of Phrygia were Βαρβαροι; that is not of the Hellenic race. But we find moſt of the names intirely Grecian. Hector, Antenor, Aſtyanax, Archilochus, Laomedon, Alexander, Polydamas, Hypſenor, Aſtynous, Andromache, Polydorus, with many others, are manifeſtly greek compounds. As he has given Grecian names, in like manner he has introduced into the Country the Deities of Greece. This is remarkable, and ſeems to indicate, that he was not ſo intimately acquainted with the people and their cuſtoms, as has been generally ſuppoſed. The chief objects of worſhip in this part of the world were Attis, and Cybele, called Rhea, Dyndymene, and Berecynthia, the Mother of the Gods. She was ſtiled Θεα ἡ Φρυγια. *The Phrygian Goddeſs:* and

and her Prieſts were the Corybantes, the ſame as the Idæi Dactyli, and Curetes. But Homer makes Apollo the guardian God: and Minerva the chief Goddeſs, whoſe tutelary image was the Palladium. He accordingly mentions her Temple in the Citadel. [1] Νηον Αθηναιης γλαυκωπιδος εν πολει ακρη. But this was not well deviſed. For the worſhip of Cybele, Mater Deorum, prevailed all over Phrygia long before Homer's time; and continued a great while after. [2] Οι δε Βερεκυντες, Φρυγων τε φυλον, και ὁπλως οἱ Φρυγες, και των Τρωων οἱ περι την Ιδην κατοικηνλες, Ρεαν μεν και αυτοι τιμωσι, και οργιαζουσι, Μητερα καλουντες Θεων, και Αιεσιν, και Φρυγιαν Θεαν Μεγαλην, και Κυβελην. *The Berecynthians, and the community of the Phrygians, and all, who are included under that name; and all the Trojans near Mount Ida, reverence the Goddeſs Rhea, and perform their orgies in her name; ſtyling her the Mother of the Gods, and Ajeſtis, the Great Phrygian Deity, the ſame as Cybele.*

We find, that ſhe was the peculiar, and provincial Deity of Phrygia, and all the people near Mount Ida. To this worſhip Virgil alludes—

——— [3] *Qualis Berecynthia mater*
Invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per Urbes.

The Statue of Cybele, and her rites, were brought from Peſinuns to Rome in the time of the ſecond [4] Punic war. And as far as we can go back, the worſhip of this Deity prevailed univerſally among the people of Phrygia; and was the original religion of the Country, long before the ſuppoſed æra of Troy. In conſequence of this Apollonius Rhodius with great propriety deſcribes the Argonauts as paying their regard to the Deities of this region, of which Cybele was the chief. He repre-

1 Z. v. 88.
2 Strabo. L. 10. p. 718. ſee alſo p. 720. 721.—723. 724.
3 Virg. Æn. L. 6. v. 785. Κυβελη ορος Φρυγιης. Κυβελη μητηρ Θεων. Heſych.
Liv y. L. 29. C. 14.

ſents

ſents them as making a ſtatue out of a ſtump of a vine, which was myſtical and ſignificant; and then raiſing an altar to her honour.

[1] Βωμον δ' αυ χεραδος ωαρενηνεον, αμφι δε φυλλοις
Στεψαμενοι δρυινοισι θυηπολιης εμελονλο,
Μητερα Δινδυμιην ωολυποτνιαν εγκαλεοντες,
Ενναετιν Φρυγιης, Τιτεην θ' αμα, Κυλληνοντε,
Οι μεγοι ωολεων μοιρηγεται, ηδε ωαρεδροι
Μητερος Ιδαιης κεκληται.

They formed an altar out of the ſtones of the place, which they decorated with oak leaves, and then began their rites. During theſe they invoked the venerable Parent Dindymia, whoſe reſidence was in Phrygia: alſo Tetæa, and Cyllenus; under whoſe influence the Cities of that region lay, and whoſe inhabitants were eſteemed the votaries and aſſeſſors of the Idean Mother.

[2] Julius Firmicus takes notice of the image, and it's peculiar conſtruction, but ſays it was formed from a Pinetree. *In Sacris Phrygiis, quæ matris Deûm dicunt, per annos ſingulos arbor pinea cæditur, et in mediâ arbore ſimulachrum Juvenis ſubligatur.*

From the account given of the Argonautæ we may conclude, that though Homer was a ſuperiour Poet, Apollonius in this inſtance was a much better [3] Antiquary.

1 Apollonius R. Argon. L. 1. v. 1124—See Orphic Hymns. 41. 46. 47.

2 De Errore Profan Relig. C. 27. p. 53.

3 It may be ſaid, that when Alexander came to the town of Ilium upon the ſea coaſt, the chief Deity, was not Cybele, but, Αθηνη, Minerva. This may be very true: but the worſhip was introduced, by the Ionian, or Æolian, Colonies, who got poſſeſſion of thoſe parts ſome centuries before the birth of Alexander. But the ancient and original worſhip ſtill prevailed in general: and was not for ſeveral ages extinguiſhed. Of Alexander's viſit ſee Arrian. L. 1. p. 24. and p. 25.

Farther

Farther Arguments from the names of the Perſons.

That the Phrygians were not at the times, to which we allude, of Grecian extraction, or at all related to them by blood, is manifeſt from the teſtimony of Herodotus. He was an Aſiatic and a native of the ſame coaſt: and muſt have been acquainted with their hiſtory. He diſtinguiſhes them from the Helladians, and from all other nations. This he effects by ſaying that they vied in antiquity with the Egyptians: [1] that the Egyptians allowed their priority; and eſteemed their language to have been the moſt ancient of any. Whether this was literally true of their language I will not pretend to determine. Thus much is certain, that Herodotus eſteemed the Phrygians to have been one of the moſt ancient nations by giving them the priority to Egypt. Now the Grecians never contended with the Egyptians about antiquity: for they were in great meaſure deſcended from them; and even the firſt ſettlements in the Iſles of Iavan were poſterior to the peopling of the land of Ham. They muſt therefore according to Herodotus be ſtill later than the Phrygians. At all rates they were a diſtinct nation, and of another family. Hence as the Ionic and Æolic Colonies are ſuppoſed not to have been ſettled upon that Continent at the æra of Troy, no ſuch Grecian names, as thoſe, which Homer has introduced, could have ſubſiſted in that part of the world. But he is not only guilty of this miſtake in reſpect to the Phrygians of Troas, and thoſe in their vicinity; but to all the Allies in general. He allows, that the multitude was various: and that different languages prevailed among them.

1 Herod. L. 2. C. 2. p. 103.

1 Πολλοὶ.

[1] Πολλοι γαρ κατα αστυ μεγα Πριαμῳ επικουροι,
Αλλη δ' αλλων γλωσσα πολυσπερεων ανθρωπων.
Τοισιν εκαστος ανηρ σημαινετω, ὁισι περ αρχει.

As the Auxiliaries about the City are many in number; and every nation has it's peculiar language; let every Commander give out orders to the body, to which he belongs.

Notwithſtanding this he hardly ever gives us a ſoreign national appellation: but borrows all from Greece. We are told, that in the army of Hector there were [2] Lycians, Myſians, Carians, Thracians, Pelaſgi, Pæonians, and other different nations. Yet though he owns this, he gives them names from a language, to which they were totally ſtrangers. Thus he calls the leaders of the Cicones, and other [2] Thracians, Ευφημος, Ακαμας, Πειρως: the Chief of the Pæonians, Πυραιχμης; of the Paphlagonians, Πυλαιμενης; of the Mæonians, Αντιφος, υἱος Πυλαιμενεος; of the Lycians, Γλαυκος υἱος Ἱππολυκοιο; of the Myſians Εννομος; Among the Lycians ſlain by [3] Patroclus are—Ερυμας, Αμφοτερος, Ιφις, Ευιππος, Πολυμηλος, Θρασυμηδης, Τληπολεμος. He ſpeaks of the Carians in particular as [4] Βαρβαροφωνοι; yet he gives their Leader a grecian name—Αμφιμαχος, τεκνον Νομιονος. Many more inſtances may be found to this purpoſe throughout the Ilias, and the Odyſſea. This tends to confirm me more and more, that the hiſtory given by Homer in his poems was foreign both to Greece, and to Phrygia. Had it been genuine, the national names would have come unſought. But as he changed the ſcene of action, he was obliged to make an alteration in the names. And as he lived at a time, when the coaſt of Aſia, from Rhodes to the Thracian Boſporus, had been for ſome centuries

1 Iliad L. B. v. 803.
2 See the Catalogue L. B. from verſe 840 to 870.
3 Π.—v. 415.
4 B.—v. 867.

occupied by Grecians, he took the current appellations, by which the natives were in his time diſtinguiſhed. But as there ſtill ſurvived in Phrygia, Lycia, [1] Lycaonia, Caria, and other Provinces, many of the original inhabitants, who retained their primitive language, it would have been worth his while to have ſearched, and borrowed from them; as it would have given his poem a greater appearance of truth.

Farther Conſiderations concerning names; and likewiſe of Families.

Homer ſeems to have been under ſome difficulties in forming the characters of his other Heroes, whom he brings from Greece. There were few hiſtories before the Olympiads; and to theſe few very little truſt was to be given. They were written in verſe; and abounded with ſo much extravagance, that it was very difficult to ſeparate the fiction from the truth. Pherecydes Syrus came after Homer, and is ſaid to have been the firſt, who wrote in proſe. And from his character, and from his fragments, we may judge concerning the hiſtories of preceding times. The reaſon, that his work has been for the moſt part loſt for ages, is, becauſe it was not worth preſerving. Beſides there is reaſon to think, that at the ſuppoſed æra of the Trojan War, writing was not introduced into Hellas. The hiſtory of the Cadmian letters is very uncertain. At whatever time elementary characters may have been admitted, the antecedent gloom ſtill remained, and all ancient events were veiled in obſcurity. Plutarch obſerves, [2] that Geographers in their deſcriptions of the Earth, when they

1 The People of Lycaonia had preſerved their particular language in the time of St. Paul. See Acts C. 14. v. 11.

2 Plut. Iſis et Oſir.

come

come to the ultimate of their knowledge, put down in their charts, that all beyond is wild and barren, dark, and uncertain. In like manner hiſtorians, when they advance upwards towards the limits of traditional information, find all beyond equally barren. and wild; and encounter the like darkneſs, and uncertainty. Homer was engaged with ſuch a period of obſcurity: and as he was to tranſpoſe his hiſtory, and to adapt it to another age, and a different race of men; he was obliged to find out new names, and titles of diſtinction: all which were to be rendered conſiſtent with the language, manners, and traditions of that people, for whom he wrote. In this he was aſſiſted by the national accounts, as far as they could be obtained. At other times he invented names, and characters; and theſe he often made plauſible, by ſome anecdotes, with which he embelliſhed them, and by the genealogy of the perſons concerned. But as theſe characters are in great meaſure fictitious, he ſeldom riſes high in genealogy: but generally makes it terminate very ſoon in a deity. Thus Idomeneus of Crete was the ſon of Minos, the ſon of Jupiter. Polypœtes the ſon of Pirithous the ſon of Jupiter. Tlepolemus the ſon of Hercules: Aſcalaphus, aud Iälmenus were the ſons of Mars. Parthenius, the ſon of Hermes. Sarpedon the immediate ſon of Jupiter; from whom many others are ſooner, or later, deſcended. Some are repreſented, as the ſons of River Gods: among whom we find Meneſtheus, the ſon of Spercheius in Theſſaly; and Aſius, Axius, Stentor, and Scamandrius, of the like lineage in Aſia, and Thrace. Satnius, Iphition, and Æſepus were born of [1] Naïds: and Meſthles, and Antiphos, two Mæonians, of a [2] lake.

1 Σατνιον—Ινοποδην ὁν αρα Νυμφη τεκε Νηϊς. Il. Ξ. v. 444.
Βη δε κατ' Αισηπον, και Πηδασον, ὁς ωστε Νυμφη
Νηϊς Αβαρβαρεη τεκ' αμυμονι Βυκολιωνι. Z. v. 22.
——————Οτρυντιαδην, ωολεων ἡγητορα λαων,
Ὁν Νυμφη τεκε Νηϊς Οτρυντηι ωτολιπορθῳ. Υ. v. 384.
2 Τις Πυλαιμενεος, των Γυγαιη τεκε Λιμνη. B. v. 865.

He introduces Agamemnon, as Commander in chief, whom he ſtiles [1] ἐυρυκρειων, and Βασιλευς πολυχρυσοιο [2] Μυκηνης: *King of the rich City Mycene.* But there is no reaſon to think, that Mycene was ever a place of ſuch wealth and [3] eminence, as Homer makes it: nor that any kingdom was of ſuch extent, as that which he gives to this Monarch. Mycene was neither ſo ancient, nor powerful, as either Argos, or Lacedæmon. We have therefore no juſt grounds to ſuppoſe, that the people of Corinth, and Sicyon, and the twelve Cities of Achaia, and additionally to theſe, all Arcadia, could in thoſe early times be ſubordinate to a place of ſo little repute. For all it's primitive ſplendor ſeems to be intirely fictitious: and to be found only in Homer. The wide rule given to it is contradicted by the hiſtories of Corinth, and other Cities; as may be inferred from Plutarch, Strabo, and other Writers.

Homer borrowed the names of many of his Heroes from provincial Deities, known in his time; and whoſe names he had obtained in his various peregrinations. Among others Achilles, Hector, Sarpedon, Ulyſſes, Helena, Caſtor, were reputed Deities; who had their ſhrines, and altars. Agamemnon was the title of a God, eſteemed at Sparta, and in ſome other places, the ſame as Ζευς, or Jupiter. He was ſtiled ευρυκρεων and ευρυμεδων, *of an extenſive rule and dominion:* and from this circumſtance the Poet has given to his Hero the wide command, of which we have been ſpeaking; and made him ſovereign over the greater part of the Peloponneſus. Staphylus Naucratitis, who was of Egypt, mentions, that the

1 Il. A. v. 102. 355.—paſſim.

2 Il. H v. 180.

3 Thucydides mentions it as a mean place, Μυκηναι μικρον ην; but ſuppoſes it was once of more repute, but gives no reaſon. L. 1. C. 10. P. 9.

name

name Agamemnon was a ſacred title, under which the Lacedæmonian Jupiter was worſhipped. Of this Clemens Alexandrinus takes notice [1] Αγαμεμνονα γουν τινα Δια εν Σπαρτη τιμασθαι Σταφυλος ἱστορει. *Staphylus mentions, that a certain Agamemnon Jupiter, was worſhipped at Sparta.* Lycophron in one part of his work intimates the contrary, and ſays that the Deity, to whom the Spartans paid theſe divine honours, was the great Commander at Troy. Caſſandra whom Agamemnon married, is accordingly made to ſay,——

[2] Εμος δ' ακοιτης, δμωιδος Νυμφης αναξ,
Ζευς Σπαρτιαταις αιμυλοις κληθησεται.

My huſband too, who will take me, though a captive, to his bed, will be ſtyled Agamemnon Jupiter by the Spartans.

Meurſius, Canterus, and Potter, follow Lycophron and ſay, that many Princes, and other Perſonages, took upon them the titles of Gods. This may be true. But Staphylus the hiſtorian does not tell us that Agamemnon the Hero but that Jupiter Agamemnon was the real object of worſhip. The ſame is to be found in Athenagoras——

[3] Ὁ Λακεδαιμονιος Αγαμεμνονα Δια (προσκυνει)
The Lacedemonian worſhips an Agamemnon Jupiter.

He does not ſay—Αγαμεμνονα Ἡρωα, ὡς Θεον; but Αγαμεμνονα Δια προσκυνει—*a Jupiter called Agamemnon.* It is therefore wonderful, that Lycophron ſhould have expreſſed himſelf above in the manner mentioned; when in another place antecedently, he had given evidence to the contrary, and in terms, as plain, as could be wiſhed: and this evidence is confirmed by

1 Cohort. P. 32.
2 Lycrophron. v. 1123.
3 Legatio. P. 279.

his

his Scholiaſt. The paſſage is in that part, where the Poet is ſpeaking of Priam, who was ſlain at the tumulus or altar of Jupiter Hircius.

[1] Ὁ δ' αμφι τυμβῳ τε' [2] γαμεμνονος δαμεις
Κρηπιδα ωηγῳ νερθε καλλυνει ωλοκῳ.

The unfortunate Priam will be ſlain at the altar of Agamemnon, and grace it's baſis with his hoary hair.

We find, that the hiſtory could not relate to the Hero: who was neither deified; nor dead at that time. It was more ancient; and it accordingly occurs at Troy; a part of the world quite foreign to Sparta: Here the Natives made it, according to this Poet, an additional title of their chief Deity; the ſame as Jupiter, Ερκιος, Hircius. Agamemnon Ζευς, was likewiſe to be found in the vicinity of Athens, where a Tribe, named Laperſai, worſhipped Jupiter with this title annexed. [3] Λαπερσαι, δημος Αττικης, ενθα Διος Αγαμεμνονος εστιν ἱερον. *The Laperſæ are a Tribe in Attica where there is a Temple of Jupiter Agamemnon.* Upon which the Scholiaſt farther obſerves—[4] Ὁμωνυμος ουν τῳ Λαπερσιῳ Δι Αγαμεμνων ὁστις επι Τροιαν εστρατευσεν. *Agamemnon, who engaged in the expedition to Troy, had the ſame name and ſecondary title, as the Jupiter of the Laperſians in Attica.* From this it is plain, that Agamemnon the Hero, and Agamemnon Jupiter, were two diſtinct perſons, and the Hero was denominated from the Deity: Mention likewiſe is made by Euſtathius of Jupiter Agamemnon at Sparta. [5] Δοκει ευλογως ωαρα Λακωσι Ζευς Αγαμεμνων επιθετικως ειναι. Αγαμεμνων γαρ Ευρυκρειων, και Ζευς Ευρυμεδων. *There ſeems to have been ſome propriety in the*

1 Caſſandra. v. 335. This inconſiſtence confirms me in the opinion which I always held, that the latter part of the Caſſandra has ſuffered ſome alteration.

2 Inſtead of τ' Αγαμεμνονος——

3 Scholia ad Lycophron. v. 1369.

4 Ibid.

5 Euſtathius in Homerum. Il. B. p. 127.

Lacedemonians,

Lacedemonians, when they added to Jupiter the epithet Agamemnon: for Agamemnon had wide rule; and Jupiter extenſive command. He ſeems however to make a diſtinction, where there was no difference, by ſaying, that ευρυκρειων belonged to the Hero, and ευρυμεδων to the God: whereas, it is manifeſt, that one perſon only was worſhipped; and theſe epithets belonged to that one: who was the ſame as the Jupiter Hircius at Ilium, and Jupiter Agamemnon of the Laperſæ in Attica. When therefore Homer borrowed this ſecondary title, Αγαμεμνων, for the Leader of his armies, he had an eye to thoſe epithets of the Spartan Jupiter: and to theſe were owing the high rule, and extenſive Dominion, which he gave to his Hero. For he attributed to him not only the ſovereignty of Corinth, Arcadia, and Achaia, but alſo [1] πολλαισιν νησοισι, και Αργει παντι ανασσειν: *to rule over many iſlands in the Egean Sea; and over all Argolis.* But the whole is ideal. No ſuch extenſive dominion exiſted in thoſe time. The ſuppoſition is contrary to all ancient hiſtory.

The purport of the term Agamemnon.

I ſuſpect, that the name *Agamemnon* is an Egyptian compound; and conſequently imported into Greece. It related to the Deity Memnon, ſaid to be the ſame as Oſymandis; whoſe ſplendid Temple at Thebes was denominated from him [2] Memnonium, and who was himſelf ſtiled [3] Βασιλευς Βασιλεων, *King of Kings.* The Deity, and the worſhip, were probably firſt brought to Argos and Lacedæmon by the Danaïdæ and Melampodes, when they came from Egypt: For though the Poet adopted a great num-

1 Il. B. v. 108.
2 Diodorus Sic. L. 2. P. 109. Rhodom.
3 Hecatæus Abderites apud Suidam.

ber

ber of new names for his Heroes, yet he retained ſome, which were apparently from that part of the world. Diodorus Siculus tells us that among the Athenian families ſeveral were of Egyptian extraction. [1] Τον γαρ Πετην τον πατερα Μενεσθεως τῦ στρατευσαντος εις Τροιαν φανερως Αιγυπτιον ὑπαρξαντα κ. τ. λ. Diodorus is certainly in the right: for Petes, or rather Pete, was a religious title; and is to be found prefixed to the names of Prieſts in Egypt, as well as in Perſis, of which I have elſewhere given many inſtances. Meneſtheus alſo the ſon of Petes was apparently of the ſame original. It is a compound of Menes-theuth, or Menes Deus, *the God Menes*. For [2] Plato informs us, that by Θευθ, Theuth, was by the Egyptians ſignified the Deity: from whence came Θεος of the Greeks, and Deus of the Latines In like manner Menelaus was an Egyptian appellation, which Homer imported from a Province of that Country, called Menelaïtes. Some have thought that the Grecian Menelaus during his detention in the river Nile, gave name to the region. But the hiſtory of Menelaus in Egypt is a fable. How is it poſſible to be conceived, that a perſon driven by ſtreſs of weather, with a parcel of ſhattered ſhips, into an harbour, ſhould be able to bequeath his name to a large province in an extenſive and well eſtabliſhed Kingdom: and to found there the principal City; which he ſeems immediately to have abandoned. Dion Chryſoſtom ſays very truly—[3] Νομος απ' αυτȣ καλȣμενος, ȣκ αν, ει πεπλανημενος, και ταχος ολιγον αφικετο. By which is meant, that no chance adventurer, and interloper, during his temporary abode, could have given name to a Nome of Egypt.

1 Diod. Sic. L. 1. P. 25.

2 Plato in Ephebo—εν Αιγυπτω Θευθ. Vol. 2. P. 18. See Philo apud Euſeb. P. E. L. 1. C. 9. P. 32. Clemens. Strom. L. 1. P. 356. Θωυθ and Θωθ—the ſame as Hermes.

3 Dion Chryſoſtom. Orat. XI. P. 188.

Men--el--ai, from whence the Grecians formed Menelaus and Menelaïtes, Μενελαϊτης, is literally—Menis Dei Nomus, or Inſula.

I have

I have mentioned my opinion, that Agamemnon was an Egyptian compound, and related to Memnon, the Deity of Thebes. Aga ſeems to have been an ancient title for a Leader, analogous to Αγος of the Greeks. It is found in the compoſition of many names, ſuch as Agenor, Agamedes, Agameſtor, Agathyrſus, and the name before us: by which was ſignified—Dux Memnon. Αγος Ἡγεμων, Αγοι, ἡγεμονες. Αγος τιμιωτατον. Heſychius. Αγεσιλαος——ειρηται απο τȣ αγειν τȣς λαȣς. Phavorinus.

Of the Chief Heroes in the Grecian Army, and of their extraordinary preſervation.

Another difficulty, which, I believe, can never be ſatisfactorily cleared up, is the preſervation of the Chief Leaders for ſo long a time, when we conſider the circumſtances, in which they were engaged. Homer calls them Ἡγεμονες and Κοιρανοι, *Generals and Commanders,* who ſurvived all the dangers and viciſſitudes of war, a much longer time, than common experience warrants. They came from different Provinces of Greece, and are for the moſt part mentioned in the catalogue given in the ſecond book by the Poet, and occur again in the courſe of the poem. Their number appears to be forty ſix: but as there are others of great note not mentioned there, theſe muſt be added to that liſt. Such are the ſons of Neſtor, Antilochus, and Thraſymedes; and the five Leaders under Achilles, mentioned as perſons of great proweſs; alſo Patroclus, and Automedon, ſtill ſuperiour. Il. v. 171, and 219. Theſe are in number nine, which makes the total of the principal perſons in the poem no leſs than fifty five. All theſe are ſpecified as alive in the tenth year of the war, excepting one perſon. It ſeems, he was the firſt, who ſtepped on ſhore upon

their landing, and was ſlain by Hector. He was upon this account called Proteſilaus: by which we find that the name is fictitious, and a ſtrong intimation is given, that his hiſtory is a fable. The Heroes then, who ſurvived, are in number fifty and four. Now as theſe were all in a ſtate of full manhood, and ſome of them advanced in years, how comes it that not one of them ſhould be killed in the courſe of nine years and more? The only reaſon, that can be given, is the ſame that has been brought before: by which we are told, that no operations againſt the City commenced till the tenth year. They could not be killed, if they never fought. To this the ſame anſwer muſt be given, which was urged before, that the hiſtory is paſt all belief. And though ſome expeditions are mentioned to have been undertaken at a diſtance, yet that excuſe will not prove ſufficient for the nine years inactivity of the main army, when the City and enemy were before them. But let us grant, that they might eſcape the dangers of battle: yet what could preſerve them from the other contingences of war, ſuch as ſickneſs and accidents of various kinds. It is not to be credited, that out of fifty four perſons of different ages, expoſed to the inconveniences of a Camp near a marſh, and to winter campaigns, the peſtilence at one time raging, not one ſhould be taken off in nine years. Theſe circumſtances, though they may be palliated, and extenuated by thoſe, who wiſh to be deceived, yet are of themſelves ſufficient to overturn the whole hiſtory of Troy and it's ſiege.

Recapitulation.

Recapitulation.

From this ſeries of evidence I have been led to form theſe concluſions concerning the armament of the Grecians, and of the War, as deſcribed by Homer: and have determined it to be a mere fiction. I have ſhewn, that in thoſe early times no ſuch remote alliances could have been formed, as have been deſcribed by the Poet; nor could any ſuch diſtant correſpondence have ſubſiſted. For according to Thucydides, and Plutarch, and other the beſt Hiſtorians, Greece was in a very unſettled ſtate at that time; and overrun by the wandering Pelaſgi, and a race of formidable Banditti. Hence this great armament is as incredible, as the cauſe of it is ridiculous. There is no accounting for the inactivity of the Grecians, when they were landed before Troy; nor for their waſting their time upon foreign objects: and neglecting the Town, againſt which they had encamped, and where all their views centered. In ſhort according to Homer the place was not taken till after nine years, which by his own evidence might have been ſtormed in as few hours. The very ſubſiſting of an army for nearly ten years in a foreign Country, and without recruits is not to be believed: and the duration of the ſhips for ſo long a ſeaſon is alike incredible. During this time no correſpondence was kept up with their mother Country: Achilles knew nothing of his Father, though at the diſtance of about three days ſail: and he was ignorant of his ſon, who was ſtill nearer. And if the duration of the Ships is incredible, the duration of the Heroes is more extraordinary: both paſt all belief.

The opinions of ſome learned Perſons among the Ancients, concerning both the City and War of Troy.

