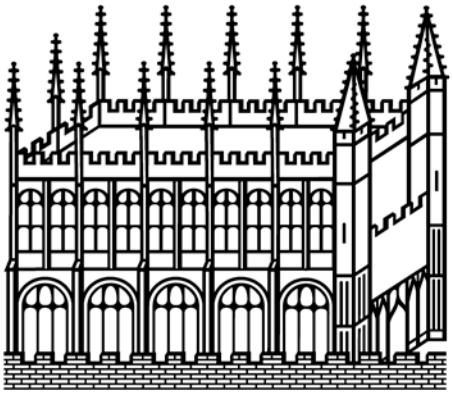

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ON A METHODICAL PLAN,

PROJECTED BY SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

Φαίνεται οὔτε πέρας, οὔτε τελεύτην ἐχων· ὅτι πρό τε τῆς αρχῆς ἄλλη ἀεὶ φάινεται ἀρχὴ· μέτά τε τὴν τελευτὴν ἑτέρα ὑπολειπομένη τελευτὴ· τὰ μὲν ἐλλέιπειν, τὰ δὲ πλεοναζειν, θρύπτεσθαι δὲ, οἶμαι, κερματιζόμενον τὸ πᾶν ανάγκη· Οὐκοῦν δὴ φανῆναι καὶ ἀπτόμενα καὶ χωρὶς ἑαυτῶν, καὶ κινουμένα πάσας κινήσεις, καὶ ἑστῶτα πανταχῆ, καὶ γιγνόμενα καὶ ἀπολλύμενα καὶ μηδέτερα, ἐι ἑνὸς μὴ ὄντος πολλά ἐστιν; ΠΛΑΤΩΝ· Παρμενιδης.

"The strength of all sciences, which consisteth in their harmony, each supporting the other, is, as the strength of the old man's faggot, in the band. FOR WERE IT NOT BETTER FOR A MAN IN A FAIR ROOM TO SET UP ONE GREAT LIGHT, OR BRANCHING CANDLESTICK OF LIGHTS, THAN TO GO ABOUT WITH A SMALL WATCH CANDLE INTO EVERY CORNER?"
BACON. *Advancement of Learning*, Book I.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY JOHN JOSEPH GRIFFIN AND COMPANY,
53, BAKER STREET, PORTMAN SQUARE,
AND RICHARD GRIFFIN AND COMPANY, GLASGOW.
1849.

PROSPECTUS.

1. An Encyclopædia is indispensable to every library, as a *concentration* of human knowledge; while to the voyager, the naval and military officer, the colonist, and that numerous class of enterprising Britons whose want of a settled residence may isolate them from the world of letters, it is the only possible *substitute* for all other books. Works of this description are therefore among those few literary projects which have uniformly secured the patronage of the public. The reason is obvious: an Encyclopædia is to the rising education of the country at once a reservoir and a fountain—it receives perpetual accessions of knowledge from the genius of the age, which it yields again in willing abundance to posterity.

2. With the ancients, the term Encyclopædia, explained itself. It was really *Instruction in a cycle, i. e.* the cycle of the seven liberal Arts and Sciences, that constituted the course of education for the higher class of citizens. Unfortunately, the inapplicability of a strictly *scientific* method to a modern Encyclopædia, such as shall include the whole of its contents, has led to the abandonment of all principle of *rational* arrangement; and it may be safely asserted of all our universal dictionaries hitherto, that the chief difference between them, in respect of their *plan*, consists in the more or less complete disorganization of the Sciences and Systematic Arts; now retaining certain integral portions of the system as integers, forming each an entire treatise, but resigning these treatises to the places severally assigned to them by the accident of their initial letters; and now splintering all alike into their fractional parts, with an arrangement merely alphabetical. Nor has the imperfection rested here. This very alphabetical position was but too frequently determined by the caprice or convenience of the compiler; inasmuch as the division of parts into minor parts had no settled limit. Thus, one technical or scientific term included as its subordinates, and to be explained in the same article, sometimes more, sometimes fewer, other terms: and the arrangement became neither properly scientific, nor properly alphabetical. It had the inconveniences of both, without the advantages of either.

3. The results are such as might have been expected, in part from the necessity of such plans, and in part from the interference of individual whim, carelessness, and procrastination, to which it afforded the amplest opportunities, and even frequent temptation. Numerous articles of important information are found where the reader could have least expected to find them; while articles of equal interest are in many cases not to be found at all.

4. A second result is, that an Universal Dictionary so constructed, equally with an Encyclopædia the most methodically arranged, requires alphabetical references; but with a twofold inconvenience, from which the latter would be free. First, the references, instead of being collected in one appropriate index, or at least in some known portion of the work, are scattered throughout the whole; and this is no slight annoyance, when a scientific term happens to have many synonyms, as, for instance, Azote, Nitrogen, Phlogisticated Air, &c. Secondly, the references must eventually lead the reader through as many volumes, as those other words happen to be placed in, which are necessary to be *previously* understood in order to a tolerable comprehension of the term first sought.

5. A third evil, resulting from the same causes, is the utter want of all proportion in the space occupied by each article, relatively either to the importance of the particular subject, or to the promised limits of the whole work. Hence, too, it arises that the proprietors are frequently reduced to a choice of evils. The work must be extended far beyond the first expectation of the purchasers, or the articles assigned to the latter volumes must be crowded in scanty and superficial abridg

ments. They contract to give the public an Universal Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences, but the execution outgrows the plan. Either openly then, or in the form of supplementary volumes (bearing perhaps a large proportion to the whole work), this pledge must be redeemed. In both cases the disorder and dislocation, and in many instances the deficiencies, remain unremedied.

6. The fourth ill consequence of this arbitrary arrangement calls for a somewhat fuller consideration. It requires but a moment's reflection to be convinced, that the most voluminous Encyclopædia which has yet appeared, is incomparably too narrow to contain an Universal History of Knowledge in its present state; and that the authors and compilers will have satisfied all rational expectations if only nothing shall be found excluded from any other cause than the higher importance of that which has been admitted; in order that on *all* subjects the ends of *general* information at *least* may be accomplished. Where, therefore, selection is so imperiously required, there must be an equal necessity that certain fixed and intelligible principles should be pre-established. An Encyclopædia neither is, nor can reasonably be considered as, the book which a man of profound science is likely to consult for those things in which he is himself eminent. He will seek for accessions to his knowledge in the works of contemporaries employed like himself in extending the pomœria of science, and will often be most interested in *speculations*, the worth and stability of which are yet undetermined. But an Encyclopædia is a *History* of human knowledge, in which therefore these intellectual embryos, which at best are (as it were) but truths in the *future* tense, have no rightful or beseeming place. This, indeed, we hold to be a principle of such paramount importance, that we take the earliest opportunity of avowing our determination of a strict and systematic adherence to it; and we here give our public pledge that the ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA shall be so far *historical* in all respects, that only what has been *established*, or is at least already *publici juris*, and to be found in the records of Science and Literature, shall form the main body of every article; and that any opinions or speculations of the writer himself shall be declared to be such, and be given distinctly as a mere appendix of the article to which they belong.

7. We shall now particularize the evil to which we have been referring. From the licence which the planless plan of former works allows to the separate writers—in one place, instead of a systematic history of the received truths and established discoveries in the department of knowledge, which was to have been exhibited, the larger portion of the space is filled up with the individual writer's own crude conceptions and prolix argumentation—while in another, on some subject of the highest interest, lo! in tarnished fragments over the numerous volumes, an old work torn asunder by all the letters of the alphabet! and reminding the classical reader of the decrepit Pelias, whose credulous daughters were induced by the artifices of Medea to cut his aged limbs in pieces, as the sole and certain means of restoring him, like another Æson, to the blooming honours of youth.

8. The SCHEME which we propose to substitute, or the principal outlines of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA, we now lay before the reader, as follows:—The work will consist of four main divisions. The first, which for the sake of distinction we have called the Philosophical part, comprises the Pure Sciences; and the second, or Scientific part, the Mixed and Applied Sciences. The third, or Biographical part, is devoted to Biography chronologically arranged, History, Chronology, and Geography; and the concluding or Miscellaneous part, besides being referential and supplementary to the preceding volumes, will have the unique advantage of presenting to the public, for the first time, a Philosophical and Etymological Lexicon of the English language; the citations selected and arranged chronologically, yet including all the purposes of a common Dictionary. The volume of Index will complete this division. It will be instantly seen that the first two divisions of a work, thus arranged, will grow naturally out of each other; the needful references will therefore be generally *retrospective*, and rarely made to future volumes. In our Biographical department we shall teach the same truths by example, that have been evolved in the former divisions, and stimulate to the exertions that have developed them;—while in our Miscellaneous

portion or in the Index, every word will be found in its usual alphabetical place, as in any other Dictionary, with a plain reference to the volume and page containing its full explanation in the present work; together with a variety of interesting articles, either illustrative of the former divisions, or in their own nature miscellaneous. Each division of the work will be separately paged.

9. Such is the general outline of the proposed Scheme. The Table at page 13 places the principal subdivisions, likewise, before the reader's eye, with as much detail as is compatible with the limits, or requisite for the purposes, of a Prospectus. It will be seen, too, that a more particularized and systematic justification of the principles, on which the Scheme has been constructed, will be afforded in the Preliminary Treatise, or General Introduction to the Encyclopædia.

10. When the work is completed, it will appear as an orderly Digest of all the great points of human knowledge, and, notwithstanding its comparatively moderate extent and price, must form the most perfect system of intellectual instruction and entertainment, that has been hitherto submitted to the friends and patrons of Art, Science, History, and general Literature in Great Britain.

11. We would place our claims to the favourable attention and patronage of the public, on two grounds: 1. That the great outline of our plan is free from the numerous defects and inconveniences *involved* in the plan of all preceding works of the kind, or occasioned or permitted by it. 2. That the plan now substituted possesses great *positive* advantages, peculiar to itself.

12. From what has been already seen of our plan, in the necessary discussion of its relative merits, we presume that we appropriate to the work the title of an Encyclopædia by an especial right, and that of a Philosophical System on a plea of superior propriety. But we cannot neglect the argument for such a work as the present, which is derivable from the peculiar circumstances of our times. The political changes of the world have not been more wonderful than the scientific and moral revolutions that have occurred within the last few years. The new views, new discoveries, and fresh facts, especially in all the different branches of Experimental Philosophy, which every year has brought with it, are unparalleled in the history of human knowledge; and the accessions have not seldom been of such a nature as no mere supplementary postscript can embrace. For in many instances they affect the whole theory and consequent arrangement of the Art or Science to which they belong. Our project is in this respect therefore singularly fortunate in point of time. It will have to collect and combine the rich but scattered elements of future Science; while a still more important argument for our plan and for the period of its execution, will be found in the manifest tendency of all the Arts and Sciences at present, from the most purely intellectual even to the labours of the common mechanic, to lose their former insulated character, and organize themselves into one harmonious body of knowledge. The civilized world is now doing that which the ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA is preparing to do; and for which it is providing a correspondent repository.

13. The Proprietors have not disguised from themselves that their undertaking is of the most *arduous* kind. The mass of ability requisite, will be great in proportion to the originality of our plan; and the perseverance, harmony, and punctuality, that are indispensable conditions of its success, must be commensurate with the difficulty of uniting variety with system, and of reconciling selectness and calculated proportion with universality as a whole, and fulness in each component part. If, in addition to this, the amount of capital demanded and already dedicated to the one purpose of securing this coalition, and of overcoming these difficulties, be considered; with the number and high character of the artists, the men of science, and men of letters, on whose zealous co-operation, now pledged to us, we rest our pretension to the first acts of the public favour, and our confident hopes of continued support—not forgetting the relief and moral influence of a regular employment afforded during all seasons of the year to so many industrious mechanics as must necessarily be engaged on this work—the Proprietors of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA dare promise themselves, that by no reflecting reader will the present prospectus be deemed too serious.

14. Having explained the *Principles* on which the Encyclopædia Metropolitana was founded, we proceed to state a few facts, in reference to the manner in which the FIRST EDITION of the work was executed, and the *Modifications* now intended to be made in the SECOND EDITION.

15. The Encyclopædia Metropolitana was projected by the late eminent poet and philosopher, S. T. COLERIDGE. It differs in its plan from other Dictionaries of Universal Knowledge in being strictly methodical. The contributions of the scientific and learned men by whom it was composed, are arranged, not according to the letters of the alphabet which happen to form the initials of the English *names* of the Treatises, but in agreement with a PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM, based on the *nature* of the Subjects,—a method which causes the entire work to become a rational exposition of the state of human knowledge, and the mutual dependence and relative importance of its different branches. In virtue of this classification, the work forms both a course of study for the scholar, and a book of reference for the man of business: the former has the principles of the sciences laid before him in the philosophical order of their natural sequence; the latter is enabled to find readily the specific information he requires on any subject that interests him.

16. The system, projected by Mr. Coleridge, was ably executed by the Editors * and Authors to whom the execution of the scheme was confided. To confirm the truth of this assertion, it is sufficient to refer to the names of the Authors, and to state the fact, that many of the Treatises have been admitted by the Learned throughout Europe to be of the highest order of merit, and to have enlarged the boundaries of the scientific world, and placed their authors in the first rank of men of science in the present age.

17. The following ABSTRACT OF THE CONTENTS OF THE QUARTO EDITION, taken from the GENERAL PREFACE, will show in what manner the early professions of the projector of the work were realized.

We shall speak of the four great divisions of the Encyclopædia separately.

PURE SCIENCES.

18. The order in which these sciences are exhibited, and the plan on which the MATHEMATICAL portion of the *Encyclopædia* is conceived, resemble considerably the series of Elementary Treatises projected many years ago for the University of Cambridge by Dr. Wood, the late Dean of Ely, and Professor Vince; but with this difference, that the present volumes are far more comprehensive in the subjects they embrace, and far more elaborate and scientific in their execution. But this very similarity shows that the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* has attained one of its professed objects,—systematic instruction and scientific information, conveyed—not in a confused mass, but in the natural sequence of the sciences.

Indeed this portion of the work has met with a degree of approbation in many quarters, but especially in the University of Cambridge, which no other Encyclopædia has ever yet received. The student who has really mastered these sciences in the systematic form in which they are arranged here, will never in the course of the longest life find occasion to *un*learn any portion of what he has here acquired, and will find no difficulty whatever in adding to his stores any new results which the mental energy and labour of mankind may hereafter develop from principles now known. It may, indeed, be safely affirmed, that any person of good mathematical abilities, who shall follow the course of Mathematical treatises in this Encyclopædia, which are so arranged that a student may pursue them even without the assistance of a tutor, may become by that means a mathematician of very high character, and be enabled to master the most difficult and delicate speculations of continental mathematicians.

19. The names of the authors of the Treatises on *Pure Mathematics* are suffi-

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The EDITORS of the original edition of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana were—The Rev. EDWARD SMEDLEY, M.A., late Fellow of Sidney College, Cambridge; the Rev. HUGH JAMES ROSE, B.D., late Principal of King's College, London; and the Rev. HENRY JOHN ROSE, B.D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

cient to prove that the *Encyclopædia* is worthy of the present state of science, and that its most important articles are contributed by those who have themselves been foremost in the onward march of science. The elaborate Treatise on ARITHMETIC, by the present Dean of Ely (Dr. Peacock), Lowndian Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge, is interesting alike to the scholar, the mathematician, and the speculator in metaphysics. The brief but comprehensive Treatise on TRIGONOMETRY, by Professor Airy, now Astronomer Royal, is of considerable value from the general elegance of its demonstrations. The publications of the Rev. H. P. Hamilton on ANALYTICAL GEOMETRY and CONIC SECTIONS, and that of Professor Barlow on the THEORY OF NUMBERS, are so highly esteemed, that any eulogium on their papers on these subjects would be superfluous. The Treatises of Professor Levy on the DIFFERENTIAL and INTEGRAL CALCULUS are calculated to carry the student to a very high point of proficiency. The GEOMETRY, ALGEBRA, and GEOMETRICAL ANALYSIS complete the Volume in a manner worthy of the treatises with which they are associated.

20. These sciences are, however, in some degree elementary; and although by them the student would be so far advanced as to enter upon the works of some of the ablest analysts, it would be unworthy of such a publication as the Encyclopædia Metropolitana to leave untouched or imperfectly treated, the more refined applications of the higher Calculus. It will be found, accordingly, that the highest branches of mathematical analysis have been treated by writers conversant with all its intricacies, and the mathematical student is furnished in them with results of far greater variety and of a more subtle nature than can at present be used in the application of analysis to Mixed Mathematics.

21. The CALCULUS of VARIATIONS, and the CALCULUS of FINITE DIFFERENCES by Professor Hall, are distinguished by the clearness peculiar to his treatment of these refined and subtle portions of analysis. The CALCULUS of FUNCTIONS and the THEORY of PROBABILITY are the work of Professor De Morgan. The latter (on a subject which has exercised the talents of the greatest mathematicians, even down to the times of Laplace) is, as might be expected, one of the most complete in any language. The Treatise on DEFINITE INTEGRALS completes the series of these elaborate surveys on the higher branches of Mathematical Analysis. The name of Professor Moseley is a sufficient warrant that his Essay is also of the highest character.

22. Without wishing, therefore, to offer any undue eulogium on the Treatises enumerated above, we confidently ask that portion of the public which is qualified to judge of their merits, to compare the whole system of *Pure Mathematics* here presented to them with that in any similar work, whether of this country or of the Continent, on the grounds of *arrangement*, *clearness*, *ability*, and *completeness*.

23. We must now allude to such of the Pure Sciences as are not included in the Mathematical department. Sir John Stoddart has given a lucid and able summary of the General Principles of GRAMMAR, or the Philosophy of Language. The LOGIC and RHETORIC of Archbishop Whately require no commendation here, as they have long since been published in a separate form, and have taken their place among the standard works of our language. The Treatise on LAW is the work of Richard Jebb, Esq., Professor Graves, and Archer Polson, Esq. It embraces one of the most difficult portions of Philosophy—the general foundations of Law and Morals; and the Editor is happy to state that testimony from the very highest quarters has been given both to the profoundness of the views entertained, and the ability with which they are developed.

24. In the present state of metaphysical knowledge, it would be presumptuous to put forth any *system* of Metaphysics; but a general HISTORY OF MORAL AND METAPHYSICAL PHILOSOPHY affords the most convenient opportunity for displaying the principles on which the greatest philosophers have hitherto endeavoured to form their systems, for pointing out their difficulties, and for marking how far each has contributed to the progress of the science. Such a sketch, however, required the hand of a master; and the Editor confidently believes that the Treatise on Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy which is here given is calculated fully to sustain the

deservedly high reputation of the Rev. F. D. Maurice. Of the Outlines of THEOLOGY, it does not become the Editor to say more than to acknowledge with gratitude the very able assistance of Professor Corrie, to whom two chapters are due. He has endeavoured to render this Treatise as practically useful as possible, not only to avoid passing controversies, but to bring forward the sound and genuine doctrines of the Church of England; and perhaps he may be allowed to add that, in pursuance of this object, he has spared no pains or labour.

MIXED AND APPLIED SCIENCES.

25. From *Pure Mathematics* we proceed in natural order to their application to physical phenomena. Of these sciences, some belong to the elementary branches of physical knowledge, and others to a higher and more advanced stage. Now, the treatises on MECHANICS, HYDRODYNAMICS, PNEUMATICS, OPTICS, and PLANE ASTRONOMY, have been written by Professor Barlow with an express view to this distinction. They are elementary enough to enable any student, with a competent knowledge of Pure Mathematics, to overcome their difficulties; and yet they are so based on scientific principles, that they will also prepare him to enter readily on the higher branches of Mixed Mathematics. In *Mechanics*, more especially, a foundation is laid for the succeeding investigations of Physical Astronomy, which is, in fact, only one of the higher branches of Analytical Physics.

26. Some of the treatises in the volumes devoted to the Mixed Sciences demand a separate notice, as enlarging the boundaries of our scientific knowledge. Of this class are the Treatises on LIGHT and SOUND, by Sir J. F. W. Herschel. The Treatise on LIGHT, by Sir J. F. W. Herschel, from the position it has already obtained in the scientific world, both in England and on the Continent, cannot require any recommendation here. The simple mention of Sir J. F. W. Herschel's name is a sufficient recommendation to the Treatise on PHYSICAL ASTRONOMY, and proves at once that it must be an Essay of the highest order of merit, and worthy of the present state of the Science; and the conductors of this *Encyclopædia* may justly be proud that that distinguished writer has contributed so largely to its pages. But although Plane and Physical Astronomy had been thus ably treated, it was considered that something more was required; and the late Captain Kater kindly furnished the very useful and able Treatise on NAUTICAL ASTRONOMY, a subject with which his acquaintance was at once profound and practical.

27. MAGNETISM and ELECTRO-MAGNETISM are treated by Professor Barlow with the same ability and research which he has displayed in the other Essays contributed by him; and GALVANISM, by Dr. Roget, whose scientific character is too firmly established to leave any doubt as to the merit of his contributions. The author of the Treatises on ELECTRICITY, HEAT, and CHEMISTRY, the late Rev. F. Lunn, was one whose merits as an experimental philosopher and chemist were not so extensively known as they deserved to be; but at Cambridge his acquirements were acknowledged to be of the highest order. The treatises themselves, it is believed, will amply justify their favourable anticipations.

28. The Third Volume of *Mixed Sciences* is chiefly devoted to the FINE ARTS; but there are two or three Essays in the early part of the Volume which belong to the more exact sciences, viz., the Essay on the FIGURE OF THE EARTH, by Professor Airy, the present Astronomer Royal, and his Treatise on the TIDES. With regard to the former much novelty was hardly to be expected; but it is presumed that this Treatise contains the most complete combination and discussion of observations relating to the subject hitherto produced in England. The treatise into which this great mathematician has thrown all his power is the Theory of the Tides. The terms in which some of the most distinguished mathematicians of Cambridge have spoken of this treatise prove that they consider it to have greatly advanced the knowledge of this difficult subject. Every previous treatise on the theory of the tides is entirely superseded by this production, and it will supply, for many years to come, the only sound foundation of our knowledge upon this subject.

29. The Treatise on POLITICAL ECONOMY was written by N. W. Senior, Esq.

30. The Treatises on BOTANY and HORTICULTURE are supplied by G. Don, Esq.,

whose profound acquaintance with every department of knowledge which belongs to the vegetable kingdom is known to all botanists and florists. The ZOOLOGY combines GENERAL PHYSIOLOGY with COMPARATIVE ANATOMY, and is the work of J. F. South, Esq., Surgeon of St. Thomas's Hospital (assisted in one portion of Physiology by Mr. Clark and Mr. Solly). The descriptions in this Treatise possess the very unusual and peculiar merit of being given by Mr. South, in every practicable instance, *from the specimens themselves.* Of the ANATOMY, by Mr. South and Mr. Le Gros Clark, and the MATERIA MEDICA, by Dr. G. Johnson, it may be said that their names are a sufficient pledge that these Treatises are of first-rate character. The Treatise on MEDICINE, by Dr. Robert Williams, of St. Thomas's Hospital, is an attempt to give a more philosophical view of the classification of disease than has hitherto been taken in any work of modern date. To W. Bowman, Esq., the Encyclopædia is indebted for an able outline of SURGICAL PRACTICE. The medical volume is closed by a comprehensive Treatise on VETERINARY ART, by W. C. Spooner, Esq.

31. The METEOROLOGY of the late Mr. Harvey, and the CRYSTALLOGRAPHY of Mr. Brooke, have been referred to respectively with especial commendation by Professor Forbes and Dr. Whewell. The names of Mr. Phillips and Dr. Daubeny will sufficiently recommend the Treatise on GEOLOGY, as exhibiting an adequate representation of that science at the time of its publication. The Treatise on MINERALOGY by Mr. Brooke; the Essays on CARPENTRY, by P. Nicholson, Esq.; on FORTIFICATION, by Major Mitchell and Captain Procter; and on NAVAL ARCHITECTURE, by the late Mr. Harvey, must not be passed over. The names of these writers guarantee the value of their contributions.

32. In this class of *Mixed Sciences* a novel feature is exhibited in the Sixth Volume of the series, viz., *A Systematic Account of the* ARTS *and* MANUFACTURES *of Great Britain.* There is probably no writer who would be able to do such ample justice to so extensive a range of matter, requiring both theoretical and practical knowledge, as its author, Mr. Barlow; but that nothing might be wanting to the completeness of this portion of the work, Professor Babbage supplied a Preliminary Discourse on the *Principles of Manufactures;* and it may confidently be asked, to what other source could the conductors of the work have appealed with equal confidence on so difficult and multifarious a subject?

HISTORICAL DIVISION.

33. It is not possible, in this rapid sketch, to specify all the papers in this portion of the work; but as nearly every contribution is assigned to its proper author at the beginning of each volume, such a course is unnecessary either for the information of the public, or as a tribute of respect to the distinguished authors themselves. Ample care has been taken to enlist among the contributors to this department writers not only of splendid endowments, but also of the highest attainments in different classes of historical knowledge. There will be found among the numerous writers in this division contributions from Bishop Blomfield, Dr. Whewell, Mr. Justice Talfourd, Dr. Arnold, Dean Hinds, Rev. J. A. Jeremie, Rev. G. C. Renouard, Rev. J. H. Newman, Bishop Russell, Archdeacon Hale, Dean Lyall, Rev. J. B. S. Carwithen, Bishop Hampden, Rev. R. Garnet, Major Mountain, Rev. J. H. B. Mountain, Captain Procter, Rev. J. E. Riddle, Archdeacon Ormerod, T. Roscoe, Esq., W. Macpherson, Esq., Rev. R. L. Browne, Rev. H. Thomson, Rev. J. G. Dowling, Rev. J. W. Blakesley, Rev. J. B. Ottley, W. Lowndes, Esq., Q.C.

34. A good work on General History has long been a great desideratum in our literature. The summaries of Tytler and Russell are too brief, and the Universal History, independently of the heavy manner in which it is written, is too long. It is presumed that the Historical Volumes of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* will be found to meet this want in an efficient manner. They are written by men of undoubted ability; they exhibit the history of the world at first in a series of biographical sketches, and then in a continuous history of each remarkable country, combined with an Ecclesiastical History remarkably full and rich in the most interesting epochs of the Christian Church. Dissertations of great importance in a

philosophical point of view, such as those on Ancient Philosophy and Literature, on the Crusades, the Feudal System, and the Scholastic System, are introduced into the text at the most convenient periods, for the illustration of the respective subjects.

MISCELLANEOUS PORTION.

35. Although the *Miscellaneous Division* of this *Encyclopædia* occupies a larger number of volumes than any other, it requires a less extended notice. It appears, however, desirable to explain in some degree the *principle* on which this portion of the work was executed, and to indicate the authors of some of the most remarkable series of papers.

The leading features in this division of the *Encyclopædia* are—

1. The ENGLISH LEXICON.
2. The GEOGRAPHY.
3. The NATURAL HISTORY.
4. The MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

The universal approbation with which the LEXICON, compiled by Dr. Richardson, has been received, precludes the necessity of enlarging either on the plan itself or on the gigantic labour involved in its execution. The plan of giving the quotations of each word *chronologically* has the advantage of embodying in a philosophical Lexicon a *History of our own Language.*

36. For the whole of the Articles on GEOGRAPHY, the proprietors feel that they may fairly advance the claim of having obtained the co-operation of persons more than competent to bring forward whatever is most valuable for a work like this from all usually accessible sources of information. In this respect, the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* claims to take a high station among similar works; and the names of the contributors of the Articles on *European* and *American Geography* are a sufficient pledge of the ability and care with which they are executed, viz.:—T. Myers, Esq., Captain Bonnycastle, R.E., C. Vignoles, Esq., C.E., H. Lloyd, Esq., G. H. Smith, Esq., A. Jacob, Esq., W. D. Coolie, Esq., and Cyrus Redding, Esq.

One class of Geographical Articles demands especial mention, and may be said to be wholly without a rival in any similar work in our language, viz.: those on *Ancient, Oriental,* and *African Geography,* which were entirely supplied by the Rev. G. C. Renouard (of Cambridge, formerly Chaplain at Smyrna), and evince the most extensive familiarity with every variety of language, ancient and modern. The Editor believes that if these essays were collected together, and published as a system of Oriental Geography, they would surpass in accuracy and value anything at present existing in our own or any other European language.

37. The section of NATURAL HISTORY is divided chiefly into *Botany* and *Zoology.* In these two sciences the *Genera* will be found described in their alphabetical order, while their scientific arrangement and the principles of the sciences form part of the treatises in the volumes devoted to the *Mixed Sciences.* For these two departments, the services of several eminent naturalists were engaged. In *Botany*, T. Edwards, Esq., and G. Don, Esq., &c. In *Zoology*, T. Bell, Esq, F.L.S., &c., J. E. Gray, Esq., F.L.S., &c., of the British Museum; J. F. Stephens, Esq., and J. F. South, Esq.

38. The highly-gifted individual to whom this Encyclopædia owes so many of its attractions—the late Rev. Edward Smedley,—enriched the Miscellaneous Division with a series of articles which embody a vast store of curious and recondite information, communicated in a manner at once instructive and agreeable. Besides these articles, the *Geographical Gazetteer* and the *Dictionary* of *Law* and *Political Philosophy,* a large number of very important and valuable articles will be found scattered through the volumes of the *Miscellaneous Division.* Attention may be called, amongst a variety of others, to the *Biblical Articles,* by the Rev. T. H. Horne; to the *Philological* and *Oriental,* by the Rev. G. C. Renouard; the *Scientific Articles,* (as *e. g., Dialling, Surveying, Weights and Measures, &c.*) by Mr. Barlow; *Meteoric Stones,* by Professor Miller; *Stove and Ventilation,* by C. Hood, Esq., F.R.S.; *Stucco,* by T. L. Donaldson, Professor of Architecture in University College, London; the *Theological Articles,* by Archdeacon Hale; Essays on *Engineering,* by C. Vignoles, Esq., C. E.; and *Writing,* by the Rev. R. Garnet.

THE PLATES are for the most part the work of those two eminent engravers

Messrs. Lowry. They require only a simple inspection to prove their beauty and excellence.

The GENERAL INDEX was, at an early period in the publication of the *Encyclopædia*, intrusted to the Rev. J. Hindle, and occupied the attention of this very competent person for several years. It will be found to contain ample reference to all that is most important and interesting.

From this review of the FIRST EDITION of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, we proceed to describe the peculiarities of the projected SECOND EDITION.

39. THE SECOND EDITION of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA will be handsomely printed in a series of CABINET VOLUMES, in CROWN OCTAVO, in the style shown by the SPECIMENS on pages 14 and 15.

40. The whole work will be THOROUGHLY REVISED; many NEW TREATISES will be added; and the Articles will all be provided with comprehensive INDEXES, or with analytical TABLES of CONTENTS.

41. It will be abundantly illustrated by Maps, Woodcuts, and Engravings.

42. It will be published in WEEKLY PARTS, PRICE ONE SHILLING, and in MONTHLY VOLUMES, varying in price according to the number of Parts contained in each.

43. METHODICAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE SECOND EDITION.—In preparing the SECOND EDITION of this Encyclopædia for publication, very little change will be made in its SYSTEM. The peculiar characteristic impressed upon it by Mr. Coleridge—ITS METHODICAL ARRANGEMENT—will be followed strictly. Indeed, the chief difference that will appear between the arrangement of the Second Edition and the First, will proceed from a more rigid adherence in the Second Edition to the *principles of Method* established by Mr. Coleridge, than it was possible to attain in the First Edition. The work being wholly original and composed by more than a hundred Contributors, it happened, during the first publication, that many of the articles, either because they were not produced in proper time to be incorporated in their systematic places, or for other unexplained reasons, were cast into the great "*Alphabetical, Miscellaneous, or Supplementary Division*," where they are connected together by no stronger scientific bond than their alphabetical initials. But now that we have the whole work before us, complete (as respects the First Edition), and capable of re-arrangement, we propose to rectify these accidental departures from the true method of the Encyclopædia, and to transfer, from the Alphabetical Miscellany, every article that is capable of transference, to its appropriate position in the Philosophical Classification. Thus, the Article GEOGRAPHY, properly organized, will form a new division, complementary to that on History, as was originally intended, see § 8; the details of NATURAL HISTORY will be grouped with the General Treatise on that science; the art of Diplomacy will be subjoined to the science of the Law of Nations; and so on. What remains in the Alphabetical Division, after this effective re-arrangement has been made, will form a SERIES of DICTIONARIES, Lexicographical, Classical, Theological, Technological, &c.

44. REVISION AND ENLARGEMENT.—Though the changes contemplated in the *General System* of the Encyclopædia are not important, the improvements to be made in the *details* will be considerable. In all possible cases, before the articles are reprinted for the Second Edition, they will be thoroughly revised, either by their authors or other competent persons, and Indexes and Tables of Contents will be added; the Historical series will be completed and re-arranged; the Treatises on the Natural and Experimental Sciences will either receive important amendments,

or be replaced by others entirely new; while the Mechanical and Chemical Arts, and the applications of the sciences to affairs of public utility, will be treated of in the Second Edition, much more practically than they were in the First Edition.

45. PROPOSED EXTENT OF THE WORK.—The series of scientific and historical TREATISES on the important SUBJECTS comprehended in the philosophical scheme of this work (page 13), which form indispensable links of the great chain of human knowledge—the Series necessary to complete the *circumference* of an Encyclopædia—cannot be compressed into *fewer* than EIGHTY CABINET VOLUMES. That is the *minimum* extent. But since the methodical plan of the work, as developed in this Prospectus, will permit at all times of the incorporation of such additional Treatises, as may be requisite to keep its scientific principles and historical facts in accordance with the progress of the age,—a permission of which the conductors will freely avail themselves,—it is impossible to state what may be the *maximum* number of its volumes. An Encyclopædia intended to reflect always the existing state of human knowledge, "to act," (in the language of Mr. COLERIDGE,) "at once as a reservoir and a fountain,—to receive perpetual accessions of knowledge from the genius of the age, and to yield the knowledge again in willing abundance," —such a work can never be effectually "*completed.*" That word applies with as little propriety to such an Encyclopædia, as it does to the Times Newspaper or the Philosophical Transactions; for, like those celebrated journals, this Encyclopædia will be at all times ready to incorporate an account of every important Event and new Principle that Time and Discovery may furnish, and for which its philosophical system provides an adequate Repository.

46. IMPROVED PLAN OF PUBLICATION.—A great alteration, and, it is hoped, an important improvement, will be made in the METHOD OF PUBLISHING the Second Edition, as contrasted with the method adopted for the first edition of this Encyclopædia. The PARTS of the CABINET EDITION will not, like the Parts of the Quarto Edition, contain letter-press and engravings belonging to different subjects or different Divisions of the Encyclopædia, forming a heterogeneous and unreadable mixture of fragments of many Treatises; but *each* PART will relate only to *one subject;* and whenever it is possible, *each* VOLUME of the CABINET EDITION will embrace ALL that relates to one subject. That, however, will necessarily depend upon the nature of the Subjects and the consequent extent of the Treatises. Very frequently several will be comprised in one Volume, and occasionally an important subject,—the principles of a leading Science, or the History of a great nation,—will occupy two volumes. But care will be taken to ensure a due proportion in size among the several Treatises, to avoid unnecessary prolixity, to combine comprehensiveness in matter with convenience in form, and to avoid the incongruous binding together of Treatises on irrelative Subjects—such, for example, as occurred in Vol. 5 of the First Edition, where the Treatises on the FINE ARTS were combined with two profound MATHEMATICAL TREATISES belonging to the Department of ASTRONOMY.

47. ADVANTAGES TO THE SUBSCRIBERS.—Those who subscribed to the original edition, and who remember how it was contrived to convert the most *Methodical* of Encyclopædias into the most IM*methodical* of Publications, will readily recognise the importance of an alteration, which INSURES TO THE SUBSCRIBER TO THE SECOND EDITION the possession of a complete readable portion of the work in recompense for every Subscription he is required to make.

48. ORDER OF PUBLICATION.—It seems not unnecessary to call the attention of intending Subscribers to the difference that exists between the *order* in which the SUBJECTS *occur* in the general system of this Encyclopædia and the *order* in which it may be *advisable to publish* the TREATISES on those subjects. In consequence of the different amount of corrections that will be required by the various Treatises that compose the Encyclopædia, and the circumstance that many Treatises on subjects that demand extensive investigation must be written entirely anew,—it would be impossible, without submitting to great delay and irregularity, to publish the revised Articles and new Treatises in Weekly Parts, in the exact order in which the subjects occur in Mr. Coleridge's methodical plan. Neither is it desirable

to adhere to that order pertinaciously, because it would not be agreeable to the great body of the SUBSCRIBERS to so comprehensive a work as this ENCYCLOPÆDIA, to receive, for months together, a series of WEEKLY PARTS relating solely to Mathematics, or to Geography, or to History, or indeed to *any* Department, in its order—*all other subjects being, for the time, systematically excluded.* A proceeding of that sort could hardly fail to excite dislike or indifference to the work in the FAMILIES of many of the SUBSCRIBERS. The Proprietors consider, therefore, that they will consult the general convenience, both of the Authors and the Subscribers, by publishing the Treatises in an indeterminate order,—giving History, Science, and Art alternately, but carefully indicating on the title-page of each Volume its exact place in the entire System, in accordance with the Plan given in page 13. In order, however, to prevent mistakes, every PART and VOLUME of the work, *as published*, will be marked with a running Number, simply to indicate the order of Publication, and irrespective of the ultimate Philosophical Arrangement of the articles. The Parts that constitute a Volume will be published as near together as circumstances permit, and, from time to time, General Title Pages and Tables of Contents will be supplied, to complete the Volumes of the several Divisions.

49. REGULARITY OF PUBLICATION.—The vast amount of original writing of the highest class, in every department of literature and science, which is comprehended in the First Edition of this Encyclopædia, and the proved excellence of its methodical plan, will so greatly facilitate the preparation of the CABINET EDITION, that the Conductors trust to be enabled to issue the WEEKLY PARTS in uninterrupted succession,—correcting in the work, as they go on, what requires correction; retrenching what is superfluous; and supplying what is deficient; so as to bring the whole more strictly into accordance with Mr. COLERIDGE's great idea of the essentials of an Encyclopædia, and producing, if possible, a "SYSTEM OF UNIVERSAL KNOWLEDGE," more philosophical in its plan, more ably executed in its details, more convenient in size, and more economical in price, than any work of the kind that has ever hitherto been produced.

50. We conclude this Prospectus with a short extract from the Preface to the First Edition of the Encyclopædia:—

"The foregoing enumeration of the principal parts of the Encyclopædia embodies all the observations which the Editor considers it necessary to make in recommending the work to the patronage of the public. The exertions made by the Proprietors to procure the just fulfilment of the high expectations formed of the work, and of the promises they had made, as well as the perseverance with which they have conducted this important publication to its completion, amidst the many obstacles which must necessarily arise in so extensive an undertaking, entitle them to high consideration from that portion of the Public which is interested in works of a sterling and substantial character. From the present position of Literature, and *the system now in fashion of publishing small and superficial works which may be cheaply produced, and are really of no intrinsic value*, it is probable that a long period must elapse before any similar undertaking will be entered upon, from the enormous outlay of capital it requires, and the uncertainty of remuneration which it offers. It is hoped, therefore, that this GREAT NATIONAL WORK, for such it really is, may meet with that patronage which the Proprietors feel confident it fairly and fully deserves. They feel assured that, whether it be viewed as a whole or in its separate divisions, *it embodies a mass of information at once extensive, accurate, and scientifically arranged, which must place it in a pre-eminent and triumphant position.* Whatever its measure of success may be in a pecuniary point of view, they may justly feel a high gratification in having been instrumental, under Providence, in bringing to a successful termination *a work which, whether its* LITERARY MERIT OR THE SOUNDNESS OF ITS MORAL AND RELIGIOUS VIEWS *be regarded, must ever be considered as an* INESTIMABLE BENEFIT TO THEIR COUNTRY AND A PERMANENT ORNAMENT TO ITS LITERATURE."

London, October, 1849.

PLAN OF THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA.

The INTRODUCTION.—On the Laws and regulative Principles of EDUCATION; or in the Language of the Schools, the Elements of METHODOLOGY.

FIRST DIVISION.

PURE SCIENCES.

Section I.
Formal Sciences.

Philosophy of Language.
Logic.
Rhetoric.
Mathematics:—
- Geometry.
- Arithmetic.
- Algebra.
- Geometrical Analysis.
- Theory of Numbers.
- Trigonometry.
- Analytical Geometry.
- Conic Sections.
- Differential and Integral Calculus.
- Calculus of Variations.
- Calculus of Finite Differences.
- Calculus of Functions.
- Theory of Probabilities.
- Definite Integrals.

Section II.—Real Sciences.

Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy.
Law:—
- General Principles of Law.
- Roman Law.
- English Law—
  - Laws of England.
  - Laws of Ireland.
  - Laws of Scotland.
  - Colonial Law.
- Canon Law.

Politics:—
- Law of Nations—
  - Diplomacy.
- Political Philosophy—
  - Statistics.
- Political Economy—
  - Commerce.

Theology:—
- Natural Theology.
- Evidences of Revelation.
- Scripture Doctrine.
  - Biblical Literature.
  - Biblical Antiquities.
  - Religions and Religious Customs.

SECOND DIVISION.

MIXED AND APPLIED SCIENCES.

Section I.
Mechanical Philosophy.
(*Mixed Mathematics*).

Mechanics.
Hydrostatics.
Pneumatics.
Optics.
Astronomy:—
- Plane Astronomy.
- Nautical Astronomy.
- Physical Astronomy.

Figure of the Earth.
Tides and Waves.

Section II.
Experimental Philosophy.

Magnetism.
Electro-Magnetism.
Electricity.
Galvanism.
Heat.
Light.
Chemistry.
Sound.
Meteorology.

Section III.—The Fine Arts.

Architecture.
Sculpture.
Painting.
Heraldry.
Numismatics.
Poetry.
Music.
Engraving.

Section IV.
The Useful Arts.

Agriculture.
Horticulture.
Floriculture.
Arboriculture.
Carpentry and Joinery.
Fortification.
Engineering.
Naval Architecture.
Manufactures.
Mechanical Arts.
Chemical Arts.

Section V.
Natural History.

Inanimate:—
- Crystallography.
- Mineralogy.
- Geology.

Insentient:—
- Botany.

Animate:—
- Zoology.
- Physiology.
- Comparative Anatomy.
- Vertebrals:
  - Mammalia. | Reptiles.
  - Birds. | Fishes.
- Invertebrals:
  - Molluscs. | Spined Skins.
  - Insects. | Sea Nettles.
  - Crustaceans. | Infusories.
  - Arachnidans. | Polyps.
  - Myriapods.

Section VI.—Applications of Natural History.

Anatomy.
Materia Medica.
Pharmacy.
Medicine.
Surgery.
Veterinary Art.

THIRD DIVISION.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Introduction:—
- On the Uses of History.
- Chronology.
- Chronological Tables.

Archæology.

Ethnology.

Ancient History:—
- Sacred History.
- The Jews.
- Greece.
- Greek Literature.
- Greek Philosophy and Art.
- Ancient Oriental Nations.
- Rome.
- Roman Literature.
- Roman Philosophy.
- Classical Antiquities.
- Heathen Mythology.

Middle Ages.

Modern History:—
- The Christian Church.
- Greek Empire.
- Ottoman Empire.
- The Crusades.
- Italy.
- Germany.
- France.
- Spain.
- Portugal.
- Netherlands.
- Switzerland.
- Britain.
- America.
- India.

FOURTH DIVISION.

GEOGRAPHY.