In conſequence of theſe inconſiſtences and the contradictory accounts of different Writers, Dion. Chryſoſtom was induced to write his [1] Oration περι τȣ Ιλιον μη ἁλωναι. But we have far earlier authority, and of more weight, than can be obtained from this Writer, however learned. It is the atteſtation of that great Philoſopher, Anaxagoras the Preceptor of Socrates who was born very early, about the LXX Olympiad. He reſided during the latter part of his life at [2] Lampſacus; which was a City of Phrygia upon the Helleſpont; and by many included in the particular region called Troas: where Troy was ſuppoſed to have ſtood. As he was in the vicinity of Ilium at the diſtance of a [3] few miles; he had every opportunity to get intelligence: and muſt have obtained the beſt grounds to form his opinion. And his opinion was, that the whole Poem was an allegory. Of this we are informed by Phavorinus, and [4] Diogenes Laertius. Δοκει πρωτος ὁ Αναξαγορας (καθα φησι Φαβορινος εν ποικιλη ἱστορια) την Ομηρȣ ποιησιν αποφηνασθαι ειναι περι αρετης και δικαιοσυνης. *He was the firſt, as we are informed by Phavorinus in his various hiſtory, who gave out, that the poems of Homer were an allegorical deſcription of Virtue and Juſtice.* He ſays that Anaxagoras was the firſt: hence we learn, that there were [5] others afterwards, who took the whole to have been an apologue; and

1 Orat. XI. P. 151.
2 Lampſacus in Troas. Strabo. L. 13. P. 879,—9.
3 From Lampſacus to Abydus were 24 miles: to Dardanum, 9. to Ilium 12 = 45.
4 Diogenes Laertius. L. 2. P. 86. Anaxagoras.
5 Athenæus. L. 12. P. 510. and 511.

among

among theſe was *Zeno*. A perſon likewiſe in [1] Athenæus mentions it as his opinion, that the purport was morality. This prevailed long afterwards; as appears from Baſil the Great. [2] Πασα ἡ ποιησις τȣ Ὁμηρȣ αρετης εστιν επαινος, και παντα αυτȣ προς τȣτο φερει. *The whole, that Homer has written is an encomium upon Virtue: every part of the Poem tends to that purpoſe,* There were ſtill others of early date who did not believe the war to have been a real event, though they differed about the purport; and ſuppoſed, that the Deities introduced by the Poet were merely phyſical qualities.—[3] κατα δε τον φυσικον λογον Απόλλων Ἡλιος ων αναπινει τα ὑγρα στοιχεια. Αθηνα δε εστι Φρονησις.—Αρης δε αφροσυνη.——Ἡρη δε εστιν αηρ. Αρτεμις δε Σεληνη.———Ἑρμης δε ὁ λογος. Λητω δε αφροσυνη. Ἡφαιστος δε το πυρ. Ξανθος δε το ὑγρον. Diogenes Laertius proceeds to tell us, that Anaxagoras was greatly confirmed in his opinion of it's being an allegory by a friend at the ſame place—[4] επι πλειον δε προσηναι τȣ λογȣ Μητροδωρον τον Λαμψακηνον, γνωριμον οντα αυτȣ, ὁν και πρωτον σπουδασαι του Ποιητȣ περι την Φυσικην πραγματειαν. *Metrodorus of Lampſacus, who was the acquaintance of Anaxagoras contributed much to his opinion: For he was the firſt, who endeavoured to ſhew, that the purpoſe of the Poet was concerning the works of nature.*

He accordingly imagined, that Agamemnon was the air, and no real perſon. Αγαμεμνονα τον αερα Μητροδωρος ειπεν αλληγορικως. *Metrodorus eſteemed Agamemnon to be allegorically the air.* Heſychius. Tatianus Aſſyrius p. 262. mentions Metrodorus, and gives atteſtation to his opinion, though he does not approve of it. Μητροδωρος δε ὁ Λαμψακηνος εν τω περι Ὁμηρȣ λιαν ευηθως διειλεχθαι, πανȣ εις αλληγοριαν μεταγων, ȣτε γαρ Ἡραν, ȣτε Αθηναν, ȣτε Δια, τȣτ' ειναι φησιν, ὁπερ ὁι τȣς περιȣσιȣς αυτȣς, και

1 Ibid.
2 Baſil Magnus—προς τȣς Νεȣς.
3 Scholia in Il. Υ. v. 74.
4 Diog. Laert. L. 2. P. 86. Anaxagoræ.

τεμνειν

τεμενη καθιδρυσαντες νομιζουσι, φυσεως δε υποστασεις, και στοιχειων διακοσμησεις· και τον Ἑκτορα δε, και τον Ἀχιλλεα δηλαδη, και τον Αγαμεμνονα, και παντας ἁπαξαπλως Ἑλληνας τε, και βαρβαρους, συν τη Ἑλενη, και τῳ Παριδι, της αυτης φυσεως ὑπαρχοντας χαριν οικονομιας ερειτε παρεισηχθαι, ουδενος οντος των ειρημενων ανθρωπων. *Metrodorus of Lampſacus talks very idly in his treatiſe upon Homer, in which he tries to turn every thing to allegory. For he does not believe, that Juno, or Minerva, or Jupiter were thoſe perſonages, in honour of whom people have built ſo many ſacred incloſures, and temples; but phyſical ſubſtances, and elementary phænomena. In conſequence of this you will be obliged to allow, that Hector, Achilles, and Agamemnon, and the whole aſſemblage of Greeks, as well as Barbarians, together with Helena and Paris, related all to nature, and were indirectly brought upon the Stage to denote phyſical œconomy: inaſmuch as no ſuch perſons ever realy exiſted.* I ſhall ſay nothing of this learned Writer's mode of argument. Let it ſuffice, that he ſpeaks of the hypotheſis about nature and natural cauſes, as idle and fooliſh: and it may be ill grounded. But this is of no conſequence in the preſent inquiry. It is manifeſt from this very Author, that Metrodorus placed no faith in the hiſtory of the Trojan war: and we have ſeen that Anaxagoras paid as little regard to it. They therefore tried to find out expedients, in order to explain the purpoſe of the Poet. In this they differed from each other; and may have been both equally wide of the mark. But in the main article, with which only we are concerned, they agree perfectly; and intimate ſtrongly, that there was no ſuch war, as is deſcribed by Homer, and that all the perſons ſuppoſed to have been engaged in it were fictitious. The cauſe of the war according to all the Poets was the Judgment of Paris, and his deciſion in favour of Venus. And though many in the later times of Greece may have looked upon this as a true hiſtory: yet thoſe of more early days eſteemed the whole as a fable.

They

They maintained that it was a mere allegory, and ſignified a contention between virtue and vice. Accordingly a perſon in Athenæus ſays—[1] Εγω δε φημι, και την τε Παριδος κρισιν ὑπο των παλαιοτερων πεποιησθαι ηδονης προς αρετην ουσαν συγκρισιν. *I aſſert, that the judgment of Paris was among the more early people of Greece looked upon, as merely a conteſt between Virtue and Vice.* But if the grounds of the war were ideal, why ſhould we blame thoſe learned men, Metrodorus and Anaxagoras for making the war itſelf allegorical? Their evidence cannot poſſibly be controverted.

As I have before mentioned, they lived in Phrygia; and in, or very near, that particular part, called afterwards [2] Troas. The coaſt, which was of no great extent, muſt have been intirely known to them. They had every advantage towards making an accurate inquiry; and as they were men of great knowledge, and curioſity, they would hardly omit any opportunity of information. We may therefore fairly preſume, that they were not unacquainted with the pretended ſcene of action, which was in their neighbourhood. In their views and inquiries they could find nothing ſatisfactory. One reaſon undoubtedly was, becauſe neither any remains of Troy, nor the name of the place itſelf, were to be found in the whole region. The evidence of theſe two perſons, both from their character, and ſituation, is attended with great weight. And they maintained, that no ſuch war, as is deſcribed by Homer, between the Grecians and Trojans, was ever carried on. Their evidence is ſo circumſtanced and ſo deciſive, that I do not ſee, how it is poſſible to ſet it aſide. It would have been ſufficient ſingly to have overturned the whole hypotheſis of Troy.

1 Athenæus. L. 12. P. 510.
2 Strabo L. 13. P. 881. 2.

Thus

Thus the moſt ancient Writers, who were of Aſia, and conſequently the beſt judges, either deny the principal events of this War, or totally reject it. Herodotus, the Father of Hiſtory was of this part of the world, and thinks there may have been ſome expedition againſt the people of Phrygia, whom he calls Teucri. But he ſtill [1] inſiſts, that Helena was never there. And whereas there were ſome Cyprian verſes, which mentioned her being carried to Ilium, he holds them in no eſtimation. On the contrary he rejects them with the utmoſt contempt, and ſhews as little reſpect for Homer; whom he looks upon as equally fabulous. He accordingly ſays with the utmoſt diſdain——[2] Ὁμηρος μεν νυν και τα Κυπρια επεα χαιρετω. *Away with them together: a long farewell to each, both to the Cyprian verſes and Homer.* Euripides likewiſe affirms, that Helena never was at Troy.—[3] ϐδ' ηλθε Φρυγας. She was never ſeen in that Country. In conſequence of theſe contradictions Scaliger ſays very juſtly of the Grecians ----[4] *Uſque adeo nullus nugandi modus, nullus pudor horas in his perdendi fuit Græculis iſtis, qui nihil diſertum ſine mendacio eſſe putarunt.* If then Helena never was at Troy, the Expedition, and ten years ſiege on her account muſt neceſſarily come to nothing. Two Plays of Euripides, the Electra above mentioned, and the Helena, are founded upon this principle, that ſhe was never there, but that a [5] cloud, and [6] phantom, was ſubſtituted in her place. In ſhort the whole hiſtory of Troy is a cloud, and every Hero a phantom.

1 Herod. L. 2. C. 118. P. 157.
2 Ibid.
3 Electra v. 1281.
4 Animadverſiones in Euſeb. Chron. Appendix P. 49.
5 Νεφελης αγαλμα. Helena. v. 1235.
6 Ουκ ηλθον εις γην Τρωαδ', αλλ' ειδωλον ην. v. 588.

Beſide

Beſide theſe Writers there was a learned Female, Heſtiæa Alexandrina, who wrote concerning [1] Troy, but could never find out, where it was ſituated. It is remarkable, that ſhe was a native of the very City Troas, oppoſite to Tenedos, and near Mount Lectum, a part of the Country, where Troy, if it had ever exiſted, muſt have ſtood. She lived within a mile or two of the very ſpot, to which Homer ſeems to aſſign it; but made no diſcoveries here, nor any where elſe. In reſpect to the City Ilium above, which appears to many to have the beſt claim, ſhe like Demetrius and Strabo ſhewed from it's ſituation, that it could not poſſibly be the Troy of [2] Homer. This is the evidence of a native of the very diſtrict: and if there were no City, there could be no war.

Nor was this the opinion of Herodotus only, but of Steſichorus alſo, who was much earlier than Herodotus, and the Writers above: for he wrote about the 42d. Olympiad. Dion Chryſoſtom ſays, [3] Τον μεν Στησιχορον εν τη ὑστερη ωδη λεγειν, ὁτι το παραπαν ὠδε πλευσειεν ἡ Ἑλενη ὠδαμοσε. *Steſichorus maintained----that Helena was never upon the ſea,* The authority of Steſichorus is of great weight, as he was a ſerious Writer and ſo early. It is however ſaid, that he was ſtruck [4] blind by Venus, and retracted all that he had affirmed. But this idle fable carries with it it's own confutation. Beſides Dion Chryſoſtom tells us, that this aſſertion about Helena was [5] εν τη ὑστερη ωδη, *in one of his laſt compoſitions*, and as, I underſtand it, after he was blind: which precludes all ſuppoſition, that the misfortune was a judgment. But we muſt at all rates ſet aſide this

1 Strabo L. 13. P. 900.
2 Ibid. P. 894.
3 Dion. Chryſoſtom. Orat. XI. P. 162.
4 Conon apud Photium. P. 432. Tertullian de Animâ. P. 290. C.
5 Dion Chryſoſtom. P. 186. Photius. P. 431.

idle notion of judicial blindneſs, and abide by the original opinion of that very early Writer Steſichorus. From him we learn for certain, that the rape of Helena was a fable.

May we not therefore ſay with Chryſoſtom, after he had dwelt long upon theſe inconſiſtent hiſtories.—[1]Ταυτα ου ενυπνιοις εοικοτα τω οντι, και απιθανοις ψευσμοις; *Do they not all appear to be nothing but illuſions, mere dreams, and incredible tales?* The ſame Author adds ſoon after, the whole hiſtory is ſo extravagant----ωστε και την Ομηρου ποιησιν ορθως αν τινα ειπειν ενυπνιον, και τουτο αοριστον, και ασαφες----*that the poems of Homer at large may be juſtly eſteemed a mere dream, and that dream very indeterminate and obſcure.* Let us then awake from theſe illuſions, and at laſt ſubmit to the truth. [3] *Cujuſvis hominis eſt errare: nullius, niſi inſipientis, in errore perſeverare.* Were any modern hiſtory of whatever Country, attended with the fiftieth part of the inconſiſtences, with which the war of Troy abounds, it would be ſet aſide at once, and rejected with ſcorn.

Concerning the argument, which is founded upon the many memorials of the Trojan War ſuppoſed to have been extant in different parts of the world.

It is imagined, that one great proof of the Trojan war may be obtained from the ſettlements made in various parts of the earth, by the people, who had been engaged on each ſide. This notion is countenanced by the names of thoſe ſettlements, and of the cities there founded: for by theſe

1 Dion. Chryſt. Orat. xr. P. 186.
2 Ibid.
3 Cicero Philip. xii. C. 2. P. 697. Gronovii.

memoials

memorials the hiſtory of thoſe emigrants is ſaid to be plainly traced out. But the misfortune is, that theſe hiſtories are ſuperabundant; and defeat the purpoſe for which they were introduced, and ruin all credibility. The accounts of theſe perigrinations, and ſettlements are ſo extraordinary, that nothing ſimilar can be found in the annals of the world. After conqueſt, thoſe, who are ſubdued, are generally reduced to ſuch a ſtate, as to be little able, or deſirous, to make foreign expeditions. When the enemy has left them, and their Country intirely, they have no occaſion to look out for new ſettlements, for they have more ground, than they can well occupy after having been thinned by war. There is not the leaſt reaſon for them to quit the land of their Anceſtors. On the other hand the Victors muſt be glad to return to their native homes; and to enjoy all thoſe family connexions, from which they have been ſeparated ſo long, and which are ſo dear among men. But after the ruin of Troy there ſeems to have been a general diſſipation both of the Conquerors, and Conquered: who are alike ſcattered over the face of the earth. [1] Homer intimates ſtrongly, that Æneas remained in his native Country, and there reigned, and his [2] poſterity after him. But other Writers maintain, that he fled to Italy, and founded a kingdom in Latium.

Some denied this, and inſiſted, that he ſettled with his ſon Aſcanius near [3] Olympus in Macedonia: while others held, that he retired towards Mantinea in Arcadia, where he built a City, called [4] Capuæ. I have before mentioned that the people of Scepſis, who lived in the region of Troas, would not allow, that Aſcanius ever left the Country; ſo that the whole of his going to Italy, and founding Alba Longa was a fable. They main-

1 Homer Il. T. v. 307.

2 Strabo. L. 13. P. 906.

3 Του μεν Αινειαν μετ' Αγχισου τε πατρος, και του παιδος λαον αθροισαντα πλευσαι· και δι μεν οικησαι περι τον Μακεδονικον Ολυμπον φασιν, οι δε περι την Μαντινειαν της Αρκαδιας κτισαι Καπυας. Strabo L. 13. P. 905.

4 Ibid.

 tained,

tained, that Scepſis was the City of Æneas; and the later Scepſis was built jointly by his ſon, and by Aſtyanax, the ſon of Hector; and that they both reigned [1] there. A like kingdom was founded by Helenus in [2] Epirus, and Chaonia: and another by [3] Antenor upon the Eridanus at the upper part of the Adriatic. Menelaus was driven to [4] Egypt, where he built a City, and founded a Colony in a large Province, which was denominated from him Menelaites. Some of his Captives paſſed higher up (by whoſe permiſſion we know not) and built Troja Ægyptiaca upon the Arabian ſide of the [5] Nile. He alſo viſited Iapygia, where he made an [6] offering of his wives old ſhoes. It is ſaid, that Idomeneus ſettled in the Regio [7] Salentina: and [8] Philoctetes near him in the province of Lucania. Diomedes, who came from Argos, betook himſelf to Arpi in [9] Daunia, where he is ſaid to have built Arguripæ, and Canuſium. Hard by, Metabus with a body of Pylians from Neſtor's army, founded [10] Metapontum. Pyrrhus got poſſeſſion of [11] Epirus: and Phidippus built Ephyra in the ſame part of the world. Even Agamemnon, ſuppoſed to be forced by ſtreſs of weather into Crete, built three [12] cities in that iſland, which is ſaid to have had one [13] hundred before. A body of Locrians got poſſeſſion

1 Ibid. P. 904.
2 Priamiden Helenum Graias regnare per Urbes. Virg. Æn. L. 3. v. 295.
3 Strabo. L. 1. P. 83.—L. 13. P. 905.
4 Homer Odyſſ. L. Δ. v. 351.—Strabo L. 17. P. 1155. C. Pliny, L. 5. C. 31. P. 283.
5 Strabo. L. 17. P. 1152.
6 Lycophron. v. 855.——δαμαρτος ασκειρας——
——See the Scholia.
Ασκειραι, γενος ὑποδηματων. Heſych.
7 Virgil. Æn. L. 3. v. 400.
8 Strabo. L. 6. P. 390. Virgil. L. 3. v. 402.
9 Strabo. L. 6. P. 434. Lycophron and Scholia. v. 592.
10 Velleius Paterculus. L. 1. C. 1. P. 1. alſo Steph. Byzant.
11 Velleius ibid.
12 Mycen, Tegea, Pergamum. ibid
13 Called ἑκατομπολις Ibid. B. v. 649.

of

of part of [1] Bruttia towards the extremity of Italy: and another body of them (for what reaſon is not well known) paſſed over to [2] Africa: and there took up their habitation. A party of Bœotians went as far as the Gymnaſiæ or [3] Balearic Iſlands: for what reaſon is equally unknown. Teucer was of the ſmall iſland Salamis: which, one would imagine, after ſuch a war could not have been ſufficiently populous to have ſent out Colonies. Yet we are told that he retired to Cyprus, and there built [4] Salamis Nova. Some time after he is ſaid to have betaken himſelf to Spain, a voyage in thoſe times of no ſmall length: and there to have built Carthago Nova. Hence we read in Silius Italicus——

[5] Dat Carthago viros, Teucro fundata vetuſto.

And as if this were not ſufficient, the ſame perſon with ſome of that body, which had ſerved under him, paſſed the ſtraits of Hercules, and proceeded as high up as [6] Gallicia: where they built a city named Hellenis, and another called [7] Amphilochus. All which is incredible.

Let us now come to Ulyſſes, who, we are told, was carried to the coaſt of Barca and [8] Cyrene in Libya. And that he was in Spain, is maintained from a City upon the Atlantic Ocean between the Tagus, and the river Anas in the Country of the [9] Turditani. Strabo mentions many places in it's vicinity: but ſays, that it ſtood above them all, in a mountainous

1 Hic et Naricii poſuerunt mœnia Locri Virg. L. 3. v. 399. See Servius.
2——Libycone habitantes littore Locros. Virg. L. xi. v. 265.
3 Lycophron. v. 633. See the Scholia.
4——ambiguam tellure novâ Salamina. Horace. L. 1. O. 7. v. 28. Strabo. L. 14. P. 1001. B.
5 Sil. Italicus. L. 3. v. 368.
6 Strabo. L. 3. P. 236, 7. See Juſtin. L. 44. C. 3. P. 612. Delph.
7 Strabo ibid.
8 Ulyſſis ara. Strabo. L. 17. P. 1195. Βωμος Οδυσσεως. Τυς δ' αμφι Συρτιν, και Λιβυστικας πλακας. Alſo Lycophron. v. 648.—See Scholia.
9 Strabo. L. 3. P. 223.

region:

region: and that it was called Odyſſea. It received it's name, as we find it intimated, from Ulyſſes, who, founded this City, and a Temple of Minerva: [1] υπερ δε των τοπων εν τη ορεινη δεικνυται Οδυσσεια, και το ἱερον της Αθηνας εν αυτη. The Author affords the teſtimony of Poſidonius, and Artemidorus, in proof of this hiſtory: and alſo of Aſclepius Myrleanus, who lived in that Country: [2] Ουτος δε φησιν υπομνηματα της πλανης της Οδυσσεως εν τω ἱερω της Αθηνας, ασπιδας προσπεπατταλευσθαι, και ακροστολια. *He affirmed, that in the Temple of Minerva were monuments of Ulyſſes and of his wandering, ſuch as ſhields, and the brazen prows of ſhips.* Thus we find, if we may credit the report, that there were ſeveral monuments of Ulyſſes, and his peregrinations, in this Temple of Minerva: and particularly the ſhields of his followers; and the prows of the ſhips, which he navigated. At this rate one would naturally ſuppoſe, that he took up his abode among the people of theſe parts: and bequeathed theſe monuments of his gratitude to the Goddeſs, who preſerved him. But the whole is inconſiſtent with the current hiſtory of this Hero. If ſuch a perſon ever exiſted, the moſt ample account of him is to be found in Homer. And he tells us, that after the ruin of Troy Ulyſſes departed in twelve Ships, and landed upon the oppoſite coaſt of [3] Iſmarian Thrace: which was little more than one day's ſail. From hence, after having plundered the natives, he was driven off; and carried by a violent ſtorm to the coaſt of the Lotophagi in Africa. In a day or two he departed from hence, and arrived in the Country of the Cyclopians, ſuppoſed to have been in Sicily. His ſtay here was very ſhort, and in a few days we find him landed in the region of Æolus. In a month he went from thence for Ithaca: but was driven back to the place, which he had left, where he met with a cold reception.

1 Strabo. L. 3. P. 236. and P. 223.
2 Ibid.
3 Homer Odyſſ. 1. v. 39, &c.

Being

Being inſtantly diſmiſſed, he quitted a ſecond time the iſland of Æolus, and croſſed over to the Country of the Læſtrygons a Sicilian people.------ [1] Λαιſτρυγονες, ὁι νυν Λεοντινοι. *The Læſtrygons, who are now called Leontini.* Heſych. Here he loſt eleven ſhips, out of twelve; and all the crew were murdered. And the laſt and only ſhip left, was thunderſtruck, and foundered ſomewhere near the coaſt of Sicily. How then could the Turditani, a remote people in Spain, get thoſe ſhields, and the prows from the ſhips of Ulyſſes? And how could this Hero have ever reſided upon, or even reached, any coaſt upon the Atlantic, who, if we may truſt to Homer, was never beyond the Circean promontory? Strabo adds, that according to many Writers, [2] αλλα μυρια ιχνη της εκεινυ πλανης, και αλλων, των εκ τυ Τρωικυ πολεμυ γενομενων.----*there were in theſe parts numberleſs other tokens of the wandering of Ulyſſes, and of thoſe events, which enſued after the war of Troy.* But if theſe other evidences, however numerous, were no better founded, than the former, they never can merit our confidence. Of whatever nature they may have been, the Writers, appealed to, think proper to conceal them.

[1] Των περι Αιτναν (διιστευσαι) κυκλωπας και Λαϊſτρυγονας, ἀξενυς τινας. Strabo. L. 1. P. 38. Thucydides. L. 6. C. 2. P. 378.

[2] Strabo. L. 3. P. 223. B.

Corollary.

Corollary.

There were undoubtedly many expeditions undertaken, and Colonies founded very early by the maritime powers of Tyre and Sidon, and ſome neighbouring Cities. But theſe operations were carried on by degrees, and in different ages. Whereas thoſe, of which we have been treating, were performed nearly at the ſame time by fugitives from two exhauſted armies. We have ſeen, that ſettlements are ſuppoſed after this war to have been made in Egypt, and Arabia: in Cyprus, and upon the coaſt of Africa: in ſeveral parts of Italy: and at the Balearic Iſlands: Alſo in Spain near the banks of the Iberus: and upon the Atlantic beyond Gades: and laſtly in Gallicia, near the promontory, called now Cape Finiſterre: which was looked upon, as the moſt weſtern boundary of Europe. And moſt of theſe ſettlements were effected by the people mentioned within the ſpace of ſeven or eight years; which is on many accounts incredible. Add to this, that the Hero of Salamis is ſaid to have built Carthago Nova in Iberia: conſequently it muſt have been founded ſome centuries before the more ancient [1] City in Africa, from which it was named. This is inconſiſtent, and abſurd, and confutes itſelf. Hence we may perceive, with what a ſeries of fabulous hiſtories the war of Troy is attended.

[1] Carthago Nova was built long after the ſuppoſed æra of Troy. It was of Punic original, and founded by that Aſdrubal, who preceded Hamilcar of Barca. It was of late date in compariſon of the other City; and ſtill further removed from time of Troy. Καρχηδων ἡ νεα——κτισμα Ασδρουβα. Strabo. L. 3. P. 238. C. Yet ſome have thought it built by Teucer of Salamis.

Concerning the Heroes, who were deified.

One circumſtance is ſaid to have enſued after this war of Troy, which, if true, would diſtinguiſh it from all other wars. Moſt of the principal perſons engaged in it are ſaid to have had after their deaths divine honours paid to them. And this not only in Greece, but in various parts of the world, whither, one would imagine, their names could never have reached; and where they could not at any rate have been entitled to ſuch regard. Among thoſe who were raiſed to theſe diſtinguiſhed honours, was Sarpedon, who was worſhipped at [1] Rhodes: as Achilles was among the [2] Getes upon the [3] Danube. Alſo Ναος [4] Αχιλλεως και αγαλμα——και δρομος Αχιλλεως. *The Temple and ſtatue of Achilles——and a ſtadium denominated from him,* upon the Boryſthenes. Hector was reverenced at [5] Thebes in Bœotia: and alſo at Ilium. [6] Ὁ μεν Ιλιευς Θεον Ἑκτορα λεγει, και την Ἑλενην Αδραστειαν επιστάμενος τροσκυνει. *The natives of Ilium worſhip Hector as a God: and Helena alſo, whom they eſteem and reverence as the Goddeſs Adraſtea.* Calchas and Podalyrius had Temples in [7] Iapygia: and Caſſandra had a ſhrine in the ſame Country.—[8] Ἱερον εν Ιταλιᾳ. Merion and Idomeneus were worſhipped in [9] Crete. Memnon had a Temple at Meroë in [10] Egypt. Proteſilaus had divine honours

1 Tertullian de Animâ P. 299. See Scholia to the Nubes of Ariſtophanes. v. 622.
2 Strabo L. IX. P 756.
3 Dion. Chryſoſtom. Orat. 36. P. 439. Νεων, τον μεν εν τη νησω τη Αχιλλεως καλουμενη ἱδρυται.
4 Strabo L. 7. P. 472.
5 Pauſanias. L. 9. P. 746.
6 Athenagoræ Oratio. P. 279.
7 Lycophron v. 1047 and Scholia. v. 1050.
8 Κασσανδρας Ἱερον ἐστιν εν Ιταλιᾳ. Lycophron. v. 1128. Schol.
9 Diodorus Siculus. L. 5. P. 345. C.
10 Philoſtratus. Icones. P. 672.

in [1] Thrace: and Philoctetes in Œnotria of [2] Italy. And a Temple of Diomedes is mentioned as high up as the [3] Timavus. Ajax was worſhipped in [4] Attica [5]; Machaon, and [6] Menelaus in Laconia. To theſe many others might be added, who are ſaid to have had the like honours. Lycophron abounds with examples to this purpoſe. According to ſome Helena was killed by [7] Oreſtes: according to others ſhe was hanged at [8] Rhodes. After all they worſhipped her in Troas under the character of [9] Αδρασ‌τεια, or Nemeſis; as we have before ſeen. In ſhort the Ilienſes are ſuppoſed to have paid divine honours to the very perſon, who according to Homer, had been the curſe of the Country

The others, who have preceded in the liſt above, ſeem to have had as little pretenſions to this extraordinary regard, as Helena: at leaſt if we may believe Strabo. For their merits were but ſmall; as they ſeem to have devoted themſelves to piracy and thieving, and to have ſeized every thing, upon which they could lay their hands. The Author tells us, that all that they got by war, was ſoon expended—[10] συνεβη γουν τοις περιλειφθεισιν απιθσιν εκ των κινδυνων κατα ληστειας τρεπεσθαι και τοις Ελλησι. *It therefore ſo happened, that many even of the Grecians, who ſurvived the dangers of war were obliged to have recourſe to piracy.* In conſequence of this they are ſaid to have kept this maxim uppermoſt in their minds,

1 Lycophron. v. 532. See the Scholia.
2 Ibid. v. 912. and Scholia.
3 Strabo. L. 5. P. 328.
4 Pauſanias. L. 1. P. 85.
5 Pauſanias. L. 4. P. 278.
6 Ibidem. L. 3. P. 259. alſo the Temple of Achilles.
7 Tatianus Aſſyrius. P. 252. who quotes Euripides.
8 Pauſan. L. 3. P. 259.
9 Athenagoras. P. 279.
10 Strabo. L. 3. P. 223.

[1] Αισχρον τοι δηρον τε μενειν, κενεον τε νεεσθαι.

It is a ſcandal to be abſent ſo long, and to return empty. Strabo ſpeaks of them to the ſame purpoſe in another place,——[2] ὡς μετα την τε Ιλιε καταστροφην τες τε νικησαντας επι την λῃστειαν τραπεσθαι δια τας απορίας, και πολλῳ μαλλον τες ἡττηθεντας, και περιγενομενες εκ τε πολεμε. *Thus it happened, that the Conquerors after the ſubverſion of Troy, betook themſelves to piracy on account of their wants, and loſſes: and thoſe of the conquered, who ſurvived, were under a ſtill greater neceſſity to have recourſe to plunder.* Hence we find, that thoſe godlike Perſonages, the ſons and grandſons of Jupiter, and other Divinities, were after all, if they ever exiſted, mere mortals, who turned out ſheepſtealers, and freebooters; ſuch as the Poet deſcribes.—

[3]-----τοιγ' αλοωντ αι·

Ψυχας παρθεμενοι, κακον αλλοδαποισι φερεντες·

Who wandered at large to the hazard of their own lives, and to the ruin of others.

The dignity of character, which appears throughout the Ilias, has ariſen from the high colouring of the Poet, and was the work of his excellent genius, which, as Cicero ſays, could raiſe a mortal to a Divinity by it's creative power. But neither the characters, nor the names, were real. Homer, as I have obſerved, borrowed from many parts the titles, and ſecondary appellations of the Gods; which he conferred upon his Heroes. When therefore people afterwards found theſe names and titles, or names ſimilar to them, in remote places, where they traded, or made their abode; they imagined, that the Poet's Heroes had ſettled there; that the Cities, and Temples, were built by them, or to their memory; and that divine honours were paid to thoſe Heroes. But no ſuch perſons ever navigated

1 Homer Il. B. v. 298.
2 Strabo. L. 1. P. 83. B.
3 Homer Odyſſ. L. Γ. v. 73.

thoſe ſeas: nor ſettled in thoſe diſtant countries. They were peopled, and repleniſhed, from other parts of the world, and at different times. Hence no proofs in favour of the Trojan war can from ſuch evidences be obtained.

Thus have I endeavoured both from the internal, and external evidence, to ſhew, that no ſuch war was ever carried on, as is deſcribed in the Ilias of Homer: conſequently, that the City Troy in Phrygia was never taken by the Grecians: and farther, if we may rely upon negative proofs, that no ſuch City exiſted. It is my opinion, as I have before mentioned, that a great part of the hiſtory was of Egyptian original; and was brought into Greece by the Poet, and by others of his family. This, I believe, will appear from the ſubſequent Treatiſes

Concerning the Hiſtory of Homer, and of the uncertainty, and contradictions with which it is attended.

I will venture to ſtill farther diſcloſe my mind, though I ſhall be obliged to go upon more uncertain ground, than that, upon which I have hitherto proceeded. For every thing concerning Homer is a paradox. Who could poſſibly conceive, that ſuch excellence ſhould be ſo deeply obſcured? We have two Poems tranſmitted to us, the nobleſt compoſitions, that were ever framed: and which have been the delight, and admiration of all ages downwards. Yet we know not for certain, when, nor where, they received their birth: the very name of the Author is controverted. Several Cities contended for the honour of having him a native; but not one could afford a ſatisfactory claim. How very doubtful every

every thing was in reſpects to his Parents, Anceſtry, and birthplace, may be ſeen in Suidas, from whom I will copy ſome of the principal articles. [x] Ὁμηρος Ποιητης, τȣ εν Σμυρνῃ ϖοταμȣ, και Κριθηιδος (υἱος;) ὡς δε αλλοι, Απολλωνος και Καλλιοπης της Μȣσης. Ὡς δε Ἱσορικος Μαιανος (forte Μηνανδρος, ſcilicet Περγαμηνος) τȣ Μητιȣ και Ευμητιδος μητρος. Κατα δε αλλȣς, Τηλεμαχȣ τȣ Οδυσσεως, και Πολυκαϛης της Νεϛορος. Εϛι δε τȣ γενȣς ταξις κατα τον Ἱϛορικον Χαρακα ἁυτη. Αιθȣσης Θρασσης Λινος· τȣ δε Πιερος· τȣ δε Οιαγρος· τȣ δε Ορφευς· τȣ δε Δρης· τȣ δε Ευκλεης· τȣ δε Ιδμονιδης· τȣ δε Φιλοτερπης· τȣ δε Ευφημος· τȣ δε Επιφραδης· τȣ δε Μελανωπος· τȣ δε Απελλης· τȣ δε Μαιων----κ. τ. λ. Ὁμοιως δε και την πατριδα αμφιϐολος, δια το απιϛηθηναι ὁλως ειναι ϑνητον, τῳ μεγεθει της Φυσεως. Ὁι μεν γαρ εφασαν γενεσθαι Σμυρναιον· ὁι δε Χιον. Ὁι δε Κολοφωνιον· ὁι δε Ιητην. ὁι δε Κυμαιον· ὁι δε εκ Τροιας απο χωρας Κεγχρεων· ὁι δε Λυδον· ὁι δε Αθηναιον· ὁι δε Ιθακησιον· ὁι δε Κυπριον· ὁι δε Σαλαμινιον, ὁι δε Κνωσσιον· ὁι δε Μυκηναιον· ὁι δε Αιγυπτιον· ὁι δε Θεϛαλον· ὁι δε Ιταλιωτην· ὁι δε Λευκανιον· ὁι δε Γρυνιον· ὁι δε Ρωμαιον· ὁι δε Ροδιον. *The Poet Homer was the ſon of the river at Smyrna, and Cretheïs. But as others maintain he was the ſon of Apollo, and the Muſe Calliope. According to the Hiſtorian Menander* (of Pergamus) *he was the ſon of Metius, and Eumetis. According to others, the ſon of Telemachus, whoſe father was Ulyſſes, and of Polycaſte, the daughter of Neſtor. His line of deſcent according to the Hiſtorian Charax was in the following order. Linus was the ſon of the Thracian Lady Æthuſa. The ſon of Linus was Pierus. Of him came Œagrus; of him Orpheus; of him Dres; of him Eucles; of him Idmonides; of him Philoterpes; of him Euphemus; of him Epiphrades; of him Melanopus; of him Apelles; of him Mæon, and of him Homer. He is attended with the like uncertainty in reſpect to the place of his nativity. Many from the ſublimity of his genius could not be perſuaded, that he was a mortal. Some however maintained, that he was of Smyrna. Some of Chios. Others of Colophon. Others of the Iſland Ios. Some made him a Cumean. Some a native*

[x] Suidas. Ὁμηρος.

of

of Troy, and of the region Cenchrea. Some again made him a Lydian. Some an Athenian. Some a native of Ithaca. He was likewiſe repreſented, as of the Iſland Cyprus: of Salamis: of Gnoſſus in Crete: of Mycene: of Egypt: of Theſſaly: of Italy: of Lucania: of Grynium: alſo of Rome and of Rhodes.

We generally conclude, that the brighter the object is, the more eaſy to be found out and determined. But in the account above, we perceive the moſt brilliant genius, that the world almoſt ever beheld, loſt in the depths of obſcurity. All the principal articles of his hiſtory are uncertain, and contradictory. This, I ſhould think, was among other reaſons owing to the meanneſs of the true place of his nativity, and chief reſidence. His blindneſs alſo may have conrributed to his not being more particularly known: as it is ſaid to have reduced him to a very abject ſtate, even to that of a mendicant. Whatever may have been the cauſe, the uncertainty is too manifeſt.

Concerning the Authors, who have treated of Homer; and of the Life of Homer attributed to Herodotus.

Notwithſtanding this uncertainty, many Writers of old employed themſelves in reſearches concerning Homer, and his poems. And there is one hiſtory ſtill extant, which has been tranſmitted under the ſanction of ſeveral learned men, and attributed to Herodotus. Concerning the principal Writers, who buſied themſelves upon this ſubject, we have an account given us by Tatianus Aſſyrius. [1] Περι γαρ της ποιησεως Ομηρου, γενους τε αυτου, και χρονου καθ' ον ηκμασε, προηρευνησαν οι πρεσβυτατοι, Θεαγενης τε ο Ρηγιος, κατα Καμβυσην.

1 Tatianus Aſſyr. C. 31. P. 268. Benedict. See Clemens Alexand. Strabo. L. 1 P. 389.

Καμβυσην γεγονως, Στησιμβροτος τε ὁ Θασιος, και Αντιμαχος ὁ Κολοφωνιος, Ἡροδοτος τε ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσευς, και Διονυσος ὁ Ολυνθιος. *Concerning the compoſitions of Homer, and concerning his race, and the time, when he flouriſhed, ſeveral ancient Writers have made inquiry. Among theſe was Theagenes of Rhegium about the time of Cambyſes: alſo Steſimbrotus of Thaſus; Antimachus of Colophon: Herodotus of Halicarnaſſus; and the Olynthian Dionuſus.* Among theſe we find the Writer above mentioned, whoſe work is ſtill extant: at leaſt it is tranſmitted to us under the name of Herodotus. But it ſeems a very jejune performance; and not worthy of ſo excellent an Hiſtorian. The Author ſuppoſes Smyrna to have been the birthplace of the Poet: and gives an account of the Cities which he viſited in Ionia; and of his peregrinations into other parts of the world. But he does not mention the time of his travels, nor give any ſatisfactory reaſons for many of his migrations. It is ſaid, that he moved from one City to another: and, wherever he came, charmed every body with his poetry. Mention is made of his croſſing over the Ægean ſea to Athens; and that he reſided ſome time in Ithaca. Alſo that he made a voyage to the coaſt of Hetruria, and even as far as Spain. To this laſt hiſtory I know not how to give credit: as Homer appears to have very little knowledge of any Country, which lay to the weſt of Greece.

In reſpect to the time of Homer ſome notice is taken in the laſt chapter of the Treatiſe; but, as the account given is founded upon falſe principles, it is not to be heeded. Beſides the Chapter is an appendage by a later hand. For Herodotus, or whoever was the Author, makes a full concluſion by ſaying----[1] τα μεν ὑπερ της γενεσιος, και τελευτης, και βιȣ, δεδηλωται μοι. *The circumſtances relating to the birth, family, death and life of Homer*

[1] Life of Homer. C. 13. P. 37. Edit. Londinenſes. 1752.

have

have been thus by me made known. To this ſomebody has added a continuation: in which we are informed, that Homer was born thirty eight years, after Leſbos began to have Cities. [1] For from the time of the Trojan War, during an hundred and thirty years, the people of Leſbos lived in a ſcattered ſtate: and were not till after thoſe hundred and thirty years collected into Cities, the iſland, τοτερον εσσα απολις, *being before without any City.* Now this is contrary to the very words of Homer, whoſe hiſtory the Author pretends to give. The Poet intimates, that the iſland was in a ſtate of great civilization by mentioning it's wealth, and trade.——

[2] Ὁσσον Λεσβος ανω Μακαρος ἑδος ενδον εεργει.

He ſpeaks of Leſbos not only as an iſland, but alſo as a City of that Iſland: and ſtyles it εὐκτιμενη, *well built.* Accordingly when Agamemnon makes an offer to Achilles of ſome preſents—among other things he ſays——

[3] Δωσω δ' ἑπτα γυναικας αμυμονας εργ' ειδυιας,
Λεσβιδας, ἁς ὁτε Λεσβον εὐκτιμενην ἑλον αυτος,
Ἐξελομην.

This can never relate to a mere barbarous iſland, and as the Author of the Life maintained, *an iſland without a City.* The like occurs in the Odyſſea where the Iſland is ſtyled [4] εὐκτιμενη. [5] Strabo ſpeaks of the chief City being called Leſbos, in the time of the Trojan war; and quotes the authority of Homer for it. The Author therefore of this Appendix deſerves little credit. However, the antecedent part, though it is not

1 Ibid. C. 14. P. 38.
2 Il. Ω. v. 544.
3 Il. I. v. 128.—alſo, v. 271, &c.
4 Odyſſ. Δ. v. 342. P. v. 133.
5 Strabo. L. 12. P. 831.

ſufficiently

ſufficiently preciſe, and ſatisfactory, yet contains ſome circumſtances worth our attention; of which I ſhall accordingly take notice.

Concerning the Hiſtory afforded.

The Author ſuppoſes, that Smyrna was indiſputably the place of the Poet's birth; and in conſequence of it makes many of the principal events in his life center here. He begins with telling us, that when Cuma, a City of the Æolians was built, there came people from different parts of the world to obtain a ſettlement in it. Among others was a perſon, called [1] Melanopus (Μελανωπος) who married the daughter of a Cumean, named Omures: and who had by her a daughter, to whom they gave the name of Critheïs. When this perſon was grown up, after the death of her father, and mother, ſhe had a ſpurious child, and as ſhe was delivered of it upon the banks of the river Meles, which ran by Smyrna, ſhe from thence called it [2] Meleſigenes, but it was afterwards named Homer.

There may be ſome truth in this hiſtory, but whether it be properly appropriated to the people of Smyrna, will demand ſome conſideration. I take the name (Μελανωπος) Melanopus to bear ſome analogy to Αιθιοψ, and Μελαμπυς, by which names the people of Egypt were mentioned by the Grecians. For Egypt was of old called [3] Ethiopia. By Melanopus is ſignified a perſon of a very dark, or ſwart, complexion. If then any ſtrangers came to ſettle in this newly erected City, and among them the perſon of this name, I ſhould thence, and from other circumſtances, ſuſpect, that he was of Egypt. I am led to think the ſame of his ſon Meleſigenes.

1 Life of Homer. C. 1. P. 2.

2 Ibidem——P. 3.

3 Εκληθη (Αιγυπτος) και Μυουρα, και Αιθιοπια. Euſtath. in Dion. v. 239.

I therefore cannot accede to the account given by the people of the place, nor believe that Homer was originally called Meleſigenes, becauſe his mother was delivered of him upon the banks of the Meles. This was invented to countenance the notion, that Homer was a native of Smyrna; whoſe hiſtory they like many other people have adopted. His true name, I believe, was Melaſigenes (Μελασιγενὴς) from the river of his Country, *the Nile:* for from thence his family came. This name the people of Smyrna, when they took the honour of his birth to themſelves, by a very ſlight alteration adapted to the river Meles: and made the banks of that ſtream the place of his birth. There is therefore great reaſon to think, that he was, though of Grecian race, yet allied to the Egyptians: and that his grandfather Melanopus was of that Country. Homer therefore was called Melaſigenes, to ſignify that he was by race a Nilotic; one who by origin came from the banks of the Melas, or Nile, for ſo was the river of Egypt at times denominated. Hence in the Treatiſe concerning Rivers, aſcribed to Plutarch, the Author ſays——[1] Νειλος ποταμος εστι της Αιγυπτου——εκαλειτο δε προτερον Μελας. *The Nile is a River of Egypt.—It was formerly called Melas.* Euſtathius alſo upon Dionyſius ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe.

[2] Μελας προτερον καλουμενος μετεκληθη Νειλος.

The river formerly called Melas, was afterwards named Nilus.

It was ſometimes expreſſed Melo, as we read in Pomponius Feſtus. Melo, alio nomine, Melas vocatur. [3] Servius mentions the ſame. Antea Nilus latine Melo dicebatur. This therefore was the river to which Homer was allied, and hence he was denominated Melaſigenes. Throughout all his poems, there are continual alluſions to Egypt, and it's cuſtoms: and

1 Geog. Græci Minores, Vol. 2. Auctor de Fluviis. P. 30.
2 Euſtathius in Dionyſ. v. 224.
3 Servius in Virg. Georgic. L. 4. v. 291.

almoſt

almoſt all Writers, who ſpeak of him, maintain, that he reſided in Egypt; and ſome, that he was a native of the Country. From the hiſtory above given we learn, that he was of the family of the Melanopi: which ſeems as I have ſaid to be analogous to Αιθιοψ, or [1] Ethiopian, the ſame as Egyptian: and hence we have reaſon to conclude that he was in ſome degree of that nation. Had he come from the banks of the Meles in Iönia, he could not well have paſſed over that river in ſilence. Nor would he have omitted Smyrna, if it had been the place of his nativity, when he mentions ſo many Cities, and rivers in it's vicinity. Of theſe omiſſions Strabo takes notice. [2] Ουδε Μελητα, τον παρα την Σμυρνην ῥεοντα, ωνομακε ποταμον, την ὑπο των πολιτων λεγομενην αυτε πατριδα.--------Ουδε αυτην Σμυρναν λεγει, ουδε τας αλλας των Ιωνων πολεις, ⁊ καιπερ των Αιολεων τας πλειστας, Μιλητον λεγω, και Σαμον, και Λεσβον, και Τενεδον. *He does not mention the river Meles, which ran by the City Smyrna, the place, as moſt think, of his nativity. Nor does he take any notice of Smyrna itſelf, nor the other Cities in Iönia, though he mentions moſt of the Æolian, ſuch as Miletus, Samos, Leſbos and Tenedos.* Strabo ſays, that it does not hence follow, that he was ignorant either in reſpect to the City, or river, which may be very true. But this follows from thoſe premiſes, that he had no regard for them; not the leaſt prejudice in their favour: which could not well have happened, if ſuch a relation had ſubſiſted between them. He would never have omitted Smyrna, nor the Meles, if they had been the ſcenes of his birth and childhood; more eſpecially, as he had ſuch opportunities of inſerting their names: particularly as he mentioned ſome neighbouring Cities, and the rivers Cayſter, and Mæander, ran beſide them.

1 Strabo. L. 12. P. 831.

2 So I think, it ſhould be altered, inſtead of και ſingly.

Arguments to ſhew, that Homer was not an Aſiatick.

We may proceed ſtill farther, and from theſe omiſſions infer, that the Poet was not from any part of that Continent. Had he been a native of Aſia Minor, he would have known more concerning the Cities, and Provinces; eſpecially of thoſe, which were near the coaſt of the ſea. And the more he knew, the more ample, and preciſe would have been his deſcriptions. For though he affects to bring Auxiliaries as far as from the Thermodon north; and ſtill farther from Lycia, and Caria ſouth; yet he does not in that large range take notice of many towns, or cities, excepting in that confined portion of Phrygia, which he choſe for his ſcene of action. Here he incidentally mentions ſome places of little note ſuch as Percote, Praction, Pityeia, Ariſbe, Lariſſa, Adraſteia: and the rivers, Rheſus, Heptaporus, Rhodius, Æſepus, Granicus, Simoeis, and Scamander. Theſe were moſt of them in Phrygia, and in the neighbourhood of Troas. But when he ventures as far as Cutorus north and to Tmolus, and Miletus ſouth, he is very ſparing in his deſcriptions. On the other hand, when he gives in his Catalogue an account of the Grecian forces, he not only mentions the provinces, from which every Commander came; but ſpecifies the particular Towns, and Cities, which were under their rule, and of many he deſcribes minutely the ſituation, produce, aud hiſtory. Thus he mentions—Αυλιδα τετρηεσσαν, ευρυχορον Μυκαλησσον, πολυτρηρωνα Θηβην, πολυτρηρωνα Μεσσηϋ, ποιηενθ' Αλιαρτον, Ογκηστον ἱερον Ποσιδηιον, πολυσαφυλον Αρνην, αφνειον Κορυνθον, Πυθωνα τετρηεσσαν και αιπειην, Ορχομενον πολυμηλον. To theſe inſtances many more might be added. There are alſo introduced many curious incidental hiſtories, relating to the places, and people; and to the Chiefs

Chiefs of each nation. But the accounts on the Afiatick fide are far ſhort of theſe: and, excepting thoſe [1] towns near the [2] Helleſpont, and Propontis, few places are mentioned for ſo great a range of Country as the Poet takes in. He indeed takes notice of the mules of the Heneti, and the ſilver mines of the Alybes; in which article he ſeems to have been miſtaken: for if the Alybes were the ſame as the Chalybes, according to Strabo, it was iron, and not ſilver, for which they were [3] famed. In reſpect to the Cities towards the ſouth, he takes no notice of any place, except Mycale, and the mountains Tmolus, aud Ptheiræ; though there were others of great note, and antiquity, which demanded his attention. He is equally ſilent about many near Troy. Such was [4] Smyrna before mentioned, alſo [5] Sardis, Epheſus, Merlæa, Themiſcura, [6] Cuma, and Pergamus. Add to theſe [7] Priene, [8] Colophon, Magneſia, and Mount Calænæ: with the rivers, Cibotus, Caïcus, and Pactolus. Theſe places, from the beſt hiſtories given of them, were well known before any migration from Greece, or the ſuppoſed æra of Troy. And there were many ancient

1 See Homer's Catalogue. Il. B. v. 494. et deinceps.

2 Thoſe which he mentions, are within the compaſs of ten or twelve miles.

3 Strabo. L. 12. P. 826. Ὑπονοει και ὁ Σκηψιος την τη ονοματος καταπλωσιν εξ Αλυβων εις Χαλυβας. ibid. P. 827. Εκ δε της Χαλυβης χωρας ὁ σιδηρος. Steph. Byzant.

4 Smyrna, Epheſus, Themiſcura, Myrina, Cuma, Paphos, were all very ancient cities, and according to Strabo built by people called Amazons. L. 11. P. 771. L. 12. P. 827. Σμυρνα απο Σμυρης Αμαζονος. Steph. Byzant.

5 Strabo mentions Sardis as built after the Trojan war, but he muſt mean the new city; for Herodotus ſpeaks of Sardis as very ancient, and firſt inhabited by a ſon of Niſeus. L. 1. C. 7. P. 4.

6 Of Cuma ſee Strabo L. XI. P. 771. A.

7 Priene of Egyptian original. Pauſanias. L. 7. P. 526. See Strabo. L. 14. P. 939. where for Αιπυτος read Αιγυπτος.

8 Colophon, one of the ſuppoſed birthplaces of Homer, built before the Trojan war. Strabo. L. 14. P. 951. But Herodotus makes Colophon more ancient than the city Sardis built by the Amazons. L. 1. C. 16. P. 8. The coming of the Amazons is by Homer mentioned as in the time of Priam. Iliad. Γ. 189.

hiſtories

hiſtories tranſmitted concerning [1] them: yet Homer paſſes them by unnoticed, though he is ſo particular in his account of Greece. If he were a native of Aſia Minor, how can we account for his being ſo ignorant, or ſo negligent, where he was moſt converſant: and ſo particular and minute, where he was a ſtranger. For Hellas was the region, with which he was moſt acquainted; and of this Eratoſthenes and Apollodorus took notice. [2] Ὅμηρον καὶ ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ εἰδέναι, τῶν δὲ ἔξω τοῦ πολλὴν ἔχειν ἀπειρίαν. ἀπείρους μὲν μακρῶν ὁδῶν ὄντας, ἀπείρους δὲ ναυτίλλεσθαι. *Homer and other ancient Writers were acquainted with the hiſtory of Greece; but had little experience about foreign regions, as they were not uſed to travel far by land, and not accuſtomed to remote voyages.* This may not be ſtrictly true in reſpect to Homer: yet ſtill it muſt ſeem extraordinary, if he were of any place in Aſia, that a perſon, who was an Hiſtorian as well as a Poet, and zealous about ancient traditions, ſhould ſay leaſt, where he knew moſt; and be moſt profuſe, where he was leaſt acquainted.

1 Velleius Paterculus ſuppoſes that ſeveral of the cities above mentioned, were founded by the Grecians, when they firſt got poſſeſſion of Ionia. But they only rebuilt theſe cities, ſome of which were of great antiquity; and are ſo deſcribed by other Writers.

2 Strabo. L. 7. P. 457.

Concerning

Concerning Homer's Hiſtory being alluded to in his Poems.