Physical Geography.

Political Geography:—
- European.
- American.
- Oriental.
- African.
- Classical.

British Topography.

FIFTH DIVISION.

LEXICOGRAPHICAL.

English Lexicon, &c. &c. &c.
See Prospectus, § 43.

GENERAL INDEX.

derived from them the greatest encouragement to carry on the war against Darius, not doubting but that he was the person described in the prophetic books.

Alexander's favour to the Jews.

At his departure these circumstances so effectually recommended the Jews to the favour of Alexander, that when they petitioned him to allow them to live under their own laws, and in the free exercise of their religion, and further to be exempted from tribute every seventh year, because their law forbade them to cultivate the soil in the year of the sabbath, he immediately complied with their request. The Jews further implored his protection for their brethren whom he would find settled in Babylon; and many of them, won by his kindness, enlisted as soldiers in his service, and accompanied him on his expedition.

His behaviour to the Samaritans.

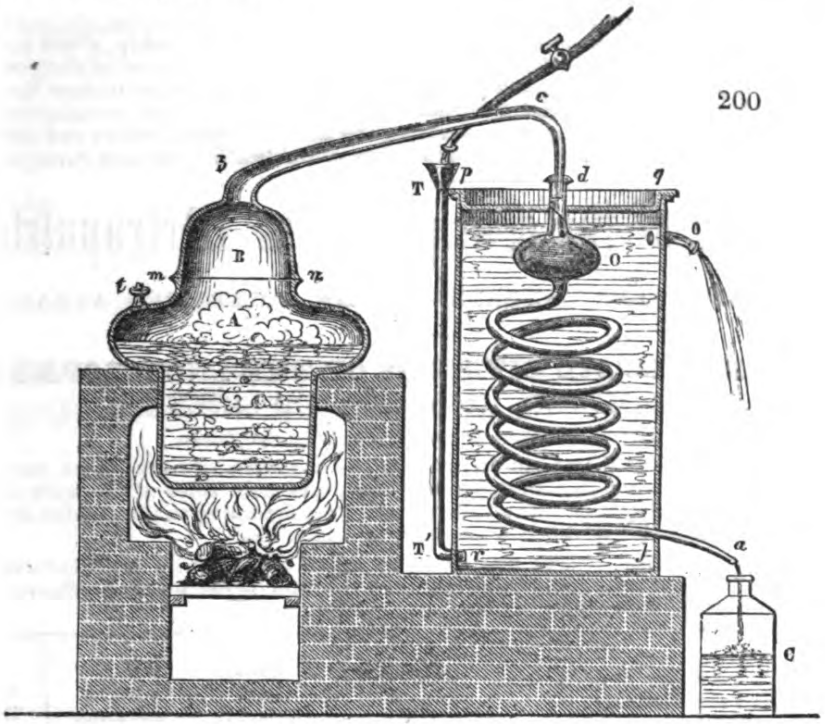
The Samaritans envying the Jews the favour they had so unexpectedly gained, and jealous of the distinction conferred upon them, thought by a similar line of conduct to gain as much influence with the king. They met him as he returned from Jerusalem in a solemn religious procession, and professing their kindred with the Hebrews, sought from him a grant of the same privileges which he had given to their brethren. Alexander excused himself from paying attention to their request till after his return from Egypt; but, during his absence, a rebellion taking place in the city, in which Andromachus, the governor, perished, at his return he caused all those who were concerned in the disturbance to be put to death, and driving out the Samaritans, planted their city with Macedonians: those who survived retired to Shechem, under Mount Gerizim, which from that time became the metropolis of the Samaritan sect, and continues so to this day. The eight thousand Samaritans who had joined Alexander at Tyre, and had been with him ever since, he settled in Thebais, the remotest province of Egypt, lest their presence in Samaria should revive the mutinous spirit of their countrymen. This treatment contrasts strikingly with that which the Jews subsequently received, for when Alexandria was built, he settled therein many of that nation, giving them great privileges, and allowing them not only the use of their own laws and religion, but also the enjoyment of equal franchises and liberties with his own people, the Macedonians.

Influence of the preceding events upon Alexander's conduct.

It does not fall within our province to pursue the narration of Alexander's conquests, or to trace him in his rapid progress to the highest pinnacle of martial glory; one part, however, of his character is so closely connected with the occurrences related to have taken place on his arrival at Jerusalem, that we cannot forbear stopping to direct the reader's attention to it. It has often created surprise that a man of Alexander's strength of mind, should have been guilty of such folly and weakness as to feign himself to be the son of Jupiter Ammon, and to undertake a most laborious expedition to his Temple, which was situated in the midst of the deserts of Lybia, and twelve days journey from Memphis, for no other purpose than that of procuring himself the title of son of Jupiter.

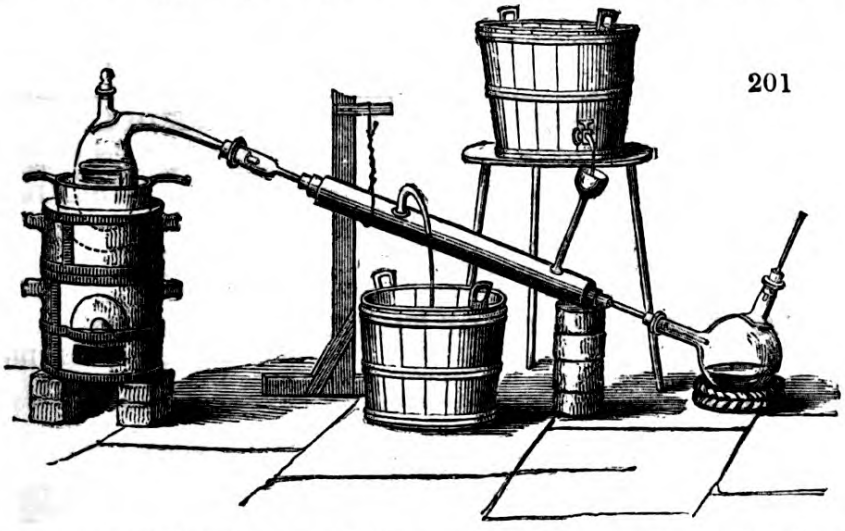
The water to be distilled is poured into the Still at the opening marked *t*. The water of the Condenser is continuously renewed by the supply-pipe T T′, and when heated by the steam, it is suffered to run off by the escape-pipe *o*.

200



It is frequently necessary, in the laboratory, to distil volatile liquors, in which case the condensing power must be very effective, that loss be not occasioned by the escape of uncondensed vapour. For such operations, the apparatus represented by fig. 201 is employed. The

201



liquor to be distilled is placed in a glass Retort, the neck of which is connected, by means of an adapter, to a straight Condenser, consisting

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The PLAN and the LITERARY MERITS of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana have been sufficiently dwelt upon in the PROSPECTUS. After twenty-eight years of arduous labour, the work was completed in 1845. The expenditure upon it amounted to £26,000 for authorship, £7000 for designing and engraving the Plates, and £11,000 for stereotyping the letter-press, a total of £44,000, exclusive of the cost of paper, printing, binding, and publishing. These facts are cited to show how earnestly the Proprietors endeavoured to do justice to their undertaking. The work contains 23,000 quarto pages of letter-press, and above 600 quarto engravings by Lowry, of great beauty and accuracy; the whole forming Thirty large Volumes. The original form of publication was in 59 Parts, at 21*s*. each.

Re-Issue of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana,

ON A METHODICAL PLAN, ACCORDING TO MR. COLERIDGE'S ARRANGEMENT

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HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE,

BY

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In arranging the Historical division of this Encyclopædia for republication, we have to some extent departed from Mr. Coleridge's original intention "*to present History in the form of Biography chronologically arranged.*" Instead of making the Historical and Biographical articles succeed each other strictly in the order of *time*, it has been considered expedient to arrange them in the order of their *subjects*—making the chronological principle subordinate to the philosophical. The advantage derived from this alteration is, that each of the small volumes of the Cabinet Edition of the Encyclopædia will present the reader with the complete history of a given subject, instead of a collection of disconnected chapters relating to the various events, persons, and subjects, of a given era.

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London, May 1850.

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EARLY GREEK POETRY.

BY

SIR THOMAS NOON TALFOURD, D.C.L.,

ONE OF THE JUSTICES OF HER MAJESTY'S COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

EARLY GREEK POETS.

LINUS, WHO FLOURISHED ABOUT	A.M. 2724.	B.C. 1280.
ORPHEUS - - - - - - - -	A.M. 2744.	B.C. 1260.
MUSÆUS - - - - - - - -	A.M. 2824.	B.C. 1180.
HOMER AND HESIOD - - - -	A.M. 3097.	B.C. 907.

EARLY GREEK POETRY.

Early state of poetry in Greece.

If our judgment of the poetry of Greece were to be formed solely from the works which have reached us, we should believe that it arrived at once at a high degree of excellence. The poems of Homer are the most ancient of all the undisputed pieces of that poetry which time has spared, at least if we suppose them older than those of Hesiod. It cannot, however, be doubted that verse existed in Greece long before the time when the Iliad and Odyssey were chanted by the wandering rhapsodists; for poetry has always its birth in the infancy of the social state, and must be uniformly referred, as the means of celebrating or transmitting events, to a higher antiquity than prose. The reason is obvious. Before the art of writing became widely diffused, or generally practised, the recurring cadences and harmonious flow of numbers enabled those who heard the matters thus recorded to retain them in memory. Thus, whatever the historian desired to transmit, or the moralist to teach, was cast in the mould of verse, by which alone it had the chance of surviving. The tales relating to the existence of the gods were preserved by the art of the religious teacher; the old traditions relating to heroes and sages by that of the patriot. But it does not follow that the verses thus dictated rather by necessity, than the desire of communicating pleasure, displayed any of those qualities which we now admire in poetry. Many of them were harsh and rude from the very nature of their materials, of which abundant instances may be seen in the remaining works of Hesiod.

But the channel was thus prepared in which the stream of genius might flow. The opportunity was given to a mighty mind to pour forth the images and thoughts which crowded upon it in regular form. He who felt the principle of immortality within him, observing that verse made indifferent things perpetual, might seek to acquire for his own noble conceptions a perpetuity by the same medium. Thus the intuitive power of genius found a form adapted for its reception, in which it could be rendered permanent, and secured from the injuries of time, for the admiration of enlightened ages.

The early attempts of the poets in Greece have not reached us, probably on account of the great commotions which took place in that country soon after the Trojan war. In less than a century after that event, while Tisamenus, the son of Orestes, reigned in Mycenæ, the Dorians, a half-barbarous race, invaded the Peloponnesus. They destroyed the civilization just beginning to fructify, drove many of the old inhabitants into exile, and reduced those who remained under their dominion to the rude and barbarous state from which they

were emerging. Of the manner in which this important revolution was effected we know little; but it is established beyond question, that it took place between the destruction of Troy and the foundation of the empire of the Medes in Asia. The inhabitants who were driven from their homes passed over into Asia, and there occupied considerable regions along the shores. Some of the traditions, and even poems, which, in their time, were admired, might probably have been taken with them in their banishment; but the barbarism which afterwards overspread Greece proved fatal to most of her former productions. By degrees, however, the Peloponnesus began to recover from the effects of this invasion, and the Greeks who had left their country returned to seek refuge from the Persian arms. When Grecian civilization had advanced, much curiosity was excited respecting the poets who had flourished before the interruption of tranquillity, or who had promulgated their works in Ionia and the islands during the interval.

Ionian poets.

It was accordant with the genius and character of the Greeks, that the want of authentic history relating to these persons, whose names were still held in reverence, should be supplied by the aid of fiction. The obscure traditions remaining of early bards, philosophers, and musicians, were modelled so as to gratify the national pride and to adorn the popular religion. Hence, little credit is to be given to the details of Grecian history, especially those relating to the poets before the æra of the Olympiads. If little is certainly known respecting Homer, who flourished in a comparatively recent period, how can we give implicit belief to the tales respecting Linus, Orpheus, Musæus, Eumolpus, and others, who are said to have adorned a much earlier æra? Incredulity was never the fault of the Greeks, nor historical research a favourite exercise of their powers. The maxim—"*Quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historia*,"[1] implies an accusation which the attentive inquirer will perceive is not unfounded. And though we may not entirely reject the accounts of early bards, on the ground of the manifest fictions with which they are mingled, it must be confessed that there is great difficulty in selecting any single fact respecting one of them, before the Trojan war, on which we can rely.

Collections of Fabricius.

Fabricius has, with indefatigable zeal, collected a number of fragments and accounts of those authors who have been supposed more ancient than Homer. Most of them have been generally regarded by the learned as forgeries, originating in the love of gain, and encouraged by the credulity of the Greeks. The compositions have, generally speaking, little intrinsic excellence to recommend them. Perhaps, therefore, on the ground of mere poetical delight we have not much to regret in the effusions which are lost. In the works of Homer, which are now in our hands in a state of apparent unity and completeness, we find a splendour of imagination to which there is not the least approach in the Orphic verses, or any other pieces of professed antiquity, excepting in the poems of Hesiod. The probability then

[1] Whatever lying Greece dares in history.

is, that all preceding or contemporary works were far inferior to the Homeric poems. It is not, therefore, wonderful that they should perish, and that these should endure. Real excellence, however first made known, is destined to be lasting. It appeals to natural beauty and eternal truth, the taste for which is the same in every age, and depends not on the caprices of fashion. It sinks deeply into the hearts of those who are able to feel it, who are not likely to allow it altogether to be forgotten. We may find some consolation in believing that the works of the oldest bards of Greece would have been preserved had they been worth preserving. Probably they were, for the most part, less the effusions of genius than the records of wise precepts, maxims of prudence, and inculcations of religious duties. In this case they would naturally expire whenever the matter they contained could, from the advances of the arts of writing, be more effectually diffused in prose. At all events, no theory can reasonably be founded on data so uncertain as the vestiges of the ante-Homeric writers afford us. We shall, therefore, do little more than allude to them; and hasten to consider the great body of poetry—the "mighty orb of song"—from which a lustre has been reflected on all ages.

LINUS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 2724, B. C. 1280.

LINUS is the first of that series of bards to whom the blind reverence of Greece was directed. Some, indeed, represent him as the scholar and not the master of Orpheus; and this opinion seems countenanced by the declaration of Plutarch, that the latter was not indebted to the instruction of any, but composed entirely from the feelings of his own mind. The traditions respecting Linus are so contradictory that some have supposed there must have been three persons of that name: one of them the son of Urania and Amphimarus the son of Neptune; another the son of Apollo and Psamathe daughter of Crotopus, king of Argos; and a third the son of Ismenius, a Theban. According to Diogenes, Linus the poet was the son of Mercury and Urania. All these accounts are evidently fabulous. The age of Linus is fixed by Archbishop Usher 1280 years before the Christian æra. Eusebius speaks of him as having flourished before Moses. Herodotus represents him as being celebrated among the Egyptians from still more remote periods. He is mentioned by Homer in the eighteenth book of the Iliad; or, at least, is understood to be indicated by a bard introduced among the groups embossed on the shield of Achilles; and is said to have added the string Lichanos to the Mercurian lyre. Diodorus Siculus represents him as being the inventor of music and of poetry, or, at least, as having first introduced these arts into Greece. He is said also to have written treatises on religious rites, and to have composed a work in honour of Bacchus. The most common report of his death is that he taught Hercules to play upon the lyre, and was

Linus.

so enraged at the dulness or inattention of his pupil that he struck him, and by the chastisement so incensed the youth that he seized the lyre and beat out the brains of his master. According to Diogenes Laertius, however, he was killed by Apollo for presuming to boast of equal merit with that deity. It is not for us to decide these controversies.

Festivals called Linia were observed in many parts of Greece, in honour of this ancient musician and bard. Plutarch speaks of dirges as having been performed to his memory; but no authentic account of them remains. It is, indeed, as we have seen, a matter of considerable doubt whether the name Linus designates one individual or several; and in the latter case, which seems most probable, it is impossible to distinguish between the incidents to be ascribed to each person to whom the appellation belongs.

ORPHEUS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 2744, B. C. 1260.

Orpheus.

ORPHEUS, the next in chronological order, is the most celebrated of all the names in Greek poetry before the age of Hesiod and Homer. To him have been ascribed not only the highest honours of a poet, but the fame of a musician, of a moral teacher, and of a founder of religious rites: he is said to have moved the rocks and trees, and to have charmed away the fierceness of wild beasts, by the magic of his song. He brought Wisdom into Greece, and "married her to immortal verse." He is said to have incited the Argonauts to row, when exhausted, by the sound of his lyre, and even to have silenced the sirens by the melody of his numbers: in short, he is represented as the parent of all that was held most sacred in Greece; to have taught civilization and the arts; to have gently beguiled men from the savage to the social state; and to have harmonized at once the language and the morals of the people among whom he sung.

Doubts of his existence.

All the accounts, however, respecting him are evidently mixed with fable; and Cicero, in one of his dialogues, quotes the third book of Aristotle's Poetics, which has not descended to us, expressing the opinion of that philosopher, that no such person as Orpheus had ever existed. Herodotus, too, seems to imply that no poets existed before Homer and Hesiod, and that those who were commonly regarded as earlier, lived in reality after them. The general consent of antiquity seems, however, to be decidedly favourable both to the existence of Orpheus and the antiquity of the period in which he flourished. Plato and Isocrates speak of him as a real and historical person, and not as a mere hero of fable. Diodorus Siculus was evidently of the same opinion. The Christian fathers, when Celsus represented him as superior to Christ, did not treat his *being* as fabulous. On the whole, therefore, it seems reasonable to believe that a poet thus named did exist in the earlier times of Greece, though little reliance can be placed on any of the tales respecting him.

It is impossible to fix the age in which Orpheus lived with any degree of certainty. According to Apollonius Rhodius he engaged in the expedition of Jason to bring the golden fleece from Colchis. It has been usual to place him before the Trojan war, about the year before Christ 1260—a period of which we have no certain records, and scarcely any probable intimations, excepting such as the incidents connected with his name may afford us.

Newton's opinion of Orpheus.

It is universally believed, that the poet was by birth a Thracian. Sir Isaac Newton thus traces his family:—"Resac, passing over the Hellespont, conquers Thrace, kills Lycurgus, king of that country, and gives his kingdom and one of his singing women to Œagrus, the son of Tharops, and father of Orpheus; hence, Orpheus is said to have had the muse Calliope for his mother." It is generally believed that he was the son of Œagrus, or Œger, a Thracian. It seems, according to Diodorus Siculus, that he learned from his father the first principles of the religion which he afterwards taught, and that he was instructed by him in the Bacchic mysteries. Linus is said to have been his master in poetry and music. His opinions on religious subjects were modified among the Idæi Dactyli, in Crete, of whom he became a disciple. All writers agree, however, that it was in Egypt, the land of superstition and of science, that he learned the essence of those doctrines which he afterwards taught, and of those ceremonies which he instituted in Greece. At length, having completed his researches into religion and morals, he returned to his own country, and began to inculcate the opinions he had finally adopted.

But what these were by no means clearly appears. As far as we can trace them, they seem to have been mystical; and, probably, his purer notions respecting the Deity and the soul were embodied and hidden in ceremonies and personifications, which soon became the sole relics of his exertions. It is far from improbable, that in Ægypt some traces of the Mosaic history, with the doctrine of the unity of God, of which the Jewish people were the guardians, had reached him. These he probably regarded as too subtle and refined to be conceived by the people, or too ætherial and unearthly to obtain their assent; and, therefore, he shadowed them both in mythological tales, which were believed in their literal sense, after their spiritual meaning was forgotten.

His supposed religious opinions.

Certain it is, that the Platonists and Pythagoreans, who had far more rational and sublime ideas of the Deity than the common people of Greece, spoke with reverence of him, and even attributed their own views of truth to the principles which he had taught. In some respects there is a remarkable coincidence between the superstitions attributed to Orpheus, and those which Pythagoras so long afterwards adopted. Orpheus rejected the flesh of animals as food. He refused eggs with peculiar abhorrence, as containing the principle of life. Various hypotheses, sufficiently fanciful, have been started, to explain the grounds on which he refused these aliments. Some have supposed that, as the Eleusinian mysteries were instituted in honour of

Ceres, the goddess of agriculture, he abstained from eating the flesh of oxen, in deference to their utility in the culture of the soil. This supposition explains, at most, only an abstinence from one particular species of flesh. Some have said, that as these mysteries were derived from those instituted in Ægypt, in honour of Isis and Osiris, this refusal of animal food was in reverence of Apis. While others, again, have imagined that the Thracians of that age were cannibals; and that their great civilizer could only prevent them from devouring human victims, by a general prohibition of every kind of animal subsistence. The ceremonies afterwards adopted for raising the shades of the departed, called *evocation*, of which there is so striking an instance in the Odyssey, have been ascribed to him; but if he were really their author, the circumstance will rather tend to weaken the suppositions of those who believe him to have taught purer doctrines than those afterwards popular in Greece, and must cast suspicion either on his honesty or his wisdom.

Supposed accomplishments of Orpheus.

There is scarcely an art or accomplishment which had existence in rude times which the Greeks do not attribute to Orpheus. He was not only a great poet, musician, and divine, but an excellent physician. According to Pausanias, he could cleanse the guilty from their crimes, heal the sick of their diseases, and appease the anger of heaven. His philosophy was "musical as is Apollo's lute." While he taught the most severe morals, he adapted them to the most enchanting strains. He, at once, rendered his country virtuous, and embellished it with liberal arts. Aristophanes says of him, "Ὀρφευς μεν γαρ τελετας δ' ἡμιν κατεδειξε, φονων τ' απεχεσθαι."[1] Plutarch informs us that he was author of all music, except a few notes for the flute, which existed before him. He is also said to have added a string or strings to the lyre, before unknown: to have had the finest skill in playing on that instrument; and to have first conceived the idea of the plurality of worlds. The invention of hexameter verse, and the introduction of the alphabet in Greece, have been ascribed to him. And he had time not only for these arts, sciences, morals, and rites of religion, but also for personal adventure; for, as we have already seen, he is alleged to have been one of the leaders of the Argonauts, and to have assisted the progress of the ship by the ravishment of his melody.

Adventure with Eurydice.

The closing scenes of the life of this celebrated man are related in a manner which has given occasion to some of the most beautiful encomiums on the musical and poetical arts. The tale given in the fourth Georgic of Virgil, forms one of the most exquisite passages in the works of that poet. There we are informed that Eurydice flying from the attempts of Aristæus on her chastity, was bitten by a serpent, and died in consequence of the poison. Her husband, disconsolate for her loss, resolved to seek her in the regions of the dead. He entered the kingdom of Pluto with his lyre, and melted by his strains those whom human entreaties had never reached. The shades came flocking round

[1] Orpheus taught us prayers and sacred rites and forbearance from slaughter.

him, enchanted by his music. All hell was ravished by his melodies; the Furies paused relenting and delighted; Cerberus was charmed into admiration; and the wheel of Ixion stood still. Pluto and Proserpine consented to allow his wife to return with him to earth, on condition that he would not look back on her till he had arrived again in the regions of the living. He willingly promised to perform the condition; but, unable to restrain the eagerness of his love, looked back—and saw Eurydice melt away from him never more to be granted to his prayers. Penetrated with a deeper sorrow, he returned to the earth, and found consolation only in wandering with his lyre amidst the caves and desolate places, and calling on her whom he had twice lost. In vain the Thracian women tried to engage his affections: his heart was with her whom the grave hid from him. Enraged at his coldness, they tore him to pieces, while they celebrated the frantic rites of Bacchus, and threw his head into the Hebrus, which, as it floated down the stream, still called on Eurydice. There are, however, other accounts of the manner of his death. According to some, he was killed by a thunderbolt. The place of his interment is said to have been at Pieria in Macedonia; but the citizens of Dion, and the inhabitants of Mount Libethrus, in Thrace, both contended for the honour of having his remains deposited among them. The last of these claimants further declare that nightingales, more melodious than all others, built their nests about his tomb. Divine honours are said to have been paid to Orpheus, and one of the constellations to have been named after his lyre.

His death.

The mixture of the supernatural in these accounts is, perhaps, no reason why we should suppose them totally without foundation. It is easy to trace the way in which some of the pleasant exaggerations respecting Orpheus arose from natural events. The account of his having charmed away the ferocity of wild beasts, stopped rivers in their course, and drawn rocks and hills to listen to his songs, is little more than a figurative mode of representing the ameliorating and softening effects of his poetry on the savage tribes among whom he wandered, leading them from barbarism to civilization; from the woods to settled habitations; and from a state of rustic dissipation to regular life. Various conjectures have been formed respecting his descent into hell, or rather into the regions appointed for the spirits of the departed. Dr. Warburton contends, with great ingenuity, that nothing more is meant by this allegory than the initiation of the poet into the Eleusinian mysteries. He supposes that while these ceremonies were confined to Egypt, the Grecian lawgivers went thither to be initiated, as a kind of introduction to their office, and that the ceremony would be naturally described in terms highly allegorical. He observes that this mode of speaking was used by Orpheus, Bacchus, and others, and continued even after the mysteries were introduced into Greece, as appears from the fables of Hercules, Castor, Pollux, and Theseus' descent into hell; but the allegory was so contrived as to suggest the truth partially

Opinions of this story.

veiled under it. Thus Orpheus is said to have obtained entrance into hell by the power of his harp, that is in the quality of a lawgiver; the harp being the known symbol of his laws, by which he humanized a rude and barbarous people. But this theory leaves the introduction of Eurydice, who is represented as the cause of the enterprise, unaccounted for, and completely alters, even as an allegory, all the circumstances of the tale. Tzetzes, on the other hand, throws out of the narrative the descent to hell, and preserves the part of Eurydice. He supposes the whole to mean no more than that Orpheus, by his great skill in physic, snatched his wife from the grave, when her life was in extreme danger. There is no occasion, however, to resort to either of these fanciful interpretations, which, while they suppose an original allegory, imply a subsequent fiction grounded upon it, since nothing can be conceived more natural than the entire invention of the incident. It was not only, in itself, of a highly poetical kind, as showing love triumphant over death, but it was in the highest degree complimentary to the poetical art. Supposing, then, Orpheus to have grieved exceedingly for the loss of his wife; to have secluded himself from society, and to have sought the retirement of grottoes and caverns, the story of his having, in these times of seclusion, descended to meet the spirit of her whom he loved so well, might easily be framed, and obtain credence from the people, who regarded him, as a being superior to the race of ordinary mortals. Hence, the poets would readily weave a fiction so beautiful in itself, and so honourable to their art. The account which represents him as drawing the inanimate objects and wild beasts after him, by his music, is only brought to a climax by showing his power as capable of moving hell itself, and creating "a soul under the ribs of death."

His works.

There are works still subsisting, which are ascribed to Orpheus. These consist of the Argonautics, an epic poem, giving an account of the expedition to Colchis; eighty-six religious or mystical hymns; a treatise on precious stones; and fragments, collected by Stephens. It is, however, incredible that he left these poems in the condition in which we now read them. He cannot be supposed to have committed anything to writing, in an age before the Trojan war; and the internal evidence of the poems shows, that, at least, the greater part of them are works of a much later period. The *Argonautics* is a bold and rough sketch of the transactions it professes to describe, without artificial arrangement, embellishment, or order; but containing some pieces of vivid description. Orpheus, who tells the story in his own person, is there made to speak of his descent into hell for the sake of Eurydice. Now, independently of the circumstance of his having lived long after the adventure, which would contradict the story, but which, nevertheless, the poem requires, it can scarcely be conceived that he would relate his own death, as wishing or expecting any one to believe it. Besides the story is manifestly the result of traditions, enlarged and heightened by time; so that the Argonautics could not

have been written till long after the death of the supposed author. Many of the verses which bear the name of Orpheus have been ascribed to Onomacritus, a priest and soothsayer at Athens, in the year 516 before the Christian æra. He was a favourite of Hipparchus, and professed to be in possession of oracular verses of Musæus, which he sold to the people. These being regarded as forgeries, he was compelled to fly from Attica, and afterwards joined in the deputation from the princes of Thessaly to Xerxes, exhorting him to the invasion of Greece. The hymns have the air of the highest antiquity among the Orphic poems. Dr. Cudworth thinks that they are genuine, or at least contain the doctrines of the poet, transmitted through the medium of some of his disciples. It is not improbable that Onomacritus actually possessed some Orphic fragments, or verses by the scholars of the poet, which he expanded into such large portions as suited his design. Some of the alleged compositions of Orpheus seem to point to a great First Cause, in the midst of the superstitions introduced among them; and, indeed, many of them are thought to be pious frauds composed by Jewish or Christian believers. The poems on stones attribute to gems virtues and healing qualities, which, in the elder times of Grecian superstition, they were supposed to possess. The Orphic verses were collected and published by Eschenbach, at Nuremberg, A.D. 1702, and were reprinted at Leipsic, under the title of Ὀρφεως απαντα, in 1764. The antiquity of the Orphic poems was called in question by Valckenaer and Schneider, and maintained by Ruhnken, Heyne, and Wolf. Hermann thinks the Hymns more ancient than the Argonautica and Lithica, which last he refers to the age of Domitian. Beck's opinion is, that the Argonautics belong to an age posterior to Alexander the Great. They have seldom been the subjects of much attention, except to philosophical inquirers into the religion and history of the earliest periods of Greece.

Onomacritus.

MUSÆUS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 2824, B. C. 1180.

MUSÆUS is generally represented as the son of Orpheus. It is, however, more probable that he was only his disciple. According to the Arundelian marbles, he flourished about 1426 years before the Christian æra; but by more probable accounts not earlier than from 1180 to 1200 years B.C. He seems to have been much less celebrated among the Greeks than his father or preceptor; but Virgil gives him a high rank among the poets. He places him in a conspicuous situation in his Elysium, at the head of a sacred band, and in the character of the priest of Ceres. Little is recorded respecting his personal adventures. He seems to have led a retired and religious life, officiating as a priest of some of those mysteries which Orpheus had introduced before him. Plutarch does not mention him among the ancient musicians, and he does not seem to have been celebrated for his per-

Musæus.

formances on the lyre. As his hymns were set to music, it is probable, however, that he sung them himself at the ceremonies over which he presided. Pausanias asserts that the eminence in the neighbourhood of Athens, called the Museum, was so denominated from the circumstance of his having been accustomed to retire thither for contemplation and poetical musing. He is said to have composed his hymns on this mount, and to have been interred beneath it. He wrote hymns and prophecies, and left precepts in verse addressed to his son. He is said also to have sung the wars of the Titans. But his principal work was a poetical account of the creation, in which he seems to have embodied some ideas of religion and philosophy more refined than were commonly entertained by the Grecian theologians of after days. Diogenes Laertius has preserved a principle of the philosophy of Musæus in the words, "Ἐξ ἑνος τα παντα γινεσθαι, και εἰς τ'αυτον αναλυεσθαι."[1] It seems that he was also an astronomer, and composed or enlarged a sphere; though, as Chiron is generally supposed to have invented the sphere, it is probable that Musæus only improved it. The work itself is evidently subsequent to the voyage of Jason, as that expedition is described upon it, and as the Argo was the first vessel constructed of any other than the circular form. The life of Musæus seems to have been calm and tranquil; and was probably spent in philosophic ease. Of his works nothing remains. Even in the time of Pausanias, as we are informed by that writer, a hymn to Ceres was his only genuine composition in existence.

Works.

Musæus is said to have left a son named Eumolpus, and a daughter Helena, who inherited the poetical genius of their father. Both of them are stated to have written epic poems, and the subject chosen by Helena is stated to have been the Trojan war. She is by some regarded as having had the honour of first celebrating that famous contest. Her brother probably became a priest of Ceres; since he wrote on the mysteries of that goddess. We have no authentic relics of his genius left us.

His children.

HOMER.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3097, B. C. 907.

From these dark and obscure memorials of ancient Greek poets, we turn with pleasure to him whose name has been celebrated in every age in which poetry has been held in reverence.

Homer.

But here a preliminary question arises, on an hypothesis which, however startling it might have appeared in former times, is not now to be treated with neglect or disdain. It is, that neither the Iliad nor the Odyssey is the work of a single mind; that they are two collections of the songs of wandering rhapsodists, arranged for the first time at Athens, under the direction of Pisistratus, or of his son. This theory reduces HOMER from a person to a name; or, at most, leaves him the fame only of the principal bard among many others; or per-

Question as to the existence of Homer.

[1] From *one* all things come, and to the same shall all things return.

haps only of a more successful reciter. This opinion may be traced as high as Ælian, who speaks of Pisistratus as the compiler of the Odyssey and the Iliad. It was maintained, about the close of the seventeenth century, by Hedlin and Perrault, two French writers; but was received only with derision. More recently, however, it has been advocated with great learning, by Heyne, in his edition of the Iliad; and illustrated with extraordinary acuteness, research, and zeal, by Professor Wolf, of Halle, in Saxony (who filled the office of royal librarian at Berlin), in his *Prolegomena ad Homerum*. Since the adoption of the theory, hitherto so little noticed, by these celebrated scholars, it cannot be dismissed as an instance of perverted ingenuity or of rash conjecture. Indeed, the arguments themselves adduced in its favour, have at least so much apparent weight as to entitle them to serious examination, independently of the fame of their authors. We shall proceed, therefore, to give the fullest review of the controversy of which our limits will allow.

Facts agreed upon.

The first object, in a case of this kind, should be to ascertain those facts in which all parties concur. The light which external history affords us is feeble and tremulous. It must be admitted, that there is no fact well authenticated respecting the existence of the Homeric poems in a connected form, until we are told that they were brought into Greece by Lycurgus. Plutarch, in his life of that legislator, informs us, that in his journey in Asia, "he first had sight of Homer's poems, which were probably preserved by Creophylus, and having observed that the delightful fictions thrown over them, did not prevent the author from abounding in maxims of state policy and rules of moral action, transcribed them; and carried with him into Greece that entire collection which we have now among us. For at that time, there was only an obscure rumour in Greece of the fame of these poems, and only a few scattered fragments in circulation, until Lycurgus published them entire." Hence Cleomenes called Homer the poet of the Spartans. Besides Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, Heraclides Pontus, and Ælian, bear testimony to the fact of the poems having, in some state or other, been introduced into Greece by Lycurgus. Heyne, indeed, contends that nothing more is to be gathered from these authorities than that the poems were preserved among the Chians by means of the recitations of the rhapsodists; and that the knowledge of their beauties was brought to Sparta by her lawgiver on his return from his travels.

Collection of Homer's works.

It seems that whatever was accomplished by Lycurgus fell far short of exhibiting the poems in that state in which even the Greeks afterwards possessed them. For a number of writers agree in declaring that the honour of this noble work belongs to Pisistratus, or to some of his family. Very shortly before Pisistratus was invested with the supreme power, Solon made a law for the recital of the poems; and is even said to have directed that this office should be performed, not by repeating them in fragments, without regard to the progress of the story, but in some order of regular succession. How far this order, thus recognized by the state, corresponded with that in which the

works of the Iliad and Odyssey are now arranged, does not appear. Cicero gives the honour of the arrangement to Pisistratus, when he asks, "Quis doctior iisdem temporibus aut cujus eloquentia literis instructior quam Pisistrati? Qui primus Homeri libros, confusos antea, sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus."—(Cic. de Orat. lib. iii.)[1] In one of the Socratic dialogues attributed to Plato, Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus, is said to have performed this work, instead of his father, and is also alleged to have directed the recital of the poems at the feast called Panathenæa. Leo Allatius suggests, in order to reconcile the testimony of Plato to that of many witnesses, that the son completed his father's design, by publishing a more correct edition. The dialogue, however, which is thus attempted to be reconciled to the testimony of other authors, has been by many regarded as spurious. This point is of little importance. Whether Solon, Pisistratus, or Hipparchus, arranged the Iliad or the Odyssey, or whether each of them improved on the labours of his immediate predecessor, makes little difference in the state of the question. It is agreed by all, that before the time of Solon, the Homeric poems were in a very different condition from that in which they now appear; and that between the commencement of his public life and the death of Hipparchus, being a comparatively small interval, some great change took place in their order, and in the mode by which they were circulated and preserved from the injuries of time.

The questions then in dispute are,—what were the materials which the editor found, and on which he worked—what was the change he effected—whether that change was the restoration of an order which had been disarranged and a purity which had been corrupted, or a completely new creation from existing materials—whether, in short, the jewels were only reset in a frame from which time and barbarism had separated them, or were now first collected from a number of places in which they had been scattered by different hands?

It must be allowed that the expression of Cicero, that Pisistratus "primus Homeri libros, *confusos anteâ*, disposuisse dicitur," will not prove much, even respecting the opinion of the orator, as to their original condition. For it does not follow because the books of Homer were confused or disarranged in the time of their first editor, that they had never been composed in a regular series. Indeed, the expression, *works of Homer then in confusion*, seems to imply that Pisistratus did not divide the poems into books for the first time, or first apply to them that denomination. The other external evidence on either side is but trivial. The immortal works must be, for the most part, their own witnesses.

The following seem to be the chief arguments by which the hypothesis adopted by Wolf and Heyne is supported.

[1] Who in these times was more learned or whose eloquence was more happily imbued with learning than Pisistratus, who is said first to have disposed the books of Homer, before that time in disorder, as we now possess them?

1. It is improbable that in any age to which Homer's personal existence can be referred, one man should have been capable of composing works of the extent, consistency, and poetical elevation, of the Iliad and the Odyssey. Poetry could not, like Minerva, have sprung into life in its fullest maturity, and its fairest proportions. It seems strange that in a dark age, a man of whose history nothing is certainly known, should produce works which, in some qualities at least, no subsequent time has excelled. And it is altogether incredible that he should have enjoyed the leisure, the opportunity, and the compass of information necessary to the completion of poems of such consummate skill, as well as surpassing genius.

Arguments against the personal existence of Homer.

2. It seems impossible that poems of so great a length as the Iliad and the Odyssey should have been composed and preserved entire, without being committed to writing. Now, it is certain that there is not the least trace, even in tradition, of any complete written or engraved copy of the works of Homer till the exertions of his Athenian editor, or at least till those of Lycurgus. This, supposing them ever to have been written, will appear surprising, when we consider the high veneration in which his name is held. In fact, the time when the art of writing was first introduced into Greece seems very uncertain. It has, indeed, been attributed to Palamedes and Cadmus; but every account of these persons is mixed with fable. In the Odyssey, Cadmus is spoken of as the son of Leucothea, a marine goddess, but nothing is said with respect to his country or origin. Of the Cadmei, the founders of Thebes, we know as little. And the date assigned to the introduction of alphabetical characters into Greece seems altogether to defeat the tale of their origin. For, if a colony of Phœnicians under Cadmus, long before the Trojan war, had brought the use of letters to that country, it is scarcely to be believed that no trace of any literary productions—no relic of alphabetical characters, not even of any genuine inscriptions—should remain, which can be referred to any but a much later period. And if the art of writing had been in common use in the time of Homer, it is strange that he should not have mentioned it. He has been thought to refer to it in the story of Bellerophon, in the sixth book of the Iliad, who is made by Prætus to bear σημαια λυγρα[1] with him to Iobates, which conveyed to the latter the desire that he would accomplish the death of the messenger. But these terms do not necessarily refer to *writings*. On the contrary, it is not probable that Prætus would have ventured to entrust a letter in known characters to the party whose death he was contriving. They were, probably, symbols of a deadly and funereal import, conventionally understood by the family; a kind of hieroglyphic, the meaning of which no stranger could decipher. When the Grecian heroes are challenged by Hector, and lots are cast to decide which of those who offered themselves for the combat should be chosen, each puts a mark on his lot which is known only to him to whom it belongs. The

No written or engraved copy before Lycurgus.

[1] Deadly symbols.

same expression is used here as on the former occasion. It is singular that there should be no epistolary correspondence in the Odyssey, where so many opportunities for it occur, if the means of committing intelligence to writing were generally known in the time of the author. The verb γραφω, properly signifies rather digging out or engraving than *writing*, as employed in modern usage. Supposing the letters to have been produced in Greece before the time of Homer, it does not follow that the art of writing was brought to a degree of perfection sufficient for the committing to some palpable tablet, works of so great a length. A long interval must have elapsed before a progress of this kind could have been effected. At first only eleven, or at most sixteen, letters were introduced into Greece, according to the testimony of those who gave the importation so early a date as that of Cadmus, and the rest were added in subsequent times. The Greek alphabet, as it was finally settled, was not received at Athens till the ninety-fourth Olympiad, only 403 years before Christ. The adaptation, too, of foreign letters to new sounds must have been gradual, especially among a rude and barbarous people, who could be expected to bestow little direct attention on literature, but must have slowly learned the meaning of the characters. When the laws of Draco were committed to writing, all the letters since received were not employed in the work, though it took place so late as the thirty-ninth Olympiad.

Introduction of Greek letters.

It is probable that the common use of writing, to publish and secure the compositions of authors, commenced about the time when they began to write in prose. For before the exercise of this art became comparatively easy, the recurrence of metre was necessary to impress on the memory that which the author designed to convey. Thus the laws of the early legislators, and the moral maxims and religious precepts of the people, were always embodied in verse; a mode recommended only by the facilities afforded to the recollection, in cases where the subject could little require or admit the embellishments of song. Now, we have no record of any prose writing until three centuries after the age usually ascribed to Homer. The materials of writing, too, must have been exceedingly scanty, and quite inadequate to the preservation of a poem of 15,000 lines. Stone, metals, and other heavy and durable substances, were the only materials on which, in those early times, characters were imprinted. The papyrus and the skins of animals could not have been in common use till a much later æra. It may, indeed, be alleged, that, supposing the art of writing grew easy before the time of the poet, it is not to be expected that we should discover any trace of it in his works, because, as he referred to a more distant period, he only avoided anachronism by omitting to mention an art then unknown, or in its infancy; and his silence preserved the fidelity of his pictures. But the same scrupulous attention to the manners and costume of the age in which the actions he commemorated arose, does not appear to have been exerted in other respects. It is impossible to believe that, in the rude times of the Trojan war, all the arts to which he alludes had

The papyrus not then known.

arrived at the state of perfection in which he describes them: that the contests of the freebooters were embellished with the "pride, pomp, and circumstance," which his martial arrangements display; or that even the barbarous magnificence he imputes to the infant cities of Greece was really to be found among them. In some instances, he seems, not merely to have shed a gorgeousness over the ages of his story which true history would deny them, but even to have forestalled the practice of the arts, and to have shadowed forth, by the singular felicities of his imagination, the improvements which subsequent generations alone could embody. It is, therefore, incredible that, in the course of so many thousand verses, relating to an immense variety of human affairs, there should be no notice whatever of books, of writings, of reading, or of letters; that no treaty or league should have been noticed as other than verbal, or as ratified by any other means than religious rites and superstitious observances; that the poet should refer to no inscriptions, even on the sepulchres which he describes; that he should make no mention of money stamped or engraven; and that, with intense desire to give an appearance of truth to his narratives, he should never refer to any old memorial, or ancient writing, but should speak of events as handed down by the poets, or gathered from tradition,—if the art of writing was not only common in his time, but actually employed by himself in framing the Iliad and the Odyssey. The observations of Josephus, respecting the introduction of letters into Greece, in immediate relation to the works of our poet, are corroborative of these arguments. He contends that it was not until a late period that the use of letters was known to the Greeks. Those, he asserts, who trace their introduction to Cadmus and the Phœnicians, are unable to produce any specimen of writing from those early times. He represents it as having been the subject of much inquiry and dispute, whether they were known even at the time of the Trojan war, and states that it was generally thought they were then unknown in Greece. He concludes by observing, that "no writing, the authenticity of which is acknowledged, is found among the Greeks earlier than the poetry of Homer; and it is said that even he did not commit his works to writing, but that having been preserved in the memory of men, his songs were afterwards connected."[1]

Opinion of Josephus.