We may therefore from the accounts above ſafely infer, that Homer was not a native of Aſia Minor. And if he were not of theſe parts, all that remains is, to inquire to what region he is to be adjudged. The Country at large, we may preſume, was Hellas, but the particular province may not be ſo eaſily aſcertained. Indeed we have ſcarcely any light to direct us, or hiſtorical evidence, by which we can be determined. The chief reſource, to which we can apply, is contained in his writings: and it may be worth our while to inquire, what faint traces may be found in them concerning the Author, and his family; of his wanderings, and misfortunes: and laſtly of the Country, where his family reſided, and which probably gave him birth. I have offered a conjecture, that this place was Ithaca: and that under the character of Ulyſſes, he has given us ſome traits of his own perſon, and natural endowments: alſo of the many ſufferings, and adventures, which he had experienced. Ulyſſes makes no ſmall figure in the Ilias, though his picture is not embelliſhed with that glare and high colouring, with which ſome few are ſet off. Yet the Poet often introduces him to great advantage, and at the ſame time ſubjoins ſome compliment to ſhew, that he was a favourite character. But ſtill we have but faint ideas afforded us of thoſe excellent qualities, which are diſplayed in the other poem. The Odyſſea is founded upon the Ilias; and affords incidentally an account of the principal events, which enſued upon the taking of Troy. But the chief object throughout is the Hero of Ithaca; whoſe piety, patience, magnanimity and wiſdom are ſet off to great advantage: more particularly the mildneſs of his manners, and attachment to the place of his nativity, and his love for his parents, and people.

people. Theſe tender paſſions are greatly enhanced by his being for ſo many years ſeparated from the chief objects of his regard. In conſequence of this we have a melancholy, but pleaſing, diſplay of thoſe emotions, which ariſe in a great and exalted mind from trouble, and diſappointment, and a ſeries of cruel adventures. Theſe are attended with a mournful retroſpect towards loſt happineſs, and hopes ſtill cheriſhed of being reſtored to the ſcene of his wiſhes. The whole is deſcribed in ſo particular, and ſo affecting a manner, that, as I have ſaid before, I am led to think that in the hiſtory of Ulyſſes, we may trace the life and adventures of Homer. The ſufferings of the one were copied from what the other had experienced: and all the ſorrow, and anguiſh diſplayed, and all thoſe melancholy emotions, originated in the Poet's breaſt.

He was well acquainted with the ſea, and all the dangers of that element, to which he muſt have often been witneſs, as we may judge from his repeated and fearful deſcriptions. Such are the following which cannot be read without a ſecret horrour:

[1] Οι δ' ισαν αργαλεων ανεμων αταλαντοι αελλη,
Ἡ ρα θ' ὑπο Βροντης πατρος Διος εισι πεδονδε,
Θεσπεσιῳ δ' ὁμαδῳ ἁλι μισγεται, εν δε τε πολλα
Κυματα παφλαζοντα πολυφλοισβοιο θαλασσης,
Κυρτα, φαληριοωντα----
The Trojans join, and all terrific move,
Like ſome fell whirlwind ſent by angry Jove:
O'er the vex'd land it ſweeps, and ſeaward flies;
Then tumult, noiſe and anarchy ariſe.
Dire is the conflict, as the waves engage
High towering, white with foam, and ſwoll'n with rage.

[1] Il. N. v. 795.

[1] Ως

A ſimilar inſtance, equally fearful, is given in another place: the ſame which was ſo admired by Plato.

[1] Ὡς δ' ὁτ' επι προχοῇσι [2] διιπετεος ποταμοιο
Βεβρυχεν μεγα κυμα ποτι ῥοον, αμφι δε τ' ακραι
Ηϊονες βοοωσιν ερευγομενης ἁλος εξω.

As when the Sea, in rough and angry mood,
Meets ſome vaſt river's wide deſcending flood,
Loud guſts and ſquals are heard with wild uproar,
While the ſwoll'n ſurge comes tumbling on the ſhore.

The picture given of Ulyſſes ſtruggling in the ocean, and born at the will of the winds, and waves, muſt inſpire us with ſimilar terror.

[3] Ὡς αρα μιν ειπονθ' ελασεν μεγα κυμα κατ' ακρης
Δεινον επεσσυμενον, περι δε σχεδιην ελελιξεν.
Τηλε δ' απο σχεδιης αυτὸς πεσε, πηδαλιον δε
Εκ χειρων προεηκε, μεσον δε οἱ ἱστον εαξε
Δεινη μισγομενων ανεμων ελθουσα θυελλα.
* * * * * * * * *
Τὸν δ' αρ' ὑποβρυχα θηκε πολυν χρονον, ουδε δυνασθη
Αιψα μαλ' ανσχεθειν μεγαλε ὑπο κυματος ὁρμης.
Ειματα γαρ ῥ' εβαρυνε, τα οἱ πορε δια Καλυψω.
Οψε δε δη ῥ' ανεδυ, στοματὸς δ' εξεπτυσεν ἁλμην
Πικρην, ἡ οἱ πολλη απο κρατος κελαρυζεν.

Juſt as he ſpake a mighty wave wide-ſpread
Roſe high behind, and burſt upon his head.

1 Il. P. v. 263 et deinceps.

2 By ποταμος διιπετης the Poet undoubtedly alludes to the Nile: at the mouth of which river the phænomenon above deſcribed is obſervable at this day, and is called the Bogas. See Mr. Wood upon Homer.

3 Odyſſ. E. v. 314.

He felt his raft whirl'd round, of winds the play,
And from the helm, he graſp'd, was born away.
Rent was the maſt, and in the middle fail'd:
A whirlwind wild o'er all the ſea prevail'd;
A fierce impetuous hurricane, combin'd
Of every ſtormy guſt, and lawleſs wind.
The robe long held him plung'd beneath the wave,
The cumbrous robe, which erſt Calypſo gave.
Nor could he yet reſiſt nor upward move,
The huge unwieldy ſurge ſtill preſs'd above.
At laſt he boldly ſtrove, and at the cloſe
All drench'd and dripping to the ſurface roſe.
Forth from his mouth a bitter torrent ſped,
And the ſea brine ran oozing down his head.

At laſt, as he is born up by a huge wave, he deſcries land, and exults with hopes of gaining the ſhore: but theſe hopes are ruined almoſt as ſoon as conceived.

3 Αλλ' ὁτε δη τριτον ημαρ εϋπλοκαμὸς τελεσ' ἠως,
Και τοτ' επειτ' ανεμος μεν επαυσατο, ηδε γαληνη
Επλετο νηνεμιη, ὁ δ' αρα σχεδον εισιδε γαιαν
Οξυ μαλα προιδων, μεγαλᾳ ὑπο κυματος αρθεις.
Ὡς δ' ὁταν ασπασιος βιοτος παιδεσσι φανειη
Πατρος, ὁς εν νουσω κειται κραΐερ' αλγεα πασχων,
Δηρον τηκομενος, συγερος δε ὁι εχρασε δαιμων,
Ασπασιον δ' αρα τον γε θεοι κακοτητος ελυσαν
Ως Οδυσσῆ' ασπαστον εεισατο γαια και ὕλη
Νηχε δ' επειγομενος προσιν ηπειρου επιβηναι
Αλλ' ὁτε τοσσον απην, ὁσσον τε γεγωνε βοησας,

3 Ibid. v. 399.

Και

Και δη δεπον ακυσε ποτι σπιλαδεσσι θαλασσης.
Ρ'οχθει γαρ μεγα κυμα ποτι ξερον ηπειροιο,
Δεινον ερευγομενον, ειλυτο δε πανθ' ἁλος αχνη.
Ου γαρ εσαν λιμενες νηων οχοι, ὐδ' επιωγαι,
Αλλ' ακται προβλητες εσαν, σπιλαδες τε, πάγοιτε.

On the third day, as ſoon as night was fled,
A lovely morn it's gentle influence ſhed.
The winds were huſh'd, with all the tempeſt rude;
And a ſtill, breathleſs, pleaſing calm enſued.
Eager the Chief look'd out, and near at hand
From an high ſwelling billow ſaw the land.
As when ſome happy filial tribe, who late
Viewed a fond Parent on the verge of fate,
See him at once with life and vigour bleſt;
So glowed the tranſport in Ulyſſes' breaſt,
Joyous he thought his labours now no more,
And plied each nerve to gain the wiſh'd for ſhore.
But when as near, as human voice can reach,
He heard the ſurge loud thundering on the beach.
Inſtead of bay, and friendly port, he found
Vaſt pointed rocks, and breakers all around.
Deep ran the ſurf, and dangerous every way,
The cliffs were cover'd high with foam and ſpray.

There is ſomething particular in this deſcription: for the Poet mentions νηνεμια, or the dying away of the wind: and afterwards ſays—ρ'οχθει γαρ μεγα κυμα, *the ſea ſtill rages, and breaks.* Nobody but a perſon who had been converſant with the ſea, would have been appriſed of this heavy

ſwell, which continues upon a ſudden calm. The deſcription is true, and founded upon experience.

I muſt repeat, what I ſaid above, that whoever wrote theſe lines, had often experienced the terrors of the deep, and knew well the fatal conſequences of a lee ſhore. In another part of his poems, he gives a fine deſcription of a night ſcene, in which a ſhip is carried away by a ſtorm; and the mariners in their diſtreſs ſee a fire upon an hill inland, lighted up by ſome ſhepherds, and look up with longing eyes to be in ſuch a place of ſecurity.

1 Ως δ' ὁταν εκ ωοντοιο σελας ναυτῃσι φανειῃ
Καιομενοιο ωυρος, τοδε καιεται ὑψοθ' ορεσφι
Σταθμῳ εν οιοπολῳ· τυς δ' ȣκ εθελοντας ἀελλαι
Ποντον επ' ιχθυοεντα φιλων απανευθε φερȣσιν.
As when by night a fire is ſeen afar,
By Shepherds lighted near their fleecy care,
Driv'n at the will of winds acroſs the main,
The mariners look up but look in vain.
Loud, and more loud, the tempeſt howls, while they
Far from their beſt loved friends are born away.

I am led to think, when I read this affecting deſcription, that Homer was one of thoſe, who looked up in that diſaſtrous ſeaſon; and partook of thoſe dangers, which he ſo pathetically deſcribes. All thoſe feelings, which he ſo intimately imparts, he had experienced. He had often heard the deafening ſurge break upon the ſhore, and paſſed with extreme hazard, thoſe rocks, and ſhoals, with which the ſea coaſt abounds. He mentions the Λαρος and Αιθυια, together with other birds of the ocean: and deſcribes their flight, and manner of fiſhing, and the very motion

1 Ilias. T. v. 375.

of

of their wings. This may be ſeen in the deſcription given of Mercury, when he flew downwards from the Mountain Pieria.

——————Down he took his flight
In ſemblance like a ſeamew, that frequents
The dreary gulfs, which bound the troubled main.
There with unwearied wing ſhe roams the deep,
Seeking her fiſhy prey; and ſtooping low
Dips her light pinions in the briny wave.

Odyſſ. E. 51.

When he alludes to a perſon, who had been loſt in the ſeas, he does not barely mention the circumſtance of his being drowned: but brings the ſad event before our eyes; and points to *the bones, which lie whitening upon the ſtrand*—

1 Ανερος, ȣ δη ϖȣ λευκ' οϛεα ϖυθεται ομβρῳ,
Κειμεν' επ' ηπειρȣ.

Theſe ideas could not be borrowed. They are too ſtrong, and vivid, and too particular, to be copies. They proceeded from his own recollection; and were the reſult of ſad experience.

A Farther Account of The Poet.

The Author of the Life of Homer informs us, that he was a perſon of great curioſity, and had undertaken many voyages; and that among other places he had viſited the Iſland of Ithaca. He was perſuaded to take this voyage by one Mentes. This perſon was of Leucadia near Epirus, and came in a ſhip to Smyrna for corn—[2] καταπεπλευκως επι σιτον. He is repreſented as a man of learning for thoſe times, and experienced

1 Odyſſ. A. v. 161.
2 C. 3. P. 5.

in

in the world. The Author accordingly ſtiles him---[1] *πεπαιδευμενος ανηρ, ως εν εκεινῳ τῳ χρονῳ, και πολυϊστωρ. A man well inſtructed, for the time in which he lived, and of much knowledge.* He was Commander of the ſhip, which he navigated, and ſeeing the curioſity of Homer, with whom he had got acquainted at Smyrna, he invited him to partake of his ſhip, and to viſit the places, to which it was deſtined. Some of theſe were as far off, as Hetruria, and Iberia in Spain. Homer accepted of the offer, and upon the ſhip's return from theſe remote parts, they ſtopped at Ithaca, where he was taken ill with a diſorder in his eyes, of which his hiſtorian gives the following account: [1] *Και τῳ Μελησιγενει συνεβη, νοσησαντι τας οφθαλμους, καρτα δεινως εχειν. Και αυτον θεραπειης ενεκα, πλειν μελλων εις την Λευκαδα, καταλιπειν ὁ Μεντης παρα ανδρι φιλῳ ἑαυτε εις τα μαλιστα Μεντορι τῳ Αλκιμε Ιθακησιῳ, πολλα δεηθεις επιμελειην εχειν· αναπλωσας δε αναληψεσθαι αυτον. Ὁ δε Μεντωρ ενοσηλευσεν αυτον εκτενεως, και γαρ τε βιε αρκεοντως ειχε, και ηκεεν ευ εις δικαιοσυνην τε, και φιλοξενιην, μακρῳ μαλιστα των εν Ιθακῃ ανδρων.* Upon their arrival at this Iſland----*it happened, that Meleſigenes laboured with a bad diſorder in his eyes, ſo as to be very ill. And Mentes, in order that he might be cured, left him under a particular friend, Mentor, the ſon of Alcimus, an inhabitant of Ithaca, and he begged of him to omit nothing for his cure. At the ſame time Mentes promiſed to receive again Meleſigenes into his ſhip, when he returned. Mentor accordingly adminiſtered every thing proper with the utmoſt attention to the diſorder: for he was a man of ſubſtance, and of a character above all others for goodneſs and hoſpitality.* Then comes a circumſtance of conſequence—[2] *Ενταυθα συνεβη τῳ Μελησιγενει περι Οδυσσεως ἱστορησαι, και πυθεσθαι.* At this time it was, that Meleſigenes obtained from the people of Ithaca the knowledge of Ulyſſes, and his hiſtory, about which

1 Ibid.
2 Ib.d. C. 3. P. 6.
3 ib d.

he

he there made inquiry and got information: a circumſtance very remarkable. [1] Οἱ δὴ Ἰθακησιοι λεγουσι τοτε μεν παρ' ἑωυτοις τυφλωθηναι. ὡς δε εγω φημι, τοτε μεν ὑγιη γενεσθαι· ὑστερον δε εν Κολοφωνι τυφλωθηναι. It muſt be confeſſed, ſays the Author, *that the people of Ithaca declare, this to be the time, during his reſidence in their iſland, when Meleſigenes loſt his ſight. But I maintain to the contrary, that in Ithaca he recovered his ſight, and afterwards became blind at Colophon.* He then mentions the return of Mentes, with whom he would perſuade us, that Homer was in a courſe of navigation, συχνον χρονον, *for a conſiderable time:* and that after he had loſt his ſight —επιχειρει τη ποιησει, *he began to apply to poetry.* The Author by his diligence has gleaned many curious circumſtances, which he has mixed with others of doubtful authority, and ſome not to be credited.

That Homer reſided in Ithaca muſt be granted. The Author allows it, and we have the evidence of the natives. But that Mentes brought him thither from Smyrna, may admit of a doubt. It is not to be believed that a perſon, who came from Leucadia for corn, ſhould, inſtead of carrying it directly home, make a voyage to Hetruria, and Iberia, to the hazard of his cargo. It may be ſaid, that he carried it to the Iberi by way of traffick. But this is hardly credible. Such long trading voyages were, I believe, never in the time of Homer undertaken by the Greeks: and there is reaſon to think, that the Leucadians ſtood more in need of corn, than the people of Spain; whoſe country was very fertile, eſpecially upon the ſouthern [2] coaſt. Beſides, as I have before obſerved, there was little

1 Ibid. P. 7.

2 Ἡ δε νοτιος (Ιϐηρια) πασα ευδαιμων σχεδον τι, και διαφερουτως ἡ εξω τηλου. Strabo L. 3. P. 200. Εξαγεται δ' εκ της Τυρδιτανιας σιτος τε και οινος πολυς. L. 3. P. 212. Hiſpania-terrarum-plaga comparanda optimis. Nulli poſthabenda frugum copiâ et ſoli ubere. Solinus. C. XXIII.

The Country upon the river Iberus, and about Saguntum was particularly fertile. Νεμονται δε χωραν οι κατοικουντες αυτην παμφορον, και διαφερουσαν αρετη πασης της Ιϐηριας. Polybius. L. 3. P. 172.

Nec Cereri terra indocilis, nec inhoſpita Baccho,
Nullaque Palladiâ ſeſe magis arbore tollit. Silius Ital. L. 1. v. 237.

They exported corn to a great amount.

intercourſe

intercourſe between neighbouring people, much leſs between nations ſo remote. Homer is however ſaid by the Author to have accompanied Mentes——ξυναυτιλλετο μετα τȣ Μεντεως, και ὁπȣ ἑκαστοτε αφικοιτο, παντα τα επιχωρια διεωρᾶτο, και ἱστορευων επυνθανετο. εικος δε μιν ην και μνημοσυνᾳ παντων γραφεσθαι. Ανακομιζομενοι δε εκ Τυρσηνιης και της Ιȣηριας απικνεονται εις Ιθακην. *He accompanied Mentes in his voyage, and wherever they came, he made obſervations upon every thing which occurred in different places; and was diligent in his inquiries. It is very probable, that he committed to writing, whatever he could recollect. Upon their leaving the coaſt of Hetruria, and Iberia, they came again to Ithaça.* By this we learn, how far he went to the weſtward, and how diligent he is ſaid to have been in his obſervations, and inquiries. In conſequence of this we ſhould expect to find him well acquainted with all that part of the Heſperian coaſt, by which they paſſed, and with the cities, which they muſt neceſſarily have viſited. But in the accounts which have been tranſmitted by him, he ſeems to diſcover very little knowledge of that part of the world. No hint is afforded of the Umbri, Auſonians, Sicani, and Iapygians; nor of the people of Latium or Hetruria. He alludes darkly to the Æolian Iſlands; and to Sicily, which he ſtiles Thrinacria: and theſe are the ultimate of his diſcoveries weſtward. For where the Iſland of Circe was ſituated, or the Iſland of Calypſo, cannot certainly be determined: as he affords no ſure marks, by which they may be aſcertained. The former he deſcribes as far in the weſt; yet tells us it was the very place,——

——[1] οθι τ' Ηȣς ηριγενειης
Οικια, και χοροι εισι, και ανολαι Ηελιοιο.
Where, it ſeem'd, *was the dawn of Day, and the riſing of the Sun.*

[1] Odyſſ. M. v. 3.

But

But though we may not give credit to theſe extenſive voyages; yet there are other articles, which we may admit, as true, ſince the Author's evidence is confirmed by the people of Ithaca. We learn from both, that the Poet was certainly in that Iſland, and there got the knowledge of Ulyſſes, and the hiſtory of Troy. And, when he became blind, he formed his two excellent poems upon this information. For the hiſtory of the Hero is deſcribed both in the Ilias, and Odyſſea; and conſequently the plan for both poems, according to this account, originated in this iſland. And here it is worth obſerving, that if the Poet had been born at Smyrna or Colophon, and had the ſiege of Troy been an Aſiatic event, he need not have gone to Ithaca for intelligence. We have been told, that according to the Natives, it was during his reſidence in Ithaca, that he by a diſorder, loſt his ſight. But the Author will not allow this. On the contrary he aſſerts peremptorily, that he was cured in Ithaca, and afterwards blind at Colophon, and quotes the authority of the Colophonians in proof of his aſſertion. But the people of this place, and of all the cities upon that coaſt, were much miſtaken about Homer. This is evident from their mutual contradictions. I am therefore inclined on many accounts to give the preference to the Iſlanders, and to believe the fact, as they ſtate it; for which ſome farther reaſons will hereafter be afforded.

Here then I am led to think, that he compoſed his poems. Theſe he founded upon materials which he had obtained both in this place and Egypt. And in the proſecution of his purpoſe he introduced his own character, and the names of ſeveral of his friends, to whom he thought himſelf obliged. This the Author of his Life allows, though he differs about the place, where he began his operation. [1] Επιχειρησας δε τη ποιησει

[2] Homeri Vita. C. 9. P. 23.

απεδωκε χαριν, ἣν εἰχε, πρωτον μεν Μεντορι, τῳ Ιθακησιῳ εν τῃ Οδυσσειᾳ, ὁτι μιν καμνοντα τὸς ὀφθαλμὸς εν τῃ Ιθακῃ ενοσηλευεν εκτενως· τὸνομα αυτὸ εσαρμοσας ες την ποιησιν, Ὀδυσσεως τε ἑταιρον φας ειναι *When Homer took in hand to compoſe his Poems, he made a proper return for the obligations, under which he lay: and firſt to Mentor of Ithaca, who by his great attention had cured him of the diſorder in his eyes. Upon this account he introduced the name of this perſon in his Odyſſea, and mentions him as a friend of Ulyſſes.* He mentions likewiſe that Mentes, with whom the Poet was ſaid to have navigated the ſeas, was for the ſame reaſon commemorated. This was the perſon under whoſe character Minerva is introduced and made to ſay——

[1] Μεντης Αγχιαλοιο δαΐφρονος ευχομαι ειναι
Ὑιος, αταρ Ταφιοισι φιληρετμοισιν ανασσω.

The Taphians inhabited a cluſter of Iſlands called the Echinades juſt above Ithaca. Mentes therefore was not of Iönia. The Poet [2] Phemius was of Ithaca; and he is mentioned as a friend of Homer, and his Preceptor. Tychius alſo is repreſented in the ſame light, who was of Hyle in [3] Bœotia, and is ſaid to have made the ſhield of Ajax of Salamis. The poet and muſician Demodorus was of Phæacia; a region at no great diſtance, upon the ſame coaſt.

Hence two inferences may be made. Firſt, we may learn, that the names, as well as the characters, in the two poems, were not always, if ever, genuine; and that many of them related to perſons of a later age. In the next place, as theſe perſons were either of Ithaca, or of cities and provinces in its vicinity, we may preſume, that the poems

1 Odyſſ. A. v. 180.

2 Odyſſ. X. 331. See Life of Homer. C. 9. P. 24.

3 Τυχιος—Σκυτοδρομων ος ἀριστος Ὑλῃ ενι οικια ναιων. Il. H. v. 220. See Steph. Byzant. Ὑλη. and Iliad B. N. 509.

were

were compoſed in that part of the world, where the friends of the Poet reſided. We have reaſon therefore to aſcribe them to Hellas; and to that particular iſland in the weſt, called Ithaca.

Another argument to this purpoſe, may be deduced from the conceſſions made above, which ſeem to ruin all the pretenſions of the Aſiatics. The people of Smyrna allowed, that the firſt knowledge of Ulyſſes and the Trojan war, was obtained by Homer in Ithaca. They therefore could not have been acquainted with it. This proves, that Homer could not have been a native of the region, called by the Greeks Iönia. For if the war had been of that duration, and the City Troy ſo famous, the people of Colophon, and Smyrna, were ſo very near the ſcene of action, that the Poet's information muſt have originated from them. The natives of theſe parts, near the Mæander and Cayſter, are mentioned among ſome of the principal auxiliaries of the Trojans. And the traditions concerning the war, had it ever been carried on, muſt have been preſerved here in abundance. But they had no ſuch traditions; as is manifeſt from Homer receiving the firſt account of the war elſewhere. Had he been a native of Smyrna, and the war in Phrygia, his information would not have been derived from a remote part of Greece.

A farther account of Mentes, and of articles introduced by Homer.

The Author of the Life, who tells us that Mentes was Homer's friend, would ſtill perſuade us, that the acquaintance commenced at Smyrna. This is done in order to countenance the pretenſions of the people of that place; and to make his own hiſtory plauſible. But if Homer were of

Ithaca, as, I believe, in the ſequel will appear, it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that his connexion began in that part of the world, as both Leucas, and the Taphian Iſlands of Mentes lay within the Poet's view. Some of them could not be above a league, or two, from the place, where he reſided; whatever ſpot he may have choſen. Beſides the whole account of this Leucadian or Taphian ſhip, laden with wheat, and the voyage to Smyrna firſt, and then to Hetruria, and Spain; and afterwards back again to Ithaca and Leucadia, is not to be credited. Homer gives ſtrong intimations, as I have before ſhewn, that he was little acquainted with thoſe regions, whither the Author ſuppoſes him to have travelled.

We muſt therefore only thus far accede to the account of the people of Smyrna, as to give them credit, when they tell us, that Homer reſided in Ithaca: for that evidence is warranted by the people of the Iſland. And we may alſo readily allow upon their evidence, that he here got intelligence concerning the hiſtory of Troy. Upon this hiſtory, which was originally Egyptian, he founded the ſcheme of his two principal poems, adapting things to Greece and Phrygia by an ingenious tranſpoſition. At what time of his life, and in what order, theſe operations were carried on, cannot at this time be aſcertained. His firſt knowledge of Troy, and the war, may, as repreſented, have originated in Ithaca; and he might in conſequence of it betake himſelf to Egypt, in order to perfect this intelligence. Among his friends we find Mentor mentioned as principal, to whom he is ſaid to have been chiefly obliged. This perſon had probably been a Prieſt at Memphis, or Thebes; and was denominated from ſome ſacred edifice in that Country, to which Phantaſia might alſo have belonged: and where the ſacred Archives were preſerved. Men-tor ſignifies Μηνος πυργος, or *Tower of Menes*, the Egyptian Deity: and a perſon

perſon may as well be denominated from that, as people are from ſimilar objects at this day. As Melaſigenes was well acquainted with Egypt; and if not a native, yet of a family, which was in ſome degree Egyptian, we have reaſon to think, that his knowledge of the hiſtory, the firſt hints of which he obtained in Ithaca, was greatly improved here. And, when upon his return he became blind in that iſland, he then began to tranſpoſe, and methodize the materials, upon which his two poems are founded. For this opinion we have the authority of Diodorus Siculus, as he is quoted by [1] Juſtin Martyr. Ὁτι δε Ὁμηρος εν Αιγυπτῳ γεγονε, και πολλα ων εκει μεμαθηκεν εις την ἑαυτȣ μετενεγκε ποιησιν, ἱκανως διδασκει ἡμας Διοδωρος, ὁ των ἱστοριογραφων ενδοξοτατος. *That Homer was in Egypt, and introduced into his poems a great deal of the intelligence, which he obtained in that Country, we are well aſſured by that moſt reſpectable Hiſtorian Diodorus.* The hiſtorian, to whom this Writer appeals, particularizes many articles, which the Poet brought with him from Egypt, and inſerted in his [2] works. He probably borrowed ſome things from Melampus and his followers in Greece, who are repreſented as antecedent in time.---[3] Μελαμποδα δε φασι μετενεγκειν εξ Αιγυπτȣ τα Διονυσῳ νομιζομενα τελεισθαι παρα τοις Ἑλλησι, και τα περι Κρονȣ μυθολογȣμενα, και τα περι της Τιτανομαχιας, και το συνελον, την περι τα παθη των θεων ἱστοριαν. *It is ſaid, that Melampus brought from Egypt thoſe rites and ceremonies, which are ſuppoſed to be celebrated by the Grecians; alſo all thoſe fables about Saturn, and the war of the Titans; and in one word, the whole of that hiſtory which relates to the ſufferings of the Gods.* I have mentioned, that he was beholden to Daphne of Thebes, a reputed Sibyl, and Poeteſs, for much [4] intelligence. As it was Memphis, from

1 Juſtin Martyr. Cohort. P. 27.
2 Diodorus. Sic. L. 1. P. 86, 7.
3 Ibid.
4 Diodorus Sic. L. 4. P. 269.

which

which Homer obtained much of his knowledge, I ſhould imagine, it was Thebes in Egypt, to which he was beholden for an equal portion. Some went ſo far as to make him a native of Thebes, as may be ſeen by thoſe verſes quoted before:

[1] Ενθαδε (κειται) θειος Ὁμηρος, ὁς Ἑλλαδα πασαν αεισε,
Θηβης εκγεγαως της ἑκατονταπυλ8.

Here lies the divine Bard Homer, who celebrated Hellas; and who was originally a native of Thebes, famed for it's hundred gates: by which was meant Thebes in Egypt.

Suidas who enumerates the various opinions concerning the place of his nativity, mentions among other traditions, [2] Οἱ δε Ιθακησιον, οἱ δε Αιγυπτιον. *Some have pronounced him a native of Ithaca, and ſome of Egypt.* They were neither of them far from the truth. People differed alſo much about his parentage. The notions of the natives of Smyrna we have ſeen: in which, however diſtorted, we find plain intimation of his being ultimately a Melanopian, or Ethiopic *Egyptian*, by deſcent. One account mentioned by Suidas is, that he was the ſon of Telemachus, whoſe father was Ulyſſes: and that his mother was Polycaſta, the daughter of Neſtor, —κατα δε αλλ8ς υἱος Τηλεμαχ8 τ8 Οδυσσεως, και Πολυκας8ης Νεσ8ορος. That ſuch a daughter was attributed to the old Monarch is certain; for ſhe is mentioned by the Poet, as adminiſtring to Telemachus.

[3] Τοφρα δε Τηλεμαχον λ8σεν καλη Πολυκας8η,
Νεσ8ορος ὁπλοτατη θυγατηρ Νηληϊαδαο.

Theſe hiſtories may not be accurate: yet they ſerve to ſhew us, that many foreign characters were introduced by the Poet into the poem, which he

1 Anthолog. Gr. L. 3. P. 269. Edit. Steph.
2 Suidas—in voce Ὁμηρος. See the whole.
3 Odyſſ. Γ. v. 464.

had

had borrowed, and particularly thoſe of his friends and relations. And we are farther informed that there were thoſe, who maintained, that Homer was of the family of Ulyſſes, and of Ithaca: which is coming near the truth.

Among thoſe Relations above, there was one perſon introduced, who, I imagine, was particularly dear. And as it appears to me, that he deſcribed his own ſufferings under the character of Ulyſſes; ſo I am perſuaded, that he diſplayed the fidelity, and virtues of his wife in the hiſtory of Penelope. I have mentioned, that his family (the Μελανωποι) was of Egyptian original, and that he had been himſelf long converſant in that Country: and after a ſeries of diſappointments, and long wandering upon the ſeas, he at laſt returned to his wife and friends in ſafety. In theſe travels he had been driven into various parts of the world. Among other regions he had viſited the coaſt of Tyre and Sidon; alſo of Aſia Minor; and he muſt have been detained for ſome time in Phrygia, and upon the Helleſpont; as he is better acquainted with that region, than any other in Aſia.

That there were in Ithaca people from Egypt, and that a connexion ſubſiſted between the two places, we have ſome other faint evidence in an account given of a council ſummoned by Telemachus. As ſoon as he had taken the chair, as principal, the debate began: and the firſt, who ſpake, is repreſented as a perſon of conſequence, and of great age, and he is ſtiled the Egyptian Hero.

[1] Τοισι δ' ετωειθ' Ηρως Αιγυπτιος ηρχ' αγορευειν,
Ος δη γηραϊ κυφος ην, και μυρια ηδη.

[1] Odyſſ. B. v. 15.

Ægyptius

Ægyptius then th' aſſembled Peers addreſſ'd
An Hero bent with age; but with great wiſdom bleſſ'd.

Inferences from the accounts above given.

From theſe hiſtories I am confirmed in my belief, that the Poet was of Ithaca: and that his Parents, were ſome of the Iönians, who had been captivated, and carried into Egypt. In the reign of [1] Pſammiticus many were invited to ſettle in that Country: and they accordingly went over, and had the City Naucratis, and other large poſſeſſions given to them. Theſe may have been the firſt, who came by invitation in a large body, and who had any regular and legal ſettlements. This was about the xxxv Olympiad: and, as far as we can judge, later than the time of Homer. With theſe therefore I have no concern. Thoſe, to whom I allude, were of earlier date and ſuch as had been piratically [2] taken, and ſold; who after a time were ſet free, and permitted to remain in the Country. Of theſe we may ſuppoſe, that many at times ſought again the land of their fathers, wherever they could moſt readily gain admiſſion. The Cretans, Ionians, and particularly the Mileſians, were noted traders, and at the ſame time great pirates, who plundered one another [3] reciprocally, and lived in great meaſure by ſuch ill acquired booty. They were like all other Grecians known to the people of Phenicia, Paleſtine, and Egypt by the name of Iavan: and are mentioned

1 Herodotus. L. 2. C. 154. P. 179.

2 Eumæus was carried away by ſome Phenicians from the Iſland Scyros, and ſold for a bondman in Ithaca. Odyſſea. L. 0. v. 482.

3 Euſebius. Lat. Verſ. P. 24. Marſham Chron. Can. Sec. 14. P. 361. Diodorus ſeems to be of another opinion: but he is contradicted by Homer; and the Author of the Life of Homer; and by all writers upon this ſubject.

by

by Iſaiah C. 66. 19. We are alſo told by the Prophet Ezekiel, that they traded largely with the people upon this coaſt; and the trafick was principally in ſlaves. This the Prophet above mentioned expreſly tells us in reſpect to Tyre, by ſaying, *Iavan, Tubal, and Meſhech, were thy merchants, they traded in the perſons of men.* They ſeem to have been very induſtrious in their calling, and are ſaid---*to have gone to and fro: and to have occupied their fairs*, that is, *the great marts in Tyre and Phœnicia:* Ezekiel. 27. 13. 19. This was before the ruin of that City, by Nebuchadnezzar; and when Tyre was in it's full glory.

We are farther told, that the 3 Egyptians at an early period poſſeſſed the empire of the ſea; and conquered many of the Grecian iſlands, and part of the Aſiatic coaſt, in which the regions of Iönia and Miletus are included. If this be true, they undoubtedly carried off many of the inhabitants, who where diſpoſed of in Egypt, and whoſe poſterity at different intervals returned to their own Country. Of this trade, and theſe piracies, and of the communication in general between Greece and Egypt, we have many incidental hiſtories in Homer, eſpecially in the ſecond Poem: and the like are to be found in all the accounts of ancient Greece.

Thus much is certain, that the beſt accounts concerning Homer mention his reſiding in Egypt; and we have ſeen that ſome Writers have gone ſo far as to make him a native of that Country. There is good authority to make us believe, that his immediate anceſtors were Egyptians by birth; though of Grecian original. That he was himſelf a Grecian, is manifeſt from his language, and from his dialect it is plain that his family was originally from Iönia. From this latter circumſtance ſo many places of that part of the world, ſuch as Colophon,

Smyrna, Cuma, Chios, Ios, and Rhodes, claimed him: though not one could make out any fair pretenſion. He was an Iönian though of Ithaca, whoſe family came laſt from Egypt; and from the obſcurity of the Iſland, where he reſided, all theſe difficulties have ariſen.

Of the Piety and Virtues of Ulyſſes, under which are exemplified the ſufferings and character of the Poet.

One intention of the Poet in the Ilias was to exhibit great examples of proweſs, and valour; and ſome inſtances of generoſity and goodneſs. But in the Odyſſea he makes a more copious diſplay of the milder virtues; particularly of patience and fortitude, exerciſed in a ſeries of diſaſters, and of unextinguiſhed affection. Hence the Hero is ſtiled δυσμορος, δυσηνος, ταλασιφρων, and πολυτλας διος Οδυσσευς. His Mother accordingly in the midſt of her grief exclaims—

[1] Ω μοι, τεκνον εμον, περι παντων καμμορε φωτων.

O my ſon, the moſt unfortunate of men.

In another place it is ſaid—[2] περι γαρ μιν οἰζυρον τεκε μητηρ. Mercury tells Calypſo---

[3] Φησι τοι ανδρα παρειναι οἰζυρωτατον αλλων
Των ανδρων, ὁι ασυ περι Πριαμοιο μαχοντο.

That Ulyſſes was the moſt unfortunate of all the Heroes, who fought at Troy.

Mentor, whom I have mentioned as a foreign character in the Odyſſea, ſhews, like the Hero Egyptus, his regard for Ulyſſes, and true ſenſe of his virtues.--------

1 Odyſſ. Δ. v. 215.
2 ——— Γ. v. 95.
3 ——— E. v. 105.

——Τοισιν

--------Τοισιν ανεστη

[1] Μεντωρ, ὅς ῥ' Οδυσηος αμυμονος ηεν ἑταιρος.
Και ὁι ιων εν νηυσιν επετρεπεν οικον ἁπαντα,
Πειθεσθαι τε γεροντι, και εμπεδα παντα φυλασσειν.
Ὁς σφιν εὐφρονεων αγορησατο, και μετεειπεν·
Κεκλυτε δη νυν μευ, Ιθακησιοι, ὁττι κεν ειπω,
Μητις ετι τροφρων αγανος τε και ηπιος εστω
Σκηπτουχος βασιλευς, μηδε φρεσιν αισιμα ειδως,
Αλλ' αιει χαλεπος τ' ειη και αισυλα ῥεζοι·
Ὡς ὑτις μεμνηται Οδυσσηος θειοιο,
Λαων, ὁισιν ανασσε, πατηρ δ' ὡς ηπιος ηεν.

--------*To them arôſe*
Mentor, the man of wiſdom to whoſe care
His Prince, when ſummon'd to the Phrygian war,
Entruſted all, he prized; his Sire, his land,
Left to his counſel and his wiſe command.
The good of all he ſought; to all a friend:
And liſt, he cried, and to my words attend.
Ne'er let a King hereafter from this day,
Be mild of manners, and of gentle ſway:
But bold and lawleſs; and with high comptroul
Bend to his yoke the mean and abject ſoul.
Since he, who ſuch parental kindneſs bore,
Is all forgotten, aud his deeds no more.

We have ſeen before, that this perſon, in whom Ulyſſes placed ſo much truſt, was in reality a friend of the Poet, and his character and name

[1] —— B. v. 225.

 have

have out of gratitude been inſerted in the Poem. He ſeems to have been of the ſame Country, as the venerable Egyptian above, and in wiſdom not inferiour to him----ὁς μυρια ἠδη, who ſo much abounded in knowledge.

Note. Inſtead of πειθεσθαι τε γεροντι, I am induced by the context to read πεισεσθαι τε γεροντα----*to council and adviſe the old King.*

Nothing can place the character of Ulyſſes in a more pleaſing light, than the love and confidence of his companions in their joint diſtreſſes; and particularly the melancholy joy, which they expreſs upon any unexpected preſervation. Such was that, which Ulyſſes deſcribes, when ſome of them were reſtored to their former ſhape, and firſt beheld their deliverer in the houſe of Circe.

[1] Εγνωσαν δε με κεινοι, εφυντ' εν χερσιν ἑκαστος.
Πασιν δ' ἱμεροεις ὑπεδυ γοος· αμφι δε δωμα,
Σμερδαλεον κονάβιζε· θεα δ' ελεαιρε και αυτη.
They knew me ſoon: and when they ſaw their Chief,
Gave way to loud and ſadly pleaſing grief.
The vaulted dome reſounded, where we were:
E'en Circe drop'd a gentle pitying tear.

The remainder of his companions, when they find their chief, whom they deemed loſt, return in ſafety, give way to the ſame pleaſing emotions tinctured with grief.

[2] Βην δ' ιεναι επι νηα θοην, και θινα θαλασσης,
Ἑυρον επειτ' επι νηι θοῃ ερικηρας ἑταιρους
Οικτρ' ὁλοφυρομενους, θαλερον κατα δακρυ χεοντας.
Now penſive to the ſhip my courſe I bore,
Where my ſad friends were gathered on the ſhore.

[1] Odyſſ. κ. v. 397.
[2] Odyſſ. κ. v. 407.

I found

I found them all immerſ'd in bitter woe:
And their warm tears inceſſant ſeem'd to flow.

He deſcribes them, upon their firſt ſeeing him, as ſo many calves, preſſing forwards towards their mothers, when they return from paſture.

---------[1] ȣδετι σηκοι
Ισχȣσ', αλλ' αδινον μυκωμεναι αμφιθεȣσι
Μητερας· ὡς ἑμε κεινοι, επει ιδον οφθαλμοισι,
Δακρυοεντες εχευντο. δοκησε δ' αρα σφισι θυμος
Ὡς εμεν', ὡς ει πατριδ' ἱκοιατο, και πολιν αυτων
Τρηχειης Ιθακης, ἱνα τ' ετραφεν, ηδ' εγενοντο.
Και μ' ολοφυρομενοι επεα πτεροεντα προσηυδων.
Σοι μεν νοςησαντι, Διοτρεφες, ὡς εχαρημεν,
Ὡς ειτ' εις Ιθακην αφικοιμεθα πατριδα γαιαν.

As, when the kine return at even home,
Their young, long ſever'd, when they near them come,
Burſt from their ſtalls, and while around they move,
With plaintive lowings teſtify their love.
So my beſt friends about me as they crowd,
Vent the warm tranſports of their hearts aloud.
Tears from each eye in ſad memorial ſtart,
And every ſoft affection melts the heart:
A mournful pleaſing ſcene! Nor could they more,
Had they regain'd their much lov'd Country's ſhore.
Oh, honour'd Chief, they cry, midſt all our woe
At thy return what happineſs we know?
No greater pleaſure could affect our mind,
Were we our long ſought Ithaca to find,
And all thoſe fond connexions left behind.

[1] Ibid. —— v. 412, &c.

were

The great object, to which in the midſt of all their calamities they looked, was their Country Ithaca: and for this final gratification they were continually offering up their wiſhes. As the poem, I imagine, is in great meaſure fictitious; the Poet had many places of more eminence, and better circumſtanced, to which he might have adjudged his Hero. For the account, which he gives of Ithaca, is by no means favourable. He deſcribes it, as very uneven, and rough, and alſo barren: τρηχεια, παιπαλοεσσα, κραναη, σειρα: though there ſeems to have been one part to the weſt better ſituated, which he ſtiles ευδειελος. In the whole the iſland was ſmall and of little repute, though made famous by the Poet. His reaſon for placing his Hero in this iſland was undoubtedly, becauſe it was the true place of his own reſidence, and of his family. Hence this prejudice in favour of a place, which was of ſo little conſequence, and to which, when he was long ſeparated from it, all his views and wiſhes were directed. Theſe views, and the ſorrows, with which they are immediately accompanied come ſo immediately from the heart; and are deſcribed in a manner ſo affecting, that we may preſume, they were not fictitious, but the genuine offspring of the Poet's breaſt. All, that is attributed to Ulyſſes, was firſt felt by Homer.

I believe, that there are few ſubjects for a picture more noble, and intereſting, than ſome of thoſe, which are exhibited by this much enduring man. Such is that in the fifth Book of the Odyſſea; when Hermes arrives at the grotto of Calypſo. One might expect, that Ulyſſes would have been found engaged with the Goddeſs, and enjoying all the good things, which the iſland afforded. But he is deſcribed far away, and very differently affected.

[1] Ουδ' αρ' Οδυσσηα μεγαλητορα ενδον ετετμεν·
Αλλ' ὁγ' επ' ακτης κλαιε καθημενος, ενθα παρος περ
Δακρυσι και σοναχῃσι και αλγεσι θυμον ερεχθων
Ποντον επ' ατρυγετον δερκεσκετο, δακρυα λειβων.

The God approach'd the Grot but did not meet
The wiſh'd for Hero in this bleſt retreat.
He on the beach ſat weeping day by day;
With ſighs, with tears, he wore his ſoul away.
The vaſt unquiet Deep he ſorrowing view'd,
Still look'd, ſtill wept, and every grief renew'd.

When Calypſo went out in ſearch of him, ſhe found nim in the ſame ſituation.

[2] Τον δ' αρ' επ' ακτης ευρε καθημενον· ωδε που οσσε
Δακρυοφιν τερσοντο· κατειβετο δε γλυκυς αιων
Νοσφον οδυρομενῳ, επει ωκετι ἡνδανε Νυμφη.
Αλλ' ητοι νυκτας μεν ιαυεσκεν και αναγκῃ
Εν σπεσσι γλαφυροισι, παρ' ωκ εθελων εθελουσῃ·
Ηματα δ' εν πετρῃσι και ηιονεσσι καθιζων,
Δακρυσι και σοναχῃσι και αλγεσι θυμον ερεχθων,
Ποντον επ' ατρυγετον δερκεσκετο δακρυα λειβων.

The Goddeſs haſts[x] Ulyſſes to explore,
And finds him penſive on the lonely ſhore.
His eyes are fraught with tears, that endleſs flow,
And all the ſweets of life are loſt in woe.
To his fond view his friends and Country riſe:
But the ſtern Goddeſs all return denies.

[x] Odyſſ. E. v. 81, &c.
[2] —— Ibid. v. 151.

Each

Each irkſome night her bed he's doom'd to ſhare,
Averſe, and griev'd, though not averſe the Fair:
And when the dayſpring comes, and night recedes,
Back to the rocks, and dreary cliffs he ſpeeds.
In ſighs and tears there waſtes the tedious hours,
And on the boundleſs, troubled ocean pores.

When the Goddeſs expreſſes her wonder, that he ſhould wiſh to quit her for his wife, a perſon ſo inferiour; and tells him of the dangers, which he was to encounter, he anſwers her in the fulneſs of his heart, and with that reſignation, which true fortitude inſpires.

[1] Ποτνια Θεα, μη μοι τοδε χωεο· οιδα και αυτος
Παντα μαλ', ὕνεκα σειο περιφρων Πηνελοπεια
Ειδος ακιδνοτερη, μεγεθος τ' εις αντα ιδεσθαι,
Ἡ μεν γαρ θροτος εστι, συ δ' αθανατος και αγηρως.
Αλλα και ὡς εθελω και ελδομαι ημαται παντα,
Οικαδε τ' ελθεμεναι, και νοστιμον ημαρ ιδεσθαι.
Ει δ' αυ τις βαιησι Θεων ενι οινοπι ποντῳ,
Τλησομαι εν στηθεσσιν εχων ταλαπενθεα θυμον.
Ηδη γαρ μαλα πολλ' επαθον, και πολλ' εμογησα
Κυμασι και πολεμῳ· μετα και τοδε τοισι γενεσθω.

Let not, dread Goddeſs, thy reſentment riſe:
Too well I know, Penelope, the wife,
Is far beneath the bright celeſtial race,
In look, in ſtature, dignity, and grace.
Her humble charms can never vie with thine:
She a meer mortal: Thou a Pow'r divine.

[1] —— Ibid. v. 215.

Yet

Yet my fond dayly wiſhes I renew,
My much lov'd Conſort, and my realm to view.
And if ſome God ſhould wreck me on the ſhore,
I ſtill will bear it, as I've born before.
For much I've ſuffered, many a rueful day,
In waves, and wanderings, and in bloody fray:
And if aught more awaits a wretched man,
Let the ſtorm come: I'll bear it, as I can.

A like account is given of Ulyſſes, and his detention by the God Proteus, when Menelaus is inquiring concerning the fate of his former friends.

1 Τὸν δ' ἰδον εν νησῳ θαλερον κατα δακρυ χεοντα
Νυμφης εν μεγαροισι Καλυψους, ἡ μιν αναγκη
Ισχει, ὁδ' ὃ δυναται ἡν πατριδα γαιαν ἱκεσθαι.

And yet this iſland Ithaca, notwithſtanding all theſe tears, and fond wiſhes, was, as I have before mentioned, very inconſiderable. And it muſt have ſo appeared even to the Poet, however partial he may have been to the place: for he makes Menelaus tell Telemachus, that it was once his purpoſe, if he could upon his return have met with Ulyſſes, to have tranſported him and his family to a better ſituation.

2 Και μιν εφην ελθοντα φιλησεμεν εξοχον αλλων
Αργειων, ει νωιν ὑπειρ αλα νοστον εδωκε
Νηυσι θοῃσι γενεσθαι Ολυμπιος ευρυοπα Ζευς.
Και κεν οἱ Αργει' νασσα πολιν, και δωματ' ετευξα,
Εξ Ιθακης αγαγων συν κτημασι, και τεκεϊ ῳ,
Και πασιν λαοισ', 3 ἰδιαν πολιν εξαλαπαξας.

1 Odyſſ. Δ. v. 556.
2 —— Ibid. Δ. v. 171, &c. &c.
3 So I venture to read inſtead of μιαν πολιν.

S Ulyſſes,

Ulyſſes, or Homer in the character of that perſon, thinks it proper in the interview with Alcinous to make ſome apology for his attachment to a place ſo ignoble. This apology is very affecting, and affords a general view of his ſufferings, and fortitude: and his great love for his friends and Country, which no calamities could abate. It is addreſſed to this King of the Phæacians, and deſcribed in a plaintive ſtrain, with all the beauties of verſe and harmony.

1 Σοι δ' εμα κηδεα θυμος επετραπετο σονοεντα
Ειρεσθ', οφρ' ετι μαλλον οδυρομενος σοναχιζω.
Τι πρωτον, τι δ' επειτα, τι δ' υσατιον καταλεξω,
Κηδε' επει μοι πολλα δοσαν Θεοι ουρανιωνες;
Νυν δ' ονομα πρωτον μυθησομαι, οφρα και υμεις
Ειδετ', εγω δ' αν επειτα φυγων υπο νηλεες ημαρ
Υμιν ξεινος εω, και αποπροθι δωματα ναιων.
Ειμ' Οδυσευς Λαερτιαδης, ος πασι δολοισιν
Ανθρωποισι μελω, και μευ κλεος ουρανον ικει.
Ναιεταω δ' Ιθακην ευδειελον, εν δ' ορος αυτη
Νηριτον, εινοσιφυλλον, αριπρεπες· αμφι δε νησοι
Πολλαι ναιεταουσι, μαλα σχεδον αλληλησι,
Δουλιχιον τε, Σαμη τε, και υληεσσα Ζακυνθος.
Αυτη δε χθαμαλη πανυπερτατη ειν αλι κειται
Προς ζοφον, 2 αυταρ ανευθε προς ηπ' ηελιοντε
Τρηχεια, αλλ' αγαθη κουροτροφος. ουτι εγωγε
Ης γαιης δυναμαι γλυκερωτερον αλλο ιδεσθαι.
Η μεν μ' αυτοθ' ερυκε Καλυψω δια θεαων
Εν σπεσσι γλαφυροισι, λιλαιομενη ποσιν ειναι.

1 Odyſſ. I. v. 12, &c.
2 So I think, it ſhould be corrected,—inſtead of αι δι τ' ανευθε with a parentheſis.—See the concluding chapter.

Ως

Ὡς δ' αυτως Κιρκη κατερητυεν εν μεγαροισιν,
Αιαια, δολοεσσα, λιλαιομενη ῳσσιν ειναι.
Αλλ' εμον ϐποτε θυμον ενι ϛηθεσσιν επειθον.
Ὡς ϐδεν γλυκιον ἡς ῳατριδος, ϐδε τοκηων
Γινεται, ειπερ και τις αποπροθι ῳιονα οικον
Γαιη εν αλλοδαπῃ ναιει απανευθε τοκηων.
Ειδ', αγε τοι και νοϛον εμον ῳολυκηδε' ενισπω,
Ὃν μοι Ζευς εφηκεν απο Τροιηθεν ιοντι.

He then begins his narration in a manner the moſt ſublime——

Ιλιοθεν με Φερων ανεμος Κικονεσσι ῳελασσεν
Ισμαρῳ----κ. τ. λ.

Amid this joyous ſcene you long to know
The unhappy ſeries of a wanderer's woe;
Remembrance ſad! whoſe image to review
Alas! muſt open all my wounds anew.
And oh! what firſt, what laſt ſhall I relate,
Of ills unnumber'd, ſent by heav'n and fate?

And firſt my name permit me to diſcloſe,
That you may know the man of many woes.
And, in my turn, when ſever'd far away,
That I may claim, in virtue of this day,
For years to come, my ſufferings at an end,
The ſacred title of a [1] *Gueſt and Friend.*
In me Ulyſſes view: no vulgar name;
Long ſince for art and wiſdom known to fame:

1 There are many ideas comprehended in the Greek word ξενος, which make it very difficult to be rendered preciſely in any other language.

In Ithaca I hold my regal ſway,
An Iſle all open to departing day.
Here the high mountain Neritus is ſeen,
Conſpicuous far, and ever cloath'd with green.
Next Same and Dulichium appear;
And its high woods Zacynthus waves in air.
Though ſteep and towring, Ithaca ſtill lies
All ſmooth and even to the weſtern ſkies.
But to the eaſt afar the peaſant's toil
Meets with a rugged and unequal ſoil.
Yet ſtill, though rough and barren be the place,
It boaſts a noble and ingenuous race.
Of all the lands beneath the realms of light
No land's ſo pleaſing to my partial ſight.
In vain Calypſo ſtill prolong'd my ſtay
With ſweet, reluctant, amorous delay.
With all her charms as vainly Circe ſtrove,
Each art ſhe temper'd to ſecure my love;
But little could prevail: for all muſt own
This pleaſing truth to each ſad wanderer known;
Whatever comforts crown our diſtant lot,
Our much lov'd Parents cannot be forgot.
And plenteous though the board, and rich the cheer,
Our long loſt Country riſes ſtill more dear.

Hear then the woes, ordain'd by Jove's command,
To wait my paſſage from the Trojan land.
The rapid winds my fleet from Ilium bore
To the Ciconian and Iſmarian [1] *ſhore.*

[1] Theſe lines are altered from the tranſlation of Mr. Pope, whom I ſhould have been glad in every inſtance, to have copied, had it not ſometimes deviated ſo very widely from the original.