If it be thought that no such compositions as those which now pass under the name of Homer would have been produced without that hope of duration which writing alone could render secure, it may be replied,—not only that, from the peculiar manners of the age, fame might be expected through the means of the rhapsodists, of whom a perpetual succession might have been anticipated—but that there is every reason to believe the hope of renown entered little into the desires of the early bards of Greece. There is no trace of this darling passion of genius, this "last infirmity of noble minds," in the Odyssey or the Iliad. Events are said to have been transmitted from age to age

[1] Josephus, Cont. Ap., i. 3.

by song, but the individual reputation of the bard himself seems never to have entered into his anticipations. He was satisfied with the reverence of his own age; with the immediate applause that attended his recitations; and with the crowns of laurel which he obtained as prizes in poetical contests. Besides, supposing that he painfully felt the instability of those relics which he might leave behind him, is it to be supposed that this feeling would be alone sufficient to repress altogether the poetical faculty within him? He would almost involuntarily burst forth into exercise of the powers struggling in his mind. Would not the development of the poetical art be sufficiently its own recompense? Would not the joy of moving in a beautiful creation of his own, and tasting all the delights with which it was adorned, be over-payment for the toil of composing? And would it be nothing to travel through his country, and through his life, carrying the love and reverence of all hearts with him, and leaving the fondest memory of his genius behind him?

The rhapsodists.

3. The profession of the rhapsodists, as is evident from many Greek writers, flourished from the earliest periods. Their name, compounded from *ραπτειν ωδην*, *to join together*, or *compose verses*, signified their occupation and character. They anticipated, in many respects, the Celtic bards. They chaunted, sung, or recited poems, chiefly, at least in the earliest times, of their own composition, at the tables of princes, and in public assemblies, as well as in the houses of the great. They were held in high esteem and even veneration in the earliest periods. Then they were the sole depositaries of the religious doctrines, the moral precepts, and the old and cherished legends of the people among whom they lived. Though there were few arts at that time distinctly marked out as cultivated by peculiar classes, the bard had a profession of his own, which was regarded as more venerable than all others.

Arguments against the existence of Homer continued.

Whether he resided constantly in some principal city, or travelled through various states, he was looked up to as a superior being, welcomed and honoured at the feasts of kings, and revered as the favourite of heaven. His art was probably the parent, not only of the poetry of Greece, but of its tragic spectacles: for it was his province to appear at once as an author and an actor; to embody his own conceptions, and to represent the passion he had conceived by the most vivid and striking expression. Plato has left us an admirable picture of the holy and delightful life of one of the most gifted of this order. It naturally declined as civilization advanced, and the art of writing became general. The necessity for such promulgation of the works of genius ceased, and those who at first had been poets, sunk into the mere reciters of the works of others who had preceded them. But this declension was not entirely accomplished even in the time of Cynæthus, who is much celebrated as a rhapsodist so late as the sixty-ninth Olympiad, and who recited both the poems of others and his own. In the earlier times, it is certain that the rhapsodist was a highly-honourable character; he moved about as a recorder of the old and

loved traditions of the people, which he rendered still more interesting; and was heard with delight by those in whom he called up again all the associations of childhood, and who renewed their happiest days in listening to his recitations.

Recitations from memory.

It seems certain that those who followed this profession, did not recite with the aid of writings or engravings, but from memory. In this all the traces to be found in ancient authors coincide. The ancients made their poets the votaries of the Muses, Μνημης, Ἀοιδης, Μελετης; and memory was one circumstance by which they were distinguished, and from which they derived honour. It was from the songs recited by these men—those songs which had, from their merit and deep interest, long been popular among them—that the works of Homer were compiled at Athens, in that age when the rhapsodists had long, in a great degree, sung the works of others. Probably the master taught his pupil to recite those of his own compositions which he thought most worthy of being thus transmitted; and thus they were handed down to a succeeding age. At all events, there is no reason to believe that the Iliad and Odyssey were set in order from manuscripts; though some have pretended that writings containing parts of Homer's works were collected from those cities which claimed him as their citizen.

If, then, the works which bear the name of Homer were not, at the time of their composition, or till long afterwards, committed to writing, could any one individual have been the author of either of them? It seems almost impossible that he could form the plan of works so extended, so connected, so continuous, with no model before him, and no opportunity of sketching out the plan or skeleton of the work, except in his own mind. How could he also recollect distinctly all the previous parts of his poem, so that in composing the latter part he should keep the former in view, and render the whole consistent in the action and in the characters? Even supposing this possible, how could he form the idea of submitting his complete epic to the public admiration, in all its episodes, characters, and machinery, with even a possibility of success? No power of voice could suffice to recite, no stretch of attention to hear, no capacity of memory to retain it. He could never procure a single audience to whom the work should be submitted. To what end, then, and with what hope should he compose it? His native genius would prompt him, without doubt, to celebrate the heroic deeds of former days; but surely his love of poetry, and the enthusiasm of his spirit, would rather be indulged in short and rapid effusions, than in an extended poem. As, therefore, no motive can be assigned for his undertaking so great a labour, were it within the limit of human possibilities, it is fair to conclude that the work could never have dropped from the lips of an individual author in that form in which we now possess it.

If we suppose the poems of Homer to have been transmitted to the times of Solon, through the medium of the rhapsodists, it is difficult

to resist the belief that great alterations were made in them, by their numerous and successive reciters. This appears to have been the opinion even of the Alexandrian critics. Not only must every composition handed down through several generations be exposed to perpetual variation, but the very description of the men through whom the Iliad and Odyssey were transmitted, rendered alterations and corruptions peculiarly probable. They were themselves poets. They were accustomed, therefore, to exercise the faculty of invention as well as of memory; and what, in this case, was peculiarly unfortunate for the integrity of their original, to exert them both at the same time. Having some poetical talent, or, at least, imagining themselves so gifted, they would exercise the office of critics, and alter or omit that which appeared to them unworthy of the author. They would, perhaps, in a greater degree interpolate by the insertion of their own verses, or by amplifications of the ideas expressed by the original bard. In the warmth of recitation, they would often make changes almost unconsciously, or would introduce them for greater immediate effect on their hearers. It has been asserted that many interpolations of an important kind were actually made by the family of Cynæthus. It seems, therefore, difficult to place any reliance on the authenticity of compositions so necessarily exposed to corruption and change.

The testimony of Ælian.

It appears from Ælian, that anciently, at least, the books of Homer were never recited by the rhapsodists in that order in which they are now collected. Indeed, had it been otherwise, the exertions of Solon, Pisistratus, and his son, would have been confined to directing that the work, already complete, should be reduced into writing. And it seems, from Eustathius, that the portions of them usually chanted, were not the divisions now called books, but separate pieces, as the Catalogue of the Ships; the Tale of Ulysses at the palace of Alcinous; the Dolonia; the Patroclea; and the slaughter of the Wooers. How, therefore, could the original position of these songs have been discovered in the age of Solon?

4. Aristotle, it is well known, framed a theory of epic poetry from the Iliad and Odyssey; and critics since his time, especially among the French, have thence drawn rules respecting the fable, the characters, the manners, the machinery, and the unities, on which compositions of this ambitious class ought to be modelled. Some there are who have gone further than this, and acquiesced in the last part of the sentence of Macrobius, that there are three things which can never be taken away with propriety—the thunder from Jupiter, the club from Hercules, and any one of his verses from Homer. The art of the poet has been admired in making everything in the Iliad tend to illustrate the ire of Achilles, and everything in the Odyssey to conduce to the return of Ulysses. Heyne contents himself with disputing particular parts, while he admits the general unity of the poems; and ascribes it not to the author, but to the first editor, who compiled them. Wolf, on the other hand, boldly con-

troverts the system, and alleges that the unity of action in the Iliad is merely imaginary, though that of the Odyssey he admits to have been preserved with consummate skill. He contends that the subject proposed in the first seven lines of the Iliad—the anger of Achilles, and its direful consequences to the Greeks—is altogether closed at the end of the eighteenth book. The rest of the poem, he asserts, does not relate to the resentment of the hero against his countrymen or their leader, but to a new fury with which he is inspired in consequence of the death of his friend; and which is satiated at last in the death of Hector, and the indignities offered to his remains. If all the contests of the Greeks and Trojans, which chiefly occupy the Iliad, are to be referred to one subject, they tend rather, perhaps, to exalt the fame of Achilles than any other hero; but part only of them can be referred to his wrath. Wolf, therefore, suggests that the opening of that work should be altered to the following lines, which he proposes as better expressing its argument:—

Κύδος ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος,
Ὅσθ' εἵως Βασιλῆι κοτεσσάμενος ἐνὶ νηυσὶ
Κῆτο, Ἀχαιοῖσιν τε καὶ αὐτῷ ἄλγε' ἔδωκεν
Αὐτὰρ ἀνιστάμενος Τρωσὶν καὶ Ἕκτορι δίῳ.[1]

If this should be esteemed a more correct view of the subject on which the Iliad is constructed, than the lines with which it actually opens, those who contend for the common opinion cannot ascribe this defect to the rudeness of Homer's age, when they impute to him the artificial structure of the Odyssey; since that would be to allege that he could not express what he was able so admirably to practise. It is, however, doubtful whether Homer particularly intended to mark out Achilles as the hero of his poem. For since he has been generally supposed not to have invented the groundwork of his plot, but to have taken it from history, the prominence of Achilles among the characters would arise naturally and without design. Thucydides or Xenophon, taking the last year of the Trojan war for the subject of an historical piece, must, in the same way, have represented the quarrel, its consequences, and the final triumph of the Greeks on the return of their bravest champion. Why then is it that the relation of these circumstances in the Iliad should be regarded as the perfection of art? Why might not a poet relate the events he undertook to celebrate in their natural order? And if one poet, why might not several, taking up different parts of successive adventures, form a whole, when arranged according to the story, as complete as the Iliad?

It does not appear that any of the ancient grammarians or critics, who wrote respecting Homer, entertained any of those ideas with regard to certain epic rules observed in his poems, or derivable from

[1] Celebrate, O divine Muse! the glory of Achilles, son of Peleus; who, enraged with Agamemnon, lived apart among the ships, and, by his absence, inflicted on the Greeks and on their king severe reverses, until his rage was inflamed against the Trojans and the noble Hector.

them, which Aristotle has endeavoured to maintain. They uniformly speak of the Iliad and Odyssey as embracing the affairs of the Greeks and Trojans at Troy; or, if they speak more particularly, the valiant acts of Achilles. In this manner, the author of the life which bears the name of Plutarch, as well as Eustathius, always express themselves. And it does not appear that the poets who immediately followed Homer ever professed to write poems on the plan since laid down for epics. The few remnants of their works that have reached us contradict such suppositions. They take the names not of individuals, but of families, or of events, as the titles of their poems; and, as far as we have any traces of their contents, they gave to these no unity of action, no observance of time, no relief of episode. On the contrary, they are said to have related events from the beginning of the Trojan war to the death of Ulysses, in the order of history. Now, it is strange that these men should never have imitated the bard, to whom all assigned the first place in the gratitude and admiration of mankind, in those points, in which he might have been followed with ease; in those matters of form and precedent, in which the dullest might by industry and care have attained an equal perfection.

Parts of the poems spurious.

5. It is further alleged that there are many parts of the Iliad and Odyssey, even as they now exist, which are either entirely spurious, or very much corrupted from the original. Of the former of these descriptions seems to be the passage in the eighteenth book of the Iliad, from v. 356 to v. 368, in which, from the mourning of the Greeks over the body of Patroclus, we are suddenly presented with a taunting speech of Jupiter to Juno, and her angry reply, neither of which bear the least relation to the immediate subject; and, at the close, we as suddenly return to Thetis, in her ascent to the palace of Vulcan. In the fourth book of the Odyssey, a passage occurs, at the 620th line, where a conversation with Menelaus is abruptly broken off, and four lines follow of which all explanation seems hopeless. Eustathius has recourse to the violent measure of changing the whole scene from the palace of Menelaus at Sparta to that of Ulysses at Ithaca. But the passage is now universally agreed to be either misplaced or spurious. Other and yet more important instances are brought forward by Heyne, in the notes to the different books of his edition of Homer, which we shall hereafter have occasion to allude to, when we speak of the works of the poet: at present, the argument derived from these circumstances is, that since the compilers of the poems and the early critics allowed such gross instances of corruption to remain, we can place little reliance on their correctness, and still less on their judgment in collections, which hence seem to have been brought from more than one author. On these grounds, it is contended that the works now extant, which bear the name of Homer, are a collection of scattered songs, which never were committed to writing by their authors; and that, for their arrangement, we are indebted not to the poems, but to their Athenian editor.

On the other side, the following arguments may be adduced to meet such objections, and to establish the individuality of the author of the Iliad.

Arguments in favour of the personal existence of Homer.

1. The genius which the Iliad exhibits is no proof that it is not the production of a single mind in a barbarous age. Those who speak of poetry as a progressive art, and liken it to the improvements of social life, and things which depend for their excellence on experience, know little of its essence. It has no connexion with the progressions of time; it depends not on external circumstances; it follows not in the train of knowledge, nor improves as mathematical science is unfolded;—its origin is in the human heart, and its objects are to be found in every part of the creation. Indeed, the age of Homer was far more favourable to its perfection than later times. Then the whole region of imagination lay unexplored; the themes of poetry were unexhausted, and must have appeared exhaustless. Then there were no models of great excellence which should discourage the poet from emulating the fame of his predecessors, or should tempt him to be satisfied with a dexterous imitation of their beauties. The very rudeness of the age afforded also the best opportunities for poetry. The minds of men were then alive to tales of superstition, and their belief in the prodigies related to them was unshaken. There were no critics to fear or to propitiate. Society, if in the inexperience, was also in the bloom and vigour of its youth. Virtues and vices were gigantic; they had not been rendered puny, or melted down by the progress of civilization and art. Desperate revenge, fierce and uncontrollable anger, inextinguishable hate on the one hand, and heroic bravery, noble contempt of danger and death, and romantic friendship on the other, were to be seen in their extremes of awful or of placid grandeur. Life was full of adventures. The feuds of rival chieftains afforded a perpetual succession of incident to all, as well as a stimulus to the deepest emotions of their partizans. Friendship was cemented by the participation of hardship and of peril, and proved stronger than fortune, lasting as existence. In the breathing times of battle a wild and generous hospitality filled up the pause, and was rendered graceful by the aid of song. The poet then found in every region the materials of his art; passion was everywhere of the most tremendous or exalted kind; tradition occupied the place of history, and gave ample ground for his song, while it left him verge enough for the exercise of his invention. The plastic religion, which was beginning to afford, even to the common people, a feeling of the grace of form and the harmony of the universe, had its altars on every shore; with its solemn rites and mysteries and "trivial fond records." Surely there needed not, to render this age poetical, the perfection of scholastic subtlety, the organic control of the police, or the commonplace comforts and luxuries of modern times. The poet had then all "the world" of genius "before him where to choose." What education did he need? What formal introduction to the Muses? His

infancy might have been delighted with wondrous tales of heroes and demi-gods; his youth passed by the side of the ocean, amidst the scenery of Greece; and his manhood occupied in wandering from country to country, admiring all that was beautiful, revering all that was grand, and rejoicing in all that was romantic. What had he to do with books, or with worldly knowledge? His school was the universe. The mountains, the streams, and the ocean, were his teachers. The wild traditions of his age afforded him the threads from which he was invited to weave a glorious composition, whose colours will be fresh so long as nature shall endure.

What, in fact, has been the individual knowledge of many who, in after times, have obtained the highest degree of poetical renown? We have no hesitation in believing that the ploughman of Scotland—he who "walked in glory and in joy following his plough upon the mountain side," breathed forth the tenderest and the noblest feelings of poetry without the aid of external culture. We hesitate not to think that a youth of sixteen at once fabricated an artful deception with wonderful industry and skill, and informed it with beauties worthy of the best age of English genius. Why then should we think it incredible that Homer should shine as the birth-star of Grecian literature, in an age when the common incidents of life abounded with materials of song?

But, in truth, the hypothesis to which the antagonists of Homer's personality must resort, implies something far more wonderful than the theory which they impugn. They profess to cherish the deepest veneration for the genius displayed in the poems. They agree also in the antiquity usually assigned to them; and they make this genius and this antiquity the arguments to prove that one man could not have composed them. They suppose, then, that in a barbarous age, instead of one being marvellously gifted, there were many; a mighty race of bards, such as the world has never since seen—a number of miracles instead of one. All experience is against this opinion. In various periods of the world great men have arisen, under very different circumstances, to astonish and delight it; but that the intuitive power should be so strangely diffused, at any one period, among a great number who should leave no successors behind them, is unworthy of credit. And we are requested to believe this to have occurred in an age which those who maintain the theory regard as unfavourable to the poetic art! The common theory, independent of other proofs, is *primâ facie* the most probable. Since the early existence of the works cannot be doubted, it is easier to believe in one than in twenty Homers.

But the champions of the new system will ask, how, supposing the genius displayed in these works to be not incredibly imputed to an individual, their artificial construction and arrangement can be explained? Here their arguments are contradictory to each other. When they wish to represent it as impossible that, in a rude age, the Iliad and Odyssey should have been produced in a connected

form, they enlarge on the art with which they are constructed: when they desire to destroy the argument that their completeness shows them to have been the productions of one mind, they deny that there is any art at all, and laboriously endeavour to show that they only relate events in a natural order, and are not modelled on any artificial rules. The truth, however, is, that no one ever supposes Homer to have written with a standard of epic poetry before him, like that which Aristotle has drawn from his works. He composed from the impulses of an harmonious mind, and his compositions were, therefore, harmonious. There is nothing wonderful, or even paradoxical, in this. Genius is the soul of art. The unities admired by the critic must originally take their rise from the heart, from the natural perception of loveliness, from the innate admiration of order, or they are worthless. Genius broods over the events it celebrates, and brings them into keeping and harmony. There is nothing really so methodical as the most daring invention, in so far as method is more than an empty form. If Homer conceived the plan of an epic in his mind, and strove to write "up to the height of his great argument," it was because he felt that, within such a compass, his mind would discover a fit and noble range. But there is no need of this, if we adopt Wolf's opinion, above stated, that the Iliad is a mere tale, without any particular design, of the events of a part of the Trojan war, told in its natural order. Surely there is nothing incredible in the supposition, that he who had genius enough to compose any one of the parts, should have had art enough to give the whole tale in the simple course of time, and following the traditions of his fathers.

2. The objection which arises from the ignorance of letters, or the want of the materials for writing, is certainly of a more formidable kind. But it is to be remembered, that the very uncertainty attending the introduction of letters into Greece proves that they must have been of high antiquity, and certainly before the first Olympiad, when a regular computation of time began. The testimony of Josephus, who speaks merely in a sceptical tone, and not in that of decided negative, is rendered of less importance by the circumstance that he was attempting to depreciate, as far as possible, the antiquities of Greece, and to throw discredit on its early history. But even, supposing the works of Homer not to have been originally transcribed, the very opponents of his personality have furnished us with the means by which they were transmitted. The rhapsodists, whom they suppose, and probably with justice, to have recited his poems, were no unworthy depositaries of so great a treasure, especially if we hold them in the veneration with which they would desire us to regard them. It is not necessary to suppose, that any individual was able to repeat the whole; several might take different parts, still remembering the original order and bonds of connection. Might not a play, consisting of infinitely more fragments than one of Homer's poems, be collected with tolerable

accuracy from the lips of the actors, if the copy were lost, or if they had been instructed by the author? But there is nothing incredible even in supposing, were it necessary, that a single rhapsodist could retain the whole of the Iliad, and even of the Odyssey also, in his memory. In the times when the minds of men were not distracted by the attempt to attain a variety of knowledge, a single faculty, and one capable of great improvement by exercise, might easily be supposed to attain a great degree of excellence. In those periods, the memory was, in fact, the only vehicle by which the knowledge of things past could be retained; necessity, therefore, or at least that fondness for retracing past times, which is inseparable from the human heart, prompted its cultivation to a peculiar degree of power. When this necessity ceased, it was natural that the skill it sharpened should lose its powers. Xenophon tells us[1] that in his time, when the occasion of a great extent of recollection had, in a degree, ceased, there were Athenians who could repeat the whole of the two works ascribed to Homer. Surely then it was possible, that they, whose sole profession it was to recite, should attain to this eminence in times more favourable to the perfection of this particular faculty. The same observation will apply to Homer himself, and his remembrance of those things which were the productions of his own genius. It is worthy of observation, that the muses themselves were feigned to be the daughters not of Invention, but of Memory. Homer invoked their aid, not when he is about to relate prodigies, or to take the boldest flights into the regions of imagination, but when about to propound the catalogue of the ships; a kind of assistance which they would not be imaged as rendering in modern times. It seems, therefore, probable, that as the wandering bards were the only historians, Memory was regarded as one of their requisites, and its faithfulness was that quality which they were most anxious to attain. Indeed this, as we have seen, is expressly brought forward by Wolf, to obviate the supposition that the poems were originally *written*.

3. It is probable that most of the opinions advanced by the opponents of the theory usually received by mankind, respecting the dignity of the old rhapsodists, are well founded; but in more than one respect they serve to strengthen the common hypothesis. They cast additional light on the opportunities afforded by the memory of the age to the genius of Homer; for they not only raise the profession he is supposed to have chosen, but also show what excellent means he had of diffusing his works among the people. And if the rhapsodists to whom the works of Homer were committed were thus eminent and honourable, there is the less reason to suppose that they have materially suffered in their care. The number of rhapsodists, among whom many, no doubt, recited these poems, would, of itself, form an adequate check to any very material corruption. All would not agree in the alterations, even from that very cause which might cause alteration to

[1] Sympos., iii. 5.

be attempted—the poetical spirit of the reciters. They would agree, at least, as little among themselves as with their original; for him, as being past, they could no longer regard with envy, while they may be supposed to have cherished some uncharitable feeling towards each other as rivals. Different rhapsodists, doubtless, gave different versions of particular passages. These were the foundation of the various readings mentioned by the critics of Alexandria. When, therefore, Pisistratus collected the poems, he had all the opportunity of comparing testimonies, and of selecting, by such an aid, that reading which appeared most correct from its own internal evidence, or was supported by the greatest number of witnesses. That portions of Homer should be chanted separately, was necessary from the length of the whole, and can, therefore, be no proof that the parts were never connected. The epics of Virgil and Milton may be divided into portions as easily, at least, as Homer;—and the capture of Troy, the loves of Æneas and Dido, and the death of Nisus and Euryalus in the former; and the battle of the angels, and the creation of the world, in the latter, might be separated from the context with as little violence as the parting of Hector and Andromache, or the description of the shield of Achilles.

4. Setting aside, for the sake of argument, all the technical rules of epic poetry, which have been discovered or supposed in the works imputed to Homer, there is strong internal evidence that they, or, at least, one of them, appertain to an individual genius. In the whole texture of the Iliad, one pervading mind is clearly to be seen. Poets even of the same age, and treating of nearly the same subject, can scarcely be supposed to attain so complete a uniformity of style. If two leaves of the forest are never found exactly to correspond, how shall we believe that a number of minds, and these of the first and most original class, should so exactly agree? The same epithets recur—the same kind of similes prevail—the same mode of expression is used in the last as in the first book of the Iliad. But the most astonishing circumstance, on the new hypothesis, is the entire consistency of every one of the characters. The broader features, indeed, of these might be handed down by traditions; whence a number of bards might derive the materials of their songs, though the accomplishments attributed to many of them seem to belong to a later age than that in which the poet has placed them. But their nicer shades and gradations could never have been thus transmitted; and the variety of these traits is endless. Ulysses and Nestor, for example, are both eloquent, and famed rather for council than for action, and these traits might have been commonly reported; but how does it happen that not a speech could be taken from the one and given to the other without depriving it of its dramatic propriety? How is it that the eloquence of the first is always soft, flowing, artful, and persuasive; and that of the last monitory narrative, and more adapted to display the speaker than convince his audience? Achilles, Ajax, Diomed, and Idomeneus are all valiant, but they are as essentially distinct from each other as Paris is

from them. Is it credible that these consistencies could have been retained by a number of contemporary authors, each merely reciting his own portion? It is not, therefore, without some reason, that Wolf expresses an apprehension that his opinion may seem as false, though not so dangerous, as that of philosophers who have maintained that the universe was formed from a fortuitous assemblage of atoms. Indeed, he himself candidly declares, that when he reads the Iliad, he finds such unity of design, such harmony of colouring, and such consistency of character, that he is ready to give up his theories, and to be angry with himself for doubting the common faith in the personality of Homer.

5. That there are interpolations in the Iliad and Odyssey may be readily admitted, without affecting the authenticity of the whole. Some of these parts to which Heyne has objected will be noticed hereafter. And it is to be observed, that some corruptions have been noticed as such by the most ancient critics—a circumstance which proves, that though their attention was directed to the question, they never expressed doubt of the genuineness of the mass of his poems. The evidence in favour of the common hypothesis, from the testimony of every age, is exceedingly strong. Pindar, who lived 485 years before Christ, repeatedly mentions Homer as he would any other person, and not as a collection of verses. In his ode to Damophilus, he alludes to the 15th book of the Iliad, v. 270; thus—

> Τῶν δ' Ὁμήρου καὶ τόδε συνθέμενος
> Ρῆμα πορσυν' ἀγγελον ἐσλον ἐφα
> Τίμαν μηγίσαν πράγματι παντι φερειν.[1]
>
> *Pyth.* iv. v. 493.

He speaks of the Iliad as having rendered Ajax immortal (Isthm. iv. 64); and he alludes to the perils of Ulysses as having been celebrated, adorned, and rendered greater, by the delightful poetry of Homer (Mem. vii. 29). In the fragments collected by Brunck, Mimerinus and Simonides both allude to Homer. The latter speaks of him as the man of Chios, and quotes the beautiful comparison, made by Glaucus, of the decay and renewal of human life to the fall of leaves and their springing forth again into verdure. Herodotus repeatedly refers to Homer as an individual man. He quotes the Iliad and Odyssey, and distinguishes between them. He even, which is stronger than all, denies the Cypriacs to be his genuine productions, as they contradict the Iliad. Thucydides also frequently alludes to him, and always without any intimation that he is speaking of a number of songs by various authors. Aristotle flourished but a short time after the family of Pisistratus were in power, and yet nothing can be more clear than that he had no idea that they had, for the first time, collected together and arranged the poems which they edited; for he criticises at large that very arrangement; he gives it the highest praise; he makes it the basis of

[1] Weigh well this maxim of Homer, that a wise messenger adds grace to every event he relates.

a system of epic poetry; and yet he never attributes the harmony to any other than to the original author. He bestows no praise on Pisistratus, who, in this respect, deserved it all. And surely the ruler of Athens must have been little anxious about his reputation, to have taken no measures for securing to himself this honour. The Athenians, too, must have become singularly insensible to the glory of their own state, and to the interests of literature, of which they were the guardians for the rest of the world, if they failed to perpetuate the memory of a work so noble even till the age of Alexander. All mankind have remained strangely ignorant of the service rendered them by the Athenian governor, since neither Horace nor any subsequent critic has attributed it to him; and all the innumerable admirers of Homer in every age have enjoyed "the tale of Troy divine," without suspecting to whom they were indebted for so large a share of their interest and pleasure in reading it. The French writers, who have expanded the observations of Aristotle on epic poetry into a system, have adopted the same language; and whatever doubts may have been hinted by Josephus or Ælian, the common feeling and opinion of men has given a distinct personality to the poet, and little credit to his editor. Every kind of possible honour has been done him as to a person, and as the author at least of the Iliad. Ælian himself tells us, that the Argives used to invoke Homer and Apollo together. Temples were erected to him in the cities which claimed him as a native; statues were formed of him, though probably without resemblance to his person, as we are informed by Pliny, "Quinimò quæ non sunt, finguntur, pariuntque desideria non traditi vultus, sicut in Homero evenit" (lib. xxxv. c. 2).[1] And medals were struck of him at Chios and Smyrna, some of which are even now in existence.

Besides the arguments which have been adduced against the hypothesis of Wolf and Heyne, it has another powerful adversary to encounter in the generous prejudice and fond admiration of mankind for one of their noblest idols. It is in vain the sceptics contend that the controversy shakes no faith that is of any consequence; or remind us that the intrinsic excellence of the poems would remain unaffected by a decision in favour of the cause they advocate. Men naturally look up for objects to admire. They delight to concentrate, rather than to divide, their emotions of respect and affection. The name of Homer has long been to them as a charm, which they will not willingly suffer to be broken. They have rejoiced in believing that a being so gifted actually belonged to their nature three thousand years ago, and had flesh and blood, passions and affections, like themselves. To divide, in this case, is to destroy. The object of undivided reverence would, in that division, pass away. That fame which had so long resisted time, change, and mortal accident, would crumble into ruins. An immense blank would be left in the imagination, an aching void in the heart.

[1] The images which do not remain are feigned, for the longing after a lost resemblance produces them, as has happened in the case of Homer.

The greatest light, save one, shining from the depth of time, would be extinguished, and "a glory pass away from the earth." It is little, therefore, to be expected, that the new hypothesis will soon become general among the mass of the admirers of Homer, and if they are under delusion, we are not unwilling to share it!

Assuming that Homer denotes not a class, but a man, we proceed to collect those traces which remain, or are supposed to remain, of his life; and to consider those works which are, by the consent of the majority of the learned, attributed to his genius.

Facts relating to the personal history of Homer.

Very different opinions have been advanced respecting the *antiquity* of the life and writings of Homer. The Arundelian marble places him about 907 years before Christ, under the perpetual archonship of Diognetus, at Athens. Herodotus, who is generally supposed to have flourished about the eighty-fourth Olympiad, or 444 years before Christ, represents him as not more than 400 years before his time, and thus refers him to the year before Christ 844. This opinion differs from that expressed by the author of the life of Homer, ascribed, though it is usually thought without foundation, to Herodotus; for he conceives that the poet wrote more than 600 years before the invasion of the Persians, under Xerxes. The capture of Troy is usually regarded by those who believe in the veracity of Homer, as having taken place A. M. 2820, before the first Olympiad 408, A. C. 1184, though the Arundelian marble refers it to an earlier period by thirty years. Tatianus Assyrius and Clement of Alexandria tell us, that, according to the opinion of the Cretans, Homer lived within eighty years after that event. Eratosthenes regarded him as flourishing a hundred; Aristarchus a hundred and forty; Cassius Henina, a hundred and sixty; and some, among whom are Euphorion and Theopompus, even more than five hundred years after it. (Clemens Alex., Strom. lib. i. p. 388–9.) It seems most probable, that the events he celebrated took place at a considerable distance from his own time, because, as observed by Velleius Paterculus (lib. i.), he represents men as only half as strong in his own age, as in that which his heroes adorned; and consequently a large interval must be allowed for the gradual degeneracy of the species. Some modern writers, however, are disposed to represent him as of a much later period than that to which he is usually given. Mr. Bryant, without expressing any definite opinion, regards him as comparatively modern. Dodwell attempts to bring his age below the Olympiads, and to make him cotemporary with Lycurgus. But against this hypothesis, there is strong presumptive evidence to be found in the poems of Homer. Strabo (lib. xv.) observes, that the poet was not acquainted either with the empire of the Syrians or the Medes; as otherwise, when he mentions Egyptian Thebes and its riches, and the wealth of Phœnicia, he would scarcely have left unnoticed the opulence of Nineveh, Ecbatana, and Babylon. According to Pausanias (in Atticis, sect. xii.), the use of ivory was of remote antiquity; but the elephant was seen only by the Indian tribes, before the expedition of

the Macedonians into Asia; and of this enormous animal we find no description in Homer. Whenever the Nile is mentioned in the Odyssey, it is called, not by that name, but by the denomination of the Ægyptus, the river of Egypt, which is the description by which it is characterized by Moses and Joshua; from whence it may be inferred that it had not acquired the name of the Nile at the time in which the Homeric works were composed. Pliny (Nat. Hist. xii. 1) remarks, that unguents, or mixed perfumes, were unknown at the time of the Trojan war, and accordingly we never find the term μυρον, by which they are denominated, used by Homer; from whence we may gather that they were unknown, or little used, in his own age. It is also to be observed, that Homer and Hesiod are the only Greek poets whose works have reached us, who use the digamma, which was peculiar to the Æolic dialect, and seems to fix their æra about the time when the Æolians emigrated to Italy, and imparted to the language of the regions in which they settled this singularity of their native tongue. These circumstances seem to corroborate the opinion of those who adopt the chronology of the Arundelian marbles, in relation to Homer. With this computation, a fragment of Apollodorus, preserved by Clement of Alexandria, and Cornelius Nepos, in a fragment preserved by Aulus Gellius, nearly coincide. Cicero also speaks of Homer as flourishing before the foundation of Rome. It is highly improbable that he should have lived after the first Olympiad, from whence there is a series of writers, and a regular computation of time, and yet that so little should be known respecting him. On the whole, it seems most probable, that he was born almost a thousand years before Christ, and that his life was comprised in the ensuing century.

The *place of Homer's birth*, was the subject of great controversy even among the Greeks. "Homerum," observes Cicero, "Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum, Chii suum vindicant, Salaminii repetunt, Smyrnæi verò suum esse confirmant; itaque etiam delubrum ejus in oppido dedicaverunt: permulti alii præterea pugnant inter se, atque contendunt."[1] (Orat. pro Archia Poetâ.) Seven states are enumerated, as contending for this honour, in the verse, "Smyrna, Rhodus, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athænæ." To these names Egypt, Pylus, and Ithaca, with several others, have been added. Most of these have but very slender evidence to support their claim. An oracle informed Adrian that the poet was born in Ithaca. A school was shown as that in which he once taught at Colophon, and a tomb as the place of his interment at Io;—neither, even if genuine, a very clear indication of the place of his birth. The Athenians, according to the learned author of the Dissertation prefixed to Pope's translation of the Iliad, claimed him as born in one of their colonies; or rather "on behalf of

Place of his birth.

[1] The citizens of Colophon affirm Homer to be their own; the Chians vindicate him as theirs; the Salamians reiterate that he is theirs; the people of Smyrna confirm the report that he belongs to them: so that a temple is dedicated to him in each city, and many others struggle and contend for the same honour.

Greece in general, as the metropolis of its learning, they made his name free of their city after the manner of that law by which all Italy became free of Rome." The proofs which might be adduced in favour of Egypt show, almost beyond a question, that the poet had visited that region, and countenance the hypothesis that he was of Egyptian extraction; but they throw very little light on the place of his nativity. Smyrna, Chios, and Ithaca, have been most frequently the objects of the controversy, and are the only states whose claims seem now to deserve attention.

If the writer of the life of Homer, which bears the name of Herodotus, is entitled to any credit, Smyrna was the scene of his earliest days. But this work is rarely regarded as genuine. It is evidently not written by the historian whose name it bears, because its assertions are directly contrary to his opinion respecting the antiquity of the poet. It is also altogether unworthy of him in point of style. It is so particular and minute in some respects as to wear all the appearance of elaborate fiction. It asserts that Homer travelled to Etruria and Spain; which seems incredible, as we find no trace of any knowledge in his works of regions to the westward of Greece. On the whole, therefore, it has obtained but little credit. If the poet had been born at Smyrna, it is strange he should never have mentioned that place in his works, or alluded to the river Meles which ran beside it, especially as he mentions some neighbouring cities, and the rivers Cayster and Mæander, which flowed near them. It is scarcely to be believed that an observer so accurate, and so deeply imbued with strong feelings and deep sensibilities, should have communicated to us no impression of the scenes in which he spent his childhood, and of which his recollections may be presumed to have been vivid. Indeed, there is considerable evidence, of a negative kind, that he was not a native of the shores of Asia. While he gives a most minute and lively description of the cities of Greece, he does little more than allude to any places in Asia, except those in the immediate vicinity of the Troad. And yet, at the earliest æra to which he can be ascribed, Ephesus, Sardis, Merlæa, Themiscura, Cuma, and Pergamus, must have been in a flourishing condition. It seems, therefore, reasonable to conclude, that he had no personal knowledge respecting them, or the rivers by which the neighbouring countries were watered. The natives of Smyrna, however, preferred their claim with no small confidence in its truth. They cast medals of the bard, erected a temple to his honour, and burned Zoilus in effigy for throwing reproach on their state, by reviling the works of its most illustrious citizen.

The claims of Chios have been advocated with great learning and zeal, by Leo Allatius, a native of that island. He brings forward the authorities of Simonides and Thucydides, in favour of his hypothesis. He affirms that his country had yet among them a race called the Homeridæ, whom they regarded as the poet's descendants; and that they had a temple erected to his honour. He relies also on a passage in

the Hymn to Apollo, which Thucydides acknowledges to be genuine, in which the poet calls himself "the blind man that inhabits Chios." This last authority, however, seems only, at most, to prove that he resided in that island; and the expressions of Simonides and Theocritus, when they denominate him a Chian, may be explained by the same circumstance.

Mr. Bryant has endeavoured to show that the birthplace of the poet, and the scene in which he composed his immortal works, was Ithaca. He supports this opinion partly by its freedom from the objections advanced against other theories, and partly from the peculiar statistics of the poet. He contends with great enthusiasm, that Homer returned hither from his wanderings by sea and land to a genial repose; and that here, amidst his native scenery, he produced from the materials collected on his travels, the Iliad and the Odyssey. In the latter, Mr. Bryant supposes him to have told his own adventures, and to have expressed the personal feelings which he most fondly cherished; and to have even celebrated the constancy of his own wife, in the character of Penelope. Undoubtedly there are passages in which the emotion seems to have flowed immediately from the heart—a lingering and fond retrospect of departed energies—a mild and softened melancholy—and a constant and tender recollection of home, with all its happiest associations, rendered yet more sacred by time. Some particular scenes, too, are described with a vividness so striking, that they seem to have been remembered rather than invented. But all this falls far short ot proving the identity of Ulysses and Homer, since it is easy to conceive that scenes of which the poet was actually a witness, were transferred to his works as seen by other spectators, and that he used a fictitious character to express sentiments which, in their original intensity, glowed within his own bosom.

Parentage.

As the birthplace of Homer is thus uncertain, his parentage is equally dubious. Accounts respecting it differ; and none are entitled to reliance. According to the writer of the life of Homer, attributed to Herodotus, his mother's name was Crytheis, who proving unlawfully with child, was sent away from Cumæ by her uncle, with Ismenias, and found refuge in the city of Smyrna, which was then in progress; near to which place she was delivered of the poet, on the banks of the Meles, as she was celebrating a festival. In his life, attributed to Plutarch, the third part of Aristotle's Poetics, which has not come down to us, is quoted as giving a more wonderful account of his birth, to the following effect:—At the time when Neleus, the son of Codrus, led the colony which was sent into Ionia, a young woman had intercourse with a demigod who delighted to associate with the Muses, and to share in their joys. Filled with shame for this unlawful amour, and finding herself pregnant, she removed from thence to a place called Ægina. There she was taken by robbers, carried to Smyrna, then under the dominion of the Lydians, given to Mæon, the king, and married by him on account of her beauty. But as she was

walking on the banks of the river Meles, she was delivered of Homer, and expired. The infant was taken by the king, and educated by him till he died; when he was left unprotected to endure the hardships of poverty. There are other accounts more marvellous even than this; —which can prove nothing but the enthusiasm and reverence in which the works of Homer have ever been held, and the meagreness of all authentic information concerning him.

Name.

The *name of Homer* is supposed by many not to have been the poet's original appellation, but given to him to denote some quality of his mind or incident of his life. Etymology has, therefore, been employed to develop its meaning, in the hope that some light might thus be thrown upon his history. In the life ascribed to Herodotus, it is derived from Ὁ μη ὁρῶν, and is supposed to denote blindness. By some it has been conjectured to come from Ὁ μηρος, and to signify a *thigh;* and thence an hypothesis has been supported that he had some mark on that part, denoting him to be an illegitimate child: by others it is thought to be compounded of Ὁμοῦ ἐρεῖν, and to imply *speaking in council;* and thence Suidas represents him as inciting the people of Smyrna, as by a divine inspiration, to make war on those of Colophon. According to others, Ὅμηρος signifies a *hostage;* and thence they agree with Proclus in supposing that he was delivered up in that character in a war between Smyrna and Chios. And, to crown these conjectures, it has been thought that the term signifies *following;* and was given to him, because, as stated in the life by Plutarch, he said he would *follow* the Lydians from Smyrna. The author of the *Certamen Homericum* denominates him *Auletes;* and Lucian, *Tigranes.* But the name most usually ascribed to him, by those who regard *Homer* as only an epithet, is *Melesigenes*, which is commonly derived from the river Meles, on the banks of which he is said to have been born. Mr. Bryant, however, with considerable ingenuity, makes this denomination subservient to his theory, that the family of Homer was from Egypt; and that from that country he derived the principal materials of his poetry. He derives it from Μελας, *black;* which answers to the term *Nile*, and supposes it applied to Homer in consequence of his ancestry being traced to the neighbourhood of that celebrated river. But it is to be observed, that the Nile did not obtain that name till after the time of Homer; at least there is no mention of the name in any of his poems which have reached us.

Personal history.

Of the *life* of Homer almost as little is certainly known as of his origin. The author of the biographical piece, under the name of Herodotus, gives in substance the following account of it. After stating his birth, he informs us that Crytheis, his mother, supported herself by her labour till Phemius, a schoolmaster at Smyrna, fell in love with and married her. On the death of his father-in-law, Homer succeeded him in his school, and was celebrated for his wisdom. Attracted by his fame, Mentes, who commanded a Leucadian ship, visited him, and induced him to leave his occupation and travel. In

the company of this captain, he went to Italy and Spain; but, at last, was left at Ithaca in consequence of a defluxion in his eyes. While in this island, he was entertained by a man of fortune named Mentor, who told him those circumstances upon which he afterwards framed the Odyssey. On the return of Mentes he accompanied him to Colophon, where he became totally blind. On this misfortune, he returned to his native place, Smyrna; but his hopes of support were disappointed by the apathy with which the productions of his genius were regarded by his countrymen. He, therefore, removed to Cumæ, where he received great applause but no reward, the people alleging that they could never think of maintaining all the Ὅμηροι, *blind men*, and from this repulse he obtained the name of *Homer*. Thus again baffled, he travelled to Phocæa, where a schoolmaster, named Thestorides, offered to support him, on condition of being allowed to transcribe his poems; which being granted, this new friend took them away to Chios, and gained universal applause by producing them. Hearing of this treachery, Homer resolved to lay claim to his own compositions, and, for that purpose, set out for Chios. Before, however, he met with Thestorides, he was found by Glaucus, a shepherd, and introduced by him to his master at Bollissus, who employed him in the education of his children. As his fame increased while he remained in this situation, his piratical foe took flight, and left him in possession of the field. On this he left his employment and went to Chios, where he acquired considerable wealth by reciting his poems, married, and had two daughters, one of whom died young, and the other was married to the person in whose family he had recently been a teacher. He determined, however, to proceed to Athens; but the vessel was detained during the winter at Samos, where he sung or recited his poems, often followed by a train of children. He attempted in the spring to prosecute his voyage, but was seized with sickness at Io, died, and was buried on the sea-shore.