Since

Since I prepared the above, I have had more than once the happineſs of converſing with the Honble. Mr. FREDERICK NORTH, whoſe learning is only equalled by his laudable and extenſive curioſity. By this he was led among other places, to viſit the iſland of Ithaca; in which he was detained ſix months. He aſſures me that it is throughout hilly, juſt as Homer has deſcribed it: and to the eaſt (ωρος ηω ηελιοιο) very abrupt, and uneven. But the direction of the iſland is not preciſely eaſt and weſt; but rather to the northweſt and ſoutheaſt. It is likewiſe narrow towards the middle: the two high extremes being joined by a kind of Iſthmus.

Recapitulation.

From the evidence above afforded, I am led to believe, that the family of Homer, came from Egypt, and ſettled in Ithaca: and that this iſland probably gave birth to the Poet. An anonymous writer has favoured the world with a fine epigram, in which he differs from me, and at the ſame time puts a negative to the pretenſions of every claimant.

[1] Ουχι ωεδον Σμυρνης ελοχευσατο θειον Ὁμηρον,
Ου Κολοφων, ωραφερης ασ̃ρον Ιηονιης.
Ου Χιος, ϑκ Αιγυπτος εϋσπορος, ϑ Κυπρις ἄγνη,
Ου νησος κραναη Λαρτιαδαο ωατρη.
Ουϑ Αργος Δαναοιο, Κυκλωπειη τε Μυκηνη,
Ουδε το Κεκροπιων ασ̃υ ωαλαιογονων.
Ου γαρ εφυ χθονος εργον, απ' αιθερος αλλα ξ̃ Μοισαι
Πεμψαν, ἵν' ἡμεριοις δωρα ωοθεινα φερῃ.

[1] Epig. Græc. L. IV. P. 365. Αδεσποτον. Edit. Steph.

From

From theſe verſes, as well as from [1] others upon the ſame ſubject, we may perceive, that many places laid claim to the Poet's birth: and that the pretenſions of all were controverted. If any perſon ſhould out of theſe many places pitch upon Egypt, as the country of his nativity, he might bring very plauſible evidence to countenance his opinion. I have mentioned it, as my belief, that he was of a [2] Mileſian or Ionian family in Egypt, but born in Ithaca, from whence he was abſent for a long ſeaſon. In this interval he viſited Egypt, where it is allowed by all the beſt writers, that he reſided. This reſidence, I ſhould imagine, was of no ſhort duration, during which he improved himſelf in all the learning of the country, and obtained a confirmation of that particular hiſtory, upon which he founded his war of Troy. He appears to have been a great traveller, and engaged in many cruel adventures, and to have been wonderfully preſerved. By theſe means he was for a long time ſeparated from a beloved father, who ſtill ſurvived: alſo from his ſon, and dear [3] Penelope, whoſe virtues, he has recorded in his poems. He had viſited the coaſt of Aſia from the iſland Rhodes to Miletus and Ionia; but was more particularly acquainted with the cities upon the Helleſpont. After a long abſence he returned to his country and friends, and amuſed himſelf with the treaſure of knowledge, which he had acquired in different places. Here he at laſt underwent a great misfortune from a diſorder in his eyes, which terminated in total blindneſs. This led him to divert his melancholy with muſic, and poetry, and to tranſpoſe the hiſtory which he had obtained both in Ithaca and Egypt, and new form it in honour of Greece. He was well fitted for this enterpriſe, for he had

1 Ibid. Epigrams to the ſame purpoſe—Ου μεν σεν Κολοφωνα,—Χιος εφυς, ὁ φημι———κ. τ. λ.

2 Of the Ionians or Mileſians in Egypt, ſee Herodotus, L. 2. C. 152, 154. P. 179.

3 Of this perſon there are many contradictory accounts, as may be ſeen in different writers—particularly Pauſanias. L. 8. P. 684.

a moſt

a moſt exalted, and comprehenſive genius; and his mind was fraught with a large portion of knowledge, acquired from different Countries, and by long obſervation. At the ſame time he had a wonderful ear for harmony; and from the copiouſneſs of his language could expreſs himſelf in the moſt natural and eaſy manner, ſo that there was no ſign of either art, or labour, in his compoſitions. The words flow ſpontaneouſly and with the greateſt eaſe, as if he had been really inſpired. They ſeem always to be moſt happily adapted to the ſubject, which they are made to deſcribe; and the collocation of the terms by it's juſtneſs, and propriety, adds to the energy both of the diction and ſentiments, ſo that whatever he utters, has an immediate and wonderful effect. What therefore Alcinoüs ſays to Ulyſſes, may be juſtly applied to Homer.

[1] Σοι δ' ενι μεν μορφη επεων, ενι δε φρενες εσθλαι,
Μυθον δ' ως ὁ τ' αοιδος επισαμενως κατελεξας
Παντων Αργειων, σεο τ' αυτε κηδεα λυγρα.

Throughout your tale in every part we find
Beauty and ſenſe and harmony combined.
And, like a Bard experienc'd, you diſcloſe
The Grecian labours and your own ſad woes.

Farther evidence concerning the place of his birth.

When he had finiſhed his poems, he ſeems to have gone over Hellas; and rehearſed them in the different Provinces. After this, whether out of choice or neceſſity, is uncertain, he croſſed the ſea, and viſited the

[1] Odyſſ. A. v. 366.

chief

chief cities of the oppoſite coaſt. At this time he probably was quite blind. As the dialect, in which he wrote, was the Iönian, this made him particularly acceptable. One reaſon for his uſing this dialect might be, becauſe of it's ſweetneſs; and it's being particularly adapted to poetry. But, I believe, as I have before ſaid, that he was originally of an Iönian family, which had reſided in Egypt.

He therefore wrote in his native dialect: and this was the reaſon, which induced him to croſs the ſea, and viſit thoſe Cities, where this dialect was ſpoken. The people of thoſe Cities reverſe the hiſtory; and intimate, that he was born among them; and from thence went over to Hellas; but in their accounts they contradict one another. Upon this head I have written before; and have endeavoured to prove that he was not a native of any Aſiatic City. Beſides, the Author of his Life allows, that the knowledge of that hiſtory, upon which he founded his poems, was firſt obtained in Ithaca; undoubtedly from his parents, and relations. To this he added a great deal from his reſearches at Thebes, and Memphis. The people of Ithaca inſiſted, that his blindneſs came upon him, and was unhappily compleated in their iſland; and it is by all confeſſed, that he began his chief works in conſequence of that misfortune. It is therefore reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that theſe works commenced in that iſland; eſpecially, as he certainly reſided here and here received the firſt rudiments of the hiſtory. The Oracle given to the Emperour Adrian makes Ithaca the place of his birth: and Telemachus his father.

1: Αγνωσον

1 Αγνωστον μ' ερεαι γενεην, και πατριδα γαιαν,
Αμβροσιε Σειρηνος; εδος δ' Ιθακησιος εστι,
Τηλεμαχος δε πατηρ, και Νεστορι Επικαση
Μητηρ, ἡ μιν ετικτε βροτων πολυ πανσοφον αλλων.

The race, and happy region, would'ſt thou know,
To which this man, this heavenly Bard, we owe?
From Ithaca he came: his Parents were
Telemachus, and Epicaſte fair,
Neſtor's ſage daughter. From this ſource we find
The Poet roſe, the wiſeſt of mankind.

Though this may have little weight as an oracle, yet it ſhews the opinion of the perſon, or perſons, who ſent the anſwer; and proves, that there was a tradition to this purpoſe. There is reaſon to think, that we ſhould have found theſe traditions more numerous, and more preciſe, had not Ithaca been ſo ignoble. But the obſcurity of the iſland brought a cloud upon the hiſtory: hence the original evidence, which exiſted, has been rendered dark, and imperfect; or elſe totally annihilated.

We have ſeen, that the people of Colophon among others, claimed the honour of the Poet's birth; yet a perſon of that city, notwithſtanding his prejudices, will be found to give atteſtation to many things, which tend to make void this claim. At leaſt he confirms the opinion of Homer's long reſiding in Ithaca. He likewiſe affords wonderful evidence in ſupport of my conjectures, concerning the hidden purport of the two principal poems; and that the Poet in deſcribing the ſufferings of others has afforded a picture of his own adventures, and misfortunes. Laſtly we ſhall find it intimated by this writer, that the Penelope of Ulyſſes was really

1 Homeri et Heſiodi Certamen. P. 2.

Homer's wife; from whence we may conclude, that Telemachus was his ſon, though by ſome repreſented as his father. And from theſe data we may farther infer, that thoſe affecting interviews between theſe three perſons after a long ſeparation, which are ſo pathetically deſcribed in the Odyſſea, were in a great degree founded in truth. This intelligence is contained in ſome verſes taken from the Ερωτικα of Hermeſionax: which I do not remember to have ever ſeen quoted. He was a poet of early date, and of Colophon, and he is mentioned by Plutarch, and Pauſanias, as a writer of merit. The purport of the lines, though few, is of much conſequence.

[1] Αυτος δ' ὅτος αοιδος, ὁν εκ Διος αισα φυλασσει,
Ἡδιστον ϖαντων Δαιμονα μουσοϖολων,
Λεπτηνγ' εις Ιθακην ανετεινετο Θειος Ὁμηρος
Ωδῃσιν ϖινυτης εινεκα Πηνελοϖης,
Ἣν δια ϖολλα ϖαθων ολιγην εσεϋασσατο νησον,
Πολλον απ' ευρειης λειϖομενος ϖατριδος.
Εκλαιεν δ' Ικαρε τε γενος, και δημον Αμυκλε,
Και Σϖαρτην, ιδιων ἁϖτομενος ϖαθεων.

This great Poet, whoſe works are ſo providentially preſerved, the divinely inſpired Homer, of all bards the ſupreme, condeſcended to retire to the mean Iſland of Ithaca out of love to Penelope, with whoſe wiſdom he was inamoured. After having undergone much upon her account, he took up his reſidence in that contracted ſpot, far removed from his own more extenſive Country. His Poems afford a ſad narrative of the houſe of Icarus, and it's calamities: alſo of thoſe, of Amyclæ and Sparta: in all which he covertly alludes to his own ſufferings and misfortunes.

[1] Hermeſionactis Erotica, apud Athenæum. L. 13. P. 597.

Theſe

Theſe are very beautiful lines, as they ſtand in the original, in which the Author being of Colophon ſeems to intimate, that Homer was of that part of the world. Setting this aſide, we have ſome very intereſting intelligence afforded within a ſmall compaſs. If then Penelope was not only of the ſame æra, as Homer, but the object of his affection, and as we may truly infer, his wife; and if his reſidence, if not his birth, was in Ithaca; laſtly, if in the ſufferings of the Hero we read the hiſtory of the Poet, that hiſtory from theſe evidences receives great light. Almoſt all the perſons, who were the reputed friends of the Poet, and whoſe names out of gratitude he has inſerted in his two poems, were of Ithaca, or ſome neighbouring region. Hence, of all the places, which laid claim to the birth of Homer, I am induced to give the preference to that iſland. Here Homer wrote, διωνάμτομενος παθεων—with a retroſpect to his own life, and the calamities, which he had experienced.

The Concluſion.

My original purpoſe was to ſhew, that the expedition of the Grecians againſt Troy was a mere fiction, that no ſuch armament ever took place: nor could any general confederacy, among the various and remote ſtates of Greece have been made, eſpecially in ſuch early times. There is reaſon to think, that many of thoſe ſtates did not exiſt; or if any ſuch were founded, ſtill they were humble, and limited, and excepting by inroads and plunder, they kept up little correſpondence with their neighbours. Among many other arguments, I have mentioned, that the magnitude of the armament renders it incredible. For it is found to be

 ſuperior

ſuperior to that, which was ſent out many ages afterwards, when Greece was in the height of it's power, and engaged with a very formidable enemy, at a time, when their lives, and liberties, and all that could be dear to them, were in the utmoſt danger. I have likewiſe introduced the evidence of two perſons of great conſequence; Metrodorus of Lampſacus, and Anaxagoras of the ſame place, who was the preceptor of Socrates. They both lived in the region called afterwards Troas; and muſt have been acquainted with the opinion of the natives, and the hiſtory of the place. They both maintained that the Ilias was an allegory, and that no ſuch war was carried on as deſcribed by Homer. Steſichorus, an ancient writer maintained the ſame to the [1] laſt. Demetrius, ſo often mentioned by Strabo, was born at Scepſis, a place of repute and ſcience, towards the bottom of Mount Ida; bordering upon the very ſcene of thoſe great actions which are diſplayed in the Poem. But he never could diſcover the leaſt veſtige of Troy; nor deviſe where the city ſtood. Strabo was equally uncertain: for the natives could afford no intelligence; or if any was obtained, it proved inconſiſtent, and of little moment. Of theſe inconſiſtences, and contradictions, many inſtances have been given; and the reſult of the whole has been, that both the place, and the hiſtory, with which it is connected, was a poetical apologue: whatever truth remained, was borrowed and tranſpoſed, being originally of another clime.

This inveſtigation I more readily undertook, as it affords an excellent contraſt with the ſacred writings. The more we ſearch into the very ancient records of Rome or Greece, the greater darkneſs and uncertainty enſue. None of them can ſtand the teſt of cloſe examination. Upon a minute inſpection all becomes dark and doubtful, and often inconſiſtent. But when we encounter the Sacred Volume, even in parts of far higher

[1] Στησιχορος— εν τη ὑστερα ωδη. Photius P. 431.

antiquity,

antiquity, the deeper we go, the greater treaſure we find. The various parts are ſo conſiſtent, that they afford mutual illuſtration; and the more earneſtly we look, the greater light accrues, and conſequently the greater ſatisfaction. So it has always appeared to me, who have looked diligently, and examined; and I truſt, I have not been miſtaken.

There is certainly a great deal of falſe, and unprofitable hiſtory tranſmitted to us; no perſon can be ſo hardy, as to deny it. And it muſt ever be of ſervice to true knowledge to prune the Tree of ſcience of it's ſpurious and ſuperfluous branches. Should what I have here written be true, I hope my word will be taken in things of more conſequence.

APPENDIX.

Farther Obſervations upon the lines quoted from Homer's Odyſſea. L. IX. V. 21, &c. &c.

In the paſſage, to which I allude, Ulyſſes is made firſt of all to diſcover himſelf to Alcinoüs, by informing him of his name, and family. Ειμ' Οδυσευς Λαερτιαδης. He then tells him the place of his habitation, and the iſlands in it's vicinity.

Ναιεταω δ' Ιθακην ευδειελον, εν δ' ορος αυτη
Νηριτον, εινοσιφυλλον, αριπρεπες· αμφι δε νησοι
Πολλαι ναιεταωσι μαλα σχεδον αλληλησι,
Δουλιχιον τε Σαμη τε, και υλησσα Ζακυνθος.

We are now brought to the affected part, in which there ſeems to be a corruption of the text: and this evil is of long ſtanding, having been admitted

admitted into the text before the time of Strabo, or the Scholiaſts. The Hero in deſcribing his own iſland Ithaca is made to ſay,

Αυτη δε χθαμαλη πανυπερτατη ειν αλι κειται
Προς ζοφον (αι δε τ' ανευθε προς ηω τ' ηελιοντε)
Τρηχεια· αλλ' αγαθη κεροτροφος· ετι εγωγε,
Ης γαιης δυναμαι γλυκερωτερον αλλο ιδεσθαι.

Before I proceed to the chief object in view, I ſhall take notice of the Poet's words, when he deſcribes the iſland as χθαμαλη πανυπερτατη. The term χθαμαλη is interpreted by the Scholiaſt and Strabo, *low* and *depreſſed*.----χθαμαλη γαρ ἡ ταπεινη, και χαμαλη. Strabo L. 10. P. 697. The Scholiaſt aſks very properly----πως αν πανυπερτατη; *if it were low, how can it be ſtyled very high?* But with due ſubmiſſion both to the Scholiaſt and Strabo, I do not think that they have preciſely taken the Poet's meaning, who, if examined, will prove his beſt interpreter. He introduces the word χθαμαλος not merely as low, but to ſignify *plain* and *level*; in oppoſition to τρηχεια, which follows. Thus he ſpeaks of two rocks; one of which was high with a ſharp ſummit---οξεια κορυφη. The other though high was more level, and ſmooth—τον δ' ἑτερον σκοπελον χθαμαλωτερον. Odyſſ. M. v. 73. and v. 101. Conformably to this Heſychius renders χθαμαλος—ισος και ὁμαλος. Hence it is eaſy to anſwer the queſtion of the Scholiaſt—πως αν πανυπερταλον; for the higheſt ground may be ſmooth and level, and the loweſt rough and uneven. High ground, when thus level and ſmooth is by our Navigators ſtiled table-land; of which there is a remarkable inſtance at the Cape of Good Hope, which gives name to the Bay. The Grecians called any eminence of this ſort Τραπεζα. Such was this high ground, which the Poet ſtyles χθαμαλη πανυπερτατη.

As

As the Iſland Ithaca lay for the moſt part in a direction eaſt and weſt, it was Homer's deſign to give a deſcription of it, as it extended προς ζοφον, *to the weſt*, and afterwards to proceed to the other extremity—προς ηω, *towards the eaſt*. But in the midſt of this deſcription a parentheſis has by miſtake been formed, the moſt unfortunate, that ever was deviſed: and the text in conſequence of it has been corrupted, to the ruin of the Poet's purpoſe. We are firſt told of the Iſland,

Αυτη δε χθαμαλη πανυπερτατη ειν αλι κειται
Προς ζοφον.—Then comes the parentheſis—
(αι δε τ' ανευθε προς ηω τ' ηελιον τε)

To theſe is added abſolute, and without any connexion or ſupport----

1 Τρηχεια: which appears to be contrary to the Poet's meaning; and contrary to grammatical uſage. But there is another circumſtance, which requires conſideration. The other Iſlands do not lie as repreſented to the eaſt; but for the moſt part in a contrary direction: of which we may be certified by the beſt Geographers of old, and by Spon, Cellarius, and d'Anville of the Moderns. Dulichium was a very ſmall iſland, and may not be preciſely determined. But the two larger Zacynthus, and Same, called alſo Cephalenia, lay to the weſt, in a quite contrary ſituation to that ſuppoſed above. The preſent reading therefore cannot be true, and the original meaning of the Poet has been unwarrantably corrupted.

Therefore to eſtabliſh the true reading, I ſhall take away the parentheſis, and proceed upon this principle; that the Poet intended in this paſſage to

1 The plain verſion is as follows:
Ithaca is ſituated in the ſea with high table land to the weſt: (but the other iſlands lie to the eaſt) rough. Some make a ſtop at the end of the firſt line, and read—Προς ζοφον (αι δε τ' ανευθε προς ηω τ' ηελιοντε) Τρηχεια. *To the weſt, (but the other iſlands are to the eaſt) rough.* Either way it ſeems to approach to nonſenſe.

give

give a ſhort deſcription of the Iſland as it lay eaſt and weſt. And inſtead of the words---ἀι δε τ' ανευθε, I would read αυταρ [1] ανευθε, by which means the whole paſſage will be rendered intelligible, and at the ſame time conſonant to the truth.

Αυτη δε χθαμαλη παντυπερτατη ειν ἁλι κειται
Προς ζοφον· αυταρ ανευθε προς ηω ηελιον τε
Τρηχεια.

The land lies high and ſmooth to the weſt, but apart to the eaſt and riſing ſun very rough---He adds---Αλλ' αγαθη κουροτροφος---yet however *rough, it produces an excellent race of people.*

Ου τι εγωγε
Ης γαιης δυναμαι γλυκερωτερον αλλο ιδεσθαι.
There is nothing in the whole world more acceptable and pleaſing in my ſight.

The poet in another place ſpeaks of the Iſland as in general rugged, and unfit for riding

Ἡ μεν τοι τρηχεια, και ου τ' ἱππηλατος εστιν.

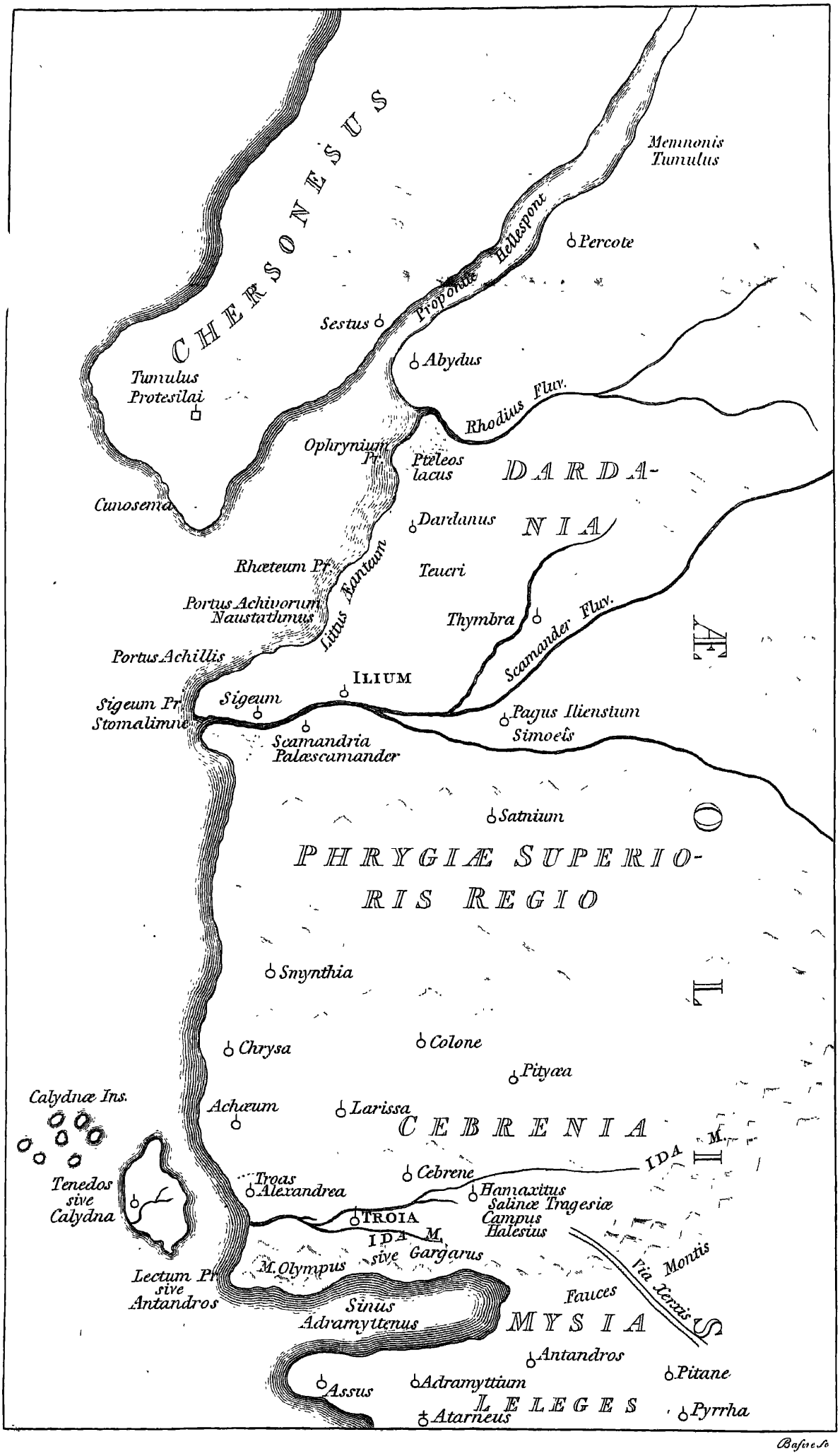
Odyſſ. N. 242.

He ſtyles it κραναην, παιπολοεσσαν, σειραν·

1. ανευ, ανευθεν. χωρις, διχα. Heſych.
Νυν δε δη εγγυθι μοι θανατος κακος, ουδε τ' ανευθεν.
Ilias, X. 390.

Concerning

A MAP OF TROAS.



Basire Sc.

Concerning the ſituation of Troy according to the idea of Homer.

Though the hiſtory of the Trojan war, as deſcribed by Homer, is a fable; and probably no ſuch City ever exiſted in the region, where he has placed it; yet he formed in idea a ſcene of action, and that ſcene he diverſified with a number of objects. Theſe upon examination we ſhall find more preciſely pointed out, than is uſual in a fiction, and the Poet in general will appear very conſiſtent. Yet notwithſtanding this accuracy he has been often miſunderſtood, and his purpoſe miſtaken. It may poſſibly be of ſervice to thoſe, who read him, and particularly to young Perſons, to have ſome of theſe miſtakes pointed out, and his meaning aſcertained.

A wrong notion about the name Troy.

It ſhall therefore be my firſt endeavour to obviate a notion, which has ſometimes obtained, that the name of Τροιη, Troy, in Homer, never relates to a City, but to the region called in later times Troas. For they ſay that the City was by moſt Geographers, and particularly by the natives ſtyled Ilium. But this is a miſtake in reſpect to the Poet: for there are numberleſs paſſages in the Ilias, which ſhew, that by the name of Troy the chief City was ſignified, and not the region adjacent.

Achilles early inthe firſt Book tells Agamemnon, that his loſs in Briſeïs ſhould be amply repaid, whenever the Grecians took the City Troy.——

——————————αικε ποτε Ζευς
Δωσι πολιν Τροιην ευτειχεον εξαλαπαξαι. Α. 129.

Hector deſcribes it as ευπυργος, *well fortified,*

Εισοκεν η υμεις Τροιην ευπυργον ελητε. Η. 71.

When Patroclus drives the Trojans before him it is ſaid——

Ενθα κεν υψιπυλον Τροιην ελον υιες Αχαιων
Πατροκλε υπο χειρος. Η. 698.

Then would the Grecians have taken Troy with it's lofty gates through the proweſs of Patroclus. The ſame is repeated upon the attack made by Achilles. Φ. 544. The terms, which the Poet here uſes, ευπυργον, ευτειχεον, υψιπυλον, and which deſcribe a place *well fortified with towers,* and *with goodly walls,* and *lofty gates,* cannot relate to a region, but manifeſtly denote a City ſo ſecured. Indeed the firſt quotation is ſufficient to evince this, where Troy is expreſſly called, πολιν Τροιην, *the City Troy.* It may therefore appear unneceſſary to have ſaid ſo much upon the ſubject: but as I have known the opinion blindly maintained, it ſeemed not amiſs to give it a full confutation. Strabo certainly does make uſe of the word Troja for the region Troas; but that does not hinder it's being adapted to a City by the Poet.

Opinions concerning the ſituation of the Camp and City.

Homer places the Camp of the Grecians upon the Helleſpont; and between the camp and city, which was inland, lay the Plain of Troy, the ſcene of all the heroic actions. The queſtion therefore is, what are we to underſtand by the Helleſpont? Herodotus ſuppoſes it to be that narrow paſs towards the bottom of the Propontis, by which Europe was divided

vided from Aſia: and that on the eaſtern ſide it reached from Lampſacus to Abydus. L. v. C. 117. P. 435. Other writers have been of the ſame opinion: Strabo particularly ſeems to favour it. L. 2. P. 186. and L. 13. P. 873.

But this narrow frith at the mouth of the Propontis, was not above ſeven furlongs acroſs; and is ſaid by Mr. Wood, to be ſo like a river, that a perſon, who did not know the contrary, would from it's appearance, judge it to be nothing elſe. But the Helleſpont of Homer was a part of the ſea, called by the Helladian Greeks Ægean: a name which ſeems not to have been known by the Greeks of Aſia. He deſcribes it, as *wide, large, extenſive,* and even *boundleſs*; alſo as *foaming, boiſterous, dark,* and *ſtormy.*

Σημα δε δι χευσωσιν επι πλατει Ἑλλησποντῳ· Η. 86.
----------επι πλατυν Ἑλλησποντον. P. 432.
----------παρ' αγαρροον Ἑλλησποντον. M. 30.
----------Ἑλλησποντος απειρων· Ω. 542.
Ακτη επι προυχουσῃ, επι πλατει Ἑλλησποντῳ· Ω. 82.

In none of theſe inſtances did the Poet by the Helleſpont, mean the Canal of Abydus, though it was by ſome writers taken in that acceptation. He would never have called the ſea *wide,* where it was moſt *narrow,* nor *large* and *boundleſs,* where it was moſt *contracted.* He always ſpeaks of it with a greater latitude, and deſcribes it as a portion of the ſea; hence it is often ſtyled by him, πουτος, ἁλς, θαλασσα, terms inconſiſtent with a mere ſtrait or channel. It is true, that this ſtrait widens above, as people proceed upwards, quite to Lampſacus, which ſome make the ultimate of the Helleſpont that way; and the Deity of that place is called Deus Helleſpontiacus.

pontiacus. But who ever placed Troy at Lampſacus or near it? The Helleſpont of Homer was the upper part of the Ægean Sea; though he calls it not by that name. It bounded Myſia to the eaſt, where ſtood the city Gargara, near Ida Gargarus. *Gargara ſunt in Myſiâ, quæ eſt Helleſponti Provincia.* Macrob. L. 5. C. 20. P. 362.

Farther Proofs.

In conformity to this, when people go and come, and affairs are tranſacted in the Grecian Camp, the whole is repreſented as carried on near the ſea, and ſeaſhore. Thus when Chryſes, the Prieſt of Apollo departs from the tent of Agamemnon, it is ſaid of him,

Βη δ' αχεων παρα θινα πολυφλοισβοιο θαλασσης. A. 34.

He bent his way ſorrowing by the ſhore of the hoarſe reſounding ſea. In like manner, when the Heralds are ſent after Briſeïs to the tent of Achilles, they go by the ſtrand, or ſeaſide.

Τω δ' ασχοντε βατην παρα θιν' αλος ατρυγετοιο. A. 327.
They went unwillingly along the ſeaſhore.

Achilles is afterwards deſcribed, as ſitting in a melancholy ſtate.

Θιν' εφ' αλος πολιης, ὁρων επι οινοπα ποντον. A. 350.

Upon the beach of the hoary ſea, and poring on the darkſome deep. The Ships of the Grecians are repreſented as drawn up---θιν' εφ' αλος πολιης. Δ. 248. upon the ſame ſeaſhore. When after the fatigue of the day the other Grecians retire to their tents; Achilles lies down, and repoſes upon the bare beach.

Πηλειδης

Πηλείδης δ' επι θινα πολυφλοισβοιο θαλασσης
Κειτο βαρυστεναχων πολεσιν μετα Μυρμιδονεσσιν
Εν καθαρῳ, ὁθι κυματ' επ' ηϊονος κλυζεσκον· Ψ. 58.

He lay deeply moaning with his Myrmidons around him upon the ſhore of the boiſterous ſea, in a part clear of weeds, where the waves were continually beating.

Many other inſtances might be brought to prove, that the Helleſpont of Homer was part of the ſea. The very terms of which it is compounded (Ἑλλης ποντος) manifeſtly ſhew it. The terms alſo ἁλς, and θαλασσα, by which it is often deſcribed, cannot be otherwiſe applied: eſpecially when they are accompanied with the words πολιος, πολυφλοισβος, ἀπειρων.

As both the City and the camp are by Homer thus uniformly deſcribed, as upon, or near, the ſea, thoſe Perſons, who have placed them in this ſituation below Abydus, ſhould have ſhewn that the Helleſpont was here. Otherwiſe they appear in continual contradiction to the words of the Poet, if taken in their common acceptation. Yet I do not remember, that this was ever performed.

The ſituation of the City farther deſcribed.

Though many like Strabo have very properly brought the City ſomewhat lower down towards Ilium, and the Pagus Ilienſium, yet they do not make it anſwer to the idea of Homer. He places it at the moſt ſouthern part of Mount Ida, called Lectum, Gargarus, and Antandros. It muſt therefore have been ſome few miles beyond the City, built afterwards by Antigonus, and called Antigonia, and Alexandrea Troas;

Troas; which was upon the ſeacoaſt, and neareſt to the mountain of any. To this part of the Ida, which is diſtinguiſhed by the names above, the Poet often brings Jupiter, and other Deities; and from this eminence they looked down upon the City and Plain, and had a view of every thing, which was going forward. We have an inſtance to this purpoſe in the eighth book, where Jupiter is brought to Gargarus, and has a full view of the Camp and City.

Ιδὴν δ' ἱκανεν πολυπιδακα, μητερα θηρων,
Γαργαρον' v. 48.
Αυτος δ' εν κορυφῃσι καθεζετο κυδει γαιων,
Εισοροων Τρωων τε πολιν, και νηας Αχαιων.

I have mentioned, that this part of Ida was alſo called Lectum: and hither Juno is repreſented as leading the God of ſleep, in order to lull Jupiter to reſt.

Ιδὴν δ' ἱκανον πολυπιδακα, μητερα θηρων,
Λεκτον——ξ. v. 283.

Jupiter at laſt awakes, and looks down upon the field of battle; where he ſees the Trojans put to flight, and Hector lying wounded upon the plain.

Ἑκτορα δ' εν πεδιῳ ιδε κειμενον—Θ. v. 8.

This place of proſpect was a great way from the Propontic Helleſpont, and Abydus, as we may learn from the beſt Geographers. The beginning of this narrow paſs is by Pliny placed at the Promontory Trapeza, which he ſays was [1] eighteen miles above Dardanus. *Impetum (forte initium) deinde ſumit Helleſpontus—Promontorium id appellavi-*

1 It ſhould probably be octo, eight, for Strabo makes the diſtance 70 ſtadia.—M. P. 8. ¾. Antoninus ſpeaks of it as nine miles compleat.

mus.

mus Trapezam. Ab eo decem millia paſſuum Abydum oppidum, ubi anguſtiæ ſeptem ſtadiorum. L. 5. C. 32. p. 288. Now the diſtance from the Southern part of Ida muſt have been very conſiderable, as we may learn from the liſt of places afforded by Pliny, moſt of which lay between. He begins from the ſouth, where was the paſſage through the mountain, by which armies paſſed, and the next place, that occurred, was Hamaxitus. *----dein Cebrenia, ipſaque Troas, Antigonia dicta, nunc Alexandria, Colonia Romanorum; Oppidum Nee; Scamander, amnis navigabilis; et in promontorio quondam Sigeum oppidum; dein Portus Achivorum, in quem influit Xanthus Simoenti junctus, ſtagnumque prius faciens Palæſcamander.——Extra ſinum ſunt Rhætea littora, Rhæteo, Dardanio et Ariſbe oppidis habitata----a Rhæteo Dardanium oppidum parvum, abeſt ſtadia 70. Inde 18 M. promontorium Trapeza, unde primum concitat ſe Helleſpontus.* L. v. C. 30. p. 282. The order of places, as afforded by Herodotus, is much the ſame. He mentions Antandros, which ſtood at the foot of Ida, but beyond it to the ſouth, and which Xerxes in his march did not viſit, but paſſed it on his left hand. The next taken notice of upwards is the Regio Ilienſium, Scamander, Ilium, Rhœteum, Ophrynium, Dardanus, Abydus. L. 7. C. 42. p. 530. Strabo gives the diſtances of ſome of theſe places, proceeding in a different courſe from north to ſouth, p. 889. Ειτα νυν μετ' Αβυδον κ. τ. λ. *After Abydus we meet with the promontory Dardanis ---and a City Dardanus, ſeventy ſtadia* (nearly nine miles) *below the former: and between them runs the river Rhodius.---Near to theſe is a place called Ophrynium, in which is a grove ſacred to Hector upon an eminence, and a marſhy ſpot called Pteleus. Next in order comes Rhæteum, where is a City, ſituated upon high ground; and hence a length of ſeacoaſt called Æanteum, where is to be ſeen the Tomb and Temple of Ajax.----After this we meet with the ruins of the City Sigeum; and the naval encampment of*

the

the Grecians: alſo a place called Stomalimna, where the Scamander has it's outlet to the ſea.----The length of the ſeacoaſt from the Rhœtean Promontory to the Tomb of Achilles at Sigeum amounts in a ſtrait line to ſixty ſtadia: near ſeven miles and a half. He afterwards ſpeaks of Chryſa, Lariſſa, Hamaxitus, and other places to the ſouth near Lectum, and ſays, that they were all within view of Ilium. But it muſt have been a very diſtant view; for he deſcribes it as εν διακοσιοις σταδιοις, η μικρῳ πλειοσιν, about two hundred ſtadia, and perhaps a few more, which muſt be equal to twenty ſix miles. L. 13. p. 902. B. At the ſame time he mentions, that Abydus above was about the like diſtance, or rather leſs. Hence the whole interval from Abydus to the Cities above ſpecified was about fifty Miles.

We have a particular account of the diſtances of ſome of the principal places in the Itinerary of Antoninus, p. 334.

Abydus	
Dardanus	MP. IX.
Ilium	MP. XII.
Troas	MP. XVI.
Antandros	MP. XXXV.

Here it is proper to take notice, that the City Antandros ſtood towards the bottom of Ida, but on the ſouthern ſide, contrary to Lectum, and Gargarus on the northern ſide, where the Gods are ſuppoſed to have taken their ſtation. We are informed by the Itinerary, that the whole interval was ſeventy and two miles. Hence we may form ſome judgment of the diſtance of Abydus from Lectum, which was nearer.

Ptolemy affords us the latitudes of the chief places in this part of Phrygia in degrees and parts: but his account does not ſeem to have been accurately

accurately transſmitted. Thoſe, with which we are principally concerned, ſtand as follow. p. 135.

Abydus	μα.	δ.	41°.	15.
Ilium	μα.		41°.	0
Scamandri Oſtia	μα.		41°.	0
Lectum	μ.	γ.	40°.	20

I have inſerted Ilium 41°. though it is not introduced by Ptolemy till p. 137, where it is placed in the ſame degree of latitude, as the Scamander, near which it ſtood. The interval between Abydus and Lectum, if the numbers are true, is in extent fifty five minutes of a degree, or about 63 miles and a quarter. The diſtance cannot be preciſely obtained from Antoninus, as he does not mention Lectum. It is however taken notice of by Strabo, who ſeems to make the interval much leſs; and in extent not above fifty miles; of which, he ſays, the city Ilium made nearly one half. This half lay—εν διακοσιοις σαδιοις, η μικρῳ πλειοσιν, *within the compaſs of two hundred ſtadia, or ſomewhat more* (about 26 miles) from the city to Lectum. But from Ilium to Abydus was not quite ſo far---μικρον εγγυτερω ἡ Λβυδος. Strabo L. 13. P. 902.

Let us then abide by the ſmaller diſtance, and form our judgment accordingly. When therefore the Poet brings his Deities to Lectum and Gargarus to ſee the ſcene of operation; that ſcene could not be near Abydus. And when Jupiter is deſcribed ---

Εισοροων Τρωων τε πολιν και νηας Αχαιων,

neither the City, nor the Ships were fifty miles off. But why do I mention Abydus at the extremity of the region? Even the river Scamander, and Ilium ſeated near it, were at the diſtance of twenty ſix

miles, thus preciſely ſtated by Strabo. At the ſame time the whole Country was divided by ridges of hills, which paſſed from the foot of Mount Ida to the ſea and precluded any diſtant view. In ſhort the Poet's intention was to place the Deities in a ſituation, where they could look down, and have an immediate and near view of the City, and plain, and all the proceſs of war. This was impoſſible at the diſtance of twenty ſix miles, or even of ten. The Poet uniformly deſcribes a near view; ſuch as they had at other times from the beautiful hill Callicolone, which ſtood almoſt in the field of battle. To this there may be objected that the City Troy, according to the diſpoſition above, not only could not have been near Abydus, but not even in the vicinity of the Simoeis or Scamander. It muſt have ſtood many miles to the ſouth of theſe rivers, which makes the Poet appear quite inconſiſtent. I anſwer, moſt undoubtedly: and every Writer of a complicated fable will be always more or leſs inconſiſtent. If the City was near the Scamander, he ſhould never have ſent his Gods twenty ſix, or thirty, miles ſouth to get a view of it. Or *vice verſâ*, if he would bring his Jupiter to the eminence at Ida, he ſhould have placed his City and the ſhips as many miles nearer, where they might be plainly ſeen. And indeed he did place them much nearer, as has been ſhewn.

But here we argue, as if the two rivers mentioned by Pliny, Ptolemy, and other Writers, were the real Simoeis, and Scamander; of which I much doubt. For this part of Phrygia, at the ſuppoſed æra of the Trojan war, was poſſeſſed by Thracians, by whom moſt of the places were denominated. Strabo L. 13. p. 883. But when afterwards the Æolian Colonies got poſſeſſion of the Country, they added other names, and tried to make the ſitus locorum correſpond with the deſcription given by the Poet. But this could never be uniformly effected; for the Wri-

ters

ters could never agree. Of this we may reſt aſſured, that if the Hill Lectum was the place of proſpect, the objects to be ſeen muſt have been near it. The Portus Achivorum, and the naval encampment, and the City above, could not have ſtood, where they have been placed by Pliny and Strabo; and where they have been vainly ſought for by modern Travellers. Between the ſeacoaſt and Hamaxitus ſtood Troy, according to the deſcription of the Poet. Hamaxitus itſelf was ſituated beneath Lectum, as we are informed by Strabo------τῳ Λεκτῳ ὑποκειμενη συνεχης ἡ Αμαξιτος. L. 13. p. 901.

An Objection.

Here we may be aſked, how it comes to paſs, if this be the ſituation of Troy, that the two rivers ſo particularly mentioned in it's vicinity are not here to be found? To this I anſwer, that there may be ſuch [1] rivers, though not yet diſcovered, as theſe parts have not been properly viſited. But whether there be any ſtreams or not, cannot avail againſt the diſpoſition of Troy above given; which is founded upon the evidence both of Homer, and Virgil. If there be any failing, they muſt anſwer it, for it does not belong to me to make good any deficiency. Dr. Pocock examined part of the Country about Troas, called now Eſki-Stamboul. He went ſo far eaſt as to arrive at ſome hot baths and ſalt ſprings: ſuch as were known to have been in the Campus Haleſius, and the Trageſiæ Salinæ. But he did not go ſufficiently ſouth, to make any diſcoveries in thoſe parts. He however mentions a ſtream, called by the Natives Aychſu, which probably was an arm of ſome river. I have in my poſſeſſion a Copy of a large Map of Troas, communicated ſome years ago by the

1 The River Cilleus near Antandros. Strabo L. 13. P. 911.

ingenious Author of Balbeck and Palmyra. It contains an ample view of Troas, as it now appears: and there are to be ſeen ſeveral fountains and ſtreams, which croſs the Country eaſtward, and ſeem to be connected with ſome more notable river, by which they are carried in a different direction to the ſea. Here perhaps may be one day found the Scamander of the Poet.

The evidence of Virgil concerning the Place of Troy.

To the arguments above let me add the authority of Virgil concerning the ſituation of this City. He places it within ſight of Tenedos, and, as it is intimated, oppoſite to it. *Eſt in conſpectu Tenedos.* From this Iſland the two ſerpents came, by which Laocoon and his ſons were ſlain.

Ecce autem gemini a Tenedo tranquilla per alta,
(Horreſco referens) immenſis orbibus, angues
Incumbunt pelago. L. 2. v. 203.

The ſame hiſtory is given by Quintus Smyrnæus, but he calls the iſland, whence they came, Calydne. There was a cluſter of Iſlands near Tenedos called Καλυδναι: hence this iſland had this name among others.

ἡν τε Καλυδνην
Λαοι κικλησκεσιν, εσω ἁλος, αντια Τροιης. p. 46.

By which we find, that this Poet alſo places Tenedos oppoſite to Troy.

Virgil likewiſe deſcribes the City as directly under Antandros, which he repreſents as one of the ſummits of Ida. Here Æneas built his Ships---

Claſſemque ſub ipſâ
Antandro ac Phrygiæ molimur montibus Idæ.

The

The City Antandros was in Myſia to the ſouth of Ida. It ſtood inland and upon no particular eminence: but this was a ſummit of the mountain, and the region immediately below was called Antandria, and was near Hamaxitus and Neandria. Strabo L. 13. p. 903. The ſame Writer ſpeaks of another eminence of Ida, which he ſtyles Cylleus, and places it between Mount Gargara and Antandros---Ορος μεταξυ Γαργαρων και Ανταν̃δρ. L. 13. p. 911. To this Hill (Antandros) Æneas ſeems to have retired with his Father, the night, when the City was burnt, and beneath the ſame he built his ſhips; at it was a part of Lectum, the neareſt to the ſea, and the moſt convenient for the conſtructing and launching of a fleet. Hence he ſays, that he built his ſhips---ſub ipſâ Antandro; *cloſe under* the Mountain,---*immediately* beneath it. All theſe circumſtances prove plainly, where the City Troy is placed by Homer; and we may be aſſured, that it was not far from the Troas Alexandrea built afterwards upon the coaſt, and not far from Hamaxitus towards the bottom of Ida. Hence it is, that the judgment of Paris is referred to this part of the mountain, which was from him called alſo Alexandrea.—Αλεξανδρειαν, ὁτι τας Θεας κριθηναι φασιν ὑπο τ̃ Παριδος. Strabo. L. 13. p. 904. All theſe places, which were reputed to have been in the vicinity of Troy, are far removed from the narrow paſs of the ſuppoſed Helleſpont; and many miles diſtant from Ilium, and the Pagus Ilienſis below. The City Antandros beyond Adramyttium was ſtill farther.

This lower part of Ida had many names as we have ſeen, and among theſe was Olympus, whither Jupiter, and other Deities betook themſelves to have a view of the City and plain. This muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the heavenly Olympus, where the Gods aſſembled in council,

Ζευς δε Θεων αγορην ποιησατο τερπικεραυνος
Αιπροτατη κορυφη πολυδειραδος Ουλυμποιο. Θ. v. 2.

As

As this latter eminence abounded with ridges and necks of land, one would imagine, that it was a hill upon earth. But we are informed, that it was not ſo; and the Poet very plainly ſhews the difference in ſeveral places, but particularly Θ. v. 2. and v. 45. Here Jupiter is repreſented as going from Olympus in heaven to Ida Gargarus.---His way lay μεσσηγυς γαιης τε και ουρανϑ---whence it appears, that they were widely ſeparated. But this Ida Gargarus, the ſame as Lectum and Antandros, at leaſt a neighbouring ſummit of the ſame mountain, had alſo the name of Olympus. There were ſeveral ſo called, and among theſe Strabo mentions one upon Ida near Antandria in Troas. Ἐις. λοφος (Ολυμπος) της Ιδης κατ' Ανταν̃δριαν..

Hither Menelaus was ordered to repair, and offer a ſacrifice, before he left the Country;

την κατ' Ιδαιαν χϑονα

Πειμνας Ολύμπϑ συναγαγων Θυηπολει. Sophocles apud Strab. L. 12. p. 721.

The ſame Writer informs us, that this part of that ſouthern ridge was indifferently called both Olympus and Ida. Την τε Ιδην και τον Ολυμπον συγκεχυμενως πολλακις, ὡς το αυτο ορος, κτυπϑσιν. L. 10. p. 720. Here I muſt repeat my argument, that the City Troy was aſſigned by Homer to the moſt ſouthern part of Troas. Here it was bounded by Mount Ida under different denominations, and ſeparated from Adramyttium and Myſia below. With this part of Troas, and with this only, the chief articles in the hiſtory of Troy can be made to correſpond.

Troy

Troy as repreſented by Homer.

I have mentioned it, as my opinion, that no ſuch City as Troy in Phrygia ever exiſted, and for this I have given my reaſons. But ſhould any perſon be deſirous to confute me, it will give me ſo little concern to be convinced, that I ſhall be glad to point out the only way, by which it can be effected. Whoever, as a Traveller, viſits this part of the coaſt, which is bounded by the Archipelago, ſhould confine himſelf to the particular ſpot, where Lectum and Antandros ſtood, and which ſeems to have been never explored. The Mountain here forms a promontory near Eſki-Stamboul; which promontory is now called Cape Bebouro according to D' Anville, but by others Cape Baba. This was formerly Lectum, and near it to the north are the ruins of ancient Troas Alexandrea. Whoever will be at the pains to ſearch towards the bottom of this mountain towards the eaſt, beyond thoſe ſtately ruins, may poſſibly obtain intelligence, with which the Greeks and Romans were not acquainted. Names of places, though liable to ſome alteration, yet ſurvive for ages, and if any tradition of ſuch a City remains, it is to be ſought for here; for in this part of the region ſtood the Troy of Homer, and here only can it be looked for with any proſpect of ſucceſs. Though after all, the diſcovery of the City will never prove the certainty of the war.

Concerning Hamaxitus.

It has been mentioned in a former Treatiſe as my opinion, that this City is alluded to by Homer, when he ſpeaks of the flight of Hector, and the purſuit of Achilles.

Τειχεος αιεν υπ' εκ κατ' αμαξιτον εσσευοντο. X. 148.

This article I ſhall take the liberty to conſider again. It is generally ſuppoſed, that by the term αμαξιτος was ſignified a highway, where carriages paſſed—ὁδὸς αμαξηλατος. Schol. But to me it appears to ſignify the City of that name near Troy. Homer expreſſes the name Amaxitus without an aſpirate; whereas all the Writers of Hellas uniformly prefix the ſpirit. But this omiſſion is of little conſequence: for the Cities of Troas were peopled by the Æolians from Cuma: and the whole region belonged to them, as we learn from Strabo. L. 13. p. 877. He ſays in conſequence of it, that Troas and Æolis were the ſame, the one being a part of the other. Now the Æolians were remarkable for leaving out the aſpirate. Æoles aſperum ſemper vertunt in tenuem, quem ob id H. Stephanus Æolicum vocat, ipſoſque Æolas ψιλωτικους. Jacobus Zuingerus de Dialectis. They pronounced ηλιος for ἡλιος, ημερα, for ἡμερα: conſequently Αμαξιτος for Ἀμαξιτος.

The City Hamaxitus was the firſt place, that occurred to perſons after they had got through that paſſage of Mount Ida, by which people paſſed upwards from Myſia and the ſouthern regions, to Troas, and Ilium. It is the ſame through which Xerxes marched, as we learn from Herodotus. L. 7. C. 42. p. 530. Stephanus Byzantinus ſpeaks of it as a ſmall City. Ἀμαξιτος πολιχνιον της Τρωαδος. It is alſo mentioned

tioned by Pliny. Troadis primus locus Hamaxitus, dein Cebrenia, ipsaque Troas, nunc Alexandrea; oppidum Nee (sive Neandria) Vol. 1. L. 5. p. 282. The Poet's purpose in general was to give an account of the flight and death of Hector: and in the lines alluded to he describes the commencement of this flight, and it's direction in respect to Troy. The Trojans had been all driven into the City excepting Hector only. He took his stand before the Scæan gate, and there waited the approach of Achilles. But when he saw him advance—Σειων Πηλιαδα μελιην κατα δεξιον ωμον, his heart failed him: and he betook himself to flight. Why he did not retreat into the City, and how Achilles got between him and the wall, are circumstances not easy to be explained. That he fled is certain, and the first object, which he passed, was the Ερινεος, or wild figtree, which stood near the wall of the City. This is plain from the words of Andromache to Hector, who begs of him not to engage at a distance, but to marshal his troops near this tree, which was under the wall.

Λαον δε στησον παρ' Ερινεον, ενθα μαλιστα
Αμβατος εστι πολις, και επιδρομον επλετο τειχος. Z. 433

This and the σκοπιη or *place of prospect*, were the two first objects, which they passed. This flight could not have been in any road or highway, as may be seen from the nature of the place. For Troy is said to have had seven gates, from each of which we may presume, that a road passed into the Country. If any such were in his way, he must have crossed it. For if ever he had taken his course in it, he must have fled every step from the City: whereas his endeavour was to get to the wall and towers, but he was prevented by Achilles. If he ever took the contrary way, he left the City behind him; which cannot be supposed: for his flight throughout was Τειχεος αιεν υπ' εκ, *all the way under the wall.*

His Father and Friends beheld him, and were near enough to ſpeak to him.

From theſe circumſtances I am induced to believe, that by the words, κατ' αμαξιτον εσσευοντο, was meant, that the two Heroes in their courſe went eaſtward, in a direction towards the next City. For that City, as has been ſhewn, ſtood under Ida Lectum; and, according to the Poet's deſcription, Troy muſt have been in the like ſituation to the weſt; for the Hills of Ida in this part extended exactly eaſt and weſt. The Scæan Gate, from which they ſet out, fronted the naval encampment and the ſea. When therefore they left this, and had gone round ſome conſiderable part of the wall, they went in an eaſtward direction, and the City [1] Hamaxitus fronted them. They came at laſt to ſome ſprings, which they paſſed, and one of them is ſaid to have been hot, and covered with a thick vapour:

Ἡ μεν γαρ θ' ὑδατι λιαρῳ ῥεει, αμφι δε καπνος
Γινεται εξ αυτης, ὡσει τυρος αιθομενοιο. X. 149.