This account, as we have already observed, is but little to be relied on. And yet it is the only circumstantial relation which has reached us of the adventures and condition of him, whose name every civilized country has united in revering. According to Diodorus Siculus, he was educated under Pronapides, a man of great genius, who taught the Pelasgic letter, invented by Linus (lib. iii.). In two respects, all the accounts concerning him agree—that he had travelled much, and that he was afflicted with blindness. From the first circumstance, it has been inferred that he was either rich or enjoyed the patronage of the wealthy; but this will not appear necessary, when it is considered that, in his time, journeys were usually performed on foot, and that he probably travelled, with a view to his support, as an itinerant musician, or reciter. From most of the traditions respecting him, it appears that he was poor, and, it is to be feared, that necessity, rather than the mere desire of gratifying curiosity, prompted his wanderings. All that has been advanced respecting the occasion

His blindness.

of his blindness is mere conjecture. Certain it is, that this misfortune arose from accident or disease, and not from the operation of nature at his birth; for the character of his compositions seems rather to suppose him all eye, than destitute of sight; and if they were even framed during his blindness, they form a glorious proof of the vivid power of the imagination more than supplying the want of the bodily organs, and not merely throwing a variety of its own tints over the objects of nature, but presenting them to the mind in a clearer light than could be shed over them by one whose powers of immediate vision were perfectly free from blemish.

It is singular that so little information should be gathered respecting this poet, from the most anxious examination of his works. Throughout the whole of them we scarcely catch a glimpse of his personal character or adventures; unless Mr. Bryant's almost unsupported hypothesis be adopted. We learn, indeed, beyond all controversy, that he was capable of conceiving the noblest sentiments; that he was penetrated with a deep reverence for sacred things; and that friendship, hospitality, and universal kindness, were themes on which he loved to dwell. Even in the midst of the feuds and battles which he celebrates, he seems to delight in finding some breathing places in which the brave of both hosts recognise each other as kindred, and unite in a brief interchange of the courtesies and socialities of life. He seems to join in all the rustic feasts of his heroes, and to enter into every generous feeling which they pour forth in the most genial seasons. He must have felt the softest touches of kindred and love, and brooded over the fond recollections of early home. But even these general indications of character are only incidentally given us. Poets are usually tempted, by the very emotions which spring from their genius, to take an opposite course. They feel so intensely all that is peculiar to themselves; they are so conscious of their own divine faculty; and so sensible to the slights which they receive from those whom they despise, that they are eager to vent feelings almost too big for utterance in their poetry. Thus we learn much not only of the external events in their lives, but of the movements of feeling within them. Whatever his outward circumstances were, Homer must have lived happily, or he would have been an egotist. Had he been wretched, he would have informed the world of his misery in his works. He was, no doubt, contented with his lot,—happy in the sunshine of his own mind. He has not even, like Milton, celebrated his blindness. In the absence of all egotism, he more closely resembles Shakspeare than any of those bards who are usually classed with him as epic. Like our great dramatist, he throws himself into a thousand characters, instead of teaching or describing in his own; lives and breathes in the works of his own creation: and seems to exist in an immense variety of persons, rather than in one. He stops not to reflect on the events he celebrates. Noble sentiments and heart-stirring speeches are thickly strown, but they come

from the mouths of his heroes, and not from his own, with dramatic propriety and force. He was too much delighted with the visions and joys which poesy opened before him, for ever new and fresh, to think of the shell in which his genius had taken up its dwelling.

His travels.

It clearly, however, appears from the Iliad and Odyssey, that Homer, in his travels, had visited, and accurately observed, all the principal places in Greece. He uses all its various dialects with perfect ease. In his catalogue of the ships, he has given not merely a beautiful description, but an accurate geography of Greece. He defines the boundaries of a state in a line, and gives us a picture of its beauties in an epithet. He seems not only to have visited, but to have resided, for some time in Egypt; for he has transplanted the customs, rites, mysteries—according to the false Herodotus, a religion entire. If the Hymn to Apollo be genuine, he settled at Chios in his old age. Strabo informs us (lib. x.) that Lycurgus had an interview with him, to discuss the constitutions of Sparta, while he was collecting knowledge to frame them; though this seems contradicted by the usual hypothesis, that Lycurgus brought his works from Asia, where he found them in fragments, after the decease of their author.

His death.

Of the *death* of Homer nothing is certainly known. The account given of it above from the supposititious work of Herodotus seems without foundation. In the life attributed to Plutarch, there is a tradition respecting this event, which only deserves quotation on account of its peculiar absurdity. It is gravely stated, that he had been warned, by an oracle, to beware of *the young man's riddle*, and that this prophetic warning proved true; for, as he sat in the island of Io, among some fishermen, they proposed a riddle in verse for his solution, which he was unable to explain, and was so much affected by his failure that he died of grief. It is probable that he lived long, from the length of his works which have reached us, and the immense variety of knowledge which they display. And, though we are ignorant of the manner of his death, we run little hazard in concluding that it took place when he had arrived at a good old age.

Works of Homer.

From these unsatisfactory speculations respecting the personal history of this great poet, we turn to his *works*, for which time has been less relentless. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the only poems which have been most commonly attributed to him by those who believe in his existence. But a number of others have at different times been stated as his, which it is right to mention.

Works attributed to Homer.

The *Battle of the Frogs and the Mice* has been generally regarded as Homer's. It has been attributed, however, to Pigres, a brother to Artemisia, who fought at Salamis, in the fleet of Xerxes. (Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. ed. Harles. lib. ii. c. 101.) Mr. Payne Knight, in his Prolegomena ad Homerum (Classical Journal, No. xiv. p. 324), conjectures that it is the production of some Athenian writer; and suggests several points of internal evidence, which show that it is of a much later date than the Iliad. The crowing of the cock, for

Works attributed to Homer.

example, is mentioned (v. 191) as a known and familiar sound, though no trace of this bird is to be found in the other works of Homer, or the poets near to his time. This little piece is, however, at all events, one of the oldest specimens of *the humorous*, and the earliest instance of mock heroic which has reached us. Other works of a similar kind, which are now lost, as the Arachnomachia, Geranomachia, and the Heptapection Goat, have been ascribed to our poet with little reason; and as we are informed that the latter was written in iambic verse, there can be little doubt that it was the production of a later age. Another satirical poem, called *Margites*, consisting of a loose story, and written in ridicule of the female sex, is ascribed to Homer by Plato and Aristotle, and its argument is preserved in Eustathius's Comments on the Odyssey. The iambic verses it is said to have contained, are supposed by Mr. Knight to have been interpolations made by Pigres, who is said to have gone through the Iliad, introducing a pentameter after every hexameter verse, of which strange labour Suidas has preserved a specimen. Another satirical work, called the *Cecropes*, probably founded on the old fable of a people of that name, having been changed for their impostures into monkeys, is also ascribed to Homer, but nothing further is known respecting it. The *Epigrams* are extracted from the biography which bears the name of Herodotus, and must stand or fall with it. The *Cypriacs*, or the Loves of the Females at the Siege of Troy, though certainly ancient, is not regarded as genuine. Of the *Amazonia*, the *Thebais*, the *Epigoni*, the *Phocais*, the *smaller Iliad*, the *Destruction of Œcalia*, and others, nothing is known; and it is scarcely possible that one man, however gifted, could have produced them in addition to those which have escaped the ravages of time. Probably many of them were the works of the Homeridæ who contended for the honour of being the descendants of the poet, and were thus, in rude periods, confounded with compositions which they were intended to resemble. It is easy also to conceive them to have been literary frauds, which the uncertainty respecting Homer would make practicable, and which the enthusiam of the wealthy Greeks would render lucrative.

His hymns.

The *Hymns* ascribed to our bard, in number thirty-three, are of more importance, because they are yet in our hands. They are attributed to him by Thucydides, Pausanias, and Lucian, as to their undoubted author. The Hymn to Venus is unquestionably ancient; and, from the use of the digamma, is probably nearly coeval with Homer. The Hymn to Ceres is alluded to by Pausanias, but was not discovered till a very recent time, when Matthæi found it almost entire, among a number of Greek manuscripts, preserved in the library of the synod at Moscow. As, however, this relic varies, in several instances, from the quotations made by Pausanias, it has been supposed to be a different work; though Hermann conjectures the two copies to be only different editions of the same poem. There is much internal evidence against the opinion that these little pieces are

the genuine compositions of Homer. In the Hymn to Apollo, the word Νόμος occurs, which, according to the work de Poesi Homericâ, was not used at the time when he flourished. In the Hymn to Mars, the word Τύραννος, and, in the first to Minerva, Τυχὴ, are introduced, both of which are judged by the same authority to be words of a later invention. All of them, excepting the Hymn to Venus, have great inequalities, and are evidently much corrupted. There are also considerable variations in all the manuscripts. Hermann has employed great labour and ingenuity in purifying the text, and in attempting to account for its mutilated condition. He contends that many connecting passages have been lost, whence great obscurity has arisen. He also supposes that the rhapsodists, who were accustomed to recite the works of Homer, sometimes amplified and altered the original, and even supplanted it by introducing their own paraphrase in its stead;—that this is still the case with many parts of the Iliad; but that, in the hymns, the interpolations did not supply the absence of the original, but were blended with it. These he endeavours to discover and exclude in the larger hymns; and, whatever opinion may be entertained of his success, he must be allowed to have executed his arduous plan with great ingenuity and toil. The scholiasts ascribe these works to a rhapsodist named Cynæthus. And the opinion now most commonly entertained is, that though compositions of high antiquity, they are not the productions of Homer. To the Iliad and the Odyssey, therefore, we may henceforth confine our attention.

Is the Odyssey Homer's?

Of these, various parts have been suspected to be from other hands than those of the original author, even by those who believe in his individual existence. It is, indeed, by no means certain that the Odyssey and Iliad are not the works of two poets. This is so far from being only the subject of modern controversy, that Seneca informs us it was one of the useless questions upon which the Greeks wasted their time. Those who were of opinion that the poems are the works of different men are frequently mentioned in the Venetian Scholia, under the appellation of οι χωριζοντες. There seems to be some internal evidence for supposing the Odyssey to have been the work of a later age than the Iliad. The arts appear to have made more progress between the composition of the two works than can be probably supposed to occur during the life of an individual. The lyre is for the first time mentioned in the Odyssey as made of the intestines of animals. Columns are mentioned, in this poem only, as adorning or supporting buildings; while in all the magnificent descriptions of Troy and the palaces of Priam, in the Iliad, no allusion is made to them. Those which are represented as standing in the palace of Ulysses, at Ithaca, are almost exactly like the pillars of the Doric order, when architecture had arrived at its perfection. There is no mention of nets for fishing, or of several other instruments for providing food, and for domestic uses, in the Iliad, while they are familiarly spoken of in the Odyssey. The mythologies of the poems,

too, seem scarcely to coincide. In the former of them we do not find Mercury represented as the messenger of the gods; Neptune as armed with a trident; or the island of Delos as sacred to Apollo—all of which are presented to us in the latter. The language also, in some respects, varies; bearing marks in the Odyssey of more cultivation and refinement, especially in the adoption of shorter forms of expression. There is more of Ionic openness in the Iliad, and more of Attic contraction and elegance in the Odyssey. In the latter, the word written κτηματα, *riches*, is always spelled χρηματα. Here, the term λεσχη, *a public game*, and the verb θητευω, *to serve for hire*, from θης, indicating a race of men different from slaves, hired servants, occur, which we do not find in the Iliad. It has been generally supposed that the Iliad was the production of Homer's manhood, and the Odyssey of his declining years. But it is singular that, as he advanced in life, his fictions should have become more extravagant, and his excursions from probability more frequent and glaring. For it is manifest that wonders, prodigies, and strange adventures, are accumulated in the adventures of Ulysses with much greater boldness than in the Tale of Troy. We can, for the most part, trace the places described in the latter at the present day; but it is contended by Mr. Knight, that it would be as rational to look for Lilliput, Brobdignag, and Laputa, on the earth, as to attempt to identify many of the scenes in which the action of the former is laid. Ithaca itself is almost a rock, and utterly incapable of having supported the court of Ulysses, or of having afforded room for the transactions said to have occurred within its shores. Certain, however, it is, that the Odyssey, with all its defects, is far from being unworthy of the author of the Iliad. And the great difficulty in attributing it to another arises from the improbability of there having been two such poets of whom so little should have certainly been known, even in very early times.

Interpolations of Homer.

The most zealous advocates for attributing either or both of these poems to an individual, will not hesitate to admit that they must have been left by him in a very different state from that in which we now read them. Four verses have been introduced into some later editions of the Iliad, on the authority of Plutarch, which are not found in any of the manuscripts, having, it is said, been expunged by Aristarchus, as mentioning the intention of parricide without sufficient horror. Æschines speaks of Homer as repeatedly using the words φημη δ'εις στρατον ηλθε, which are not to be traced in any of the poems now in being. And a number of various readings have been collected by the early editors and commentators of the poet, which probably arose from the errors or interpolations of the wandering reciters.

What parts of Homer's works disputed.

Many large passages and whole books have been suspected, especially by Heyne, to be spurious.

The third book of the Iliad, from v. 121 to v. 244, has been thought to deserve this epithet; because Helen, who, in this passage, points out the leaders of the Greeks from the wall of Troy to Priam,

expresses herself doubtful as to the fate of her brothers, which she must have known; and because it is improbable that the king should not, in a ten years' war, have learned the characters and persons of his principal foes. But it must be remembered that the Greeks are usually represented as having till this period contented themselves with plundering the country, and as having made no attack on the capital, and that Priam, from his age, had never personally opposed them. At all events, it is not only useful to the conduct of the poem, as affording an opportunity of describing some of the characters, but is in itself exceedingly beautiful and refreshing to the reader, amidst scenes of carnage. A poet, in the time of Homer, would not resign an opportunity of delighting his audience on the ground of such objections as these, which were not very likely to interrupt their pleasures.

The fifth book of the Iliad, containing a narrative of the exploits of Diomed, has been supposed to be a separate poem, written in honour of that hero, and introduced into its present situation at a subsequent period. But it will be found, on an attentive examination of the context, that this part is so closely interwoven with circumstances, both before and after it, that it forms a necessary link in the chain of events. It prepares the way, and gives the occasion for the beautiful interview of Hector and Andromache, for the return of Paris to the battle, for the deliverance of Nestor from imminent peril by the aid of those horses which Diomed had taken from Æneas, and for the introduction of the same horses in the funeral games for Patroclus. The speech of Diomed, when Agamemnon advises a return to Greece, manifestly refers to the exploits which are related in this book; and to that speech may be traced the embassy of Ulysses, Ajax, and Phœnix, to Achilles, their success in overcoming his determination to retire, and all the subsequent events of the poem. Those who will follow Homer through the whole character of Diomed, as developed in the various parts of the Iliad, will perceive the admirable consistency throughout, from the time when he so gracefully receives the rebuke of Agamemnon in the fourth book to the last time when his name occurs.

The single combat of Hector and Ajax—the nocturnal adventure of Ulysses and Diomed—the embassy of Idæus from the Trojans—and some minor passages, have been impugned as spurious. But they will be found closely connected with the other parts of the work, and even, in many instances, necessary to enable the reader rightly to understand it. To the description of the shield of Achilles, in the eighteenth book, Heyne has advanced many ingenious objections: he contends that it is altogether unconnected with the story which it interrupts, and, that although beautiful in itself, of a very different kind of excellence from the scenes which immediately surround it. The shield seems not to be formed of workmanship at all calculated for its purpose, or of a proper character with the design.

It would not glitter in the sun, or strike awe in the midst of battle; its curious ornaments would require time and leisure for appreciation. Instead of presenting to the view some single terrific object, as the head of Medusa, it contains a variety of minute parts, and those, many of them, having no reference to deeds of arms; such as the heavenly bodies, the sea, cities, fields, forensic contests, agricultural labours, dances, and pictures of voluptuous repose. From the great number of objects comprised within the compass, each part must have been so minute as to require almost a microscopic eye to discern it. The whole could never have been fashioned by the summary process by which Vulcan is said to have prepared it complete for Thetis. And, in the early times of Homer, the arts necessary to the formation of so elaborate a work were unknown; and consequently, the whole must have been the production of some other hand in some later period, and introduced to the Iliad by the Athenian editor.

In answer to their objections, it may be replied that there is no violation of character in the passage in question. The taste of Thetis, rather than of Achilles, would be consulted by the workman. Had the poet given to Ulysses the bold and fearless spirit of Achilles, or to Achilles the cunning of the Ithacan prince, the case would have been far different. It is evidently absurd to object that proper tools and a sufficient time are not allowed in framing the shield, when a deity is represented as its author. There may be an incongruity in setting Vulcan to use the common apparatus at all, and not representing him as going through the requisite process; but this objection is no other than perpetually occurs in tales of mythology, whether in Homer or subsequent writers. It is true that, at the age when the Iliad is commonly supposed to have been produced, no such piece of workmanship could actually have been completed. But the poet was not bound to confine his descriptions of natural or artificial beauty to the objects actually before him. It is enough that the elements existed, which he could model at will, surpassing, in his imaginations, the realities of his age. Shields, and other pieces of armour, were unquestionably in common use, and were probably embellished with some rude but fanciful devices. It was easy then for him, when he would describe a shield, of which a god was to be represented as the framer, to depict on its surface any resemblances of external things which he might select for the exercise of divine skill and human fantasy. Perhaps even his silence as to the tools with which these pictures could be fashioned, may show that he was speaking of things which, in his time, no earthly art could imitate; and the crowd of objects he has introduced may prove that he drew after no existing model. It is true that the passages which border on this episode are of a very different character; as martial and bustling as this is quiet and full of repose: but, so far from this circumstance proving that it is not genuine, it affords a reason for its introduction, and even for the minuteness of its detail. "Direness" might other-

wise have grown too familiar to the thoughts of the poet's audience. They might "have supped too full of horrors." He might have felt the necessity of relieving himself and them, by introducing, through this artifice, bird's-eye views of calm and peaceful life, and even of elegant entertainments and pleasures. This is the true reason for the description given of the shield, and the multitude of objects which adorn it. If they do not grace the piece of armour, they at least grace the poem; if they prove not the taste of Vulcan, they exhibit that of Homer; and this was probably thought by him of the most consequence. If we examine all the episodes in the Iliad by a similar criterion, we shall find them admirably conducive to the main design; not of showing forth the anger or the glory of his hero, which, at most, was but the secondary intention, but of delighting his hearers by calling into exercise the greatest variety of human affections. The description of the chiefs by Helen—the single combats of Paris and Menelaus, and of Ajax and Hector—the loves of Paris and Helen—the parting of Hector and Andromache—the meeting of Glaucus and Diomed between the armies, and the renewal of their old friendship—and the journey of Priam to recover the body of his best-beloved son—are not only in themselves picturesque, and often pathetic, but delightfully relieve the bustle and sadness of the story, while they heighten by contrast its heroic grandeur. The last six books have been thought by some to be from another hand, especially the twenty-fourth, because they seem to relate to a new subject, not the original anger of Achilles, but the consequences of his grief for the loss of his friend, with the death and funeral of Hector. If this were the case, the author of them possessed a genius at least equal to that of him who composed the body of the poem. The battle in which the immortals join is superior to all the rest; perhaps to any battle ever depicted in verse, in breadth and richness of colouring, in picturesque confusion, in the grandeur of the machinery. Hence, it will be remembered, Longinus has derived a favourite example of the sublime. The incidents attendant on the death of Hector, and subsequent to it, are represented with as lively a pencil as anything in the earlier part of the work. Besides, Jupiter, in one of the preceding books, foretels all the events to the end of the poem; and, of course, the mind of the poet must then have conceived them.

That part of the eleventh book of the Odyssey, which relates the evocation of the shades of the dead by Ulysses, is supposed to be spurious, even by Aristarchus and the old grammarians. It is very difficult to discover, taking the passage as it now stands, whether the hero actually descended to the shades or called up the appearances described, as in a vision before him. Some, indeed, have thought the whole account of the invisible state to be liable to great suspicion. Certain it is that nothing can be more cheerless than the view here given of a future world. All is wretched, cold, shadowy, and appalling. The passage in which Achilles represents the vilest condition

on earth as preferable to the highest state in the unseen world, is only in accordance with the spirit of the whole description. But, perhaps, all this, though it shows the dreary opinion entertained respecting the immortality of the soul at that period, proves little against the authenticity of the greater portion. Plato alludes to this part of the Odyssey, as the work of Homer, in terms of severe censure; as giving a false view of religion, and discouraging men from the love and practice of virtue; and, on the ground of the evil produced by such representations, he excludes the poets from his ideal republic. Virgil's description of the Hades, as visited by Æneas, is not much more consistent than that of Homer. He represents those regions as within the earth, and yet as having their own sun and stars. It is to be observed that, in the Iliad and Odyssey, whenever the poet alludes to natural objects, all his descriptions are clear, perspicuous, and vivid; but when he refers to preternatural things, his consistency forsakes him. Sometimes he represents Olympus as a mountain of earth; sometimes as the habitation of the gods, full of golden thrones and palaces beyond the visible sky. His inconsistencies respecting the fates, the powers of the gods, and the liability of the celestials to pain and mortal accident, it would be useless to attempt to reconcile. He seems to have regarded only the immediate effect of his machinery; and to have taken little pains to render it consistent either with philosophy or with itself. As he must have recited his poems in parts, incongruities would not be observed by the hearers; and the admiration excited by the sublimity of detached passages, would be a sufficient temptation for deviations which the impulse of the moment might suggest.

Aristarchus and Aristophanes both suppose that the Odyssey, as originally written, ended at the 296th verse of the 23rd book; and in this opinion most of the subsequent commentators have agreed. In the concluding passages, there are many circumstances stated which must be referred to a later age. According to the prophecies of Tiresias, Ulysses went into exile after the destruction of his wife's suitors, being driven again from his palace by the vengeance of their relatives. It were almost to be wished, that we could believe the miserable revenge taken by Ulysses on the women, after the slaughter of his more powerful foes, the addition of a later hand; for it disgusts us by the exhibition of a cool and unmanly barbarity, to which there is no parallel in any other part of the poet's works.

Leaving the reader to draw whatever line he thinks most accurate between the authentic parts of the Iliad and Odyssey, and those interpolated or corrupted, we shall now proceed to consider the works themselves as they appear at present.

Question as to the existence of the heroes, and events of the Trojan war.

The question how far these poems are grounded on real events, and from what sources those parts of them which are manifestly fictitious, were drawn, not only possesses great intrinsic interest, but is of high importance to the elucidation of early Grecian history. The admirers of Homer have generally consented to believe, without examination,

that the chief events and persons of the Trojan war had an actual existence. Nor can it be surprising, even to those who regard them as entirely fabulous, that the world should have been so little inclined to scepticism. Never was there a tale in which the supernatural is so intimately interwoven, told with an air of reality so imposing. Impossibilities vanish, and all things become probable, before the magic of the poet's genius. He transports us to a new and ever-fresh creation, in which, though much is calculated to astonish, all appears real, substantial, and unperishing. Olympus, with its deities on their golden seats, lies open to our view, "in form as palpable," as the glorious towers of Troy, the sacred Scamander, and Ida with its hundred springs. Prodigies become familiar to us. We feel that we are treading on enchanted ground, where the objects have no relation to the "ignorant present time," and are not subject to mathematical scrutiny. Their wonders, too, are generally first unfolded to us in happy times when we desire no joy but that of believing; and the chief persons of the tale seem afterwards like old and dear acquaintance, who have delighted our childhood. With these feelings predominant, it is no wonder that the world should have been little solicitous to define the boundaries of its historical and poetical faith, and have generally acquiesced in believing the most noble tale of antiquity, without scrupulously weighing the evidence on which its authenticity rests.

Homer thought allegorical.

Some of the Grecian philosophers, however, who were disposed to find in the mythologies of their country a spiritual meaning, seem to have regarded the narratives of Homer as allegories intended to convey moral and abstract truths. According to Diogenes Laertius, this was the opinion of Anaxagoras, the preceptor of Socrates. This opinion was never likely to be popular; and perhaps the question respecting the foundatlon of the Iliad and Odyssey was scarcely agitated, till it engaged the zeal, ingenuity, and learning of Mr. Bryant. In a pamphlet, and several subsequent publications, that celebrated scholar has maintained the daring positions, that Helen was never carried from Sparta, and that all the chain of events built on that foundation is altogether fictitious, or is derived from circumstances which took place in very different scenes from those in which the action of Homer's poems is laid. His opinions, though controverted by able writers, have obtained no inconsiderable number of followers; and we shall, therefore, state the leading arguments on both sides of the question.

The whole story of the Grecian expedition, it is contended, originates in manifest fable. Helen, its original cause, is stated to have been born of an egg. Its heroes are descended from gods, and hold familiar converse with immortals. The injury done by Paris to Menelaus, though atrocious, appears scarcely an adequate reason for an expedition which was ten years in preparation, and ten more in accomplishment; undertaken by chiefs to whom a romantic sense of honour was unknown, and directed against a distant and unoffending

people. It appears, from the introduction to Thucydides, that at the latest period which can be fixed as the æra of the Trojan war, the Grecian states had made little advances from barbarism; that their wars were prompted for the most part by the love of plunder; and that there were no common feelings which could unite them in one perilous enterprise. An oath seems but a slender ground on which to build the concert between the leaders, especially at a time when the most sacred obligations were too little regarded. It is astonishing that all the petty chieftains of Greece should consent to abandon the government of their own territories, forego all their animosities, and enlist themselves under a commander little superior to themselves in extent of dominion, and inferior to some of them in personal qualities, in order to annihilate a city they could have known only by report, and in the conquest of which the best part of life might be wasted. It is incredible, too, that Greece in her infant state should have furnished an army far more numerous than she was able to raise in the height of her prosperity and power, when her liberties were invaded by the Persians. The same objection applies, even with greater force, to the immense fleet of which so minute a catalogue is given by Homer. The number of vessels amounts to 1,186, while 378 ships, with a few open vessels of fifty oars, constituted the whole fleet engaged at Salamis. Besides, in those early times, the Greeks were entirely unaccustomed to distant expeditions, and seldom ventured to cross the Ægean sea. According to Libanius,[1] they thought it hazardous to proceed beyond Delos; and Herodotus[2] represents the Helladians as unwilling to venture further, when requested by the Ionians, because they had little knowledge of the seas beyond it, and regarded an expedition to Samos as strange and romantic as a voyage to Gades or the Mediterranean straits.

Objections to the reality of the story.

The age of Helen, and of the principal heroes engaged on her behalf, is also urged, as evincing the falsehood of the whole narration. Her brothers were men capable of bearing arms at the time of the enterprise of Jason. Scaliger and Petavius agree in making the interval between this event and the fall of Troy seventy-nine years; so that, allowing Helen to have been only twenty years of age at the former period, she will have been ninety-nine in the last year of the siege; older than Hecuba, who is represented as bent down by years. And yet, a little before this time, she is represented as sufficiently beautiful to charm away the resentment of the Trojan sages, and as a prize for whom nations might contend. Nay, Telemachus is stated to have seen her ten years afterwards, at Sparta, when she was still "lovely as Diana." Her suitors, too, among whom we find not only Idomeneus, Ulysses, Mnestheus, Philoctetes, and Agamemnon, but Antilochus, Meriones, Machaon, Patroclus, Diomed, Nireus, and Ajax Oileus, can scarcely be regarded as younger than the object of

[1] Libanius, Orat. xix. p. 480.
[2] Herod. L. viii. c. 132.

their devotion, and must, therefore, have been nearly a hundred years of age at the time when the action of the Iliad commences; and yet they are all represented as in the vigour of manhood, and some of them as possessing the rashness and the accomplishments of youth. Not only is the age of the champions against the authenticity of the history of their exploits, but the extraordinary preservation of their lives from the accidents of war, and of their ships from the inclemency of the seasons and the decays of time. The number of the chief persons in the Iliad is, at least, fifty-nine; and yet, in a nine years' siege, an exposure to the inclemencies of camps, and even to the ravages of pestilence, all of them survived, except Protesilaus, who was so called from having first stepped on shore upon their arrival, and having been immediately slain by Hector. Though Agamemnon speaks of the loss of cordage and the decay of shipping, Ulysses afterwards navigated the seas for three years in his own ship, and Menelaus used his fleet for eight years after the capture of Troy. Men and ships seem to have been preserved from time, accident, and war, without any explanation of the miracle.

It is also contended, that the alleged duration of the siege shows the whole to have been a fiction. Till the Peloponnesian war, there is no instance of a Grecian army carrying on a blockade in winter. Though the Romans were engaged in contentions from the foundation of their city, they never made a winter campaign till the siege of Veiæ. It is scarcely to be believed, that these petty princes could have kept their soldiers so long true to a cause which could so little interest them on a foreign soil. And how, it is asked, did it happen, that the city was no sooner taken? The army of the Greeks, according to every intimation given by Homer, was twice as numerous as that of the Trojans. From Homer's own statement, it appears that, on a fierce attack being made, either Patroclus or Achilles could have stormed the town in a single day, had not their progress been stopped by the intervention of deities. The Grecian leaders are represented, not only as far more numerous, but more valiant than their enemies: the troops had no means of subsistence but plunder; and yet nine years were allowed to elapse before any regular attack was made on the city! And during all this time, no intelligence arrived from Greece to inform the monarchs of the state of their kingdoms, though Diomed and his companions reached their home after four days' sail. Achilles is ignorant whether his father was dead, or sinking under the weight of years, though he says he could reach Pthia in three days; and is equally uncertain respecting the fate of his son Neoptolemus, whom he had left at Scyros, still nearer to the shores of the Troad.

Existence of Troy.

Arguments have also been deduced against the existence of Troy, in Phrygia, from the alleged impossibility of finding any vestiges of it remaining. This difficulty was felt in times much nearer the date of its supposed destruction than our own. Lucan informs us that the Romans, under Cæsar, examined the region of Troas, but no ruins

could be found there—*etiam periere ruinæ.* According to Strabo, Demetrius Scepsius, a native of the Troad, and Hestiæas Alexandrinus searched in vain for any indications of ancient Troy. When Alexander, in the height of his enthusiasm for his favourite poet, visited the region in which Homer had laid his scene, with the anxious desire of building a city on the site of the capital of Priam, he could find no vestiges to direct him. He found, indeed, a small town upon the sea-shore called Ilium, which he rebuilt and adorned; but this could never have occupied the site of Homer's city, as that was manifestly situate at a considerable distance from the sea, beneath Mount Ida, leaving room for the Grecian camp, and all the battles which form the chief subject of the Iliad. Modern travellers, especially Chevalier, Morritt, and Gell, have regarded themselves as more successful; but their theories differ perpetually from each other, and will perhaps be found not very consistent with themselves.

Arguments for Homer's veracity.

In opposition to these reasonings, a variety of arguments have been brought forward by the champions of Homer's veracity. Many of the objections made to the existence of Troy, and the reality of the Grecian expedition, prove only that Homer must have greatly embellished those materials which history afforded him, and not that his narratives are altogether without foundation. Greece, though in many respects in a state of barbarism, was not unacquainted with the science of war in the times referred to by the poet. Though the obligation of an oath might not have been in inself sufficient to unite all the suitors of Helen in undertaking to avenge the wrongs of her husband, a variety of motives, especially the love of enterprise and of plunder, may be conceived to have produced the union. Phrygia was regarded as affording a rich booty to a conqueror. Homer frequently represents the Greeks as animated by this inducement; and the very contest on which the Iliad depends arose from the contention of Achilles and Agamemnon respecting a captive. Some too, like Ulysses, might have been unwillingly forced to engage in the war, by the power of Menelaus and his brother, and the general desire of the Greeks. With respect to the number of the forces, it is alleged that there is nothing incredible, even taking Homer's account to have been given as literally true. Barbarous states have furnished armies more numerous in proportion to their extent; and it may well be considered as easier to raise large bodies of troops from states in a great degree unsettled, than from regions where the pursuits of agriculture and commerce have given men a love of peace, and the enjoyment of home. The ships which conveyed the heroes of Homer to Troy were used for purposes of commerce, piracy, and war, and were, on this occasion, employed merely as transports, furnished not by individuals, but by the state, and equipped at a time when the republics of Greece, excepting Attica, were almost destitute of a naval force for the public service. At all events, it may be allowed that Homer increased both the armament and the troops for poetical effect,

without supposing that the Trojan war has no foundation in authentic history. It is scarcely possible to believe that the Greeks were unacquainted with maritime affairs at the æra of Troy, however they might afterwards lose that information by their becoming more settled and domestic. They had themselves been transported into Greece and Asia by Egyptian and Tyrian fleets. Diodorus Siculus speaks of Minos, king of Crete, as having great forces, both military and naval, and possessing the empire of the seas. Thucydides also confirms this statement, and speaks of the Carian and Phœnician pirates, before the wars of Troy; in which suggestion he is corroborated by the testimonies of Hesiod and Homer.

The objections arising from the age of Helen and her suitors are weakened by the consideration that they are derived from chronologies admitted to be uncertain, and for which, at all events, Homer is not responsible. It is urged, that as the poet has given no account of the heroes who came from Greece, as distinct from that of those who were living in the tenth year of the war, it cannot be assumed that none of the former had perished in the interval; though, from his usual accuracy in referring to past events, some notice of eminent persons who had fallen might have been expected, when the soldiers of their country were the subject of enumeration or panegyric. Though the shipping might have been out of repair at the time when its decay was alluded to by Agamemnon, it is not to be inferred that it was suffered to become useless during the whole duration of the siege, or that it was not refitted previous to the voyage home; especially as the sides of Mount Ida abounded with proper materials, and the Grecian troops must have had abundant leisure to use them. To the arguments drawn from the length of the war, and the supposed inactivity of the invaders during its first nine years, it is replied—that supposing, in the early times of Greece, no winter campaigns were known, the idea could never have suggested itself to the imagination of the poet; that if he could have conceived anything so contrary to experience, he would not have dared to make it the subject of his poem; that the war was not merely an attack on Troy, but a devastation of the Phrygian dominions; that it is not to be taken for granted that no hostile movement was made against the city, because none is mentioned by Homer; that, as the capital was strongly fortified, it was scarcely possible, in the infancy of the science of war, to have taken it by storm; and that the real object of the chief part of the Grecian army was best answered by sacking the neighbouring towns, and subsisting on the spoils. With respect to the absence of intelligence from Greece, it is answered, that though, from various obstructions, the chiefs might be, for some time, ignorant of the state of their relatives or dominions, it does not follow that they received no tidings from home during the whole of their stay; and that the conduct of the wives of some of them might furnish a sufficient cause why any very particular information should have been withheld. The assertion

that no vestiges can be traced of the Troad is denied; and the laborious exertions of many classical travellers have been employed in tracing, in the neighbourhood of Ida, the chief rivers, elevations, and sepulchral monuments, mentioned by Homer—with what degree of success an attentive perusal of Chevalier, Morritt, Wood, Gell, Dr. Clarke, and others, may enable the reader to decide.

The chief argument for the truth of the main incidents in the Trojan story, arises from the general belief which has prevailed from early times. Its consequences are intimately blended with the foundation of numerous colonies, where traditions have been preserved, more or less distinct, tending to attest its truth. Thucydides, who is admitted by the opponents of Homer's veracity, to have been a lover of truth, gives it his sanction. Herodotus, while he supposes that Helen was never at Troy, implies the existence of the city. Alexander, though unsuccessful in discovering the exact site of the ancient town, proved by his researches that he, at least, believed in the common hypothesis that it once stood in Phrygia. All the writers who speak of its ruins having perished, who lament the total extinction of all the material vestiges of its ancient glories, who mourn that woods and fields should now occupy the place where its palaces were raised, must have joined in this opinion. The state of the Troad has always been alluded to, not as a proof that the narration of Homer is false, but as a striking testimony of the perishable nature of the most venerable and grand of earthly things. "*Fuit Ilium et ingens gloria Teucrorum*,"[1] seems to have been the fond and mournful belief of the lovers of poetry in every age. For they speak of Troy as no more; and it is only in their sensible and material forms that the towers of that immortal city could perish. To the eye of the imagination, they stand as noble and as sacred as ever. We seem almost to remember them as though we had actually seen them in our youth, and been spectators of the glorious and heart-stirring scenes which took place beneath them. Of this feeling even the determination of the controversy in favour of Mr. Bryant and his followers, would have no power to deprive us.

The great antagonist of the common theory by which Troy is placed in Phrygia, does not suppose that the mighty fictions of Homer are altogether without foundation. He has, with all the learning and acuteness for the union of which he is so distinguished among scholars, endeavoured to attribute the whole to an Egyptian origin. All writers seem to agree that Homer in his travels had visited Egypt, and had derived from that superstitious country many of the embellishments with which his writings are adorned. He seems to have introduced the nine Muses thence, who were formerly priestesses at Hermopolis, where they chanted hymns in honour of the deities who were the objects of their peculiar homage. (Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, p. 352.) To these priestesses the archives of state were entrusted; to them,

[1] Ilium and the mighty glory of the Trojans are no more!

consequently, all desirous of historical information applied; and thence the poet, who had probably shared in their assistance, and whom they had furnished with all traditions, celebrates them as knowing all things. (Odyssey, Ω. v. 60.) It is observable also that the poet denominates the princes Ποιμενες Λαου, *Shepherds of the People*, which was a very ancient Egyptian title. He attributes to seamen, in the fleet of Menelaus and the crew of Ulysses, an abhorrence to fish, which was probably borrowed from the Egyptians. Plato observes, that during the whole of the war, the Grecian heroes are never represented as using fish as a means of subsistence. Mr. Bryant further adduces evidence to show that the site of the Trojan war was actually in the territories of Egypt, a few miles below Memphis; where Strabo finds a place bearing the name of Troy, and supposes it to have been founded by the Trojan captives who accompanied Menelaus to Egypt.

In support of this hypothesis, Mr. Bryant brings forward traces of old traditions respecting a Trojan war in Egypt: he argues that upon this supposition alone the presence of Memnon and the Æthiopians at the siege can be accounted for; that the deities, superstitions, and rites attributed to the Trojans, are manifestly different from any that prevailed at the time in Asia Minor, and are either altogether Egyptian, or those which, having that origin, had been altered and adapted by the Greeks. The names given to the Trojan leaders and the chiefs of the auxiliaries are manifestly not Asiatic but Grecian; and many of them Greek compounds. Hence Mr. Bryant concludes that the poet having, from his travels in Egypt, derived certain traditions respecting a Trojan war in that place, took the groundwork of his Iliad and Odyssey entirely from thence, changed the scene to Phrygia, and for the honour of his country made the conquerors Greeks, and gave such names to his characters as he derived from the resources of his native tongue.

Mr. Bryant goes a step further than this: he follows Ptolemy Hephæstion in the opinion that a woman of the name of Phantasia—which he supposes to mean Phant' Isis, the priestess of Isis—had written a history of certain contentions and adventures on the subjects of the Iliad and Odyssey, which Homer, when in Egypt, obtained from Phanites, a scribe, and from which he afterwards composed his two principal works. The termination of these names is indeed Greek, but this he supposes to have been altered to please the ears of the Greeks. To all this it is replied, that the use made of Egyptian customs is easily accounted for by their previous introduction to Greece, and that all the rest is but ingenious and fanciful conjecture, to which the traditions and opinions of the Greeks, and of many colonies from them, form more than an adequate answer.

Criticisms on Homer's works.

Whatever opinion may be adopted respecting the groundwork of the Iliad and the Odyssey, or of the sources whence their stories were constructed, there can happily be no occasion to contend for their intrinsic excellence. Before, however, we give instances of their

beauty and sublimity in detail, it may be right to view them as having introduced a new kind of poetry into the world, a kind of poetry of which we have little previous trace, but of which the Greek lyrics and tragedians afterwards became the most perfect examples.

Poetry of two kinds, contemplative and plastic.

There are two great divisions of imaginative composition, we conceive, far more important than the technical distinctions of epic or tragic, because they relate only incidentally to the *form*, but immediately to the *tenor* and *essence* of poetry. These are, to attempt the expression of many ideas in a word, the *contemplative* and the *plastic*. The poet who adopts the latter style, presents to us palpable forms; it may be more bright and glorious than the material world can furnish, but still definite; "distinguishable" to the intellectual eye "in member, joint, and limb;" while he, whose genius inclines him to the former, gives us only the sensations and feelings which objects have excited within his own bosom. Every kind of poetry belongs to one or other of these classes; or unites them. In the present day, and even from the commencement of the Augustan age, most poets have blended them together; but it was otherwise in earlier times. Then the distinctiveness of these modes of the manifestation of genius formed the main characteristic of national poetry; and the prevalence of one of them was generally to be traced to some deep and pervading emotion in the public mind. This principle, as peculiarly affecting the writings of Homer, and the subsequent literature of Greece, we shall endeavour further to develop.

Hebrew Poetry, contemplative.

The Hebrew poetry, as contained in the Bible, is the only mass of surviving poetry more ancient than the Iliad. Some have supposed that there is a great resemblance between these two mighty works; but an attentive consideration will probably convince an unbiassed mind, that the similarity exists not in respect of their texture, but of the simple manners they portray, and the examples of unaffected greatness which they exhibit. The poetry of the Bible is the reverse of the plastic. In its noblest passages it contains very few palpable images; no forms which we can clearly body out to ourselves, or which a painter can express. It touches, indeed, the finest chords about the heart of man with a sweet and inexpressible charm; or oppresses him with a sense of his own littleness and of eternal grandeur. It admits us to the company of angels: it allows us to hear their everlasting music; but it does not *describe* them. We sympathise with the innocence and delightful simplicity of Joseph, but we know nothing of his features. We feel the beauty of Rachel, for which Jacob thought fourteen years of servitude a few days, but we do not *see* it. Our hearts seem blended in the youthful exile's, at the spot where heaven is opened to him in solemn vision, and angels are ascending and descending on the ladder; but we neither see, nor desire to see, the lineaments of these celestial visitants. The reason of this peculiarity is obvious. The Old Testament is a partial revealing of things that are unseen. It points "with silent

finger" to "temples not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." It teaches of glories to come, which shine dimly through prophetic symbols. Above all, its prevailing doctrine is, that One power, altogether beyond the feeble conceptions of men, presides in every part of the universe. How could the poetry of a system be *plastic*, in which God is everything, and that God not to be embodied in earthly shape? The pervading sentiment is reverence; a deep and awful sense of dependence in the midst of darkness; a faith in things unseen. Men had not yet affected to draw aside the curtain which concealed the holy of holies; they heard the voice of their Maker in the deep silence of the night, and felt his presence in the serenity of an evening sky. This feeling of the vast and indistinct, which the religion of the patriarchs led them to cultivate, diffused itself over all their devotions, and decided the character of the imagination, as well as of the moral sense of their posterity. In the Bible, nature is presented to us only in her grand and elemental forms. Chaos and light, life and death, eternity and time, are the subjects on which it touches, and on which it glances rather than expatiates. As faith is its leading principle, and faith either in realities beyond the grave, or in blessings to descend in the richness of time, the very hopes it records, though stable in their foundation, are indistinct in their objects; they are built on a rock, but their top is above the clouds. All the solemnities of the Jewish people were shadowings forth of glory to come. The mind of the reader was not to rest on them. They were the foreground of an eternal perspective. The prophets carried on the same feelings, and tended rather to heighten than to decrease them. They had glimpses into the distance of years, but no particular or clear sight of the days of which they sung. They trembled with awe at the grandeur of their own conceptions; and referred only to visible objects as illustrations of glories far beyond them. In short, while one God was all to the mind, none but mighty stirrings could find a place there; hopes too vast to be defined; expectations too comprehensive to rest on earthly things.

Origin of the plastic style of poetry.

But the mere belief in things unseen was too pure and refined to satisfy the mental appetites of fallen mankind. They wanted something *sensible* to revere, and to repose their hopes on. They could not raise their thoughts to the heaven of heavens; and feeling the need, which the heart always feels, of objects to adore, they sought them in the glorious works of creation, which they peopled with the forms of their own imagination, or supplied with presiding deities from their recollections of departed excellence and glory. Hence, in a great degree, the idolatries of the ancient world. Egypt and the eastern nations seem to have been the first thus to create palpable objects of faith, or to raise visible things into the immediate dwellings of celestial spirits. From Egypt these mythologies were conveyed by emigrants to Greece, where they were modelled into beautiful forms by the influence of a chaster and more varied scenery. Homer, who

had certainly visited the parent country of superstition, deeply imbibed a poetical faith, at least in its marvels. How far he has altered these it is not possible for us to decide; certain it is that he has given an imaginative life to glorious fictions, and has rendered earth-born deities immortal.

Influence of the ancient mythologies on poetry.

These fictions had as great an influence over the poetry, as over the conduct of those who embraced them. The dim, the remote, the indistinct, was in a great measure rejected; and sensible objects supplied its room. As religion is always a prevailing cause in moulding the national mind, the poets, as well as the priests, learned to stop at noble objects, without regarding them as the vestiges of a glory that had been, or the indications of a greatness yet to come. Everything in poetry was cast in a set and definitive form. The objects of nature which at first had been merely described, soon became personified, and were rendered even more definite in shape than they appeared in their proper form. Brooks, and trees, and the ocean, no more gleamed in song as in a landscape, but were converted into nymphs, fauns, and a trident-bearing deity. Every quality too of the mind was invested with personal attributes. Nature and the human soul, in the hands of the poet, became mere quarries of exquisite marble, from which he might fashion statues of the most perfect grace and inimitable proportions. Generally speaking, all was sensual in the moral world, and sensuous in that of poetry.

The works of Homer, however, though they seem to have begun, by no means completed this change. He gives us magnificent descriptions of the world without us, and sometimes throws a genial light on that within. He refers to the ocean, the moonlight and the stars, without calling to his aid a machinery which, in some instances, became almost too unwieldy even for him to control. He affords us glimpses too of a Great First Cause, and of the solemnities of life and immortality, in the midst of the wonderful creation which he has raised up, as if to hide them from us. And it is only on these occasions, when he seems to have caught a light from holier days, that he bears any resemblance to the sacred writers. In general they make earthly things spiritual, while he makes spiritual things earthly. They raise us from earth to heaven, he brings down heaven to earth. He peoples everything beautiful in the world, with deities bodied forth to the mind in more decided forms than the objects over which they presided; they looked on material things as telling the glory of ONE who is invisible, and whom they dared not even to imagine. To them eternity revealed itself in things of time and sense; he conferred immortality on the objects of creation. In the Scriptures the universe appears the vestibule of a mighty temple, from which, as from its inner shrine, we catch faint echoes of Divine music, and whose glories we sometimes dimly see; in Homer it is the fane itself, adorned with exquisite skill, in which the materials afforded by earth are fashioned into a thousand admirable shapes, that instead of revealing to us higher things, tend to hide them from us.

But the plastic style introduced by Homer, though arising in a great degree from the Pagan mythology, has added largely to the capabilities of genius. It gave to poetry "a local habitation and a name." It taught men to see beauty and grace wherever they existed, and to create them where they were wanting. It tended to ameliorate and soften the mind, by making loveliness and fair proportion familiar to the thoughts. It spread the spirit of poetry and the admiration of genius among the people, who were little able to enjoy that which had no earthly foreground, but who perceived the beauty of the glorious shapes which the bard could set before them. As religious feelings when misdirected had produced it, it had, however, an unfortunate reaction on religion. It taught men yet further to multiply deities, and rites, and temples; and finally modified both the character and the genius of Greece. The tragic poets caught the sentiment of shape in all its grace and in all its coldness, and perpetually brought it to adorn those mythologies by which it had been created. They have one great moral which they constantly inculcate—submission to the decrees of heaven. They perpetually refer us to deities as the immediate causes of the events which they celebrate. Thus they exclude themselves from portraying the emotions of the human heart —the strengths and the weaknesses of noble natures— the "torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of the passions." Their heroes act and suffer, become innocent or guilty, not from motives within them, but an influence above them. Virtue and vice, as well as happiness and despair, become the inevitable dispensations of the gods; and if there is any contest, it is not in the bosoms of men, but between propitious or opposing deities. Their tragedy is a high and solemn sacrifice, in which the heroes are the victims. We see the fate of their persons from the beginning, for it is decreed on high. Theirs are the mere contests "of poor humanity's afflicted will, struggling in vain with ruthless Destiny." The embellishments with which these compositions are adorned are all in character. They remind us of the cornice, the architrave, and the statues of an ancient temple. The images are all palpable, and addressed immediately to the senses, though in grace and vividness they are unequalled. The very sentiments have a precision and accurate boundary which almost pictures them to us. The persons stand like the statue that enchants the world, as distinct, as pure in the conception, and as admirable in the finishing. Every idea is elaborated till it acquires a distinct shape; their works, in short, are like inimitable pictures without a perspective.

Reaction of poetry on religion.

Descriptive poetry, as well as tragic, that which refers us to external nature as well as that which relates to the heart of man, was altogether changed by the exclusive cultivation of the plastic style. A river could no more water the flowery fields, or dash over opposing rocks in its own pure course, but it must become a spirit, a beautiful female, or a youth with golden hair. The morn was not represented as standing "tiptoe on the mountain's top," but was bodied forth as

a lady with roseate fingers. When the sun sunk tranquilly down on the bosom of the ocean, Aurora was betaking herself to the bed of Tithonus. The woods were vocal, not with the whisperings of the breeze, but with the breath of Zephyr. The crescent moon became a chaste huntress with a silver bow. Jupiter rolled the thunder, and winged the lightnings. The winds themselves had habitations assigned them; their invisible power was exchanged for a corporeal form; and the wide range of earth and sea for the cave of Æolus. In a word, instead of a description presenting us with an assemblage of objects comparatively indistinct, which every one's own imagination might mould to its more particular images, one palpable form was substituted, which even the dullest could not refrain from admiring.

Although this style of composition was carried to an excess in Greece, the world is most deeply indebted to Homer for its introduction; not only because the peculiar beauties of his successors are drawn from its stores, but because, in after times, when different principles were brought into action, this very style adorned contemplative and philosophical effusions, and, in some cases, most happily blended with its opposite in the same images and thoughts. The Roman poets, and especially Virgil, though they, for the most part, copied from the Greeks, did not cast their sentiments in a mould so definite and decided. There are some very fine indications in the Georgics of the return of unmodified nature, exemplified in that suggestive exclamation—

> O qui me gelidis in vallibus Hæmi
> Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbrâ.[1] ii. 487.

Effects of the Christian religion on poetry.

But the Christian religion was the great cause of the revolution of poetry. It banished the illusions of mythology from the world. For a time, it even caused the mighty fictions of Homer and his countrymen to be deprived of that poetical admiration to which they are entitled. It fixed men's hopes and affections on things unseen. It gave distant glimpses of an eternal world, instead of the sensible images with which the regions beyond the grave had been fantastically adorned; and restored the feeling of One great pervading Cause, which had so long been divided amidst a multitude of material deities. Hence the mingling of the classical with the contemplative class of poetry, which has ever since been blended with the greatest works of imagination. The poets of our own country, and especially Shakspeare and Milton, have thus eminently succeeded. And they have not merely given us, in some passages, clear and distinct images of graceful and elegant forms, and in others referred us to the elements, and to the vast and undefined in nature and in eternity, but they have frequently, by one effort of the imagination, united both the sources of the grand and delightful. While they have pictured forth distinctly sublime and beautiful forms, they have

[1] Who places me in the cool valleys of Hæmus, and protects me with the mighty shade of innumerable boughs!

made those forms the representatives of whole classes; they have involved the universal in the individual. They have described to us, with a Grecian precision, the glorious objects of creation, and yet have made these objects the mere foreground of a far-reaching perspective. The most noble and deep feelings, and sentiments, and thoughts, are, in their works, expressed and embodied in the fairest of earthly shapes. Every feature has an expression which no colouring of this world could supply. Creation is covered with an imaginative lustre, a dream-like radiance emanating from the soul. And yet nothing of distinctiveness is lost to the objects which we see through this pure and softening medium.

In reading those works which now unite the philosophical and the descriptive, we are most frequently placed in an intermediate state between the mere sight of external things, as in a picture, and of the personifications of the Grecian bards. The brooks, the fountains, and the woods, are no longer supplanted by nymphs and satyrs; but, while they are described as in the freshness of nature, the emotions of the heart are transferred to them, and even assist in the perfect representation of their actual appearance. Thus they are joyous, pensive, melancholy; yet lose not in these epithets their clearness, their gentleness, or their sober hue; but are seen more distinctly for the attributes with which sympathy has endowed them. The mind associates itself with mountains and hills as with old acquaintance and dear companions, without ever losing their waving woods and forked steeps in the image of a local deity. It loves nature for her own sake, and for the sake of those fond recollections of youthful joy, and those gleams of remembrance which in happy moods and contemplations she now recals. It transfers its own brightness to the world around, and surveys it through this medium. The humblest flowers and bushes have power to stir and delight it. All creation becomes sacred, not as filled with a thousand deities in every part of it, but as echoing back tender sentiments and thoughts indulged amidst its beauties; as dimly showing forth a goodness that cannot fail, and a glory to come, which shall not pass away. As far as these feelings refer us to things we see not yet, we owe them to our religion, to the Bible, to our deep and innate sense of immortality; but in so far as they take their spring from the distinct perception of beauty and grace in material things, we are indebted for them to Homer and the tragic poets of ancient Greece.

Air of truth in the Iliad.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Iliad, is the absolute reality and air of truth which it wears. This arises partly from the vividness of the poet's mind, and partly from the minuteness of detail in which he indulges. Those who complain of his descriptions of feasts, of ceremonies, and of armour, as tedious, should consider how much the effect of his brilliant passages is heightened by them. They persaade us that the poet himself believes what he is relating, from the apparent accuracy of his statement; just as we give credit

to a circumstantial tale. We become acquainted with his heroes in their retirements, and are, therefore, fully prepared to sympathise with them, as with old friends, when they rush amidst the thickest battalions of their foes, and gain mighty victories, or a triumphant grave. The domestic parts of the tale not only relieve the heroic scenes, but prepare us to enjoy them. We see the chief buckling on his armour in the morning, snatching a hasty repast, and taking a hurried leave of his comrades; we follow him with breathless interest through the adventures of the field; and we feel the deepest tragic interest when he falls in the pride and glory of manhood. This art of Homer, by which not only all his narratives are made credible, but all his scenes are presented to the mind in a light so clear, and in colours so fresh and imposing, that the impression of them can never wear out, is copied by no subsequent author with so much success as by Richardson, who almost deserves the title of the Homer of Prose. The superiority of the ancient over the modern writer consists, however, not merely in the poetical faculty superadded to the rest, nor in the greater dignity of the subject, but in the life, spirit, and freshness of the delineations. Richardson spreads his filmy nets around us like a dream; we feel spell-bound; we try to escape from the company with which he surrounds us, but in vain: while the minutest detail of Homer is ever fresh and living; and we breathe in a pure atmosphere throughout the whole of our progress.

Variety of characters.

Nothing is more surprising in human works than the immense number and variety of the characters which are brought together in the Iliad, without any one clashing with another, or bearing too near a resemblance. Achilles, Ulysses, Nestor, Ajax, Hector, and Diomed, live and move before us. They all talk, as well as act, in character. Of those which have the most similarity, scarcely a speech or an action could be transferred from one to another, without taking something from its force, grace, and dramatic propriety. There are nice shades of distinction, and those philosophically accounted for, even in the valour of the chieftains; a quality which would commonly seem to admit of few, and those very broad, diversities. The variety of wounds described by Homer is not greater, and not so extraordinary, as the modes by which each warrior manifests the kind of prowess in which he excels in the midst of the combat. The character of Diomed, in particular, is admirably drawn: fiery, ingenuous, choleric, and yet yielding the most ready and graceful submission to those whom he regards as competent to check or direct him. Hector is the most amiable and virtuous of all the heroes, and is rendered yet more interesting by his premature death. There is great life and spirit in the delineation of Achilles; though his quarrel with the Greeks, and revenge on the body of Hector, are inconsistent with true greatness. He is a simple warrior, open-hearted, sincere, and detesting every mean and low vice, but little softened by touches of gentleness and pity. His unhappy Trojan foe is as superior to him in accomplish-

ment and grace, as he is in moral worth. There are passages in the Iliad of great pathos, as well as of quiet beauty. The account of the impression made by Helen on the counsellors of Priam, and of the affectionate address of the venerable monarch, in which he tries to soothe her, is no less exquisite in its kind, than the most vivid picture of a battle, in which heroes and gods are the combatants. The melancholy journey of Priam to the tent of Achilles, is admirably conceived, and touchingly described; and the whole scene in the Grecian camp forms an excellent dramatic picture. There is nothing in the poem more pathetic than the lamentation of Helen over the body of Hector, in which she declares, that while others have reviled her as the author of their calamities, he had never given her one unkind word, or upbraiding look. It gives a finishing touch to the almost perfect character of the unfortunate hero, and leaves on our minds the kindliest impression respecting him.

Number of incidents.

The number of incidents brought together in the Iliad is scarcely less astonishing than the variety of the characters. In the space of less than fifty days, there are councils, contentions, reconciliations, battles, victories, and defeats, of infinite diversity, and without the least confusion. The heroes whom we see before us, at the dawn, vigorous in bodily strength, and instinct with the enthusiasm of youth and the strong desire of renown, are, before evening, mingled with the slain. In no work of narration, fictitious or real, are we struck with equal force by the transition from the noon-tide of life to the coldness of death—from the full play of all the pulses of existence to their final pause—from the midst of bustle, enterprise, and vivacity, to the stillness of the grave. The fate of every chief with whom we seemed, on the preceding evening, to be reclining in his tent, or sharing a rustic meal, sinks deeply into the heart, and makes an impression there which time cannot weaken. In breadth of colouring, as well as in interest of detail, the battles of Homer are unrivalled in verse or prose. They rise above each other in the magnificence of their confusion, to that amazing contest in which men and gods, fire and water, the elements themselves, and the powers that govern them, are so wonderfully mingled. Images are poured forth from the mind of the poet as though it were unable to restrain them, and yet they have all the distinctness and perfection which might have been expected from the most anxious thought and the most laborious finishing. If we are overwhelmed by the grandeur of the mass, we shall be yet more surprised, on careful examination, to find that the minutest of its component parts is, in itself, as complete as though the whole art of the poet had, with an almost microscopic care, been exhausted upon it.

Similes.

The *similes* of Homer are another proof both of the copiousness of his genius and the accuracy of his perceptions. They frequently contain the most beautiful pictures of noble objects, and even landscapes in miniature. Sometimes they bear the poet too far from his imme-

diate theme; but they more than compensate for this breaking in on the thread of the narration by their own intrinsic excellence. Even when most prolix, they show the intensity of his feeling, which would not allow him to touch, incidentally, on anything grand or lovely, without lingering to revel in its charms. Occasionally, too, they relieve the heart by diverting an interest which becomes oppressive; and by pouring delight on the fancy, take away the sting from a tragical catastrophe, and mingle a pleasure with our sympathy.

Language.

The *language* of Homer deserves indeed to be called "the language of the gods." It is surprising that, in the infancy of Grecian literature, he should have been able to find expressions so exactly suited to the loftiest and most beautiful poetry. It seems certain that the Greek tongue, at the time when he composed his immortal works, had not arrived at that degree of perfection which it afterwards attained; that words had then fewer inflections; that the nicer shades of meaning were less distinctly marked; and that many terms of admirable grace and power, which adorned the later compositions of the country, were then unknown. This, indeed, appears from his works themselves; but he has made every possible use of the materials before him. He has not been content with the use of a single dialect; but has blended and harmonized the stately Doric, the terse Attic, the comparatively feeble Æolic, and the soft, open, and flowing Ionian. He has formed epithets and compounds which are sometimes pictures in themselves; giving us, in the midst of turbulent battle-scenes, a little glimpse of some graceful object, like a small eddy reflecting a golden cloud in the midst of an impetuous and troubled stream. His *versification* is above all praise. He has made full use of that noble measure the hexameter, with its infinite variety of pause, cadence, and distribution of harmony. His thoughts, subject, images, and verse, all move together in one melodious course; the sound is more than an echo to the sense; it forms part of it. The sea roars, the arrow whizzes, the calm prospect smiles, the mountain-woods wave, and the river rushes into eddies, in his song. His battle-pieces resound with the tumult of war and the clang of arms. He perpetually scatters those felicities of expression, which, though as perfect as if carefully sought for, seemed to have flowed spontaneously from a mind attuned to the harmonies of nature, of sentiment, and of language. Almost all that he says, he says in the happiest manner.

Commentaries and editions of Homer.

The works of Homer have naturally furnished abundant opportunities for commentaries and editions from the time of their first collection. Of the earliest writings of the critics respecting them, immediately after the work of Pisistratus, we are unfortunately ignorant. The first commentators were probably those philosophers who endeavoured to remove prejudices against the representations made by the poet of supernatural things, by endeavouring to find in them a secret meaning, of which the fiction was but an allegorical veil. None of their works, however, now survive. Alexander the

Great, being enthusiastically attached to the poems of Homer, is said not only to have encouraged a new and improved edition by Aristotle, his preceptor, but to have assisted himself, with Anaxarchus and Callisthenes, in its revision. When this work was completed, the conqueror of Asia laid it up in a casket of great value which he had taken among the spoils of Darius, as the most valuable thing which he could deposit in so precious a case; and thence it was called the Edition of the Casket. Aristotle also, in his Poetics, comments largely on the works which he thus edited; and drew from them the system of epic poetry which has since determined the laws of that species of composition.

It does not appear that the Greeks were either skilful in tracing out the true readings of the poet, or careful to preserve the text entire as corrected by its first editor. Their disposition and genius were little fit for verbal criticism; and there is every reason to believe that great errors were allowed to creep into the manuscripts, amidst the highest veneration for the author. At length the Ptolemies, in Egypt, began to show a great degree of zeal for the purification and general diffusion of the Iliad and Odyssey. A number of copies, especially the *Massilistic*, the *Chian*, the *Argive*, the *Sinopic*, the *Cyprian*, and the *Cretan*, so called from the cities in which they had been preserved, were sent to Alexandria. Hence Zenodotus framed his edition under the auspices of the first of the Ptolemies. But the great restorer of Homer to purity and correctness was Aristarchus, tutor to the son of Ptolemy Philometor, who entered critically into the examination of his author, and formed the basis of those copies which are now extant.

The commentaries of Eustathius were the most celebrated and useful of all the critical writings on Homer, until very recent times. The author lived in the twelfth century, was a native of Constantinople, and Bishop of Thessalonica. The results of his critical labours were published at Rome in the years 1542 and 1550. A variety of collections of Scholia have, at different times, been given to the world. The *Scholia Brevia* were first published by John Lazcaris, at Rome, in 1517. "*Scholia vetusta in Iliadis, librum* ix., *Græce edita e Conrado Horneio*," were published in 1620. The Venetian Scholia were brought to light in 1740, by A. Bongiovanni. And in 1788, the most valuable of all the collections was taken from two manuscripts in the library of St. Mark, at Venice, and published there by Villoison.

Modern editions.

In modern times, a great number of editions of the works of Homer have been published. The first *printed* edition was at Florence, in 1488, in two volumes, folio, at the cost of two brothers, named Nerlius and John Acciaioli; and under the superintendence of Demetrius Chalcondylus, an Athenian, and Demetrius the Cretan. The second, was that of Aldus, in the year 1504, in octavo, but it is a mere copy of the Florentine edition. The same editor published two other editions, one in 1517, and the other in 1524. In 1519,

Franciscus superintended the first, and in 1537, the second *Justine* edition, of which the latter is in the greatest repute. Cephalæus published four editions at Strasburg, between the years 1525 and 1550; and a fifth was added by his family, in 1563, after his decease; they contain the various readings of Homer from the earliest copies. In 1542 a splendid edition was published at Rome, containing all the commentaries of Eustathius. Various editions have been published at Paris; the first of which was that of Turbetus, in 1554, diligently collated with the preceding copies, especially that of Rome. The magnificent work of H. Stephens, entitled "Poetæ Græci Principes Heroici Carminis," containing the works of Homer, appeared in 1566, and is framed from the collation of a great number of manuscripts. Barnes, in 1711, published his edition at Cambridge, which has been the subject of very severe animadversion by Dr. Bentley, but is invaluable for its extensive collation of manuscripts and preceding editions. Clarke's splendid edition of the Iliad, in two volumes, quarto, appeared in 1729; and contains, in the notes, clear illustrations of the principles of grammar and prosody. The Odyssey, Batrachomyamachia, &c. in 1740. The Glasgow edition appeared in 1756, in four volumes, folio; it was superintended by Moor and Muirhead, and underwent a singularly careful revision. The edition of Ernesti, in 1759, takes Clarke's for its basis, but embraces many important additions by the editor. Villoison's excellent edition appeared in 1788, accompanied by the Venetian Scholia. Three editions of Homer have been given to the world by the celebrated Wolf; the second of which, in 1794, contains the Prolegomena, which has excited so much attention among the learned. A magnificent edition of all the works of Homer, issued from the Clarendon press, in 1808, under the patronage of the Grenville family; the Odyssey was collated by Porson, with the Harleian MS. In 1802, Heyne's great edition of the Iliad made its appearance, enriched with an immense fund of critical observation on the works of Homer; but countenancing all the sceptical opinions respecting the unity and authenticity of the whole. It should not be omitted that an excellent introduction to the study of Homer was published by Dr. Burgess, afterwards bishop of St. David's, at Oxford, in 1788, entitled "*Initia Homerica; sive excerpta ex Iliade Homeri; cum locorum omnium Græcâ metaphrasi ex Codd. Bodleianis et novi coll. MSS.*" &c. Clarke's Homer is commonly printed as a school-book, without the notes.

Translations of Homer.

Homer has been translated into most modern languages. The continental efforts of this kind have not, however, been much celebrated beyond the countries for the use of which they were intended, excepting perhaps those of *Voss*, in German. In England, the principal translations of the poems of Homer are those of *Chapman*, *Pope*, and *Cowper*. *Hobbes*, indeed, the celebrated philosopher of Malmsbury, made the attempt, but altogether without success. His

work is entirely obsolete; nor has the fame of his political and meta- Hobbes's.
physical works been sufficient to rescue it from oblivion. It is astonishing he should ever have made the trial. His mind was not only without poetry, but anti-poetical. His excellence in the argumentative style, in the clearness of his demonstrations, and the ingenious subtleties of his logic, could little entitle him to translate Homer. His brain was not on fire with glorious and mounting thoughts—it was "dry as the remainder biscuit after a voyage." *Chapman's* trans- Chapman's.
lation is the very reverse of that of Hobbes, as his mind was in direct antithesis to that of the philosopher. He knew, indeed, little of the refinements and elegancies which have since prevailed; but his spirit was fiery, impetuous, and undaunted. He loved his author with a poet's love; he brought to his work a kindred spirit with his great original; but his production is not a translation, scarcely a paraphrase. His genius was too daring to be confined to the text even of Homer. To use the words of an excellent critic, "His Homer is not so much a translation as the stories of Achilles and Ulysses rewritten. The earnestness and passion which he has put into every part of these poems, would be incredible to a reader of mere modern translations. His almost Greek zeal for the honour of his heroes, is only paralleled by that fierce spirit of Hebrew bigotry with which Milton, as if personating one of the zealots of the old law, clothed himself, when he sate down to paint the acts of Samson against the uncircumcised. The great obstacle to Chapman's translations being read is their unconquerable quaintness. He pours out, in the same breath, the most just and natural, and the most forced expressions. He seems to grasp whatever words come first to hand during the impetus of inspiration, as if all other must be inadequate to the divine meaning. But passion (the all in all in poetry) is everywhere present, raising the low, dignifying the mean, and putting sense into the absurd. He makes his readers glow, weep, tremble, take any affection which he pleases, be moved by words, or in spite of them; be disgusted and overcome their disgust."[1]

Pope's translation of the Iliad is the most popular version of Homer Pope's.
ever made, or, perhaps, of any poet who has been translated into a modern tongue. This rank it is probable that it will always maintain. It is not, indeed, written in a style congenial with the original, and, in point of sense, frequently deviates from it. Neither its excellencies nor its faults are those of Homer. But it is, with all its blemishes, a noble work of human industry, skill, taste, and even genius. It abounds in felicities of expression; but its great merit is, that it tells "the tale of Troy divine" in a most fascinating manner; that it preserves the keeping of the whole; and that it is, in itself,

[1] See LAMB'S *Specimens of Early Dramatic Poets*, p. 98, n. 41, where the reader will find, in addition to the above, an admirable character of Chapman's poetry in general, written with that depth of thought and intensity of feeling which pervade all the criticisms interspersed in the collection.

capable of transporting the reader to the plains of Ilium, and making him spectator of all the high and valiant exploits, as well as the more retired and domestic scenes over which poetry has thrown a consecration which cannot pass away. His pictures are often vivid, his details elegant and graceful. If his poem is not Homer, that bard is, at least, indebted to him for a great part of the popular veneration in which his name is held in this country. His great defect is a want of power of description to follow his original, when the grander parts of nature are to be depicted. His gorgeous misrepresentation of moonlight has been often and deservedly exposed. In the tenderer passages, as the parting of Hector and Andromache, he follows his author more closely, and almost equals him. The translation of the Odyssey is far inferior to the Iliad as a whole, though parts of it are executed with admirable polish and exactness of finishing. It is well known that Broome and Fenton composed half of it; and, in the rest, Pope often seems to exhibit symptoms of weariness, naturally consequent on the length of his exertions.

Cowper's

Cowper's translation is the converse of Pope's. It has all that its predecessor wants, and wants all that it possesses. It is generally faithful, but will never be read. As if to avoid the Ovidian graces of Pope, the author runs into the contrary extremes, and affects a ruggedness quite repulsive, and very different, indeed, from the smooth Ionian of Homer. The excellencies of this work are not those which would recommend it to popular notice; since the readers of translations are those who cannot peruse the original, and are, therefore, unable to appreciate the merit of correctness. It is no wonder, therefore, that Cowper should be praised by the critic, and Pope read by the people. Cowper has maintained, that no translation of an ancient poet in rhyme can be faithful. This is probably true; but experience justifies us in adding, that no translation, unless it be in rhyme, will ever be read.

HESIOD.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3097, B. C. 907.

Hesiod.

The next Greek poet, after Homer, whose works have reached us, is HESIOD. Indeed, many authorities represent him as more ancient than the author of the Iliad. The Arundelian marble places him thirty years earlier, in the latter part of the tenth century before the Christian æra. Herodotus speaks of both poets as though they were contemporaries, and as having been only 400 years before the period when he flourished. Velleius Paterculus, however, represents Hesiod as about 120 years later than Homer. Cicero, in one of his dialogues, makes Cato represent the age of the former as several centuries subsequent to that of the latter. From the internal evidence of the poems of both, as they now appear, the balance of proof seems to give the priority to Homer. The language of the Works and Days is more contracted, elliptical, and concise than that of the Iliad. And it is the

usual course of language thus to alter; to become more compressed, to dispense with superfluous syllables, and to exhibit more frequent instances of elision. It is observed by Dr. Clarke, that Homer has used the word καλος above 270 times in the course of the Iliad and Odyssey, and has, in every instance, made the first syllable long; while Hesiod often makes it short. Hence, as he supposes the liberty of making the first syllable short, not to have been allowed till a later period, he concludes that the works of Homer are considerably more ancient than those of Hesiod. It must, however, be observed, that the Ionic poets always made the first syllable in καλος long; the Attic and Doric often short; and that, therefore, Homer might have used it in the Ionic form; and Hesiod, sometimes in one form, and sometimes in the other, though they lived nearly at the same period. Homer, in the Odyssey, whenever he names the Nile, calls it the Ægyptus; while Hesiod gives it that appellation which it now bears. Hence Mr. Bryant infers, that in the time of the former it had not acquired its present name, but was called, as in the works of Moses and Joshua, the river of Egypt; and, consequently, that Homer wrote at an earlier period than Hesiod. Both authors use the digamma, which appears in no other Greek poet whose works have reached us; it is certain, therefore, that both are ancient, and probable that they were either contemporaries or that no great interval of time elapsed between them. The opinions concerning the comparative antiquity of these poets are collected in Fabr. Bib. Gr. vol. i. p. 96, edit. Hales; and it appears that, on the whole, the testimony is in favour of the superior antiquity of Homer.

His own account of his life.

Happily for the biographers of Hesiod, that poet has not, like Homer, omitted to give in his works any traces of his personal history. From his Works and Days we learn, that he was the son of a man who had been an inhabitant of Cumæ, in one of the Æolian isles. Suidas, Fabricius, and others, hence represent the poet as a native of that place; but the contrary will appear from his own poems. He represents his father as having removed to Ascra, a village in Bœotia, at the foot of Mount Helicon, and in the same book asserts, that he never crossed the seas, except in a voyage from Aulis, in Bœotia, to Eubœa. Hence, it follows, that he never sailed with his father to Ascra, and consequently that he was born after the settlement of his family in that village. From this place he derived the name of Ascræus, by which he is often called in ancient writers. It appears from his own statement, that misfortunes, and chiefly poverty, occasioned the removal of his father. Proclus, however, on the authority of Ephorus, tells us that a homicide was the cause of his exile. It appears from another part of the Works and Days, that the poet tended sheep on Mount Helicon. We also gather, that his father left some property, which his brother Perses obtained from him by means of fraud, and bribing the judges; but that, instead of resenting this injustice, he was able to look with compassion on its

author, and to assist him, when he had fallen into poverty, out of his own substance. He also informs us, that he was the conqueror in a poetical contest at the games which Amphidames, king of Eubœa, had instituted in honour of his own memory, and which his sons accordingly solemnized. By his success on this occasion, he obtained a tripod as the prize, which he consecrated to the Muses.

These are all the incidents in the life of Hesiod which he has enabled us to collect from his works which still survive. But other writers have professed to fill up the chasm, and have detailed circumstances respecting him which are not much deserving of credit. Of these the most remarkable is his contest with Homer, which has been probably invented from his own statement, that he had been the victor in some rivalship of song. Plutarch, in his Banquet of the Seven Wise Men, makes Periander give an account of the poetical contention, by stating that it was the custom of the ancient Greeks to propose to each other questions of difficult solution; that a contest arising from this practice took place at Chalcis among all the most celebrated poets of the age; that the performances of the poets themselves, and the consciousness of their celebrity, which imposed a restraint on the judges, rendered the determination difficult; but that, at last, the first honour was given to Hesiod. There is a treatise also entitled, "The Contention of Homer and Hesiod," which enters far more into detail. It represents each of the candidates in turn, as putting questions in verses of imperfect sense, to be answered or supplied by the other; and professes to give the substance of all that passed on the occasion. This work was probably not written till the time of the Emperor Adrian. It was first printed by H. Stephens, in 1573, and has been prefixed to some editions of the works of both poets, but it is universally regarded as a mere fancy of the unknown writer. The epigram in the Anthologia, professing to be the inscription on the tripod won,

> Ἡσίοδος Μούσαις Ἑλικωνίσι τοῦδ' ἀνέθηκεν,
> Ὕμνῳ νικήσας ἐν Χαλκίδι θεῖον Ὅμηρον,[1]

is also considered as spurious. It is not probable that Hesiod should come off victorious from a contest with Homer; and perhaps scarcely more so, that if such had been his good fortune, he should not have mentioned the name of his adversary when alluding to the contest.

Death. Hesiod is generally thought to have lived to a good old age, but to have ended his days by a violent death. Plutarch, in the piece already quoted, gives the following account of this catastrophe:—In the latter part of his life he had removed to Locris, a town near Mount Parnassus. There he resided with a man named Troilus, who ravished a young woman in the same house. The brothers of the girl, seeking revenge for the violence done to their sister, falsely

[1] Hesiod dedicated this to the Muses of Helicon, having vanquished in song the inspired Homer at Chalcis.

suspected the poet of having been accessary to it, slew both him and the party actually criminal, and threw their bodies into the sea. The body of Troilus was cast upon a rock, which still bears his name from the circumstance. Hesiod, when dead, was taken by dolphins, and carried to the city of Molicria, near the promontory Rhion, where the Locrians were then holding a solemn festival. They saw the body of the poet, and on recognizing it, proceeded to revenge the death of their favourite bard, by throwing the authors of the calamity alive into the sea, and destroying their houses. His remains were deposited in Nemea; but his tomb was not generally known, having been concealed, lest the Orchomenians, who had been advised by an oracle to procure them, should steal them away. Pausanius tells us, that the oracle had directed the Orchomenians to bring the bones of Hesiod to their country, as the only means by which they could stay the ravages of a pestilence. He states that they succeeded, and erected a tomb over them, on which they placed a suitable inscription. Hesiod is said, by Lilius Gyraldus, to have left a son and a daughter, and that this son was Stesichorus, the poet; but this statement is unsupported by any ancient authorities.

His works.

The works now extant, which are commonly published under the name of Hesiod, consist of the Works and Days, the Theogony, and the Shield of Hercules. Various opinions have, however, been entertained respecting the authenticity of the two latter of these pieces. Wolf, indeed, applies his theory respecting Homer to Hesiod, and regards the works as collected from the rhapsodists, and probably as originating from different authors. He thinks the Works and Days is a century more ancient than the Theogony, or the Shield of Hercules. The first of these has generally been admitted, without dispute, as authentic, except the opening address to the Muses, which the Bœotians contended was spurious, on the authority of an ancient copy they professed to have preserved, engraven on plates of lead. The Theogony has commonly been regarded as genuine, though the Bœotians denied it. It is undoubtedly the production of very early times. But the Shield of Hercules is usually rejected as spurious. Longinus intimates more than a doubt respecting it. It appears, indeed, to be a collection of fragments, some of which were possibly composed by Hesiod, and others interpolated or added by subsequent bards. It appears from the Ion of Plato, that the rhapsodists were accustomed to recite the works of this poet, as well as of Homer.

Style of Hesiod.

The great excellence of Hesiod consists in a natural and simple style. His pictures of the manners of a rude age are sometimes more truthful than those even of Homer, on account of the absence of that radiance which is shed over all the scenes in the Iliad and Odyssey from the imagination of their author. But he is, perhaps, the most unequal of poets. In some of his delineations he displays a daring and ardent conception, which is not afraid to grasp the mightiest things, and which succeeds in its efforts by a natural and gigantic

power. At other times, he is insufferably low, creeping, tame, and prosaic. In his didactic poetry, he rises occasionally into a high and philosophical strain of thought, but commonly gives mere trite maxims of prudence, and the most common-place worldly cunning; as when he advises his reader never to conclude a bargain, even with a brother, without a witness. He has none of the refined gallantry of Homer, but seems to delight in satirizing, or rather abusing, the female sex. The Works and Days is a rambling and very unequal didactic poem. The description near its opening of the two different kinds of contention among men—that of hatred and envy on the one hand, and the honourable exertions arising from emulation, and a desire to excel on the other, is accurately descriminated and well finished. Hence the poet proceeds to the subject of his work—*labour*, and describes how it fell to the lot of man. We have then the story of Pandora, and of the gradual degeneracy of mankind from the golden to the iron age. A digression is made to the evils inflicted on our race by the powerful wicked, in which the great are recommended to be merciful, and a variety of maxims are introduced fit for the purposes of common life, without much connexion with the subject or with each other. At last, the duties of agriculture are set forth, interspersed with moral and religious admonitions, which probably were regarded as of practical value in the times when the poet flourished. The whole forms a very curious relic of antiquity; but its nakedness is scarcely to be endured after the variety and the brilliancy of Homer.

Theogony.

The *Theogony*, on the whole, exhibits more decided traces of genius than the more domestic poem of the Works and Days, which seems generally to have obtained the preference. It is the best and most accurate account, or catalogue, at least, of the deities of Greece. In general it is a mere enumeration of names, and deduction of mythological genealogies; but the Battle of the Titans and the Gods is one of the most sublime passages in classical poetry, conceived with great boldness, and executed with a power and force which show a masterly though rugged genius. It has been imitated by Milton, in his Battle of the Angels, and certainly not exceeded. If it is not the work of Hesiod, it belongs to some superior poet, whose name has not reached us. But, though raised far above the common level of his style, it bears evident marks of his hand. Heyne, Wolf, and Herman, suppose the present copies of the Theogony to be much corrupted by the introduction into the text of various readings from different editions.

Shield of Hercules.

The Shield of Hercules, though disconnected, and entirely devoid of arrangement or plan, contains passages of more elegance and grace than any of the undoubted works of the Ascræan. It is probably a compilation, in which some fragments of Hesiod's poems, transmitted through the means of the rhapsodists, have been connected by more modern additions. The description of the shield, which occupies only

a part of the work, is an evident imitation of the shield of Achilles in Homer. Some have contended that the reverse of this opinion is the fact, and that Hesiod, and not Homer, is the original. Independently, however, of the external proof, it will appear from an examination of the two pieces, that the charge of imitation is more tenable against the author of the Shield of Hercules; since he has embellished those parts which in the Iliad are simple with a profusion of ornament; and it will always be found that a copy deviates from its original, not in becoming more simple, but in the addition of graces of which he to whom the first conception belongs did not feel the necessity.

The fame of Hesiod has, in a great degree, been reflected from that of Homer. Since they were named together by Herodotus, their names have been, for more than 2,000 years, frequently united. The ancients seem to have thought highly of the ethics and the precepts of Hesiod. Xenophon represents the Works and Days as quoted by Socrates. Cicero speaks of that poem as though it was customary for youth to commit it to memory. Quinctilian says of him, "Raro assergit Hesiodus magnaque pars ejus in nominibus est occupata tamen utiles circa præcepta sententiæ lenitasque verborum, et compositionis probabilis: daturque ei palma in illo medio genere dicendi."[1] The Battle of the Titans certainly rises above the terms of this eulogium.

Editions of Hesiod.

The chief editions of Hesiod are, the Works and Days, together with eighteen orations of Isocrates and the Idyls of Theocritus, published at Milan, in folio, in 1493; the Theogony, the Shield of Hercules, and the Georgics, in a collection of Greek Poems, in folio, by Aldus, at Venice, in 1495. The edition of the works of Hesiod, by Trincavellus, with Scholia, at Venice, in 1537, in quarto; the edition of Heinsius, in quarto, with Scholia, in 1603, which was long a work of great celebrity, and is in some degree the basis of subsequent editions; the edition of Grævius, printed at Amsterdam, in 8vo, in 1667, with commentaries and notes; that of Le Clerk, in 1701, at Amsterdam, in 8vo, containing the notes of Scaliger, the commentaries of Grævius, and annotations by the editor; which last have been the subject of much severe animadversion, especially from Heyne; Robinson's splendid edition, published at Oxford, in 1737, with the commentaries of Grævius, and notes of the editor and others, which contain the contest of Homer and Hesiod; that of Loesner, at Leipsic, in 1779, in 8vo, which is a republication of Robinson's, with improvements; and an edition of the Theogonia, by the celebrated Wolf, at Halle, in Saxony, in 1783. Beside these editions, the works of Hesiod are comprised in the collection of Greek poets, by H. Stephens, in 1566; and in that of the Minor Greek poets, published at Cambridge, by Winterton, in 1635; from which last text

[1] Hesiod rarely rises above those merits which consist in the enumeration of names, and in the expression of useful precepts and sentiments with felicity of language and a level style; to whom is given the palm in that modest kind of composition.

they have been frequently reprinted. The best copy of these reprints is that published at London, 1739. Professor Gaisford has supplied us, however, with a most respectable modern edition of the Poetæ Græci Minores, including the works of Hesiod, printed at the Clarendon press in 1815.

English translations.

Hesiod has been translated into English by Chapman, Cooke, and Elton. The first of these has infused into his work much of the fire and spirit which are everywhere prevalent in his version of Homer. But he is exceedingly diffuse, and regardless of the text of his original. It is now extremely scarce. Cooke's translation is generally correct, but dull and spiritless. The maxims of Hesiod, which now appear trite and commonplace, seem almost ludicrous in his version. He was one of the heroes of the Dunciad. Mr. Elton's translation is by far the best now in use. It is more faithful than Chapman's, and more poetical than Cooke's. In it the Battle of the Titans is excellently rendered. But though Hesiod will always be interesting to the lover of antiquity, as exhibiting a vivid picture of simple manners, and will be admired by the lover of poetry for a few passages of rugged sublimity, he possesses none of those charms of story or of character which can render a translation of his works, however executed, popular among the unlearned.

THE

TRAGIC POETS OF GREECE;

WITH

A View of the Greek Tragedy.

BY

SIR THOMAS NOON TALFOURD, D.C.L.,

ONE OF THE JUSTICES OF HER MAJESTY'S COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

GREEK TRAGIC POETS.

ÆSCHYLUS, WHO FLOURISHED ABOUT B.C. 500.
SOPHOCLES - - - - - - - - - B.C. 480.
EURIPIDES - - - - - - - - - B.C. 460.

THE TRAGIC POETS OF GREECE;

WITH

A VIEW OF THE GREEK TRAGEDY.

THE tragic poetry of Greece, as we find it in the surviving plays of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, forms a class of imaginative works, entirely distinct from every other of ancient times. If, indeed, we reject the claim of the French tragedians to be its faithful disciples, it will stand for all time alone. In conjunction, therefore, with our biographical detail of the lives of its great masters, we shall endeavour to trace this mighty phenomenon in the world of genius in its origin, its progress, and its perfection.

The elements of the dramatic art are universal as the human mind. In the lowest stages of civilization, we discover rude and barbarous attempts to arrive at the pleasure which it is calculated to impart. In China, and even in the islands of the South Sea, the inhabitants, secluded from the influence of European examples, participate in amusements resembling, in species, those of the theatre. We observe children, in their earliest pastimes, becoming the imitators of their elders and superiors; not only indulging in the mimicry of objects immediately before them, but embodying fancied similitudes of things, of which they can only have partial knowledge—"a wedding, or a festival; a mourning, or a funeral;" and thus, eagerly going out of themselves towards objects which have acquired a hold on the imagination and the heart, they exhibit man as, in the theatrical sense, an *acting*, before he arrives at the dignity of a *thinking*, being. It can be no just occasion of surprise, then, that in Greece, where poetry had, by Homer, found its maturity in its youth, the Drama should have obtained a speedy triumph, and have flourished under favourable auspices.

Origin of the Greek tragedy.

Although it is usual to trace the Greek tragedy to ceremonies in honour of Bacchus, its first hints and beginnings may probably be referred to a more poetical source. The rhapsodists, the original poets, historians, philosophers, and religious instructors of Greece, were also, in reality, its earliest actors. They accompanied their recitations, doubtless, with such gestures, and delivered them with such intonations, as they thought would most powerfully assist them in bringing the scenes which they described before the minds of their

hearers. There is, indeed, in the texture of the epic poem, an essential difference from that of the tragedy; because, in the former, events are related by a person, who, whether they are joyous or terrible, professes no immediate interest in them, but contemplates them as irrevocable and past, and therefore regards them with a degree of composure; while, in the latter, we have the actual contest, as a thing present—the struggle of human powers and passions, or their vain resistance to a destiny above them. But this real distinction, which now so completely separates the two species of composition, must almost disappear in the impassioned declamation of a rhapsodist, who would seem actually to see the images of his muse in solemn vision; and, in reciting his own poetry, renew the inspiration by which it was originally prompted. Nothing could more readily suggest the idea of a drama, not as a rude game, but a high poetical work, than those noble effusions. Homer, no doubt, in his journeyings as a sacred bard, performed the functions of an actor; and it is remarkable that two of the greatest poets whom human nature has produced, the author of the Iliad and Shakspeare, together with Æschylus and Sophocles, should have exercised an art which is now frequently and unjustly stigmatized as degrading.