Dr. Pocock, as has been ſhewn, found in his reſearches to the eaſt of Troas ſuch warm fountains together with baths and buildings, ſome of which ſeemed of great antiquity. Troy muſt have been, by the hiſtory given in the Ilias, but a few miles from Troas, which ſtood very near Lectum, but upon the ſea. And as theſe hot ſprings are above it to the eaſt, they may probably be ſome of thoſe mentioned in the Haleſian plain, and at the Trageſean ſalt-ſprings near Hamaxitus. The natural hiſtory of the Country agrees well with the ſituation of Troy, as deſcribed by Homer; and the vicinity of Hamaxitus to the eaſt, countenances my notion, that it was the object alluded to by the Poet.

[1] In my former Treatiſe, ſtyled Obſervations, I ſpeak of Hamaxitus as not far from the Pagus Ilienſium. But the interval was too great to admit of any ſuch vicinity.

Τειχεος αιεν ὑπ' εκ και' Αμαξιτου εσσευοντο. He was all the time under the wall, but kept from it.

Another capital miſtake.

Thoſe, who have attempted to give an account of the naval ſtation, and the camp of the Grecians have been farther miſtaken by making the river Scamander the boundary to the right, and ſouth. So it is repreſented in the Maps of Dacier, Pope, and Wood. And not only theſe later Writers, but all of old, who wrote upon the ſubject, have been in like manner deceived. Ptolemy places the naval ſtation upon the Propontic Helleſpont, with the river below to the right. Pliny and Strabo bring the camp and harbour lower down, but ſtill they make the Scamander the boundary to the right. But Homer intimates very clearly, and repeatedly, that it was to the left, and ſerved as a barrier to the north. Upon this account the wall of the Grecian rampart was lower here, than in other places, as the river was the chief defence. Here Ajax was quartered, and next to him were the Theſſalians under Proteſilaus; and after him Neſtor and Idomeneus. Achilles was upon the right with his Myrmidons; and Ulyſſes in the center, that he might be more readily applied to on account of his great wiſdom. When therefore Agamemnon had occaſion to encourage the whole army, he took his ſtand upon the Ship of Ulyſſes, that he might be heard equally on each ſide.

Στη δ' επ' Οδυσσηος μεγακητεϊ νηϊ μελαινη,
Ἡ ρ' εν μεσσατῳ εσκε, γεγωνεμεν αμφοτερωθεν,
Ημεν επ' Αιαντος κλισιης Τελαμωνιαδαω,
Ηδ' επ' Αχιλληος· οἱ δ' εσχατα νηας εϊσας
Ειρυσαν, ηνοριη ϖισυνοι, και παρτεϊ χειρων. Θ. 222.

In this diſpoſition, as deſcribed by the Poet, the Tents of Achilles are upon the right; and thoſe of Ajax upon the left. That Ajax was in this ſituation is manifeſt from many paſſages in the Poem; where either he himſelf, or thoſe Chieftans, who were neareſt to him, are mentioned. When Menelaus wants his aſſiſtance, he is ſaid to find him in this ſituation.

Τον δε μαλ' αιψ' ενοησε μαχης επ' αριστερα ωασης
Θαρσυνονθ' ἑταρους. P. 116.

He was at the very extreme part of the army upon the left, and there was animating his ſoldiers. When the Hero in a time of neceſſity is called away from his poſt here to the center, it is ſaid, that Hector was not appriſed of the ſlaughter there made; for he ſtill kept on fighting upon the left, and upon the banks of the Scamander.

Ὡς εφεπε κλονεων ωεδιον τοτε Φαιδιμος Αιας,
Δαϊζων ἱππους τε, και ανερας· ουδε ωω Ἑκτωρ
Πευθετ', επει ῥα μαχης επ' αριστερα μαρνατο ωασης,
Οχθας ωαρ' ωοταμοιο Σκαμανδρου, τη ῥα μαλιστα
Ανδρων ωιπτε καρηνα, βοη δ' ασβεστος ορωρε
Νεστορα τ' αμφι μεγαν, και αρηϊον Ιδομενηα. Λ. 495.

Upon the death of Patroclus, Menelaus wanted much to find Antilochus, as being the moſt proper perſon to carry the ſad tidings to his friend Achilles; He looked, ſays the Poet—

Τονδε μαλ' αιψ' ενοησε μαχης επ' αριστερα ωασης.
Θαρσυνονθ' ἑταρους. P. 682.

He diſcovered him upon the left of the field of Battle, encouraging his ſoldiers. We have ſeen, that this left wing of the army was ſtationed on the banks of the Scamander, in the account before given of Hector, concerning whom

whom it is ſaid, that he was fighting upon the Scamander and upon the left of the Grecian army;

------μαχης επ' αριστερα μαρναντο πασης
Οχθας παρ ποταμοιο Σκαμανδρῳ---Λ. 498.

Here was generally the ſtreſs of battle, for this part was nearer to the City according to the diſpoſition of the Poet: and the Trojans do not appear willing to engage far to the right; becauſe there was the ſtation of a perſon, whom they did not chooſe to provoke—

--------επει παρα νηυσιν ανηρ ατος πτολεμοιο
Μιμνε.

Achilles is repreſented as ſenſible of this, and therefore thought himſelf quite ſecure from any attack of the enemy, and accordingly ſays—

Αμφι δε τοι τη 'μη κλισιη και νηι μελαινη
Ἑκτορα και μεμαωτα μαχης σχησεσθαι οἰω. Ι. 649.

I truſt, that Hector however eager, will take care not to engage, where my ſhip and tent ſtand.

Whoever therefore places Achilles, upon the Scamander, and Ajax and his troops at a diſtance from it, is greatly miſtaken. For ſuch a ſtation in reſpect to each of them is quite contrary to the deſign of the Poet. It is therefore in vain to look for the City or Ships in this ſituation. The whole is contrary to the plain evidence of Homer.

Of the Camp and Harbour.

The naval ſtation of the Greeks is farther ſuppoſed to have been between the Rhœtean and Sigean promontories. But as theſe landmarks are not mentioned by Homer, and the Grecian harbour is no where preciſely ſtated, the opinions upon this article have been rendered very precarious. Some Writers have placed theſe headlands upon the Propontic Helleſpont, and others lower down, according as fancy directed: and as the interval between them was in the ſeveral ſituations very different, they in conſequence of it differed greatly about the extent of the Camp, which was bounded by theſe landmarks. Of this I have treated before, but I ſhall notwithſtanding recapitulate ſome articles again. Mr. Wood thinks, that the Rhœtean promontory was the ſame as Cape Barbieri, which is not leſs than ten miles from Cape Janizary, which he ſuppoſes to have been the Sigean. Strabo makes the diſtance ſixty ſtadia, which amount to more than ſeven miles; Solinus repreſents it as forty ſtadia, or near five miles; Pliny makes it thirty, about three miles and an half. Thus they varied concerning the interval, becauſe they had no certain boundaries, from which they could draw a line; for each determined the two extremes according to the ſyſtem, which he had privately adopted. And in theſe their unſettled notions they all go contrary to the expreſs words of the Poet, who tells us plainly that the Camp was narrow, and the people ſtraitened.

Ουδε γαρ εδ' ευρυς περ εων εδυνησατο πασας
Αιγιαλος νηας χαδεειν, στεινοντο δε λαοι. Ξ. 33.

For though the coaſt was comparatively wide and ample; yet it could not contain all the ſhips (in length,) *and the Soldiers were in very cloſe quarters.*

That

That the Camp could not be of the extent ſuppoſed above, may be farther known from the ſituation of Agamemnon, when he ſtood in the center ſhip—γεγωνεμεν αμφοτερωθεν, *in order to call aloud to the army on each ſide*, and give them encouragement to do their duty. But if the extreme parts of the Camp were as remote, as has been repreſented, he muſt have called to little purpoſe. He was at far too great a diſtance to be heard. We find in the courſe of the poem meſſages carried, orders executed, and viſits made in a ſhort ſpace of time. The army therefore, could not have been ſo widely extended.

When Neſtor retires to his own Tent, and brings with him Machaon, who had been wounded, Achilles ſees him plainly from the ſtern of his own ſhip, though he is not quite certain about the perſon who is with him.

Νεϛορα δ' εκ πολεμοιο φερον Νηληϊαι ἱπποι
Ἱδρωσαι, ηγον δε Μαχαονα, ποιμενα λαων.
Τον δε ιδων ενοησε ποδαρκης διος Αχιλλευς,
Εισηκει γαρ επι πρυμνῃ μεγακητεϊ νηϊ,
Εισοροων πονον αιπυν. Λ. 596.

Now the Ship and Tent of Neſtor were as I have ſhewn, not a great deal nearer than thoſe of Ajax upon the Scamander, which were the fartheſt of all. The diſtance according to ſome computations could not be leſs than eight or nine miles. But we may be certain from the Poet, that it could not be ſo many furlongs.

The Ship of Proteſilaus was one of thoſe upon the left, and farther than the ſhips of Neſtor. Yet when Hector firſt ſets it on fire, it is immediately ſeen by Achilles at the other extreme, and he accordingly orders Patroclus to arm——

Ορσεο,

Ορσεο, διογενες Πάτροκλείς, ἱππόκελεύθε,
Λευσσω δη παρα νηυσι πυρος δηϊοιο ερωην. Π. 126.

He had before told him, that he could diſtinguiſh the voice of Hector amid the din, which prevailed;

-------(οὐ) Ἕκτορος ανδροφονοιο
Τρωσι κελευοντος περιαγγυται. v. 77.
The ſhouts of that murderer break continually upon my ear.

Patroclus upon this puts on his armour; and an order is given for the Myrmidons to aſſemble. They accordingly arm themſelves, and are encouraged by a ſpeech from their Chief. He then takes a coſtly Goblet from a cheſt, which he fills with wine, and makes a ſolemn libation to Jupiter, and the whole is attended with a prayer of ſome length. And finally, after another ſpeech, with which the troops are encouraged by Patroclus, they march forward, and fall upon the enemy, whom after a ſhort diſpute, they drive away. All this is performed, before the ſhip of Proteſilaus was conſumed, for it is ſaid,

Ἡμιδαης δ' αρα νηυς λιπετ' αυτοθι—Π. 294.
One half of it remained.

The diſtance therefore could not be conſiderable: for the particular ſcene of action was within ſight; and the voices of the Combatants to be diſtinguiſhed, and their perſons known. Had there been an interval, I will not ſay of eight or nine miles, but even of two, nay of one, Achilles would neither have ſeen nor heard, what he is ſaid to have obſerved. And ſuch was the previous proceſs, that half the fleet muſt have been burnt, before any aſſiſtance came.

Poſition

Poſition of the Ships and Tents.

As the army was ſtraitened for want of room (στεινοντο δε λαοι. Ξ. 28.) the tents in conſequence of it did not extend in a whole line in front; but were of great depth: and their ſhips were drawn up after the ſame manner in different rows, one behind another. Before the ſhips at ſome diſtance was the rampart, and behind them towards the ſtrand ſtood the tents. Moſt of their conſultations were held before their ſhips, at, or near, the center of their foremoſt line. When Idæus, the Trojan Herald is ſent to the camp, he is ſaid to have found the Grecian Princes in council at the ſtern of Agamemnon's Ship.

Τους δ' ευρ' ειν αγορη Δαναους, θεραποντας Αρηος
Νηι παρα πρυμνη Αγαμεμνονος. Η. 382.

Hence in the attack upon the fleet there is no mention made of the tents being invaded, or the wounded Chiefs moleſted. In the midſt of the greateſt confuſion or danger, old Neſtor was drinking and refreſhing himſelf at his eaſe, though the rampart had for ſome time been forced; and the enemy was in the very front of the ſhipping. But he was at laſt alarmed. Hence it is ſaid—

Νεστορα δ' ου ελαθεν ιαχη πινοντα περ εμπης. Ξ. 1.

Had he been in the front of the navy, he would not have been ſo long unacquainted with the danger. He muſt have perceived the ſtorm gradually approaching; and been informed from what he ſaw, and what he heard, as well as from the fugitives and wounded perſons. It is manifeſt, that the ſhips were foremoſt, and were not drawn in one line, but in many, and conſiſted of ſeveral different files. The Poet, as we have ſeen,

 deſcribes

describes the harbour as not sufficiently capacious for the whole navy fully extended—

Τῳ ῥα προκροσσας ερυσαν. Ξ. 35.
Therefore they drew them up in different files.

By κροσσα is meant any thing parallel, like palisades; and προκροσσαι is explained by κλιμακηδον, like *the rounds in a ladder*, which are all parallel. Several ladders put in juxtaposition afford by their parallel and equidistant rounds, a just resemblance of the disposition, in which the Ships were drawn up.

What has been said, may illustrate many circumstances in the course of the poem; and at the same time receive reciprocal confirmation from them. At the very time that Nestor was going through the shipping to the scene of action, he meets with several of the wounded Princes passing upwards the same way.

Νεστορι δε ξυμβληντο διοτρεφεες βασιληες
Παρ νηων ανιοντες, ὁσοι βεβληατο χαλκῳ,
Τυδειδης, Οδυσευς τε, και Ατρειδης Αγαμεμνων. Ξ. 27.

We find, that the chiefs do not advance from the ships to the camp, but the contrary; for the ships were ranged before it for a barrier, just as the Gauls used to place their waggons for the same purpose. Before all was, at some distance, the rampart; and when this was once stormed, the next object was the navy, with their sterns foremost.

Ὡς Τρωες μεγαλῃ ιαχῃ κατα τειχος εβαινον,
Ἱππȣς δ' εισελασαντες επι πρυμνῃσι μαχοντο. O. 384.

When the Grecians retreat before Hector, they are said in their flight to turn their faces towards the ships——Εισωποι δ' εγενοντο νεων. O. 653; among

among which they ſheltered themſelves. Here they were crowded among thoſe which ſtood foremoſt, but got through, and fled in diſorder;

—ωερι δ' εσχεθον ακραι
Νηες, δσαι ωρωται ειρυατο· τοι δ' επεχυντο. O. 653.

Neſtor upon this, intreats them to recollect themſelves, and to return to the battle. They at laſt, are perſuaded, and all unite againſt the foe, both thoſe, who had ſheltered themſelves behind the ſhips, and thoſe who were maintaining their ground before them.

Ημεν δσοι μετοπισθεν εφεσάσαν, αδ' εμαχοντο,
Ηδ' δσσοι ωαρ νηυσι μαχην εμαχοντο θοησιν. O. 672.

I will mention one circumſtance more, though farther proof may probably not be neceſſary. When Hector had at laſt driven the Greeks before him, and was preparing to burn the navy; Ajax took his ſtand upon the ſhip, which was principally attacked, and called upon the people near him to exert themſelves—

Αιει δε σμερδνον Βοοων Δαναοισι κελευε·
Νηυσι τε και κλισιησιν αμυνεμεν—O. 687.

He called upon them inceſſantly with a tremendous voice to ſave the ſhips and the camp.

But the camp muſt have been in the enemies hands long before, if it ſtood in the front of the navy. The Trojans had for ſome time been in poſſeſſion of all between the ſhips and the rampart. The Tents were therefore in the rear; and the whole arrangement, as it has been above deſcribed.

Concerning the Grecian Ships.

It may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething concerning the form and ſize of their Ships; and ſome light may poſſibly be obtained from the following deſcription—

Ἕκτωρ δὲ πρυμνηθεν επει λαβεν, ουχι μεθιει,
Αφλαστον μετα χερσιν εχων. Ilias. O. 716.

When Hector had laid hold of the Ship of Proteſilaüs by the Aphlaſtus, or Taffarel at the ſtern, he never let it go. Now the Aphlaſtus was the higheſt part of the ſtern, and conſequently of the whole Veſſel. The Ship therefore could not in this part have been above ſix feet from the ground. For though we may ſuppoſe the perſon to have been of ſuperiour ſtature; yet ſix feet upward is a great height for an horizontal extenſion of an arm, which is the beſt direction to have ſure hold. Making this allowance, we cannot ſuppoſe the Ship to have been larger than an Hoy, or Cutter, of about forty or fifty tons.

Yet there are perhaps ſome articles, which may induce us to think, that they muſt have been larger. I have ſome pages above, ſuppoſed that there were about eighty five men to each Ship. But as the Ships are generally repreſented as a thouſand, or ſomewhat more, in number, and the number of men is eſtimated as at leaſt an hundred thouſand, there muſt have been at an average an hundred men to a Ship. Indeed, there ſhould be many more, if we allow the eſtimate afforded by the Poet; who ſays, that Grecian army exceeded that of the Trojans, as ten to one. B. 127. Now the Trojans were no leſs, than fifty thouſand.

The

The words of the Poet muſt therefore be eſteemed an hyperbole; yet the exceſs is, I believe, always ſuppoſed to be double. If then there were an hundred to each Ship, thoſe Ships muſt have been larger than I have ſuppoſed. The height of the ſtern has been ſtated, as rather low; it is therefore probable, that what was wanting in depth, was made up in breadth; otherwiſe it will be difficult to find room for the complement of men.

Of

Of a ſeeming miſtake in the Copies of Homer.

It has been for a long time a doubt with me, whether Σκαμανδρος, that well known river the Scamander, the name of which ſo often occurs in Homer, was originally ſo expreſſed by the Poet. It is to be found among other places M. v. 21; where he mentions----

Γρηνικος τε, και Αισηπος, διος τε Σκαμανδρος...

Now excepting in this word, and it's derivative Σκαμάνδριος, we have, I believe, no inſtance in Homer of a ſhort ſyllable being admitted before two mute conſonants; and ſcarcely in any Poet of authority. And where an inſtance may ſometimes be found in the greek Tragedians, it generally proceeds from a miſtaken reading, and may be corrected. It is therefore hardly credible, that Homer ſhould take this liberty in one word only, and ſtudiouſly avoid it elſewhere throughout his two poems: eſpecially as the language, in which he wrote, afforded innumerable opportunities in other parts, of acting in the ſame manner. But the contrary was obſerved by him in all words of the ſame analogy; which have always the preceding vowel long. This will appear in ſome degree from the following examples.----

Φαρην τε Σπαρτην τε, πολυτρηρωνα τε Μεσσην
Αργος τε Σπαρτη τε, και ευρυαγυια Μυκηνη.
Την ρα Σπερχειω ποταμω τρεφε.
Ριπην τε Στρατιην τε.
Σχοινον τε Σκωλον τε.

This rule and caution obſerved by the beſt poets, is to be found not only in proper names, but in nouns common, or appellatives, and likewiſe in verbs. Such are σαθμος, σπινθηρ, σποδος, στερνον, στιχες, στιλβω, στρατος, πτολις, πτωσσω,

πτωσσω, σκαιος, σκαζω, σκεπτω, πτωχος, σχοινος, σχησω. To theſe, numbers might be added, which are reſtrained to the ſame rule, and never admit a ſhort ſyllable before them.

The Romans at firſt were not ſo ſcrupulous, for they ſometimes allowed theſe liberties. Catullus accordingly introduces this very word Scamander at the end of a verſe.

Teſtis erit magnis virtutibus unda Scamandri.

Nupt. Pel. et Thet. v. 357.

But in the age of Auguſtus the taſte of the Romans was too much improved, and their ears too correct, to admit ſuch a diſcord in harmony. No name was more obvious than this, or more neceſſary to be uſed by Virgil and Ovid, who treat ſo much about the war of Troy, and the ſcene of thoſe heroic actions, with which it was accompanied. Yet they induſtriouſly avoid mentioning this name of the river; nor does it occur either in Propertius or Tibullus. They obſerved the like caution in reſpect to other words, of the ſame predicament, ſuch as *ſtertit, ſpectat, ſperat, ſpernit,* The terms---*mœnia ſcandit, Marmora ſculpſit, vulnere ſternit, ad æthera ſpectat, munera ſprevit,* though obvious, will hardly be found in good compoſition. Horace indeed makes no ſcruple to ſay---*ſæpe ſtylum vertas*; and has many inſtances to the ſame purpoſe. But he wrote---*ſermoni propiora*; and I believe, nothing of this ſort will be found in any of his more poetical pieces.

There is indeed one well known inſtance in Virgil, which may be brought in oppoſition to what I maintain, and which occurs in the ſpeech of King Latinus.

Spem ſiquam accitis Ætolum habuiſtis in armis,
Ponite---Spes ſibi quiſque; ſed hanc quam anguſta videtis.

Æn. xi. 307.

But

But here there is ſuch a pauſe after the word *ponite*, as takes away all harſhneſs, and makes the liberty allowable. In no other place does any ſuch uſage prevail, either in this Poet, or his Contemporaries. We ſhall never ſee an Hexameter conclude with *ſtabat*, or a Pentameter with *ſtetit*. The infinitive *ſtetiſſe* I believe never occurs either in the Heroic verſe, or Elegy, of any claſſical writer. The verſe in Homer, Ilias Π. v. 857, where the words---λιπȣ́σ/ ανδροτητα και ἡβην---occur, may ſeem an exception. But there are not here two mute conſonants: and at the ſame time it is generally thought, that the true reading was---ἀδροτητα: as it is found X. 363. and Ω. 6.

The Grecians were very refined in their taſte, and ſometimes carried their delicacy to a degree of faſtidiouſneſs, even to their own prejudice. The Athenians in a time of neceſſity had a large loan offered them by one of their Citizens, but unfortunately he made uſe of the word δανειω for δάνειζω, or δανεισω. This was eſteemed ſo barbarous, that the whole Aſſembly was in a ferment, nor would they accept his offer, till he had corrected his miſtake. Demetrius Poliorcetes incurred the like offence, when he took the City of Athens in a ſtate of famine. He called an aſſembly, and offered the people in their diſtreſs one hundred thouſand medimni of wheat, but was guilty of a like miſtake in his addreſs. The people were ſo offended, that they would not accept of his gratuity, though ſtarving, till he had made an apology for his ſoleciſm. This delicacy prevailed more or leſs among the Grecians of all parts.

Hence it is extraordinary, that they ſhould, contrary to all uſage, countenance this one anomaly in compoſition, and allow, what the Romans rejected. The miſtake was certainly ſooner or later admitted, but it ſeems to have been only in this one inſtance, where the word Scamander occurs

occurs in Homer. Upon this account I am induced to think, that this reading aroſe from an errour: and that the word was not originally ſo expreſſed by the Poet.

That there was ſuch a river as the Scamander I make no doubt, and that it was ſo called by the Thracians of Bithynia, who were the firſt occupiers of the Country. But where it was preciſely ſituated is very uncertain: and there is the like uncertainty, about many of the rivers mentioned by Homer. For though ſome Writers ſeem to have determined the Rheſus, Careſus, Heptaporus, and Rhodius; yet Pliny ſays, that they were not to be found. He, as well as Strabo, deſcribes the Scamander as the main ſtream; and the Simoeis as an arm only, which ran into it; and the outlet was in the Ægean ſea. But Ptolemy deſcribes them as two diſtinct rivers, and their outlets at ſome diſtance from each other, and in the Propontic Helleſpont. I mention this to ſhew the uncertainty of theſe hiſtories. Still, wherever it may have been ſituated, ſuch a river did exiſt: and it was called Σκαμανδρος, the Scamander, by the natives of old. But when the Æolian Colonies, ſome time before the birth of Homer, got poſſeſſion of the Country, they changed it in conformity to their own idiom and dialect; and leaving out the leading conſonant called it Κἀμανδρος, or Camander. This omiſſion was not unuſual in the Greek language in general, as may be obſerved in many words, where the initial Sigma is ſometimes expreſſed, and at other times omitted. Caſaubon and other Writers have obſerved, that there was both σκαρδαμυσσω, and καρδαμυσσω; σμέρδω and μερδω; Σμυρνη πολις, and Μυρνη; Σμυρνη, the Amazon, and Μυρνη and Μυρινη; Σαρδρακοττος, and Αρδρακοττος; σμυς and μυς; σκεδαω and κεδαω. ——— Θέος δ' εκεδασσεν Αχαιυς. Homer. The Romans, who had a cloſe connexion with the Æolians, obſerved this mode of expreſſion in words copied from the Greeks.

Hence for σμυραινα they wrote muræna: for σφαλλω, fallo: for σφενδονη, funda; for στεγω tego; for σπερχω, pergo.

The Æolians particularly of all the Grecians omitted this letter. They rendered the word σμιλαξ, μιλαξ: σμικρος, μικρος; σμυκτηρ, μυκτηρ; σμαραγδος, μαραγδος: σφιν, φιν: and the river Σκαμανδρος, [1] Καμανδρος. Theſe Æolians Homer particularly followed.

According to Euſtathius the laſt term is a derivative from the verb καμνειν; which if true would make the word Καμανδρος to be the original name. But this I do not believe. My opinion is, that the ancient name was Scamander, and ſo it is in general maintained. The Æolians only, who got poſſeſſion of the particular part of Thracian Bithynia, eſteemed Troas, changed it to Camander for the reaſons above aſſigned. But as this was only the provincial mode of expreſſing the word, and but partially received, the Hiſtorians and other Writers, who did not follow this dialect, preſerved the true name. Hence I imagine, that in latter times it was introduced by way of amendment into the poems of Homer. This was contrary to his purpoſe, and to the injury of his verſification. For he rendered the name of the river, as the natives in his time expreſſed it. Many years afterwards the people of Hellas proper got poſſeſſion of the Regio Ilienſis, and they followed the general uſage, and called the river by it's original name, having no attachment to any Aſiatic dialect. Hence it is found in their Hiſtorians; and it is mentioned in verſe by Euripides; but ſtill the preceding vowel is long.

Ψυχαι δε πολλαι δι' εμ' επι [2] Σκαμανδριοις
Ροαισιν εθανον. Eurip. Helena. v. 52.

From theſe premiſes I am induced to think, that the abbreviated reading

1 Caninius: alſo, Zuingerus, 46.

2 We find the word Σκαμανδρος in Heſiod; but I believe it to be as much a wrong reading in him as in Homer.

Καμανδρος

Καμανδρος Camander, was in the firſt copies of Homer: but it was altered by perſons, who came afterwards, and who maintained the original pronunciation and orthography. This though in one reſpect proper, was in another view wrong, as there is reaſon to think that it was contrary to the purpoſe of the Poet.

I know of one Author only, in whom the word Καμανδρος, or Camander, is to be found, and the true metre preſerved. This is Nonnus of Panopolis in Egypt, who in his Dionyſiaca has the following verſes.

Οια τροθεσπιζων ποταμε περι χευμα Καμανδρε,
Φυλοπιν ημιτελεστον επεσσομενην Αχιλληϊ. L. 22. p. 392.

Again,

Ουχ ετω ροος εσκεν εγερσιμοθοιο Καμανδρε. ibid. p. 402.

But this authority is made void in the two later Editions, where the word Σκαμανδρος is again introduced and the vowel before it made ſhort contrary to all true proſody. Nonnus wrote forty eight Books, and not leſs than twenty thouſand verſes: and I do not believe in his whole proceſs, that there is an inſtance of ſuch a liberty.

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