Ceremonies in honour of Bacchus.

Still it must be admitted, that the peculiar ceremonials practised in honour of Bacchus were the immediate means of developing the materials of the tragic art, and giving to it a distinctiveness which it did not before possess—"a local habitation and a name." We are told that it was customary at the feasts of Bacchus to sacrifice a he-goat, as that animal was supposed to be peculiarly obnoxious to the god, by reason of the injuries the vine sustains from its bite. On those occasions, religious hymns were chanted in honour of the festive deity, and rustic poets and reciters contended for the prize of victory. At first, the compositions produced on these occasions were simply lyrical. Soon, however, to relieve the singer, and vary the gratification of the audience, interlocutors were introduced, who filled up the pauses of the song with short narratives of some heroic event; originally, perhaps, having some relation to the god of wine, or his votaries, but soon assuming a more diversified character. Thespis and Phrynicus added a little to this beginning, by making one entire story occupy, in continuation, all the pauses of the song. In consequence of this improvement, the odes became, in some instances, subordinate to the narration, and seemed to interrupt it at the intervals. Still, if we are to believe the majority of antiquarian critics, *dialogue* was unknown; on which supposition, we must give to Æschylus the praise of having absolutely invented tragedy. It seems, however, most probable, that some rude forms of dialogue preceded these mighty efforts, by which the drama became, in its kind, almost perfect. Certain it is, that before his time, Greece had no regular theatre. The faces of the performers were stained with the lees of wine, and they exhibited themselves in the cart of Thespis as on a mountebank-stage. To Æschylus,

therefore, belongs the unquestionable praise, not only of having breathed into the dramatic art its life, spirit, and undying energy, but of having invested it with all its external pomp, decoration, and grandeur. It sprung up, like a vision of enchantment, at the magic touch of his genius. Before, however, we particularly examine this marvellous creation, it will be proper to state the facts which have descended to us respecting the personal history of its author.

ÆSCHYLUS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B.C. 500.

Æschylus.

The birth of ÆSCHYLUS took place, according to the old Scholiast, in the sixty-ninth Olympiad; but it seems to be the better opinion that this event occurred in the sixty-third, *i. e.* about B. C. 528. He was a native of the village of Eleusis, and descended from an ancient family there, who professed to trace their origin to the first inhabitants of the region. His father, whose name was Euphorion, seems to have been happy in his children. All his three sons distinguished themselves most honourably in the great battles between the Greeks and Persians for the liberties of their country; and one, in addition to his military exploits, has contributed works to the glory of his age, and the delight of the world, which no lapse of time or change can destroy.

It is fabled of Æschylus, that, when asleep in a vineyard, in his early youth, Bacchus appeared to him in a dream, and commanded him to write tragedies. Unfortunately, we have no authentic record, or even probable conjecture, of the circumstances which directed his mind to its great office. His first representations, we are told, were exhibited before his countrymen when he had scarcely attained his twenty-fifth year. He seems to have at once conceived and executed the plan of a theatre, to have given to the dialogue its bounds, and to the chorus its office; to have invented the mask and the buskin, and to have planned the mechanism of the stage, and embellished it with the most appropriate and magnificent scenery. By what gradations, and with what aids, all this was effected, we are unfortunately ignorant. We shall have occasion to examine the work itself in its noble proportions hereafter.

Constant as the exertions of Æschylus were to render the theatre worthy of Athens, he did not rest contented with adorning and delighting Greece. He showed himself possessed of the highest spirit and courage to defend it when in danger. When Datis and Artaphernes, the generals of Darius, invaded it, he hastened, with his two brothers, Cynægirus and Amynias, to join the sacred band of heroes who fought and conquered at Marathon. The most honourable mention was made of them all for their eminent and peculiar prowess. So highly, indeed, did our poet signalize himself on that great occasion, that in the picture representing the battle, where Miltiades, for his sole

reward, was represented animating and leading the troops, the portrait of Æschylus was impressed. Shortly after, his brother Cynægirus was appointed one of four naval commanders against a Persian armament, and assisted in dispersing the fleet, manned with thirty thousand men, with only a thousand Greeks; but he fell in the heat of the action.

We find the two surviving brothers once more distinguishing themselves against the common foe, in the great naval engagement at Salamis. Amynias was the first to attack a Persian ship, which he shattered in pieces, and killed the commander, for which exploit extraordinary honours were decreed him. In the course of the action, this gallant soldier, having too eagerly seized one of the hostile vessels, had his arm severed by a sabre, and was in imminent danger of his life, when Æschylus preserved him from further harm. In the following year, the poet added another wreath to his laurels as a hero on the field of Platæa, where Mardonius was defeated and slain, and Greece finally delivered from danger of Persian mastery.

His works. In the mean time, the intrepid and fiery Æschylus pursued with indefatigable vigour his high poetical career. He wrote sixty-six dramas, in thirteen of which he obtained the victory over all his rivals. He is said also to have been the author of several satiric pieces, no vestige of which has reached us. Notwithstanding his varied and eminent deserts, he did not spend the evening of his days tranquilly among his countrymen, whom he had saved by his valour, and exalted by his genius. Ingratitude was the vice of Athens: to be distinguished there was to be undone. It seemed as though the minds of its polished citizens were so entirely republican that they could not endure the presence even of superior talent or virtue. The cause, however, of the banishment or secession of Æschylus, is variously related. It has been attributed, probably with great injustice, to his own envy or disappointed ambition. By some, he is said to have taken offence at the prize having been adjudged to Sophocles, when very young, in opposition to his elder claims; by others, to have been disgusted at the preference shown to Simonides, in an elegy written on the battle of Marathon. But, in opposition to the first allegation, it must be observed, that Sophocles could never have been very young when Æschylus was in the decline of his age; besides, the last public exhibition of the latter was that of his great trilogy, which so fortunately remains to us, consisting of the Agamemnon, the Choëphoræ, and the Furies, which obtained the prize. And the second hypothesis is, on every ground, improbable; since we never find, on any other occasion, that our poet attempted the elegiac, nor is it likely that a contest to celebrate a particular battle should take place thirty years after the event. Suidas attributes his departure from his country to an accident which took place during the representation of one of his tragedies, when the seats and part of the theatre fell down, to the great terror and injury of the spectators. Others, again, allege that the appearance

of the Furies, fifty in number, in his tragedy of that name, was so terrific as to frighten many women who were pregnant, and caused them to miscarry. This last story is also, in all probability, fabulous. It is not likely that the same piece should receive the prize, and occasion the banishment of its author; and it was by no means usual for females to attend the representations of the theatre. Certain, however, it is, that on some ground, probably the boldness with which the operations of Olympus were presented in his works, Æschylus was publicly accused of blasphemy. On this charge, under which the greatest and best of men have suffered, the poet was condemned to die; when Amynias, his brother, who pleaded his cause, exhibited the arm which had been deprived of its hand at Salamis, and thus procured a remission of the sentence. Struck, however, by the ingratitude of his countrymen, the veteran poet left Athens, and found, at the court of Hiero, king of Syracuse, a worthy asylum. That prince, the great patron of philosophy and of genius at that period, honourably received and cherished him. As his protector was then engaged in laying the foundation of a city called Ætna, he celebrated the event in a tragedy of that name, in which he foretold its future greatness. He lived for several years at Gela, in Sicily, in dignified repose. The manner of his death, as commonly related, is singular. It is said that an eagle, mistaking his bald head for a stone, let fall a tortoise upon it, which killed him. As, however, it is added that this event occurred in fulfilment of an oracle, which had pronounced that he should die by a weapon from heaven, the story wears the aspect of fable. His death occurred, according to Stanley, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. The Sicilians bestowed a magnificent funeral on his remains, which were interred on the banks of the Gela, near his residence. Tragedies are said to have accompanied the funeral solemnities, and poets to have contended for the prize at his tomb; in adaptation of the idea by which games of a more athletic cast were celebrated over the ashes of military heroes.

Æschylus first gave tragedy its true character.

Æschylus at once produced and perfected, or at least gave its complete form, to the Grecian tragedy. No sooner did he exhibit this high species of composition to the Athenians, than they hailed it with enthusiastic delight, and became, as in an instant, a dramatic people. This will appear surprising only to those who regard the tragic art as the mere power of exciting tears. They may well wonder "that all the world should be in love with" grief. The great difficulty which many critics have found in the pleasure experienced by men from exhibitions of pain and sorrow, has arisen, in a great degree, from a low conception of the tragic art. The true poet of tragedy does not appeal to the mere sensibilities of men, or strive to agonize, to lacerate, and torture the affections. Grief is the mere background of his magnificent pictures, and tends by its deep shadowings to heighten the effect of their delicate proportions, and set off their heroic grandeur. We are not pleasingly affected, because our fellow-creatures are exhibited to our

view in a state of suffering; but because, in that state, they display those noble powers of action, or of endurance, which raise our nature in its own esteem, and in the sight of Heaven. We exult that we belong to a species capable of such greatness of soul, and feel, for the season at least, a congenial emotion with the mighty beings before us. It is in the exhibition of mental energies, of high passions, and high actions, that the triumph of the poet consists. The state of affliction is only incidental; it is only necessary to the tragic, because in that condition alone can the resources of the heart be developed in all their fulness. It is in the struggle between the spiritual and material part of our nature that we take an interest so deep; this, however remote the scene, comes home to ourselves. We, too, must suffer and die; and with these inevitable conditions perpetually before us, we rejoice to see others nobly suffering, and triumphantly dying; expressing, in their feelings and their deeds, that there is a principle within us over which agony and death have no power, and which shall live, in its full perfection, after these its earthly foes shall have vanished away. By the struggle and conflict alone are we delighted: it is the cause of humanity, and therefore our own that we admire; and it is not only the cause of humanity, but that cause as wrestled for by the highest members of our race; not always indeed the most virtuous, but those who are richest in energy, passion, feeling, intellect; who are far removed from common life even in their aberrations, and who show, in their errors and excesses, that man is a mighty being, and the soul a thing of high capabilities and glorious destiny. When the pathos would become oppressive, from the course of the incident, the true poet softens it by images of gentleness and love, or sprinkles over the whole rich and beautiful fancies which give a tenderness to sorrow. Tragedy ends at the very point where some have appeared to imagine that it begun; the time when its heroes sink overwhelmed by their distresses, and have nothing left but ingloriously to suffer. The tragic poetry of the Greeks was in direct opposition to this pitiable state; at least, in the works of Æschylus and Sophocles. Its persons were rendered as high and dignified as possible in their external circumstances and relations. Sometimes they were deities themselves, or their immediate descendants. Almost all of them were united by ties of birth to the gods. They were kings, priests, and heroes, and sometimes combined in themselves the qualities and the functions of all. They belonged to those illustrious lines of the mighty, which the Greeks were accustomed to revere as connecting their race with the skies; their sufferings rarely proceed from instruments merely mortal; the web in which they are entangled is not woven of earth, nor of an earthly die; all the horrors shed around them have a sacred and awe-breathing character; they wear "charmed lives." Some ancient crime, or terrible curse, pursues them, perhaps, for several generations, and every attempt to extricate them from it only serves to show the feebleness of man in contest with the dark

horrors of fate and destiny. They seem at a vast distance from ordinary mortals; and we view them through a medium which gives to all their darings and sufferings an air of unearthly grandeur. Thus our sympathy with them is never rendered oppressive; it is broken by the semblance of antiquity, and by feelings of mysterious reverence; and if the force of imagination alone excites these emotions in us, in this age of scepticism and reason, what ideas of august and superhuman greatness must have been called up in the minds of the spectators of the represented tragedy, who brought with them the emotions of a religious faith which was closely interwoven with the pulses of existence!

Religion interwoven with these productions.

We have already seen, in estimating the poetry of Homer, how the religion of the Greeks introduced, into their efforts of imagination, a close analogy with the plastic arts, which became complete in the works of their tragedians. Fortunately for them, it was in the Drama that this style arrived at its utmost distinctiveness and perfection: for it was singularly adapted for the theatre, far more so than the contemplative or picturesque style of the moderns. The late Mr. Charles Lamb,[1] in one of his most exquisite criticisms, has proved, that Shakspeare cannot be acted; that is to say, those excellencies for which his genuine idolaters admire and love him, cannot be bodied forth to the eye in palpable forms. His beauties lie too deep; they are too delicate, internal, or aërial; they refer too much to the most inward movements of the soul; or branch out into glorious pictures of natural freshness and joy, for any human grace of form, speech, or action, to express them in a theatre. They are to be mused and dreamed over, not declaimed. On the stage he is admired partly from national pride, and partly for excellencies which are shared, if not equalled, by inferior dramatists. But it was otherwise with the ancient masters. Their triumphs over the mind bore an immediate resemblance to those of the statuary and the sculptor. They excelled, for the most part, in conveying an idea of the most perfect grace, harmony, and proportion of form. The external world, in all its loveliness and glory, was the material on which they chiefly delighted to employ their transcendant skill. Their beauties, therefore, were, in a great degree, capable of being bodied forth to the eye. Their representations, like exquisite statues, required no perspective; and, therefore, they were not incapable of perfect exhibition on the stage. A Hamlet, or a Lear, cannot be shown to the audience as Shakspeare conceived them; but by a happy combination of nature and art, there is no impossibility in the exhibition of a Helen or an Apollo. Spectators cannot look into the mind of Othello, and survey it in the depth of its sorrows or its joys, its tumults of hate or relapses into love; but they could be enabled to gaze on Prometheus chained to the rock, with the contest of earthly elements about him. Thus the beauties of the Grecian dramatists,

Comparison with Shakspeare.

[1] Essay on the Tragedies of Shakspeare, as adapted to representation at the Theatre.

which were most peculiar to themselves, were capable, by the combination of the sister arts, of representation to a public audience.

The Greek theatres.

As the tragedies of the Greeks were thus adapted to scenic exhibition, their authors enjoyed every assistance in thus displaying them, which the most liberal expenditure and the finest exertions of talent could procure. Their works were represented on stages capable of exhibiting temples and palaces almost in their real proportions. The decorations did not consist of tinsel ornaments, which could only glitter by artificial light, but of the genuine productions of the finest arts. The events they celebrated were shown not under a contracted roof, but beneath the cope of an unclouded sky, with which the scene was formed to harmonize. Neither expense nor labour was spared to make the representation perfect in its minutest circumstances and attendant ceremonials. The mask and the buskin, though unsuited to our dramatic style, were the elegant appendages of the art which delighted Athens. As the chief object to be attained was an ideal beauty and grandeur, this could be accomplished only by the aid of painting and of sculpture. The Greeks never desired to lose the beautiful in the passionate, nor consented to sacrifice loveliness to expression; and, therefore, they admitted only such a degree of agitation as consisted with the preservation of dignity and grace. Their tragedies displayed a series of pictures, or rather groups, exemplifying beauty in action or repose; and thus was a certain sweetness diffused over the whole, softening down and mellowing the more violent emotions which the catastrophe might otherwise excite. All was in perfect harmony and keeping; the "still sad music of humanity, not harsh nor grating," breathed from the picture. Of the dance and solemn music which accompanied the choral songs we are now unable to form any conception; but there can be no doubt that they partook of the general feeling, and served to render the whole harmonious. When we remember these circumstances—when we consider that the poets, whose tragedies were exhibited, strove in various ways to render the exhibition perfect, in order to obtain the prize from their competitors—when we call to mind the theatrical spirit of the Athenians, which was not daily gratified, but only received the object of its desire at long intervals and on high occasions—and when we reflect on the character of the spectators themselves, uniting the keenest sense of excellence with the nicest perception of defect, we may form some estimate of the intense expectation which preceded, and the complete harmony which attended, a representation of the works of the great tragedians at Athens.

Theatrical taste and spirit.

These representations, unquestionably, assisted in finishing the character of those by whom they were witnessed. The lowest of the Athenian populace found at the theatre a substitute for those formal lessons of wisdom delivered in the schools of the philosophers which they were precluded from attending. Hence was drawn that nice sense and discrimination of the purity of their language for which they were

celebrated. To this class of men, indeed, it is, that a well-regulated stage is of the highest importance. It is to them in the place of literature, as by no other means could their deficiency in the finer parts of knowledge be so well supplied. The moral advantage of history, painting, sculpture, and poetry, is, that they give men an interest in things out of and beyond themselves, which pertain not to every-day life, nor to "the ignorant present time." They create in us a sense of ideal beauty, and delightfully lead us from the gross pursuit of individual interest, to a high communion with that general humanity of which we are too ready to forget that we are partakers. They break that web which the spirit of commerce, the pursuit of wealth, and the necessities of our condition teach us to weave around ourselves, to the exclusion of the rest of our species, and in which we should otherwise be imprisoned, like the silkworm, in its web, to toil and to die. They connect us with the past ages and generations of the world, and give us intimations of the destiny reserved for us in the richness of the future. Now, in some degree, the representations of tragedy confer similar benefits on the unlearned people. From these they obtain hints of a greatness above common nature, "glimpses which may make them less forlorn." Some perception of the beautiful and the grand steals imperceptibly over them; they are filled with ideas of high passions and heroic deeds, and catch a spark of generous enthusiasm from the characters personified in their view. Thus are they elevated and softened into men. This was the case, in a peculiar degree, at Athens. As this was the only Grecian city which excelled in the exhibitions of the theatre, its lowest citizens exceeded the chiefs of the states around it in the great arts of honourably living and virtuously enjoying. They united the Spartan zeal for freedom and the glory of their country with a humanity, elegance, and sense of refined pleasure, which the barbarous citizens of Lacedæmon thought incompatible with the sterner virtues.

The Chorus.

Among the most remarkable differences between the Greek tragedies and those of modern times must be classed the *Chorus*. The original cause of the introduction of this peculiar feature has already been shown, in the sketch of the mode by which the tragic art was developed in its earliest beginnings. It constituted originally the whole performance, but gradually decreased in importance as the drama proceeded. We may even observe, that this decline in its functions did not stop with the efforts of the first of those great tragedians whose works have reached us. In Æschylus, the lyrical pieces occupy a far greater proportion of space, compared with the dialogue, than in Sophocles; and, in Euripides, they are often altogether detached from the plot, or linked to it only by very slender ties, so that they seem rather like distinct pieces chanted between the acts to give rest to the performers, than necessary parts of the tragedy. This last gradation, however, was in the decline of the art. But it must be confessed, that the Chorus was always regarded by the ancient

critics as an essential portion of the Grecian plays. To us it seems, in many instances, to render the action improbable, or to retard its progress. But we must remember that a dramatic representation was regarded in a very different light by the Athenians, from that in which it is viewed at the present time. With them it was a religious solemnity; with us it is an intellectual recreation. At Athens it occurred but rarely, while we have nightly opportunities of witnessing it. We require, therefore, to heighten our pleasure, or even to prevent our uneasiness more pungent stimuli. To make a representation popular with us, it must contain much of action and little of repose. But it was natural that, in this respect, the tastes of an Athenian audience should be more simple and pure. They looked to the lyrical intermixtures for moral and poetical satisfaction; and would have thought their absence ill-atoned for by more of variety, intrigue, bustle, situation, or incident. They required a strict conformity, not to ordinary probabilities, but to the ideal in beauty and grandeur. They would tolerate no defect in the internal harmony of the ode; but if this was unbroken, they did not think it necessary to their pleasure, that the question should be solved, whether it was likely that the persons should thus openly express their emotions. Notwithstanding the exertions of critics, ancient and modern, the precise offices of the Chorus seem still unsettled. Horace's rule that it should compose differences, moderate the passions of the turbulent, and support the cause of virtue and truth, at least admits of many striking exceptions. So far from acting a mediatorial or reconciling part, the choral band are sometimes the main actors of the tragedy. This is the case in the Supplicants of Æschylus, the piece of the same name in Euripides, and in the Furies of the former tragedian. In many other instances, also, they take a decided part in the action; as in the Choëphoræ, where they excite Orestes to the murder of his mother; a piece of revenge which is always represented in the tragedies founded on it, as at least of a doubtful character. Perhaps the best solution of all the difficulties is, that this part of tragedy, being considered as requisite in order to its completion, the poet was frequently compelled, by his subject, to place the Chorus in characters and situations which appear absurd to us, but which the Athenians wisely chose to tolerate, rather than be deprived of the noble poetry to which it gave occasion.

The Unities. The Greek tragedians have often been extolled for a strict observance of the unities of action, time, and place; and the moderns have been censured for not having studiously followed their example. From this charge the latter have been most ably, and, we think, successfully vindicated, by W. A. Schlegel, in his Lectures on Dramatic Literature. Properly understood, indeed, the first unity is admitted to be of high importance. It seems essential that there should be a continuity of feeling or interest—a pervading emotion, an object, and a design—which, on its development, should leave on the mind a sense of completeness. This appears to be all which can even be explained

with intelligibility respecting the unity of action. Those of time and place, in the sense in which they are recommended by their French advocates, were never scrupulously observed by the Greek tragic poets. In the Agamemnon of Æschylus, the watchman appointed by Clytemnestra sees the signals which announce, by a long series of lights, the fall of Troy; and, shortly after, the hero enters, having, since the commencement of the play, performed the voyage from the Troad to Argos. In the Supplicants of Euripides, an entire expedition is arranged, leaves Athens for Thebes, and obtains a victory after a hardly-contested battle, during a short choral ode, at the close of which a messenger arrives with a circumstantial account of the events of the field, which occupies in his relation three times the space allotted to the whole series of occurrences. In the Trachiniæ of Sophocles, the voyage from Thessaly to Eubœa is three times performed during the action. That the events of the play do not oftener occupy a longer time, is probably owing to the stage having never been left empty by a division into acts, but being constantly occupied, during the pauses of the business, by the Chorus. Nor is it true that no change of scene ever occurred during the representations of the theatre at Athens. In the Ajax of Sophocles, a removal of the place of action necessarily occurs; and in the Eumenides of Æschylus, it is actually transferred from Delphi to Athens. That this variety also did not more frequently occur, may be traced rather to necessity than system. The decorations of the Athenian stage were exceedingly massive and costly, and could not be removed, during the course of a play, without great delay and confusion. But, for purposes of convenience and effect, the back scene was frequently so constructed that it could be opened, and the interior of the palace, or temple, which it represented, could be rendered visible to the spectators. Hence it may be inferred, that other varieties would have been admitted, had they been regarded as possible. It cannot be matter of surprise, that those critics who have so highly extolled the Greek tragedians for these trifles, which they really did not observe, should have overlooked those high and peculiar beauties which have rendered them immortal.

Supposed imperfections.

Æschylus, though admitted by all to have been almost the inventor of tragedy, was formerly regarded by the critics as a rude and uncultivated genius, who left Sophocles, and even Euripides, to bring his work to perfection. He has been accused of harshness, obscurity, and bombast; of the utter want of plan in the contrivance of his plots, and of consistency in the development of his characters. The true venerator of tragedy, however, will probably find, on perusing him with a kindred spirit and feeling, that the greatest part of these accusations is false, and the rest easily forgiven. His mind seems, indeed, to have had a portion of the sun's meridian glow diffused over it. It was dark only "with excessive bright." Mighty imaginations crowded so fast on him, that, in the heat of his inspiration, he did not stop accurately to define, or clearly to develop them. When, however, he

grasps the vastest subjects, he handles them with the ease of a master. If he is encumbered in his stupendous course, it is by the narrowness of the material sphere in which he is compelled to move. Of the internal mechanism of a play he knew but little; but, in the very fragments of his compositions a power almost above this world—a spirit, a freeness, and a native grace—are everywhere conspicuous. He dared the highest things, and almost always succeeded. Like his own Prometheus, he seems to have stolen fire from heaven to inspire and vivify his characters. "Thoughts that breathe, and words that burn," are peculiarly his own. The fiery zeal of a Greek, which he had displayed so nobly in the field, never seems, in all his compositions, to forsake him. However defective he may have been in the *form*, he had the most perfect *spirit* of tragedy. He felt most strongly that it was a high, a serious, and a noble thing. He would instantly have rejected the idea of searching among the vulgar sufferings of common life for its materials. He "raised his mortals to the skies," or drew down the gods themselves to the earth, to mingle in the scene. He delights to throw his action back into the remotest obscurities of distance, among the order of the immortals. However mighty his theme, he always brings to it a kindred emotion. His language, from its elevation, its masculine boldness, and the sublimity of its metaphors, though often harsh and obscure, seems to be the language of the gods. But he never loses his stateliness in his passion: his terrors are in keeping, and always breathe of that unearthly grandeur and awe which blend in the true spirit of tragic poetry.

The Prometheus Chained.

Of the sixty-six dramas which Æschylus is said to have composed, only seven have reached us. Of these none bears more strikingly the mark of his bold and fiery genius than the "*Prometheus Chained*," which formed the middle link of a trilogy, in which it was preceded by a tragedy on the subject of the transmission of the sacred fire to mortals by the offending power, and followed by another exhibiting his liberation from his bondage by the efforts of Hercules. The idea, the scenery, the persons, are all alike majestic in this mighty relic of our author. The hero is a god of the oldest race, one who had assisted in subduing the Titans, and in placing Jupiter on his throne; and who, for beneficently communicating the arts and embellishments of life to man, is condemned by the ungrateful monarch of Olympus, to dreadful, and, perhaps, endless suffering. It is a grand epitome of the oppression of right by might; of the subjection of the material frame of the wise and virtuous, in all times, to the iron rule of power; and of the proud, resolute, and unshaken resistance of the free-born spirit in the midst of the severest pangs. It exhibits the stern law of necessity, or of outward strength, bending down the body; and the inward triumph of the soul, calm, self-determined, and unawed. Nothing can be grander than the scenery in which the poet has made his hero suffer. We are to imagine a stupendous and desolate rock at the extremity of earth's remotest wilds, frowning over the ocean; and Vulcan, with Strength

and Force, the two gigantic fiends in whose figures brute power seems personified, and Despotism is displayed in its native relentlessness and fury, fixing the sublime form of Prometheus by massive chains to the promontory. In vain do his conductors taunt, and Vulcan pity him; neither abuse nor compassion tempt him to utter a word. It is only when left alone that he condescends to give vent to his sorrows. The gentle nymphs of the ocean relieve the gloom with their tender compassionings, and draw from the immortal sufferer the tale of his beneficence and his wrongs. Oceanus, from the inmost caverns of the sea, rises to admonish him to submit to his oppressor, and is dismissed with a noble disdain. Then the unhappy and persecuted Io makes her appearance, whose fates, in the distance of time, are closely interwoven with those of Prometheus, who reveals to her in part her future destiny. At last Mercury descends, and commands him to disclose the secret by which Jupiter may escape the danger which threatens his throne; he sternly and triumphantly refuses; the tempest rages, the lightnings flash upon the rock; the sands are torn up by whirlwinds; the seas are dashed against the sky, and all the artillery of heaven is levelled against his bosom; while he proudly defies the vengeance of his tyrant, and sinks into the earth to the lower regions, calling on all the powers of justice to witness his wrongs. It has been objected, that in all this there is no action; but the piece must be viewed as a part of a whole, forming, in effect, one tragedy. It is but a fragment of a mighty design, but how grand and complete in itself is its picture!

The Seven Chiefs against Thebes.

In the "*Seven Chiefs against Thebes*," the warlike spirit of Æschylus blazes with amazing fury and brightness. He seems to have composed this tragedy with a characteristic pleasure. The glorious fields of danger and confusion in which he had borne so conspicuous a part seem actually present before him; and yet how delightfully is the whole softened and relieved by the tender lamentations of the Theban virgins, who, while they are clasping the images of the gods, people a scene of high plastic beauty! Great part of the play is occupied in the descriptions given by a soldier to Eteocles, of the seven chieftains who are destined to attack the gates, and of his replies, specifying the commanders whom he will depute to oppose them. Nothing can exceed the vividness of these descriptions. By a few masterly strokes the heroes, with their appropriate armour, are completely exhibited to our view, and distinctly and individually seen, admirably contrasted with the cooler and more temperate champions who are destined to oppose them. At last comes the noble burst of passion, when the messenger, having enumerated the six warriors, names Polynices, the brother of Eteocles, as the seventh, and the prince, who has ordered all till now with the utmost calmness and judgment, passionately calls for his armour, and rushes out with ungovernable impulse to the unnatural and fatal combat. So admirable is the conduct of the piece, that we can foretel with certainty the event of the battle. We see that

the city will be saved by the cool prowess of its defenders; and that the brothers, alike driven on by a father's curses, are hastening to destruction. Nothing is left to chance. The battle is not a mere arbitrary means of bringing about the catastrophe, but a necessary link in the chain of destiny, prepared for the fulfilment of the design of fate. The heroic resolution of Antigone to inter Polynices, which forms the subject of Sophocles' exquisite tragedy, closes this portion of the disastrous history of the house of Œdipus.

The Persians. The "*Persians*," considered as a drama, is exceedingly defective. The subject was essentially unfit for the stage, especially when the Athenians of the poet's day were the audience. Abstractedly considered, the overthrow of a great army, which only affects the prince in his public character, is not a fit subject of tragedy. No individual interest can be elicited from it. It belongs not to poetry, but to history; or, at most, can be made the subject only of the epic or the ode. But of all public events, those which are recent are peculiarly improper for theatrical exhibition. The imagination can find no suitable resting-place in the thorny maze of contemporary politics. The poet cannot venture to interweave such fictions with the truth as may ennoble and adorn it; he can exhibit events only in their actual course, and, therefore, can excite no curiosity in his audience. Besides, it was impossible that the Athenians could feel sympathy in the distresses of Xerxes. His sorrows were to be made the theme of their triumph; and this selfish feeling is precisely the reverse of that which genuine tragedy will excite. Still the piece possesses high poetical merit, as a song of national rejoicing. It must have been singularly gratifying to the pride of the Grecians to hear their praises sounded forth from the mouths of their vanquished foes. And surely no one could so justly be selected to celebrate the triumphs of his country as the poet who had assisted so gloriously to obtain them.

The Supplicants. The "*Supplicants*" is one of the least interesting pieces of Æschylus. It consists, in fact, of nothing but the arrival of Danaus and his daughters in Argos, in their flight from the sons of Ægyptus, who sought them in marriage; the protection afforded them by Pelasgus, the monarch of that city; and his refusal to resign them to their persecutors on the insolent demands of their messenger. Schlegel conjectures that it formed a connecting link between two other plays, in the first of which the flight of the heroines was celebrated, and, in the last, their forced union with their uncles, their bitter revenge on them, and their final doom. As it now stands, it affords a pleasing portrait of the hospitality and regard to justice which prevailed in Greece, during its rudest times.

The greatest work left to us of Æschylus is the complete trilogy, consisting of the three tragedies of the Agamemnon, the Choëphoræ, and the Eumenides, and forming one grand and connected development of a portion of the history of the devoted house of Atreus. It was, beyond doubt, one of his latest works, as its exhibition for the

prize immediately preceded his departure from Athens. Yet the fire of his youth appears here utterly undiminished and unsubdued. In greatness of conception and energy in the execution this work is without a parallel. The "*Agamemnon*" opens before the palace of the hero whose name it bears, where the watchman, whom Clytemnestra has appointed, is waiting with anxious and decaying hope for the blazing of the signal-fires which shall announce the fall of Troy. He sees the long-expected light which gives token of the joyful event. Thus the back-ground of the scene, which we seem to view afar in imaginary perspective, is exceedingly grand. There the final triumph of the Grecian arms, the sad catastrophe of the noblest of all heroic tales, is dimly seen: and when Agamemnon appears about to meet his own destiny, he comes irradiated for the sacrifice, with the glories of the mightiest of ancient wars. The songs of the Chorus, on receiving the glad tidings, are noble pieces of lyrical poetry; in the midst of exultation they breathe a religious awe, and serve to prepare us for the tragical events just on the verge of completion. After the herald has confirmed the tidings announced by the watchman, and expressed his fears for the safety of the Grecian princes, Agamemnon arrives with his spoils, accompanied by Cassandra, the prophetic and ill-fated daughter of Priam, who is seated on a triumphal car, attendant on the state of the victor. Clytemnestra advances to meet her husband, and addresses him in a long congratulatory harangue, which indicates how little affection she actually cherished for him. She entreats him to enter the palace, over the long train of costly tapestry which she has prepared to grace his entry. This, at first, he gracefully refuses, as an honour fit only for the gods; but at last consents, after having ordered that his warlike buskins should be taken off, lest he should insult the deities by presumption. The Chorus express a dark presentiment that some evil is at hand. Clytemnestra again appears, and invites Cassandra to enter the house, but she remains silent and motionless, nor seems to understand the entreaties with which she is addressed. The queen once more retires to the palace, and the captive princess, agitated with the fury of prophetic inspiration, bursts out into expressions of distraction and horror. At first she hints obscurely at the dreadful catastrophe preparing; but soon the vision becomes clearer: she sees, in shapes of fire, and expresses in terrible words, the horrible banquet whence the woes of the house of Atreus arose, and the impending fate of Agamemnon and herself; she feels her own death every instant approaching, and, conscious of the power of destiny, rejects all idea of flight or resistance as vain. At the close, she looks distractedly on the sun for the last time, and, frenzied on by ungovernable impulse, rushes into the house to die. From that house, the cries of Agamemnon, in the agonies and struggles of death, are now heard. Clytemnestra appears, reeking from her husband's slaughter, and triumphs in the deed. She is not, however, consistent in her guilt; at one time she casts the guilt from herself on the Furies, in vengeance

The Agamemnon.

The Agamemnon.

for the repast of Thyestes; and at another, declares the act a just retaliation for the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis. She seems to revel in blood, to be drunken with savage joy, and exultingly pictures to herself her devoted daughter meeting her murdered husband in the shades. Ægisthus unites with her in justifying and rejoicing in the deed; while the Chorus nobly unmask the royal criminals to their face, and defy their guilty power. With this passion of free-born defiance to tyrannic crime, the piece concludes; leaving on the mind a generous sentiment to repose on, after the awful events unfolded. There is nothing grander in the ancient tragedy than the scene in this play in which Cassandra speaks. The dignity of her own person, as representing the greatness of Troy, now in ashes; her sad condition; the divine inspiration within her; all conspire to render her an object of the highest tragic feeling. The circumstances of her silence are inexpressibly noble; and when she speaks, breathing out her soul in prophetic frenzy—blending together in one terrific vision the past guilt and woe of the house of Atreus, its impending horrors and her own fate, and closes the whole by rushing into the house to die with her conqueror—the soul is elevated to a dizzy pitch, and tragedy seems to have attained its highest possible tone. Clytemnestra does not appear a low or mean criminal. The true motive of her crime is kept carefully from the view, as though a mere selfish and human aim would have debased the whole. Yet, after all, how inferior is she to the mighty murderess of Shakspeare! She does not stalk on to a glorious aim, reckless merely of means, like Lady Macbeth, who sees glittering visions before her, and only forgets or overlooks the horrors of assassination in her grasping eagerness for the crown: "the golden round that fate and metaphysical aid do seem to have her crowned withal." It is impossible, after all, to avoid feeling that the Grecian fiend's revenge is a mere pretext to cover a more ignoble purpose; but that the avowed aim of Shakspeare's heroine is real as well as grand and heroic, and removes her further from disgust or scorn. The former is an object, not of contempt indeed, but of hatred; the latter belongs not to the feeling but the imagination, and overpowers all other sensations by those of wonder and of awe.

The Choëphoræ.

In the "*Choëphoræ*," the deed which forms the subject of the opening play is visited with a just, though unnatural, vengeance. This piece derives its name from the incident of the Chorus bringing offerings to Agamemnon's grave. The scene is laid before the palace, and exhibits the tomb of the murdered chief. Parts of the opening of the tragedy are lost, but enough remains to preserve the connexion entire. Orestes first appears with Pylades, invokes Mercury and the shade of his father, and places a lock of his hair on the sepulchre. Perceiving Electra and the Chorus approaching, the friends step aside to observe their proceedings. The choral ode explains the object of the mournful procession—that Clytemnestra, alarmed in the night by a terrible vision, had sent gifts to appease the shade of her

murdered lord, mourns the death of Agamemnon, and laments the necessity of obeying the guilty perpetrators of the deed. Electra, by the advice of the attendants, invokes Mercury, the leader of departed spirits, and the ghost of her father, to pity Orestes and herself, and send her brother to her aid. While she sheds the libations on the grave, the Chorus begin to sing a soothing strain to appease the dead, but break off into a rapturous exclamation, on beholding, in prophetic vision, the youthful hero rushing on to vengeance. Electra now discerns the hair, and surveys it with mingled wonder, fear, and hope. While her perplexity increases, Orestes appears, displays the embroidered tissue of her own work, and a joyful recognition takes place between the brother and the sister. Orestes relates that he has received the command of Apollo to put both the murderers to death; the Chorus and Electra join in animating him to the deed; the peculiar enormities attendant on the death of his father are recounted; the attendants see fate hovering over the heads of the guilty; Orestes and Electra join in invoking the shade of Agamemnon over his tomb; and the youth discloses his purpose of obtaining admittance by guile to the palace, and withdraws to consult with his friend on the immediate measures to be taken. The Chorus, in a strain of savage grandeur, sing of the ferocious passions of man, and of the dark exploits of women, alluding to terrible catastrophes of the older time, and declare that at last the righteous decrees of Almighty vengeance will be accomplished. Orestes and Pylades then appear, and desire to see Clytemnestra; pretend they bring news of the death of her son, and are conducted into the palace. The Chorus persuade the nurse, who laments over the death of Orestes, whom she had tended in childhood, to bring Ægisthus to hear the tidings alone, and she retires to find him. The Chorus utter solemn prayers to the gods for the success of the enterprise. Ægisthus enters, expresses his doubts of the truth of the welcome intelligence, and hastens into the palace to question the strangers. The awful moment, so long delayed, now approaches. The Chorus, in agitating suspense, have scarcely addressed a short prayer to heaven, when the cries of Ægisthus are heard; a servant announces his death; meets Clytemnestra, and darkly conveys the news, which she understands, and demands an axe for her defence. Orestes, reeking from the slaughter of her paramour, rushes upon her; in vain does she cry for mercy; in vain does she point to the bosom which had nurtured him; for while nature roused within him makes him waver, Pylades, who now, and now only, breaks silence, solemnly warns him of the oracle, and adjures him to fulfil the purpose of the gods; and he pursues his mother into the house to sacrifice her with her partner in crime. The Chorus sing an ode of triumph at the retribution. The palace now opens, and displays the dead bodies, near which Orestes stands and justifies the deed. Soon, however, his presence of mind forsakes him. He feels the terrors of madness coming over him; sees his mother's Furies approaching him; declares, in the

The Choëphoræ.

midst of horror, that he will hasten to the oracle of Apollo for purification and succour, and rushes from the stage. The Chorus conclude the piece with a mournful reflection on the series of crimes and sorrows which have desolated the house of Atreus. Though this play is inartificially conducted, an austere and awful spirit pervades it. Destiny is represented in a manner the most terribly grand; she "sits on the dark battlements and frowns."

The Eumenides.

In the "*Eumenides*" the consequences of this doubtful revenge are magnificently developed, and the whole series of tragic action conducted to a placid repose. The scene opens before the temple of Apollo at Delphi, where the Pythia appears, and pays her accustomed reverence to the celestials, previous to her assuming the prophetic seat. She enters the temple, but instantly returns in great consternation; declaring she has seen within a man, yet bloody, with a drawn sword in one hand, and a branch of olive in the other, in a suppliant posture, and around, on the consecrated seats, a great number of hideous figures, resembling women, stretched in slumbler. The great gates then open—Orestes is seen, protected by Apollo, and surrounded by the Furies still asleep; the bright deity promises never to forsake his votary, but warns him to fly to Athens, and there entreat the protection of Minerva, its tutelary goddess. Orestes retires to obey, and Apollo disappears. The ghost of Clytemnestra rises, calls on the Furies to awake, points to her bleeding wounds, and demands vengeance. In broken words, as amidst dreams, the ministers of retribution call to each other to seize the object of their pursuit; and then awake in wild confusion, and express their rage that their victim has escaped them. Apollo drives them from his temple, and in vain tries to dissuade them from still pursuing Orestes;—they rush off to follow him. The scene now changes to the temple of Minerva, at Athens. Orestes enters, embraces the statue of the goddess, and entreats her interference in his cause. Scarcely has he spoken, than the Chorus of Furies appear, and, in savage strains, demand his blood for that of his mother. He replies, that he has been purified at Delphi, and implores the protection of Minerva. The Furies now chant a solemn strain, by which they devote Orestes as their victim, and celebrate their high and ancient offices among mortals. Minerva appears; attends to both parties, and agrees to select judges before whom the great cause shall be decided. The Chorus sing the hollowness of modern laws, and the secret powers of conscience which they govern. The trial then opens before the Areopagi: Apollo pleads the cause of the suppliant; the judges throw their balls into an urn; for a moment an awful suspense prevails; but Minerva declares the number of votes equal, and, consequently, that the accused is acquitted. Orestes joyfully blesses Athens, and the Furies burst into exclamations of disappointed rage. At length, by her calm and mild wisdom, Minerva soothes their resentments, and charms away their hostilities, gives them a sanctuary in Attica, confers on them high honours, and

receives their thanks and blessings. She then calls on the Athenian train to attend the goddesses, with torches and purple vestments, to their sacred abodes, and, with this magnificent procession, the piece closes. Here, though the groundwork of the plot is among mortals, the trial is elevated into a contention of immortals. On the one hand, the elder powers of unbridled ferocity, who sting the guilty to madness, in the savage state, contend; and, on the other, the younger and brighter divinities of civilized life, of wisdom, poetry, and music, advance their claims; and the whole terminates in the most philosophical compromise: the feelings of indignant nature are consecrated by wisdom, and turned to benevolent purposes for the advantage of man; the catastrophe involves the most impressive compliment to Athens, as the seat of mercy, justice, knowledge, and right, to which the gods themselves would repair in order to compose their divisions. This is the piece for which the Athenians are said to have banished the poet as impious, and for which the French critics have delighted to load him with abuse, as the violator of their adopted and misapplied unities! The Eumenides.

SOPHOCLES.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B.C. 480.

Sophocles was born at Athens, about the fourth year of the seventieth Olympiad, that is, in the year B. C. 497; so that he was about thirty years younger than Æschylus. His father, named Sophitus, is said to have been a mechanic; who, however, enjoyed the esteem of Pericles, and had the discrimination and generosity to bestow an excellent education on his son. At a very early period of his life his great powers began to unfold themselves and to attract the notice of the first citizens of Athens. He was also exceedingly favoured by nature in the beauty of his person and a native elegance and grace; he made that proficiency in music which might be expected in one whose intellect was tuned to the harmonious; and in the bodily exercises held honourable in the Athenian youth, he was pre-eminent for vigour and skill. When the Greeks returned victorious from the great battle of Salamis, and the trophy was erected in honour of that event, the poet, then only sixteen years of age, led the chorus of noble youths who sung the Pæan around it, dancing before them, and accompanying their song on his lyre. The success of Æschylus, then at the summit of his reputation, stimulated him, before he had attained his twenty-fifth year, to the composition and representation of tragedies; and an opportunity was soon afforded him of carrying away the prize from his mighty master. Sophocles.

Cimon, believing that an oracle had commanded the Athenians to bring to their city the ashes of Theseus, and to pay honours to him, undertook to search for the relics of the hero. For this purpose he went to Scyros, where, according to tradition, Theseus had been slain

by Lycomedes, and with difficulty discovered the sepulchre. Hence he procured the bones of the warrior, and brought them in his galley, with great splendour and solemnity, to Athens. Among the rejoicings on this occasion, an exhibition of tragedies was appointed, at which both Æschylus and Sophocles contended for the victory. The applause of the theatre was divided; some of the spectators zealously supported the youthful candidate, and others as zealously maintained the supremacy of the veteran. This state of suspense continuing, Aphesion, the archon, instead of casting lots to determine who should be elected judges, appointed Cimon, and his nine associates in command, as arbiters; and having performed the usual solemnities in honour of the deity who presided over the festival, caused them to swear honourably and impartially to give their decision. By these, after a warm contention, the prize was awarded to Sophocles, then in the first vigour of manhood. It is affirmed by some, that it was in consequence of this event that Æschylus left Athens; but this opinion we have already stated our reasons for rejecting.

The subsequent career of Sophocles was worthy of this splendid beginning. Like his predecessor, he did not confine his genius to the arts of peace; he was associated in command with Pericles and Thucydides, and assisted in reducing the island of Samos to obedience. In his maturer age, he exercised the functions of a priest. His long life flowed in a golden round of arts, triumphs, virtues, and joys. He is said to have composed a hundred and twenty tragedies, to have gained the first prize four-and-twenty times; and also, on all other occasions, to have been ranked second in the list of competing poets. So excellent was his conduct, so majestic his wisdom, so exquisite his poetical capacities, so rare his skill in the finest arts, and so uninterrupted his prosperity, that the Greeks regarded him as the peculiar favourite of heaven. Hence the ancients have related several marvellous incidents concerning him. Plutarch, in his Life of Numa, informs us that it was a common tradition that Æsculapius sojourned with Sophocles during his lifetime, and that, after his death, some deity performed the rites of his burial. Apollonius of Tyana, in his oration before Domitian, relates that this bard had a genial power conferred on him to restrain the fury of the tempests when they would lay the fields of his country desolate. Cicero also gives a narration which tends to show the general belief of the communion of the poet with the skies; he states, that a large golden cup having been stolen from the temple of Hercules, that demigod appeared to Sophocles in a vision, and revealed to him the name of the culprit. At first he disregarded the dream, but, as it was several times repeated, he felt constrained to inform the Areopagus of the circumstance. By that council the person named was ordered to be arrested, and, on examination, confessed his guilt and restored the goblet. Hence, it is added, the temple was called the fane of Hercules the Discoverer. Certain it appears that the life of Sophocles was one of the most happy which falls to the lot

His accomplishments.

of mortals. He lived, commanding an admiration and love amounting to reverence, in the first city of Greece, throughout her best times. During the whole of his time his beloved country was on the pinnacle of glory and freedom. His first effort, in the blossom of his youth, was in commemoration of that triumph by which she was delivered from her barbaric foes by the heroism of her sons; and one of his latest, if not his last—the "*Œdipus in Colonos*," was intended peculiarly to do her honour. As he was long cotemporary with Æschylus, and survived his younger rival Euripides, he almost measured out with his days the duration of tragedy in Greece. As with him it attained its utmost perfection, with him it perished: he left no successor behind him. Long as his life was, he evidently preserved his noble faculties even to the last. Some of his grandest works are said to have been composed after he had completed his ninetieth year. Still he continued altogether devoted to his divine art; living in high contemplation of the great destinies of our nature, and clothing everything with an ideal lustre and beauty; so that he was insensible to the ordinary cares of life and the gentle decays of his earthly frame. So perfect was his abstraction, that his sons, supposing him deprived of his senses, petitioned the judges to treat him as though insane, and allow them to manage his estate. On this charge, he merely read his Œdipus in Colonos, which he had just completed, and calmly asked if it displayed any marks of mental aberration. The suit was immediately dismissed, and the venerable bard honoured with the warmest applauses.

His death.

The accounts of the death of Sophocles vary. According to Lucian, he was choked, like Anacreon, with the stone of a grape; but Valerius Maximus informs us, that the last time he obtained the prize, his delight and surprise were so great, that he died in a transport of joy. All accounts agree that his end, like his life, was gentle, and without lingering disorder. A little before, when Euripides, who had long been his rival, and, in some part of his life, at least, his foe, expired, he hastened to do him honour; ordered a tragedy to be acted; went himself to the theatre in mourning; and compelled the actors to appear without their coronets or garlands. It was fitting, therefore, that he should himself obtain the highest honours in his funeral. We are informed that, at the period of his decease, Athens was closely besieged by the Spartan army under Lysander; but that general, in consequence, according to fable, of a vision from Bacchus, but probably from a high reverence for genius, suspended the attack on the city, that the Athenians might, without interruption, indulge the melancholy satisfaction of paying the last sad tributes of homage to the most truly illustrious of their citizens.

Character of his poetry.

The great and distinguishing excellence of Sophocles will be found in his exquisite sense of the beautiful and the perfect harmony of all his powers. His conceptions are not on so gigantic a scale as those of Æschylus, but in the circle which he prescribes to himself to fill, not a

space is left unadorned; not a niche without its appropriate figure; not the smallest ornament which is incomplete in the minutest graces. His judgment seemed absolutely perfect, for he never fails; he is always fully master both of himself and his subject; he knows the precise measure of his own capacities; and while he never attempts a flight beyond his reach, he never debases himself, or his art, by anything beneath him. He keeps on, undisturbed, in his majestic course, in calm and beautiful progression: he never, like Æschylus, soars to a height in which, if the sight fails, even the sympathies of his audience cannot pursue him; nor does he, like Euripides, condescend to appeal to mere sensibilities for applause. It is remarkable that, as he added so much to the plot and machinery of the drama, he should, above all other tragedians, be exempt from inconsistency or confusion. His persons are more numerous, his plots more involved, his incidents more thickly strewn than those of his great predecessor, and yet everything is perfect in itself; all is lucid and clear; and in the variety and complexity of the parts, the harmony and proportion of the whole is never forgotten. All his images are finished off with a greater nicety of polish than those of Æschylus, though they are less colossal in their size, and scarcely instinct with so truly Promethean a spirit. As the more ancient bard resembled the sculptor who forms single statues, or groups of but two or three figures, his successor imitated him who presents more numerous figures in each group, though each individual form is equally perfect. In reading Sophocles, we seem always to breathe the pure air of Attica, and expatiate on a sky without a cloud. From his figures a sweet music seems to breathe, such as comes over the soul with delight, from the contemplation of the Apollo Belvidere or the Elgin Marbles. His philosophy is "musical as is Apollo's lute;" his wisdom is made visible in the form of beauty. His choral songs, which are the reflective expressions of the feeling which the tragedy should inspire, are full of the noblest passages to which this praise is pre-eminently due. He was undoubtedly the first philosophical poet of the ancient world. With his pure taste for the graceful, he perceived, amidst the sensible forms around him, one universal Spirit of Love pervading all things. Virtue and justice, to his mind, did not appear the mere creatures of convenience, or the means of gratifying the refined selfishness of man; he saw them, having deep root in eternity, unchanging and imperishable as their divine Author. In a single stanza he has expressed this sentiment, with a plenitude of inspiration before which the philosophy of expediences vanish. The passage has neither parallel nor equal in its kind, that we recollect, in the whole compass of heathen poetry:—

Εἴ μοι ξυνείη φέροντι
Μοῖρα τὰν εὐσεπτον ἁγνείαν λόγων
Ἔργων τε παντων, ὧν Νόμοι πρόκεινται
Ὑψίποδες, ουρανιάν δι' αἰθέρα
Τεκνωθέντες: ὧν Ολύμπος
Πατὴρ μόνος, οὐδε νιν θνατα

Φύσις ἀνέρων ἐτίκτην, οὐδὲ
Μὴν ποτε λάθα κατακοιμάσει,
Μέγας ἐν τοῦτοις Θεὸς,
Οὐδὲ γηράσκει. *Œdip. Tyran.* v. 882.

Which may thus be rendered:—

O for a spotless purity of action and of speech, according to those sublime laws of right, which have the heavens for their birthplace, and God alone for their author—which the decays of mortal nature cannot vary, nor time cover with oblivion; for the divinity is mighty within them, and waxes not old!

No translation, however, can give the spirit of this passage. The English poetical versions fritter away its deep sense in miserable embellishment, and destroy at once its purity and truth.[1] It is one of those noble pieces of antiquity, which Milton imitates with kindred spirit, when he disposes exquisite Grecisms among his picturesque and romantic poetry—like Ionic temples amidst a paridisaical landscape.

Of the numerous tragedies of Sophocles, we have only seven remaining; among these, however, are some which we find were most celebrated in ancient times. The "*Antigone*," in particular, received the most enthusiastic welcome from the Athenian audience; and amply, indeed, does it deserve the honours which all ages have showered upon it. The subject, as usual with the Greeks, is simple. After the two sons of Œdipus have fallen by each other's hand, as described in the noble tragedy of Æschylus, Creon, on whom the government devolves, refuses to Polynices, as the invader of his country, the sacred rites of burial, which the ancients regarded as of such solemn importance, and decrees that instant death shall be the punishment of any who should venture to perform them. Antigone, with pious and sisterly love, remonstrates with the tyrant, and, on his refusal to allow her to perform the last sad duties at the tomb of her brother, resolves to devote her life to effect the holy design. In this heroic resolution she has no earthly support. Her sister *Ismene* refuses to assist her, and the Chorus are utterly daunted by the threats and the power of Creon. Affianced and linked by affection to the son of the monarch, love never, for a moment, causes her to waver. She stands undaunted and alone. When, indeed, she is led forth to die, she bewails the life she is about to lay down, of which she has scarcely begun to taste the joys. This lingering farewell to hope and existence, is so far from detracting from her dignity, that, while it deepens the pathos of the situation, it elevates her character. To make the sacrifice of life really heroic, the person resigning life must have learned something of its value. As few comparatively feel existence in its true worth, the courage commonly admired is not the subjugation of the fear of *death*, but only of the apprehensions of *dying*. It was otherwise with the immortal heroine of Sophocles; she had counted the cost of her virtue. With the

The Antigone.

[1] Franklin translates the latter part thus:—

Which not in dark oblivion lie,
Nor pine away, decay, and die;
But bloom immortal, like their native heaven.

The Antigone.

full tide of life rushing healthfully through her veins; with a deep consciousness of her existence and its value; with pleasing hopes just unfolding; in the very bloom of her youth—she deliberately resigns her earthly being to accomplish the interment of her brother. It is not for a lover she dies; then might human passion have some part in her constancy, and she might be regarded as seeking in the grave a reunion with one for whom alone life was dear. All is pure, spotless, unearthly. She exhibits the most glorious perfection of the female character. Her heroism springs not from ambition, nor suggests a masculine spirit, but has its root in the purest affection, the most disinterested of loves. Sophocles, in this play, has shown that, in an age when women were scarcely regarded as reasonable beings, he estimated the true nobleness of the female heart. Excepting Alcestis, there is no female portrait in all the works of antiquity which approaches this. Women are usually represented by the Greeks as weak or wicked. If we pass by the Clytemnestras and Medeas as anomalous, we shall find little to venerate in the Electras, the Andromaches, the Hecubas, and the Helens. As the heroism of Antigone is without rival, so the vengeance exacted for her death is almost without example. The whole family of the tyrant fall; even his wife, as Schlegel has observed, who was never heard of before, is introduced, that she may perish.

The Electra.

In "*Electra*," Sophocles has ventured to take the ground which Æschylus, in the Choëphoræ, had been the first to occupy. He has completely succeeded in working up a part of the materials in his own inimitable fashion, though there are incidents used by his precursor which, with his usual judgment, he left unused. His piece is infinitely better conducted than that of his master. At the opening of the scene, Orestes, with Pylades, and the old servant by whom he had been snatched from sharing the fate of his father, enters, and gives to his companions an account of the warnings he has received from Apollo, expressing his intention to proceed in fulfilling them. Hearing the voice of Electra, indulging her distress within the palace, he is eager instantly to discover himself, but his attendant prevails on him first to retire, and offer oblations at his father's grave. A pathetic scene ensues between the Chorus of Argive maidens and Electra, in which the latter gives way to her sorrows and hopeless desire of revenge, and the former vainly strive to give her comfort. Chrysothemis, her younger sister, appears with an offering, sent by Clytemnestra to Agamemnon's grave, in terror inspired by a dream in which she had seen her husband restored to life, and planting his sceptre on the gate of the palace, which started into a tree which covered the land with its boughs. The sisters debate the propriety of their respective firmness and submission; and Electra is informed, that on the return of Ægisthus, who is on a journey, greater severities will be practised towards her. Undaunted, however, by this intelligence, she prevails on Chrysothemis, instead of accomplishing the wishes of her mother, to pray at the grave for the return of Orestes

and for vengeance, and to place a lock of hair with the offerings. The Electra. The Chorus begin to perceive that the awful retribution is at hand. Clytemnestra then appears; and after a scene, in which she reproves Electra, and is charged by her with Agamemnon's death, she proceeds to the altar of Apollo, and offers up openly prayers for other blessings, and secretly for the death of Orestes. The plot, which Orestes and his friends have completely matured in the interval, now begins to open. The old servant arrives, in the character of a messenger from Phocis, and gives a long account of the death of Orestes at the Pythian games, which are described with great beauty. Clytemnestra, after a slight visiting of nature, relapses into joy, and invites the messenger to the palace. Electra, believing the news, resigns herself to sorrow, and rejects the consolations of the choral train. At this instant Chrysothemis returns, rejoicing in having found at the tomb the offerings of Orestes; but her sister rejects all hope, and in despair proposes that they alone should attempt to slay Ægisthus, which is refused by Chrysothemis, who, after vehement reproaches from Electra, retires. After a lamentation of the Chorus, Orestes and Pylades enter with an urn, which they pretend contains the ashes of Orestes. Over this supposed relic of her brother, Electra mourns in so affecting a strain that Orestes can no longer suppress his feelings, and, producing Agamemnon's seal, discloses himself, to his sister's inexpressible joy. While they are uniting in grateful pleasure, the old servant calls Orestes to action; and he enters the palace, with his friend, to seek his mother. The Chorus now declare that the moment of justice is come. The loud and brief supplications of Clytemnestra are heard, and her cries for succour, while Electra incites her brother to the completion of the revenge. Ægisthus approaches, and is induced to believe, from the language of Electra, that the body of Orestes is within the palace. Instantly the doors are thrown open at his eager command, and a pall is seen covering a corpse, with Orestes standing beside it. The prince desires Ægisthus to remove the veil; he finds the dead body of his consort; and supplicates in despair for his life. Electra refuses to hear him, and Orestes forces him to enter the threshold, that he may complete the work of justice by sacrificing him on the very spot on which his father fell.

From this meagre statement, it is evident that nothing can be better contrived than the arrangement of the incidents. That space in the action, which seems so long without progress in the Choëphoræ, is here filled up with the most beautiful and affecting situations. The exquisite narration of the supposed death of Orestes in the chariot-race—the deep and real grief of Electra, whom it deceives—her resolution gathered from despair—the contrast of her heroism with the feminine timidity of her sister—the introduction of the urn, and the tender lamentation over it—are all the inventions of Sophocles, and admirably serve to diversify the scene. The recognition, too, being hastened by the sorrow of Electra, and preceded by a deeper grief, is

The Electra

more joyfully affecting than in Æschylus. On the other hand, there is nothing so awful or sublime as the scene of Cassandra's wailings, prophecies, and desperate rushing out to die. The development of the plot is much better conceived by Sophocles than by his precursor. The idea of veiling the body of Clytemnestra, and leaving Ægisthus to discover it, when he expects to find that of his foe, is both poetical in itself, and theatrically effective; and the determination to kill the adulterous murderer on the scene of his crime denotes a solemnity of purpose, and a sense of justice, which makes that a sacrifice which otherwise might seem a murder. These are excellencies which all may perceive. The nicer beauty of the piece has been so happily developed by Schlegel, that we shall give his words to the reader:—

"That which more particularly characterizes this tragedy is the celestial purity, the fresh breath of life and youth which is diffused over so dreadful a subject. The bright divinity, Apollo, who commanded the deed, appears to have shed his influence over it: even the break of day at the commencement is significant. The grave and the world of shadows are kept in the distance. What in Æschylus is effected by the spirit of the murdered monarch, proceeds here from the mind of the still-existing Electra, which is endowed with an equal capacity for inextinguishable hate and ardent love. The disposition to avoid everything dark and ominous is remarkable even in the very first speech of Orestes, when he says it does not grieve him to be reputed dead, when he finds himself alive in the fulness of health and strength: he is neither beset with doubts nor stings of conscience, either before or after the deed; so that here the purpose is more determined than in Æschylus; and the appalling scene with Ægisthus, and the reserving him for an ignominious execution, at the conclusion, is conceived with more austerity than in the other drama. The nocturnal vision of Clytemnestra affords the most striking image of the relation which the two poets bear to each other; both are equally suitable, significant, and ominous: that of Æschylus is grander, but appalling to the senses; that of Sophocles majestically beautiful even in terror."[1]

The Trachiniæ.

In the "*Trachiniæ*" alone has Sophocles appeared to sink below the usual standard of his excellence. Corporeal suffering, however dreadful, is no fit subject for tragedy; yet here there is a sacredness shed over it, from its supernatural and marvellous cause, which takes it out of the usual course of mere mortal inflictions. Hercules, caught in the dreadful toils, suffers like a god: and the death of Dejanira excites the tenderest compassion for her, notwithstanding the catastrophe of which she has been the innocent occasion.

Ajax.

"*Ajax*," although at first sight its main incident partakes of the ludicrous, comprises a most noble heroic picture. The hero's insanity is, in itself, painful and debasing, but suited to his former rough and ungovernable character. To have given his madness an imaginative or intellectual cast, besides that it would have destroyed the play, would

[1] Lectures on the Drama, Lect. v.

have been to change and transform his mind, and not merely to have thrown it in confusion. Nothing can be more affecting than his return to sense, when he finds himself among the cattle he has slaughtered, a mark for scorn "to point its slow unmoving finger at," and feels, in all its weight, the torpor of despair. His honour blasted, and his long course of heroic deeds obliterated at a stroke, he has nothing left him but to die. Still, in this awful moment, he bids a noble farewell to the sun, the grand power of nature, which could not mock him. The conclusion of the drama, in which, after it has been proposed to disgrace the hero by refusing him burial, interment is granted to his remains, appears to us tame; but, among the Greeks, the denial of sepulture was so believed to affect the disembodied spirit, that the interest might well be extended after death, and the mind left to a consolatory repose, when the last honours are paid at the tomb. Ajax.

"*Philoctetes*" is the most simple, and one of the most beautiful of all the works of Sophocles. His situation when the piece opens is most striking. Left alone for ten years in the wild scenery of a desert island, and exposed to constant attack of raging pain, he seeks a scanty subsistence by his bow. And of this treachery now seeks to deprive him! He is not, however, represented as meanly sinking beneath his sufferings. In proportion as his fellow-creatures injure and forsake him, he cleaves with fervent love to the material forms of nature, which could neither insult nor deceive—his dreary cave, the cool fountain, the white cliffs, and the circling ocean, have become his companions, which he laments to leave. The struggles of a generous nature forced to attempt guile in Neoptolemus are exceedingly beautiful. The imagery of this play accords with its subject; it is most chaste, pure, and simple;—the whole seems to breathe of the sea, the caverns, and the rocky shore, which shut out the world, and are to the soul "a passion," a "feeling, and a love." It is the model which the great philosophical poet of our own country may almost be supposed to have studied, and not in vain. Philoctetes.

The "*Œdipus Tyrannus*" has commanded the singular good fortune of exciting the admiration of the critics of every age. Some have not hesitated to pronounce it the noblest production of the human mind. This admiration, however, when examined, will be found to be grounded, in many instances, on an excellence which is far from the highest of which the imagination is capable. The praise often amounts to little more than this, that Œdipus is the finest, because it is the most artfully constructed of all ancient plays. Now we conceive that no mechanical skill in inventing, or in involving incident—no art in the conduct of a fable—no talent in weaving a complicated intrigue—is to be compared in esteem to a high sense of the beautiful and the grand, and a perfect success in embodying the loveliest conceptions. The praise, though not the highest due to this noble piece, of exactness in the mechanism, is certainly true as far as it respects the action Œdipus Tyrannus.

Œdipus Tyrannus.

actually presented to the spectator. Every circumstance tends directly to produce the development; every imprecation of Œdipus against the unknown slayer is so worded as to apply peculiarly to himself, even from the first scene; every effort he makes to disentangle himself from the toils of Fate, only draws them closer about him. The groundwork of the piece is, however, improbable. It is incredible that no inquiry should have been made into the death of Laius, who is represented as a pious king, after the danger of the Sphinx was past; and still more so that Œdipus, married to the Queen, should never have heard the circumstances of his predecessor's fate. This is, however, of little importance, except to those who would make the art of constructing a story the basis of an immortal fame. Up to the period when the discovery is complete, the whole is moulded, though from revolting materials, into perfect beauty. How grand is the opening scene—the palace in the background amidst the temples—on one side the river, and on the other the altar—the sages solemnly imploring, with suppliant boughs, the absolution of the city—and the varied crowd at a distance, of tottering infancy, tender womanhood, and feeble age, casting up prayers in silence to heaven! The kingly gentleness of Œdipus, the desperate levity of Jocasta, and the prophetic nobleness of Tiresias, are admirably portrayed in the foreground, while the dim shadows of fate are seen in awful distance solemnly beckoning the devoted prince to destruction. Nothing can exceed the philosophical dignity and lyrical perfection of the choral songs. Of these we have already given a specimen, and the whole will be found of a kindred tone. The subject, however, is, to modern feelings, utterly revolting. Though the sufferer is, in intention, innocent, so dreadful a misfortune ought rather to be covered with a veil, than exhibited as a spectacle. The mind turns from it, as the sun refused to shine on the horrible banquet of Thyestes. In ancient times, the idea of an immediate destiny confounded misfortunes and crimes; and the more tremendous the event, the more signal was the display of superhuman powers. The Œdipus could not be endured now were it to be written—though the modern imitations of it, by Dryden and Walpole, are more revolting.

Œdipus in Colonos.

The "*Œdipus in Colonos*," one of the last, the sweetest, and the holiest works of Sophocles, excites no feelings but of tenderness, reverence, and compassion. There is little action in it; but it is perfect as pathetic beauty in repose. The pathos here is of the most gentle kind. The storm of fate which struck down the unhappy victim has left him placidly to die; filial affection supports him to the last; the Athenian territory, which the poets delighted to honour, receives him in peace; and in the consecrated grove of the Furies, which the genius of Sophocles represents as fresh, green, and lovely, the immediate hand of heaven relieves him of existence and its sorrows. The powers "which have been cruel, are yet merciful;" they appear to aid him in his death, and snatch him from the remem-

brance of woes too heavy for endurance. Throughout this piece, we seem to be treading on sacred ground; a consecrating gleam is everywhere shed over it—"a light that never was by sea or land!" Its moral, or rather its feeling, seems to be, that the great Spirit of good will not wholly forsake the most wretched and the most polluted of living things. It makes us look on death as a repose—the pillow where every suffering shall have its rest. It breathes the genial emotion of age, calm and still joyous, and awaiting, without impatience or terror, its final change. Doubtless, it speaks the sentiment of the venerable poet, far sunk in the vale of years. We regard it, therefore, with peculiar affection, and may close our notice of the piece and its author, in the words of our own Shakspeare:— Œdipus in Colonos.

> The setting sun, with music at the close,
> Like the last taste of sweets, is sweetest last;
> Writ in remembrance more than things long past.[1]

EURIPIDES.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 460.

EURIPIDES, the latest in birth of the Greek tragedians, though outlived by Sophocles, was born in the first year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad, *i. e.* B. C. 480, in the island of Salamis. To this place his father, Mnesarchus, and mother, Clito, had retired from Athens, according to some writers, on account of their poverty, and, according to others, in order to avoid the impending invasion of Xerxes. It has been the general opinion that their circumstances were far from affluent. It has, indeed, been alleged that Mnesarchus had suffered the ignominy attached to parties insolvent, and that Clito obtained her subsistence by selling herbs. Aristophanes frequently alludes to the meanness of the poet's origin. Bayle, and others, have, however, endeavoured to maintain that he was of a nobler descent, and refer, in confirmation of this opinion, to the story of his greatness having been foretold by the oracle of Delos, which it was unlikely that persons in a low condition of life should think of consulting. Certain it is, that however reduced in fortune the parents of Euripides may have been, they enjoyed the privileges of free Athenian citizens. Euripides.

The day of the poet's birth was auspicious, as it was signalized by a great victory gained by the Grecian fleet over the armament of the Persians. To this event he has been supposed to allude in his Ion, when he represents the tapestry covering the tent erected for the feast of Xuthus, as displaying, among other imagery, the barbaric fleet opposed to that of Greece. The conjecture, though unsupported by evidence, is very plausible, nor is the anachronism at all against it. Such violations of chronology perpetually occur in his plays; and the Athenian audience were little anxious to enter into calculations when

[1] Richard II., act i.

objects, beautiful in themselves, or tending to revive the remembrance of their national glory, were presented before them.

Education. As the oracle of Apollo had intimated that the son of Mnesarchus should obtain the prize of victory, his parents concluded that he would obtain that honour by bodily exercises at the Olympic games. He was, therefore, carefully instructed in the gymnastic arts, and it is said, when very young, to have obtained a crown at the festival of Ceres. He also made some proficiency in painting, but applied himself with peculiar diligence to the study of philosophy, then popular at Athens. Some have alleged that he studied under Socrates; but this is scarcely possible, since that philosopher was his junior by thirteen years. He seems, however, very early to have become a pupil of Anaxagoras, and to have made considerable advances in ancient lore. In consequence of the fate of his master, who was banished on a charge of blasphemy, he changed the immediate direction of his studies, to the dramatic art, and, at a very early age, began to compose tragedies. He found, in the theatre, a more safe and ready mode of diffusing his maxims, than in the schools; but even here he was not without danger. The jesuitical doctrine which he has most absurdly, as we shall see hereafter, put into the mouth of one of his most virtuous heroes, that a mental reservation might dispense with the sanctity of an oath, subjected him to severe and dangerous censure. An Athenian, named Hygiænon, was so indignant at this sentiment, that he accused the poet of impiety, as teaching that perjury was lawful. He escaped, however, by alleging that he was responsible only to the theatrical judges for matter introduced into plays, and that he was ready to make his defence before them, but denied the power of any other tribunal. It is said also, that he introduced Bellerophon making an elaborate eulogy on riches, and declaring that if Aphrodite, who was denominated the Golden, shone like gold, she was deserving of universal love, which so enraged the audience, that they burst into a tumult, and desired to wreak their indignation by violence on the actor and the bard. Euripides, however, pacified them, by appearing on the stage, and assuring them, that if they would wait till the conclusion, they would find that a fit punishment would be awarded to the miser. On another occasion he gave offence by exhibiting the guilt of Ixion, and defended himself by referring to the catastrophe, when he would be bound on the wheel. Still he seems to have found a recompense for the occasional hostility of the people in the friendship of the philosophers. Socrates honoured him with peculiar regard, and always attended the theatre on the representation of his pieces. Perhaps the incessant attacks of Aristophanes, who seems to have delighted in ridiculing both, might have served to unite them.

Works. According to some authorities, Euripides composed ninety-two tragedies; according to others seventy-five; but only five of them were so fortunate as to obtain the victory, four during his lifetime,

and one after his death. If this want of success had resulted merely from the partiality of the Athenian audience to Æschylus and Sophocles, it would not certainly excite our wonder. But we know not how to account for the circumstance, which is related by Varro, that the most wretched pretenders to the poetical art were often preferred before him. In the outset of his career he was conquered by Xenocles, a low and contemptible writer, whose works have long sunk into merited oblivion. Some circumstances of party, or of prejudice, with which we are unacquainted, must have blinded the judgment, or destroyed the equity, of the refined people of Athens, before they could have thus decided. In other regions, Euripides obtained that renown which was denied him at home. In Sicily he seems to have been admired with a feeling almost amounting to devotion. When Nicias had been overthrown, and his army placed at the mercy of the Sicilians, this respect for the tragedian of Athens interposed between them and destruction; and as many as could repeat the verses of their illustrious countryman were dismissed, with the respectful attentions of their foes. At another time, the crew of a Caunian vessel, chased by pirates, desired permission to enter some port of Sicily, and were refused, till it was known that some among them could recite the poetry of the favourite dramatist, on which they were allowed admission. Euripides, like all who have attained excellence, was fondly attached to his art. He was accustomed to retire to a cave in the island of Salamis, to compose his pieces, in the stillness of the deepest solitude. When he complained to a cotemporary writer, named Alcestis, that he had not been able to produce more than three verses in the last three days, and the latter replied that he had made three hundred during the same period, Euripides observed, that there was this further difference between them—that the productions of this facility would last three days, while his were intended to endure for ever.

There has been much difference of opinion respecting the private life and domestic history of our bard: many of the tales related respecting him have arisen from attempts to account for the contempt and aversion towards the female sex which seem to breathe through his writings. According to some, he had two wives at the same time, with both of whom he was heartily disgusted, and therefore vented his spleen on the sex. Others contend that he took his consorts successively; that the first he was compelled to repudiate for abandoned conduct; and that the second not only disregarded the ties of her condition, but caused, by her open profligacy, so great ridicule to be poured on her husband, that he was forced to leave Athens. Sophocles is said to have attributed the low opinion which his rival entertained for women, to his having been chiefly acquainted with the vicious and degraded among them; but his opinion may reasonably be taken with some allowance for the jealousy of an author. There are several disgusting stories told respecting the conduct of Euripides, but as they are both

contradictory and improbable, we do not think it necessary to pollute our pages by repeating them.

In the decline of life, Euripides, probably in consequence of the profligacy of his wives, left Athens and repaired to the court of Archelaus, king of Macedon, by whom he was received with the most distinguished honours. There in peace and ease he passed the remainder of his days. When, however, he was importuned by his royal patron to celebrate his actions in a play, he declined, gracefully observing, that he trusted the reign of the monarch would furnish no materials for tragedy. The mode of his death is variously related, though all agree that it was violent, and took place about three years years after he had come to reside at Pella. The common account is, that he was torn in pieces by dogs, some alleging that their fury was only accidental, and that they seized him while walking in a wood, engaged in deep contemplation; and others, that two poets, Arideus and Cratevas, the former a Macedonian, and the latter a Thessalian, hired the keeper of the royal hounds thus to accomplish his destruction. It seems to be the better opinion, that his death was accidental: though violent, it could scarcely be regarded as untimely, since it occurred in his seventy-fifth year. His remains were removed from Bermiscus, where he died, to Pella, where Archelaus honoured them with a sumptuous funeral, and erected a monument over them. This munificent patron is even said to have cut off his own hair, and put on deep mourning, as a testimony of respect for that genius, which living he had delighted to cherish. The Athenians, who had done him so little honour in life, were, according to their custom, ready to lament his death. They sent an embassy to Archelaus, to request that they might bring his relics to Attica, a demand which was peremptorily rejected. They erected, however, a noble cenotaph to his memory, which, Pausanias says, was standing at the time he wrote. According to the superstitions of the time, Plutarch informs us, that his tomb at Pella was struck with lightning, which was regarded as consecrating the spot, and a signal token of the divine favour.

His death.

Nineteen of the plays of Euripides have reached us, besides a number of fragments. In him, many of the critics conceive that the Greek tragedy attained its perfection. Highly, however, as we estimate his ability, to which Schlegel has scarcely done justice, we are inclined to agree with that high modern authority, that we must look in this poet for the symbols of its decline. A slight view of his general character, and a rapid survey of his numerous pieces, will, we think, justify this opinion.

Character as a poet.

We have seen that a certain elevation above the common realities of life is essential to tragedy. In Sophocles and Æschylus this dignity is preserved, not merely by the circumstance of the selection of persons from among the list of heroes and of gods, but by the stateliness of their thoughts, the religious solemnity of their actions, and an air of

consecration breathed over them; but the ambition of Euripides seems to have taken a direction not only different from that of his predecessors, but incompatible with that peculiar style of excellence which they invented and finished. His efforts are directed less to the imagination than to the sensibilities and the understanding. He loves to triumph by involving us in metaphysical subtleties, or by dissolving us in tears. He scarcely ever labours to attain that which the other tragedians made their great object, a representation of serene beauty. They made the very sorrows and deaths of their heroes partake of something above humanity, which should excite awe rather than compassion: he delighted in rendering their distresses of the lowest and most physical complexion. They cast around their sufferers a solemnity in grief, which breaks the force of sympathy: he strove to tear away all the disguises of rank, and claimed our pity for his persons as the lowest of mortals. The pangs of their heroes had for their causes the immediate retributions of heaven: his persons were exposed to cold, beggary, and pitiful needs. While the former preserve a majesty in affliction, the latter court our sympathy in the eloquence of rags. The truth seems to be, that the mind of Euripides was more penetrating and refined than exalted. With great sweetness and elegance, he appears to have wanted a sense of high and austere virtue, and even of sustained heroic grandeur. Thus, he has scarcely, in all his pieces, presented one character of consistent excellence, where the virtue is brought into action. Alcestis is a beautiful picture of self-devotion, but she has nothing to do but to die. Ion is a lovely portrait of consecrated and unconscious piety; but it is the excellence of a recluse, of too glossy and ethereal a texture for this world. This poet cannot even paint high and enormous vice, or ungovernable passion, of a uniformly grand and heroic order. Medea, the wonder-working enchantress, that "soul of fire, with whom revenge is virtue," calmly, before she begins her terrible operations, intrigues to obtain a comfortable asylum, when her revenge shall be completed. Clytemnestra is accused by her indignant daughter, not only of having murdered her husband on his return, but having taken too much time in dressing her hair during his absence. If the essence of tragedy consists in the mere excitement of tears, Euripides is far the greatest of the old tragedians. He depicts situations the most wretched, cheerless, and desolate, and carefully deprives his sufferers of every external consolation. Electra appears tottering not only beneath the weight of affliction, but of a huge pitcher of water; and Menelaus mourns at once the mangled honour of his wife and the tattered condition of his garments. The pathos is not like that feeling which dissolves us in sweet tears before the Niobe, but that oppressive grief which a real catastrophe occasions. The mirror the poet holds up to nature is microscopic rather than ennobling. Some there are, doubtless, who think the power he possesses a higher one than that exercised by his predecessors; we only contend that it is of a different description.

The quality for which Euripides has been so highly extolled—the eloquence of his disputations—for which he was naturally admired by Cicero, and recommended by Quinctilian to youthful orators, was alone sufficient to lead him astray from the path in which Æschylus and Sophocles had trodden. Logical quibblings have little relation to pictures of ideal grandeur; when these are thickly strewn, they necessarily destroy all the rounding and the finishing, the delicacy, and fair proportion. The composition does not possess a wave-like flexibility; but the curves of beauty are broken into angular points by the sharp collisions of argument, the quick turns of satire, the jostling of opposite reasons. Most of the principal scenes in the plays of this author become debates, in which the passion and the beauty alike evaporate, and instead of the persons speaking as those whose lives are in immediate jeopardy, they seem anxious for the credit of vanquishing, and exhibit no greater earnestness than advocates naturally acquire in the heat of a trial. The mind of Euripides seems beset by a peculiar tendency to the poising of opposite reasons, and his great pride to have been in showing how much he could say, and how ably he could clothe his arguments, on every side of every question. Hence he takes all occasions of making his persons plead their cause; but betrays an evident consciousness that he is doing it for them. Thus his Clytemnestra calls on her daughter to give her reasons against the murder of Agamemnon, and then defends herself in a long sophistical harangue. Thus he causes Hecuba, after imploring Menelaus to execute immediate vengeance on Helen, to entreat him to allow her to make her defence, in order that she may enjoy the triumph of a reply. In the discussion, Helen represents her antagonist as more guilty than herself, because she had borne Paris, and her husband had refused to slay him; but for which events the evils deplored could never have arisen. Criminals are perpetually introduced defending their enormities by the most hollow and palpable sophistries; and, when all other excuses fail them, referring to fate as the sole author of the wrongs of which they have been the mere instruments. If this plea had any force to defend men from the charge of guilt, it might as well be brought forward at once to end the question, and cut the Gordian knot before so many vain efforts have been made to untie it. Fate, however, is the cloud in which the guilty escape, like that which the divinities in Homer throw over their favourite heroes. This tendency to forensic eloquence and logical subtleties rendered everything problematical in the mind of Euripides, and caused him to pronounce the most contrary sentiments with equal energy. The excuse that his persons only speak in character will not avail him; for some of the most questionable or bold opinions are placed in the mouths of those who were the least likely to utter them. Thus Andromache, when she is vowing to live, if possible, entirely devoted to the memory of her lord, is made to utter a piece of the coarsest ribaldry respecting her sex at large: thus Ion, brought up from infancy in a temple,

whose very thoughts should be sainted, abuses the gods, with great justice but little consistency, as worse than men; and thus, Hippolytus, the noble-hearted, the generous, and the self-denying, utters the famous piece of casuistry respecting an oath, and then dies rather than break his own! Nothing but an invincible love of paradox, at which even Rousseau might smile, could have induced the Grecian poet to hazard this last violation of character. This philosophy, if not "harsh and crabbed," is at least thorny and perplexed; a thicket so closely intertwined, that the flowers of poetry can scarcely find room to flourish beneath its shadow.

The peculiar beauties to which the genius of Euripides inclined, no less than his defects, tended to lead him from the style which the former tragedians had adopted. His imagination "looked before and after." His poetry is the sweet and lingering echo of joys past, or the hope of delights to come. Hence it is essentially different from that of his precursors, who, rejoicing in the glorious objects immediately before them, were contented to exhibit these in their fairest proportions, without introducing objects which were remote or obscure. They felt the impressions of the present moment so intensely, that they required little from remembrance or hope to gild the scene. Euripides, on the other hand, with a sense of pleasure less vivid, is more contemplative; speculates more on the probabilities of our future condition, and dwells with greater fondness on the recollections of the past. He may be almost considered as the author of the sentimental style: his best passages consist of "thoughts that voluntary move harmonious numbers;" and there is often a charming accordance between the music of the verse and the images, which dwells on the mind with a soothing, tender, and gentle emotion. Nothing, for example, can be finer, in this way, than the passage in the Medea, respecting the possible effects of music in harmonizing the tenor of existence. But this kind of excellence is evidently different, and even opposite, to that of Sophocles and Æschylus. The analogy to the plastic arts, so perfect in them, is lost in their rival. At the same time, he possesses a faculty of exciting genial though undefined emotions, of which they are destitute. He abounds also in *fancy*, which they either did not possess, or the austerity of their genius did not allow them to cherish or display. Notwithstanding his tendency to excite sensibility by means of low devices, he sometimes affects us with a real and genuine pathos, while he diverts the force of grief with tender remembrance of former happiness, or casts over the waves of trouble the radiance of hope. Sorrow, indeed, is never with him of that wild and superhuman cast which it wears in the works of his predecessors; but it is often still, mild, and placid, and tenderly relieved by elegant allusions and gentle touches of humanity. In modern times, and in the imitation of the romantic models, Euripides would probably have attained a higher poetic excellence than his remaining works exhibit. It is only to the high rank assigned to him, as one of the Greek tra-

gedians, that we object; nor do we mean so much to suggest that his genius was, in itself, inferior to theirs, as that it was unsuited to that grand and simple style of art with which his name is usually connected.

The Medea.

The "*Medea*" of our author has, perhaps, been the most popular of his works; partly owing to the dazzling terrors of its plot, and partly to the comparisons so often made in its favour with the Roman tragedy on the same subject, which bears the name of Seneca. The opening speeches of the Nurse, recounting the distresses of her mistress, which are interrupted and heightened by her sorrowful exclamations behind the scene, are singularly beautiful. In the middle of the piece, when the heroine condescends to deception, in order to accomplish her design, the interest languishes; but nothing of the kind can be more fearfully grand than the description of the death of the bride of Jason and her father, and the ferocious joy with which the enchantress listens to the tale. Her speeches, when meditating the death of her children, are admirably varied, by the strugglings of natural affection, which almost shake her soul from her purpose; and her final appearance in the air with the bodies is exceedingly picturesque. She is, however, the only character in the piece. Jason is mean, hypocritical, and low-minded; Creon at once tyrannical and imprudent; and the Chorus (who are necessarily acquainted with the dreadful designs, which they make no attempt to frustrate except by persuasion) of rather dubious virtue. The versification of this play is peculiarly sweet and flowing, and a bright fancy sparkles over it.

Euripides has left, among the tragedies that survive, no less than four of which the family of Agamemnon are the subjects: Iphigenia in Aulis; Electra; Orestes; and Iphigenia in Tauris; besides others, in which the chief himself or his brother Menelaus appears. The first of this series is, we think, on the whole, the best. The

The Agamemnon.

struggles of Agamemnon between his imaginary duty, as commander of the Greeks, and his love for his daughter, as represented in the first scene, form a most affecting picture. The subsequent passages, however, impair the effect of the opening. Menelaus is depicted as mean and selfish. He urges, with ferocious indifference, the sacrifice of his niece to promote his revenge, after having intercepted the letter of his brother, in which he countermanded his fatal orders. On the arrival of Clytemnestra and her daughter, for the supposed marriage of the latter with Achilles, the distress of Agamemnon increases; and Menelaus, touched with something like compassion, offers to forego the sad offering; when, to the disgust of the reader, the father himself changes his purpose, and alarmed lest the Greeks should discover the oracle, and mutiny against him, resolves to complete the sacrifice from which he had so lately revolted. From this point, however, the interest is sustained to a very high pitch; and the pathos, which would otherwise be overpowering, is relieved by pictures of tender resignation and generous courage. Achilles is repre-

sented in the most ingenuous and amiable character. And though the heroine at first shrinks from the dreadful fate prepared for her, she speedily grows inspired with the most heroic feelings, and devotes herself to die with a firmness, which faintly reminds us of Antigone; she goes out to death as to a festival. The images of the victim, and of the hind substituted in her room, as pictured by the messenger who relates the catastrophe, possess a beauty of the plastic kind, of which Euripides affords few examples.

The Electra.

A long space of time elapses between this tragedy and the date of "*Electra*," during which Orestes, who was introduced as an infant in the Iphigenia, grows up to manhood; Agamemnon returns conqueror, and is slain; Orestes is banished; and Electra discarded from the palace where Ægisthus and her mother reign. In this piece, Euripides has unfortunately trodden ground which was completely occupied before him. All that the Choëphoræ of Æschylus wanted in variety of incident, and felicity of development, had been supplied in the Electra of Sophocles; and nothing new remained to be achieved by an author who should even bring to the work an equal genius. Compelled, however, to attempt some novelty, Euripides has accumulated woes on the head of his heroine,—"steep'd her in poverty even to the very lips,"—and given her a generous peasant for her pretended husband. He has also removed the scene from the palace to the country, and employed artifices to bring Clytemnestra and Ægisthus to the place where they are to die, which are not very probable. Castor and Pollux are also introduced at the close, for no other purpose than to contrive a marriage between Pylades and Electra; for the journey of Orestes to Athens belongs to a new action. In all respects, this piece is of a much lower tone than those composed on the same subject by the two elder tragedians.

The Orestes.

The "*Orestes*," in point of time, almost immediately follows the Electra. Euripides here represents his hero as not only driven to distraction by the Furies of his mother, but as condemned to death, together with his sister, by the citizens of Argos. The distress, at the opening of this play, seems nearly to have reached its utmost pitch: Orestes is discovered lying on a couch, distracted, and Electra, worn out with grief and fatigue, sitting beside him; the Argives have forbidden all succours to be given to the miserable pair, and are about to assemble to decide in what manner they shall put them to death. This is rather an unpromising commencement of a tragedy; we see, at all events, the worst; for the actual death of the chief persons would be happiness compared to the prolongation of their sufferings. The wild exclamations of Orestes, however, when the madness comes over him, are at once grand and terrific. A gleam of hope breaks in on the arrival of Menelaus; but this prince, whom Euripides delights to represent as despicable, finally leaves his kinsman in despair. Tyndarus, Menelaus, and Orestes make long speeches, filled with many a rhetorical flourish, which produce nothing. After the hard-hearted

selfishness and unrelenting cruelty of the two relatives, the disinterested friendship of Pylades is truly refreshing. He leads Orestes to make his defence to the people; but the only favour this measure procures is, that the prince and his sister shall have their choice of the modes of dying, so that they execute the sentence on themselves before the day closes. The distress is now renewed—heightened it scarcely could be—when Pylades proposes that they should, before they die, kill Helen, who happens to be within the palace, and so revenge on her the deaths of the Grecians who fell at Troy. This proposition is eagerly adopted, though to us it seems a mere piece of foolish and wanton cruelty, little calculated to excite our pity for sufferers who, in their own extremity, exhibit none. Electra, however, wiser than the rest, suggests that they may save their own lives by securing Hermione, the daughter of Helen and Menelaus, as a hostage, and threatening to deprive her also of life, unless her father will interpose in their behalf. Both plots now proceed together. At the moment when the stroke is aimed at Helen, she vanishes. Hermione is seized, the palace gates barricadoed, and Orestes and Pylades appear on the summit of a tower, holding a drawn sword over the neck of their hostage, and surrounded with torches in readiness to set fire to the palace. Menelaus enters below; and, in this critical situation, a long dialogue of short sentences ensues between the king of Sparta and Orestes, at the close of which the latter calls to Electra to light up the blaze from beneath, and to the attendants to set fire to the roofs. At this agonizing moment Apollo appears, and sets everything right: pacifies Menelaus by showing him Helen in the clouds, now exalted to the rank of a goddess; prescribes his future course to Orestes; gives him for a wife the lady over whom he is holding the sword; and leaves Electra and Pylades peaceably to solemnize their nuptials. Never, surely, was every principle of the dramatic art so marvellously sacrificed to a pantomimic display as in this "most lame and impotent conclusion." The lowest manufacturer of a modern melodrame would have, at least, brought about the catastrophe by causing Menelaus to succour the desperate party, in order to preserve his daughter: but the blazing torches—the descent of Apollo—and Helen riding in the air—were such picturesque accompaniments to the last scene, that Euripides was unable to resist them.

Iphigenia in Tauris.

An interval again elapses between the last play and the "*Iphigenia in Tauris.*" In the mean time, Orestes has been acquitted at Athens; but, in order completely to expiate his offence, is commanded by Apollo to bring the statue of Diana from Tauris. Thither he has repaired with Pylades, when both are seized, to be offered up to the goddess; which was the fate of every Greek who touched on the shore. After, however, all seems lost, Orestes discovers in the priestess, who involuntarily ministers at the bloody altar, his own sister, whom Diana had snatched from intended sacrifice many years before at Aulis. The parties then contrive jointly to escape, and succeed, carrying away the

statue with them. The artifice by which this is effected is very far from probable; but the spectator or reader is willing to acquiesce in anything which brings such horrors as those represented in the fane at Tauris to a period. The generous contention of the friends which shall suffer, when only one is to be sacrificed, is noble and affecting; but it is impossible to regard the heroine without a feeling of disgust, who, even against her will, had, for many years, been accustomed to assist in the sacrifice of human victims.

In the "*Andromache*," Menelaus and Orestes appear once more, both in very unworthy characters. The conduct, indeed, of the former is base and cruel beyond endurance: to gratify his daughter's revenge against her unhappy rival, he first barbarously works on the feelings of the Trojan captive as a mother, and induces her to leave her asylum by threatening that if she will not be content to renounce its protection and to die, her son shall perish in her stead; and when he has thus secured her, prepares to sacrifice both the parent and the child. Happily baffled by the arrival of Peleus, Hermione, in rage and fear, attempts her own life, when her old lover Orestes appears, informs her that he has taken measures to kill her husband at Delphi, by means of the populace, and bears her away with him. Shortly after, a messenger announces the completion of this dastardly assassination; but all the remaining parties are comforted by the appearance of Thetis, who provides Andromache with a third husband in Helenus, and confers the gift of immortality on Peleus, whose bride she had been in his youth. In the instance of Orestes, the poet has strikingly displayed how little love he possessed for austere virtue, or how inadequate he was to portray it. This young prince, who has been made to act a chief part in four plays, has no character at all. He is most truly "a pipe for fortune's finger to play what stop she pleases." He is governed by the most unreasonable and contradictory impulses. He is forced on to kill his mother by a divinity—sunk in remorse without repenting—moved to kill Helen without motive—and deeply criminal, at last, without apparent passion, temptation, or concern. His wickedness does not shock us, because it seems like the antic of a puppet, who is moved alternately by the most opposite strings.

The Andromache

The "*Trojan Captives*" presents us with a grand picture of majesty and beauty reduced to the deepest woe: but this is all. There is no suspense, no progression, no action, and consequently little interest;—the persons have nothing to do but to suffer, and the spectators nothing to feel but to pity them. The "*Hecuba*," however, follows the destiny of the eldest of the characters in the former play, into stranger diversities of sorrow. The resignation of Iphigenia is finely represented, and the circumstances of her death are wrought up into a vivid and beautiful picture. The impression made by the subsequent part of the play is not so pleasing. The avaricious cruelty of Polymnestor deserves, indeed, the severest of punishments; but the circumstances of his eyes being extinguished are rather shocking than terrible; and

The Trojan Captives.

the slaughter of his innocent children makes us revolt from its authors. As the poet has here given in one tragedy two distinct events in the distresses of Hecuba, there seems no reason why the play should not embrace her whole course of misery, except the misery it would occasion to the spectators. Indeed the misfortunes of this queen, who displays more of the termagant than of the heroine, are so often presented to us by Euripides, that we are almost constrained to exclaim, in the language of Hamlet, "What's Hecuba to us, or we to Hecuba, that we should mourn for her?"

Ion. "*Ion*" is, in many respects, one of the happiest efforts of Euripides. The simplicity and reverence inherent in the mind of its hero are no less distinct and lovely than the picture of the scenery with which he is surrounded. His feelings of humble gratitude to the power which has protected him; his virtue unspotted from the world; and his cleaving to the sacred seclusion which has enwrapped him from childhood, are beautifully drawn. The picture seems sky-tinctured—of an ethereal purity of colouring. The plot also is very skilfully conducted to the conclusion: though, with the exception of the attempt on the hero's life, the whole might form a sentimental comedy. The story is of this cast: a foundling is discovered by a mother, who had since married, to be her son, and is palmed off on her husband as the fruit of an early amour of his own; thus securing a wished-for happiness for Xuthus, an inheritance for Ion, and, at once, her child and her character to the mother. This is strictly a piece of intrigue, though it must be allowed that the imagination of the poet, here often felicitously exerted, has elevated it far above ordinary dramas of this description. In this, as in many works of Euripides, we trace the origin of the new comedy, and find ample reason to justify the admiration of Mænander. The great blemish of the piece is the contrivance of the mother to slay the youth, whom she does not know to be her son. A lady, who has been represented as of quiet and domestic manners, hears that her husband has discovered a son; and an attendant no sooner proposes to her that she should murder him, than she acquiesces, without the slightest scruple, and only expresses her fear that so desirable an event will be difficult of completion. Afterwards, when the scheme has been frustrated, and the recognition takes place, all is forgiven and forgotten; Ion embraces his mother without shuddering at her baseness, and this intended murderess is rewarded by the discovery of her son, and the successful combination of Apollo with her to deceive her husband. One would almost think, that before Euripides could make such a representation as this, he must have lost all sense of distinction between crime and excellence among the sophistries of the schools.

The Supplicants. The "*Supplicants*" must, in justice, be regarded as a fugitive piece; written on political grounds, and for a temporary occasion. It was acted just after a treaty had been concluded between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, during the Peloponnesian war, in order to remind the

latter of their ancient obligations to the Athenians. It consists simply of the entreaties of Adrastus, the king of Argos, and the matrons of that state, to Theseus, that he would interfere and procure for them an opportunity of burying the slain who had fallen before Thebes, and to whom that city, in the pride of victory, refused a sepulchre—the consequent expedition of the Athenians, and their complete victory—the lamentations over the bodies thus redeemed—the appearance of Minerva, who exhorts the Athenian prince not to allow the Argives to receive the favours conferred on them without a return, but to compel them to swear never to attack Athens—and finally, the exhortation of the Chorus to Adrastus to take the oaths required by the goddess. The piece also contains a long and elegant discussion between Theseus and the herald from Thebes, on the relative value of democratical and monarchical governments; and, what is far better than this, the sweet and touching lamentations and death-songs of Evadne, the widow of one of the fallen chiefs, who, at the conclusion of her strain, leaps on his funeral pyre and dies beside him.

The "*Children of Hercules*," like the former piece, is essentially political. It was intended to remind the Spartans of the protection afforded by Athens to the race of the hero, from whom they gloried to derive their origin. It bears internal marks of haste, and was probably composed in accordance with the public feeling at some peculiar crisis. There are, however, two circumstances which throw a splendour over it; the voluntary sacrifice of Macaria to propitiate the gods, and the generous heroism of Iolaus, whose youth is miraculously renewed, in answer to his prayers, in order to enable him to perform the noblest feats of valour, and to save, by his prowess, the family of his friend. There is a singular want of catastrophe. In the last scene, Eurystheus, whose life has been spared by the Athenians, is menaced with death by Alcmena; and while she threatens, and he replies, the tragedy abruptly concludes. The conduct and language of this spouse of Hercules, however prompted by her wrongs, are unfeminine—though perhaps not beneath the estimate of the female character formed by the poet. The Children of Hercules.

The "*Phœnician Damsels*" occupies the same ground with the Seven Chiefs of Æschylus: it is of much greater length, and contains a far more numerous dramatis personæ than the preceding tragedy; but it is almost needless to say that it is far inferior in spirit and vividness to that mighty work, in which the heroes with their martial panoply seem like shapes of fire seen in terrific vision. In the production of Euripides there is, however, some reflection of this prodigious and meteor-like brightness. The picture of the fatal combat between the brothers is exceedingly characteristic and striking. The scene in which Antigone, from the walls, inquires and learns the names and characters of the chiefs before Thebes is perhaps injudiciously copied from Homer; for though such an enumeration may be exceedingly beautiful in an epic poem, it is unsuitable to tragedy, because it is The Phœnician Damsels.

purely episodical, and tends, in no way, to advance the action. There is a great deal of declamatory vituperation in this tragedy; indeed Polynices seems to have entered the city for no end but to debate and retire. Jocasta, whom Sophocles had killed, is here revived to endure fresh afflictions. We cannot say we should have desired this resuscitation. When we consider the involuntary offence by which she has been defiled, we look on her with shuddering; and feel relieved when *she* dies for whom there could be no repose but in the grave.

The Raging Hercules.

The "*Raging Hercules*" consists of two distinct fables; the imminent danger of the father, wife, and children of Hercules, with their deliverance by the return of that hero, and the madness in which he kills most of those whom he had so lately saved. Notwithstanding this fault, there is much power in the latter part of the tragedy. The description given of the dreadful scene in which the slaughters are perpetrated is very striking—and the condition of Hercules when he wakes to a consciousness of the past, most heart-appalling and fearful. The force of the pathos is pleasingly broken by the kind attentions and unchanged friendship of Theseus, whom the Athenian poets delighted to extol. Sophocles has very finely delineated this favourite character; but how much more sweetly is this idol of Athens portrayed by Shakspeare than by any even of the most gifted of his own countrymen, when with a courtesy so graceful, and a philosophy so mild and prince-like, he is made to receive the theatrical efforts of the immortal company of fanciful mechanics!

Alcestis.

"*Alcestis*," if not the most beautiful of all the productions of its author, unquestionably contains the most exquisite scene. The descriptions given of the preparations made by the heroic wife for her approaching end—the apostrophe to the nuptial chamber—her own gentle departure and leave-taking of life, preceded by maternal anxieties and thoughts of love—form an instance of the pathetic of which all the works of ancient times can furnish no similar example. For the sake of the feelings thus excited, we readily pardon the necessary debasement of Admetus and his father—the strange account of the manner in which Hercules seizes the phantom Death at the tomb, and compels him to relinquish his prize, which seems at variance with every intelligible scheme of metaphysics or of mythology—and the undignified manners of the hero, who restores Alcestis to her husband. In this piece one might almost fancy that the first hints were contained of that divine picture of dying excellence which it was reserved for Richardson to exhibit in full grandeur to the world. It is astonishing that Euripides was not converted from his heresies respecting the female sex by the perusal of his own Alcestis.

Hippolytus.

"*Hippolytus*," though objectionable in subject, is a most noble work. The author seems to have derived a purity of mind from the act of depicting such a character as that of the hero; for nothing can exceed the delicate propriety with which the revolting part of the subject is touched on. There is this peculiarity in the virtue of the

unfortunate youth that his goodness seems altogether innate, and his soul is as unspotted as his actions. Euripides appears to have had a congenial feeling for this description of angelical beauty of mind, but to have wanted all moral principle; all sense of the struggling and subduing power of virtue which gains a mastery over itself and awes all around it. Moral beauty with him is always in repose—soft, placid, unconscious. Of all his persons who engage in the active scenes of crowded life, scarcely one has unmingled claims on our admiration and sympathy.

Rhesus.

The admirers of Euripides usually give up "*Rhesus*" as unworthy of its alleged author, and have made great efforts to prove it spurious. There is, indeed, much reason to suppose it the production of a later age. No subject could have been chosen less adapted to tragedy than the episode of the Iliad on which this piece is founded; and the unfortunate choice of the materials is not compensated for by the skill of the finishing.

The Bacchanalians.

The "*Bacchanalians*," though unfit for theatrical representation, is full of power, spirit, and poetry. The frenzy of the votaries of the god, with all their strange and wild frolics, are described with a vividness truly picturesque, while the choral songs breathe forth the same inspiration in verses which seem to reel and dance in unison with the general emotion. The catastrophe would be too dreadful a conclusion to a piece of this kind, were it brought home with reality to our bosoms; but the whole is carried off by a sort of etherial intoxication in which the misery is disbelieved or forgotten.

Helen.

"*Helen*" is as marvellous as a fairy tale. It is written on the supposition that the celebrated lady whose name it bears, never was really at Troy, but was entertained in Egypt, while Paris bore away a cloud instead of the reality for which the Greeks and Trojans contended. Mr. Bryant triumphantly adduces this story, which is found in several ancient writers, as a proof that the whole tale of Troy is "the baseless fabric of a vision." The conclusion of this tragedy is, like many of its author's, comic;—a universal reconciliation takes place, and all parties are made happy. The impression left behind by the perusal is pleasing; because the most exalted beauty is not here divorced from virtue, for which it is so appropriate a shrine.

The Cyclops.

The "*Cyclops*" is the only specimen which remains to us of the ancient satirical drama, by which the representation of the trilogies of the old tragedians was usually followed. Although the substance, and even the pun, by means of which Ulysses escapes, are taken from the Odyssey, the piece is worked up with great effect; the humour wears a romantic form, and the very parody on the heroic tales is itself heroic. There are, even in this ludicrous effusion, nearer approaches to the high and plastic style than in most of the serious pieces of the author; a circumstance which may lead us to believe that Euripides was seduced from the path trodden by his predecessors, chiefly by his desire to triumph in the tears of his audience; so that when this temptation was removed, he was able more closely to follow them.

Of the successors of Euripides in Grecian tragedy we have no remains. Perhaps this circumstance is not to be regretted. They would only have afforded a gratification to curiosity in tracing the decline of the art, while they would have interrupted our admiration of the grand relics which we now possess. At present the Greek tragedy stands alone, as one of the grandest vestiges of the mighty times of old; and when we consider the immense number of plays which each of its poets produced, and the consequent facility with which works so perfect in their symmetry, and so exquisite in their minutest parts, were struck off at once, we are lost in admiration at the creative power of that golden period.

Translations of the Greek tragedies.

The Greek tragedies have been translated into English: those of Æschylus, by Potter—of Sophocles, by Franklin—and of Euripides, by Potter and Woodhull; but we cannot think, in any instance, with considerable success. The Greek language, perhaps, was essential to the harmony of these mighty works. The words themselves often form parts of that grace which is nowhere else to be supplied; and the divine workmanship of Sophocles and Æschylus would have been, in a degree, lost, if employed on less pure and delicate materials. Nor can we give much praise to any modern attempt at imitating these productions of Athenian genius. The texture of our minds is essentially different from that of those by whom they were produced or enjoyed—our joys and sorrows refer to a different sphere—the colouring of existence is altered. We have exchanged present unthinking gladness for a distant hope; the distinctness of a beautiful foreground for the dimly-seen glories of an endless perspective. Infinitely is the advantage ours, as immortality is superior to time. We must, however, resign the graces by which the ancients attempted to supply the absence of prospects beyond the grave. We must content ourselves with the admiration of those works which the changes of mortality have left us. The moulds in which their exquisite groups were cast are for ever broken!

The following are the principal editions of the Greek tragedies:—

Editions of the Greek tragedies.

The first edition of ÆSCHYLUS was printed at Venice, 1518, 8vo. The best modern editions are those of Wellauer, Leipsig, 1823; W. Dindorf, 1827; and Scholfield, Oxford, 1830.—SOPHOCLES. Aldus published the Editio Princeps, 1502, 8vo. Of the numerous editions published in the sixteenth century, the best are those of H. Stephens, 1568, 4to, and C. Canter, Antwerp, 1579, 12mo. The most valuable modern editions are Hermann's revised edition of Brunck, 1823–25, 7 vols., 8vo.; the edition of Elmsley, with Lexicon Sophocleum, Oxford, 1826, 2 vols. 8vo; the very useful edition by Wunder, 1831–46, 2 vols. 8vo., in 7 parts; and Ahren's, in Didot's Bibliotheca Scrip. Græc., Paris, 1842–44, 8vo. The Editio Princeps of EURIPIDES (without printer's name or date), contains four plays—the Medea, Alcestis, Hippolytus, and Andromache, printed in capital letters; it is with great probability supposed to have been edited by J. Lascaris, and was printed at Florence towards the end of the fifteenth century. Aldus' edition, Venice, 1503, contains 18 plays. The best modern editions are that of Matthiæ, Leipsig, 1813–29, in 9 vols., and the Glasgow edition of 1821, 9 vols., 8vo.

THE CHORUS

IN

Ancient Tragedy.

BY

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THE

CHORUS IN ANCIENT TRAGEDY.

I.—On the Origin of Tragedy and Comedy.

The ancient Greeks met annually in their villages, (κῶμαι) at the end of harvest or vintage, to offer sacrifices to the gods, and to partake of relaxation and festivity; διὰ τῆς συντονίας ἀνάπαυσιν, as Aristotle says.[1] The principal object of their reverence was Διόννσος, Bacchus, the inventor of wine, and an important personage in the most ancient mythology of the Greeks; who was worshipped, together with Ceres, in the Eleusinian mysteries, as joint patron of agriculture, and who was, perhaps, the most ancient of all the Grecian deities. He seems to have been typical of the first generating principle; and, therefore, his most conspicuous emblem was the Φάλλος. At these meetings two kinds of poetry were naturally introduced; the one in honour of Bacchus, which Aristotle says was ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἐγκωμιαστικόν; the other, ludicrous and satirical, interspersed with mutual sarcasms and jests; γελοιότερον καὶ ἰαμβίζον. *Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fundens.* But this species, also, was in honour of Bacchus, although of a lighter and more familiar cast than the former. Origin of Tragedy and Comedy.

The loftier and more poetical song was afterwards named διθύραμβος, a term, of which no satisfactory explanation has yet been given. Dithyrambus.

To the more jocose effusions are to be referred the phallic songs, which were sung during the procession of the Φάλλος. The singers of the dithyrambs, says Aristotle, gradually improved tragedy, and those of the phallic song, comedy; both having originally been extemporaneous. Phallic Songs.

The second age of dramatic representations was that in which the actor prepared beforehand some story, which he represented to the audience partly by narration, partly by dancing and gesticulation. See *omnino* Hermann, *ad Arist. Poet.*, p. 109. It was then that tragedy was no longer an extemporaneous song, indiscriminately poured forth by the votaries of Bacchus as wit or wine prompted them, but it became a profession or art. The first who exercised it was Thespis; but even he, although he was not long prior to Æschylus, left no written drama,[2] and it is most probable that he never committed any to writing. In his time the word τραγῳδία appears to have been first used. It seems probable, as Bentley supposes, that tragedy and comedy may originally have had one common name, Κωμῳδία, being both of them equally *songs of the village.*

[1] *Eth. Nicom.* viii.

[2] Bent. *Diss. Phal.* p. 238.

Origin of Tragedy and Comedy.

One name for comedy was *τρυγῳδία*; but it was only called so in derision, because the actors smeared their faces with the lees of wine, as the earliest tragedians did, according to Horace.

The etymology of *τραγῳδία* is clearly *τράγος* and *ᾠδή*; but the reason of it is involved in some obscurity. The common notion is, that it was so called, because a goat was the prize of the singer.

Tragedy, therefore, was originally nothing more than a song in honour of Bacchus, accompanied by gesticulations and dancing. In process of time were introduced relations of some mythological story, by a second person, who relieved the singer; an improvement first adopted by Thespis. Then another actor was added, who kept up a dialogue with the first performer, the singer introducing the Bacchic hymn between the different portions of their performance. The subject of this song was afterwards less strictly confined to Bacchus, and frequently bore some reference to the matter of the dialogue.

Although the subject of the dithyrambic song was thus changed, the custom of singing it before the altar of Bacchus was still retained; and when afterwards a stage was invented by Æschylus, a portion of it, called the *ὄρχηστρα*, or *dancing-space*, was set apart for the performance of the song, and dance round the *θυμέλη*, or *altar*. Hence *θυμέλη* is sometimes put for the orchestra on which it stood. Artemidorus, ii. 3, p. 84. *τοῖς ἐπὶ θυμέλην ἀναβαίνουσι*, *to those who tread the stage*, who are called in the same chapter *θυμελικοί*. Alciphr. ii. 3, p. 240. *δραματουργεῖν τι καινὸν ταῖς ἐτησίαις θυμέλαις δρᾶμα*. v. *Διον*, *τεχνῖσται*. So *θυμελικοὶ ἀγῶνες* in Athenæus, xv. 16. See Aulus Gellius, xx. 3.

This account of the origin of dramatic exhibitions will serve to explain the reasons why such entertainments were confined at Athens to the Dionysiac festivals; and why the actors were called *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται*.

II.—Of the Tragic Contests.

The Tragic Contests.

The contests of tragic poets were not thought of, till their art had attained a certain degree of consistency and polish. In the time of Thespis, who acted his own interludes, they were not deemed of sufficient importance to be made a public concern. *ἀρχομένων τῶν περὶ Θέσπιν ἤδη τὴν τραγῳδίαν κινεῖν, καὶ διὰ τὴν καινότητα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἄγοντος τοῦ πράγματος, οὔπω δ' εἰς ἅμιλλαν ἐναγώνιον ἐξηγμένου*.—Plutarch, *in Solone*, p. 173, HSt.

The dramatic contests always took place at the *Dionysia*, or festivals of Bacchus, of which there were three holden in Attica at different times in the year.

1. *τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς*, celebrated in the month *Ποσειδεὼν* (the sixth Attic month, answering to the latter part of December and the beginning of January) in all the *δῆμοι* and villages of Attica. Theophr. *Char.* p. 12, Schn.

2. *τὰ Ληναῖα*, or *τὰ ἐν Λίμναις*, so called from *Λίμναι*, a part of the city near the Acropolis, in which was a sacred *περίβολος*, or en-

closure, of Bacchus, called Λήναιον, from ληνὸς, *a wine-press.* Thucyd. ii. 15. In this enclosure plays were acted, the audience being placed upon a wooden scaffolding. But afterwards a regular theatre was erected. This festival was celebrated on the twelfth day of the eighth month, Ἀνθεστηριὼν, originally called Ληναιὼν, answering to part of February and March. The festival, itself, in later times, went by the name of τὰ Ἀνθεστήρια, and was holden on three consecutive days, the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth of the month; the first day's ceremonies were called Πιθοίγια, *the Broachings;* those of the second day, Χόες, *the Cups,* or *drinking-bout;* those of the third, Χύτροι, *the messes of pottage.*[1] The Tragic Contests.

3. τὰ ἐν ἄστει, or τὰ κατ' ἄστυ, or τὰ ἀστικὰ, holden in the ninth month, Ἐλαφηβολιὼν, answering to part of March and April, and about the seventeenth day of the month.[2] And this festival is always to be understood, when the words τὰ Διονύσια are used by themselves.

Dramatic representations were introduced at all these festivals, but prizes were contended for only in the two last. In the τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς the actors seem to have gone about from one δῆμος to another. Rural Festivals.

In the two city festivals, the scenic contests were made public concerns, and controlled by strict regulations; which will be the subject of a subsequent section. At present we will consider those which related to the pieces produced.

Each poet was expected to exhibit three tragic, and one satyric drama, which, together constituted a τετραλογία. In imitation of which custom, Plato is said by Thrasyllus, (*ap. Diog. Laert.* iii. 56,) to have published his dialogues by tetralogies, or quaternions. Tetralogies.

Sometimes the three tragedies were of a kindred argument, as, for instance, the *Agamemnon*, *Choëphori*, and *Eumenides* of Æschylus, all relating, more or less directly, to the story of Orestes; for which reason the tetralogy, of which they formed the principal part, was called τετραλογία Ὀρέστεια. Aristophan. Ran. 1124.

Πρῶτον δέ μοι τὸν ἐξ Ὀρεστείας λέγε.

When Diogenes Laertius speaks of plays, acted at the Panatheniac festivals, he refers to a more recent age, when that custom may probably have prevailed. But long before that time, tetralogies had been discontinued. See Bentley, *Diss. Phal.*, p. 233.[3]

[1] The reader who wishes for a full account of this festival, may consult the *Atticæ Lectiones* of Meursius, iv. 13, p. 189. The *Lenæa* have been confounded with the Διονύσια κατ' ἀγροὺς. But Ruhnken, in the *Auctarium Emend. in Hesych.* v. Διονύσια, has clearly proved that they were the same as the festival ἐν Λιμναις and the *Anthesteria.* The contrary opinion is unsuccessfully maintained by G. A. Oderici. See *Biblioth. Crit.* ii. iii. p. 51. Heyne, *ad Georg.* ii. 381. The Scholiast on Plato says, that the *Lenæa* were in the month Mæmacterion.

[2] Æschin. c. Ctesiph. sec. 24.

[3] It appears, however, from a decree of the Athenian people, preserved in Josephus, *A. J.* xiv. 8, p. 699, that even as late as the age of Hyrcanus, the tragic *contests* were confined to the Dionysia. ἀνειπεῖν δὲ τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις, τραγῳδῶν τῶν καινῶν ἀγομένων, καὶ Παναθηναίοις καὶ Ἐλευσινίοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι.

The Tragic Contests.

The custom of presenting four dramas at once was not of very long duration; for it seems not to have been introduced till the later years of Æschylus; who wrote, as the author of his life informs us, seventy tragedies, but only about five satyric dramas. If this account of his satyric dramas be correct, it is clear that he could have presented only five tetralogies, of which the Orestean was the last. But this does not very well accord with the circumstance of his having acquired great reputation by his satyric dramas. According to Pausanias, p. 56, 32, ed. Sylburg., the satyres of Æschylus were the most celebrated; and in the next place, those of Pratinas and Aristias. Diogenes Laertius relates, that Menedemus thought Æschylus the first in this species of composition, and Sophocles the second.

But to return to the Dionysiac festivals: we have said, in compliance with the received notion, that the scenic contests took place only at the Ληναῖα, and the μεγάλα Διονύσια. There is reason to suppose that the comedians most commonly contended at the former, and the tragedians at the latter of these festivals.

The tragic *contests* must always have taken place at the great Dionysia, for at that festival the *new* plays were represented, and new actors appointed by lot, as appears from several decrees quoted by Æschines and Demosthenes. This point has been illustrated by Hemsterhuis, with his usual learning, in his notes on Lucian, i. p. 166. See also Taylor's *Preface to the Orations* περὶ Στεφάνου.

One thing more is to be remarked about these contests. The reason why new plays and new actors were brought upon the stage at the great Dionysia was this: at that festival strangers from various parts of Greece, and especially deputies from all the states tributary to Athens, were present in that city; whereas at the Lenæa none but the inhabitants of Attica composed the audience.

It appears, then, that although tragedies were acted on the Lenæan festival, the contests of new pieces took place at the Dionysia ἐν ἄστει. See Barthelemy's *Dissertation in the Mém. de l'Ac. d'Inscr.*, tom. xxxix.; Wolf, *Præf. ad Demosth. Or. Lept.*, p. xc., *Demosth. de Coron.*, p. 136, Harl. These were made a national concern; they were regulated by laws, and the expense of paying and equipping the choruses was one of the λειτουργίαι, or State burthens, imposed upon the richer members of the commonwealth. This charge was called Χορηγία, and the person who bore it Χορηγός.[1] The different χορηγίαι were assigned to the different tribes in their turns, and the ἐπιμεληταί of the tribe fixed them, before the Dionysia, on some wealthy individuals.

The different *Choragi*, according to their appointment, defrayed the expenses of the dithyrambic or Cyclian Chorus,[2] or of the tragic or comic chorus,[3] or of the Αὐλητῶν χορὸς, (who danced and sang while a musician played on the flute,) or of the *Pyrrhichistæ*,[4] (boys who

[1] The Latins always wrote *Choragus*.
[2] Plutarch, *Andocid.* p. 835. B.
[3] See the Notes on Hesychius, v. Πῦρ πυρίγχει. Lysias. Ἀπολ. Δωροδ. sec. 1.
[4] Lysias, 1. c. Isæus, p. 54, as corrected by Bentley, *Diss.* p. 361. Athenæus,

danced in armour). An enumeration of the different expenses of the χορηγία is given by Lysias, Ἀπολ. Δωροδ., sec. 1, which deserves to be inserted here, as rendered into English by Dr. Bentley, *Diss. Phal.*, p. 360:—

"When Theopompus was archon, (Ol. xcii. 2,) I was furnisher to a tragic Chorus, and I laid out thirty *minæ*. Afterwards I got the victory with the Chorus of men, and it cost me twenty *minæ*. When Glaucippus was archon, (Ol. xcii. 3,) I laid out eight *minæ* upon the *Pyrrhichists*. Again I won the victory with the Chorus of men, and with that, and the charge of the *Tripus*, I expended fifty *minæ*. And when Diocles was archon, (Ol. xcii. 4,) I laid out upon the *Cyclian* Chorus three *minæ* (qu.?) Afterwards, when Alexias was archon, (Ol. xciii. 4,) I furnished a Chorus of boys, and it cost me above fifteen *minæ*. And when Euclides was archon, (Ol. xciv. 2,) I was at the charge of sixteen *minæ* upon the comedians, and of seven upon the young *Pyrrhichists*." The charge of the Cyclian Chorus Dr. Bentley probably wrote CCC *minæ*, as it is in Lysias, quoted by Meursius. The printer changed this into III *minæ*.

The poets who were desirous of contending for the prize presented their pieces to the first archon, whose business it was to see that the Choragi gave their Choruses to none but those who deserved it. This regulation was made to secure the representation of the best pieces. The Choragus of a Chorus of boys was obliged by law to be above age of forty years. What age was fixed for the other χορηγοὶ is uncertain. Another law enacted that no foreigner should dance in the choruses,[1] under the penalty of 1000 drachms, to be paid by the Choragus; but this referred only to the greater Dionysia; for at the Lenæan exhibitions it was lawful to introduce foreign dancers; at the latter festival the Μέτοικοι also were Choragi.[2]

Sometimes the expenses of the Chorus were voluntarily undertaken by some spirited individual, or by the poet himself. The plays of Æschylus were acted a second time after his death, at the public expense.[3]

The archon also, it seems, assigned, *by lot*, to the different poets, three actors apiece. But the poet who obtained the prize was allowed to select his own performers for the next year.

It has been thought by some learned men that, because each of the ten tribes appointed a Choragus for the Dionysiac contests, there must

xiv. p. 630, tells us, upon the authority of Aristocles, that the Πυῤῥίχισται were always boys. The dance is described in p. 631, and by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, quoted in the Notes on Proclus. Phrynichus, who was a dancing-master, was of course employed occasionally to teach the Pyrrichistæ. Ælian, having met with the expression διδάξας Πυῤῥιχίστας, or something to that effect, trumps up a story of Phrynichus's having introduced Pyrrhichists in one of his tragedies (V. H. iii. 8.) Schottus, in his Notes on Proclus, improves upon this, and says that Phrynichus acted a tragedy called Πυῤῥίχισται.

[1] Petit. *Legis Attic.* p. 353.

[2] Ibid.

[3] See Stanley, *in vitam Æschyli*, p. 707.

The Tragic Contests.

have been always ten competitors for the prize of comedy, of which only three *were placed.* But it is clear from the argument to the *Plutus*, that this was not the case. We are informed that Aristophanes, when he presented that play, had only four competitors—Nicochares, Aristomenes, Nicophon, and Alcæus. It is most probable that different Χορηγίαι were allotted to different tribes; so many for comic choruses, so many for tragic, so many for dithyrambic, &c.

The contending Choragi were called Ἀντιχόρηγοι;[1] the poetical or musical candidates Ἀντιδιδάσκαλοι;[2] the actors Ἀντίτεχνοι.[3]

The names of successful Choragi and poets were proclaimed to the people.

The Choragus consecrated to Bacchus a tripod, inscribed with the names of himself and his poet, and the archon.[4] But perhaps this is true only of the dithyrambic contests. The tragic victor seems to have consecrated a tablet or marble slab. The oldest of these inscriptions which has been preserved is in Plutarch, *Themistocl.*, p. 251.

It seems probable that the original prizes of tragedy and comedy were discontinued when the dramatic art had attained its consistency and polish.[5]

The successful poet was honoured with a crown of ivy.

The actors also of the successful pieces wore crowns of ivy.

We have no document by which we can determine the number of tragedies represented at one sitting,[6] but it appears that the time allowed to each poet was measured by the clepsydra.[7]

The prizes were awarded by judges appointed by the archon, usually, but not always, five in number.[8] Their decision, as might have been expected, was not always impartial.[9] The judges of the Cyclian choruses were punishable by fine, if they decided contrary to justice.[10]

The tripods and tablets commemorative of the Dionysiac conquerors were placed in the Lenæan temple of Bacchus. From these, different authors at various times compiled chronological accounts of the dramatic contests, giving the names of the three first competitors,[11] the titles of their plays, the success of each, and the name of the archon in whose magistracy they were performed.

The principal compilers of these *Didascaliæ*, as they were called, were Aristotle, Dicæarchus, Callimachus,[12] Eratosthenes, Carystius of Pergamus, and Aristophanes the grammarian. The student who

[1] Demosth. *c. Mid.* i. p. 134.
[2] See Casaubon, *on Athen.* vi. p. 235 D.
[3] Alciphron, iii. 48.
[4] See the Preface to the *Persæ* of Æschylus, p. xxii. *Cf.* Harpocr. v. κατατομή.
[5] Bentley, *Diss. Phal.* p. 303.
[6] Tyrwhitt, *ad Aristot.* p. 192.
[7] Ibid. p. 144.
[8] See Valesius in Maussac. *Diss. Crit.* p. 204, and *Biblioth. Crit.* ii. 3, p. 45.
[9] See Ælian, ii. 8. Aristoph. Av. 445. Tyrwhitt, p. 149.
[10] Æschin. c. Ctesiph., p. 85.
[11] *Vita Sophoclis*, p. xiv.
[12] See Argum. *Aj.* αἱ διδασκαλίαι κατ' ἐξοχήν, not those of Dicæarchus. See *omnino Jonsium*, p. 87.

wishes to obtain full information on this subject must consult Casaubon, *on Athenæus*, vi. p. 235; E. Jonsius, *Hist. Scrip. Philos.*, i. 16; Bentley, *on the Fragments of Callimachus*, p. 470, ed. Ernesti. Two fragments of marble Didascaliæ were published at Rome in 1777, by G. A. Oderici, and reviewed in Wyttenbach's *Bibliotheca Critica*, ii. 3, p. 41. The Tragic Contests.

III.—Of the Actors.

The Actors.

We have before observed that the singer of the Chorus was originally the only performer, and that Thespis first added an actor, who relieved the singer by relating and gesticulating some mythological story. Æschylus added a second actor, who kept up a dialogue with the other performer, the singer introducing the Bacchic song between the different portions of their performance; and therefore he is justly considered as the father of tragedy. Afterwards, Sophocles added a third actor; an improvement, the credit of which is said to be due to Æschylus by the author of that poet's life; but Dicæarchus, who was well versed in the history of the drama, attributed it to Sophocles, as we learn from the same life. A better authority still is that of Aristotle, *de Poet.*, c. 10.

In his notes on the foregoing passage, Mr. Tyrwhitt observes that Æschylus certainly introduced three actors into some of his plays, as, for instance, in the *Choëphori*, v. 665–716, but he thinks that he borrowed the hint from Sophocles, by whom he was worsted in a tragic contest, at least twelve years before his death. "The actors were not only assigned by lot to the several competitors, but the number which each competitor was allowed to employ was limited to three. See Hesychius, v. Νέμεσις ὑποκριτῶν, (rather Νέμησις.) In consequence of this regulation, when three characters were already on the stage, a fourth could not be introduced without allowing one of the three actors sufficient time to retire and change his dress. The poet was at liberty to employ as many mutes as he thought proper."

The actors were called Ἀγωνισταί. (Hesych. *in v.*) He who performed the principal part was called Πρωταγωνιστὴς, the second δευτεραγωνιστὴς, and the third τριταγωνιστὴς. Hence πρωταγωνιστεῖν or πρῶτα λέγειν, signifies *to be the principal personage in any affair*, and τριταγωνιστεῖν or τρίτα λέγειν, *to be a subordinate character;* as in Latin *primas* vel *tertias agere*. Our readers will remember the precept of Horace, *neu quarta* loqui *persona laboret*. Pollux (iv. 109) says, that when a fourth actor did say anything, it was called παραχορήγημα. They seem to have introduced not only living mutes upon the stage, but also figures dressed up to represent men. It is probable that most of the guards and attendants who came on with kings and great personages were figures appropriately dressed, of which a sufficient stock would be kept in the lumber-room of the theatre.

IV.—Of the Chorus.

The Chorus.

The Chorus, which was originally performed by one person, and

The Chorus.

which was considered as the main business of the representation, by degrees became subordinate to the acting.[1] But in order to gratify the love of spectacle which distinguished the Athenians, succeeding poets increased the number of those who danced and sang, but the Chorus was still considered as one actor,[2] and joined in the dialogue by means of his head, called Κορυφαῖος. By degrees, however, to give spirit and variety to the Chorus, it was divided, when necessary, into ἡμιχόρια, each division having its Coryphæus. They performed regular dances, accommodated, it should seem, to the measure *of the verses* which they sang, a subject which is involved in great difficulty and obscurity, chiefly arising from the imperfect knowledge which we possess of the principles of the Grecian music. They seem to have danced one way while singing the strophe, and another during the antistrophe, and to have stood still, or to have performed the evolution which dancing-masters call a *pousser*, during the epode. But all this is very uncertain. The way in which the grammarians attempt to explain these motions is too absurd to deserve a serious refutation, although it has been adopted by Vossius. We may briefly observe, that dancing seems not to have conveyed to an Athenian any ludicrous ideas. To us it would be very strange to see a party of venerable old men figuring up and down the stage, and all the while bewailing in passionate exclamations some public calamity.

Dances of the Chorus.

With regard to the number of the Chorus, we may be sure that it did not all at once jump from one to fifteen, or any other fixed number. If the number of the Chorus was ever fixed at fifteen, it was not till the tragic art had arrived at some degree of magnificence and importance. In the *Supplices* of Æschylus, the Chorus consists of the daughters of Danaus. Now these were fifty in number; but it is very uncertain whether they all made their appearance upon the stage; or, if they did, whether the greater number of them were not stuffed figures.

When the tragic Chorus consisted of fifteen, it stood either in three rows of five each, or in five rows of three each. In the former case it was said to be ranged κατὰ στοίχους, in the latter, κατὰ ζυγά. The dividing the Chorus into two parts, was called διχορία; each division ἡμιχόριον, and their alternate songs, ἀντιχόρια. Its first entrance upon the stage was called πάροδος, its temporary retreat from the stage, μετανάστασις, and its return ἐπιπάροδος; its final exit, ἄφοδος. These particulars are all taken from Julius Pollux, iv. 108, whose account, most probably, refers to the later ages of the Greek drama. It appears that the Coryphæi stood in the centres of their respective divisions. The Chorus entered the orchestra from the right side of the theatre, and danced across it to the left. The less conspicuous

[1] It should seem, however, from the following passage of Pollux, iv. 123, that even before the time of Thespis, more than one person danced in the chorus. Ἐλεὸς ἦν τράπεζα ἀρχαία, ἐφ' ἣν πρὸ Θεσπίδος εἷς τις ἀναβὰς τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀπεκρίνετο.

[2] Arist. *de Poet.* 32.

situations in the Chorus were called ὑποκόλπια. Lines were drawn on the floor of the orchestra along which the στοῖχοι were to move. The Chorus.

The species of dances performed by the tragic and comic Choruses were called respectively ἐμμέλεια and κόρδαξ, the kind adapted to Satyrs was termed σίκιννις.[1]

With respect to the music of the Chorus, Dr. Bentley says the dialect which it used was Doric, being best adapted to the Doric mood in which it sang; which, with deference to so great an authority, is but a poor account of the matter. The dialect of the Chorus was the remains of its original rusticity, for it appears from Aristotle, (*de Poet.* c. 4,) that the invention of tragedy belonged to the Dorians. And it is not by any means clear that the Chorus always used the Doric mood. It is more probable that they varied the mood according to the subject. Athenæus, (xiv. p. 624,) speaking of the Æolic, Doric, and Ionic moods, says that the last, "by reason of its grave and harsh and pompous character is well suited to tragedy." Plutarch, or the author of the Treatise *de Musicâ*, p. 1136, C. says, that the Mixo-Lydian mood is pathetic, and fit for tragedies; that the first inventress of it was Sappho, from whom the tragedians learned it, and combined it with the Doric; and further, that it was akin to the Ionic mood; which observation illustrates the passage of Athenæus. The reader will bear in mind that we are all along considering the *Chorus of tragedy*. It is curious, as Mr. Twining has observed, to trace the gradual extinction of the Chorus. Originally it was all: then relieved by short intervals of dialogue, but still principal: then subordinate, digressive, and ill-connected with the play: then borrowed from other pieces, (a custom first practised by Agatho):[2] and at last it degenerated into music between the acts. Music of the Chorus.

The early tragic poets taught their own Choruses to dance. Athenæus tells us that "the ancient poets, Thespis, Pratinus, Carcinus, and Phrynicus, were called ὀρχηστικοὶ, because they not only used much dancing in the Choruses of their plays, but were themselves common dancing-masters, teaching anybody that had a mind to learn."[3] Again, "Chamæleon says, that Æschylus was the first person who taught his Chorus figure-dances; not having recourse to professed masters, but inventing himself the figures to be danced by them." Afterwards there were regular διδάσκαλοι, who undertook for a certain sum to teach the Chorus, and, in some instances, furnished the Chorus for hire.

The place where the Chorus was taught its dances was called χορεῖον.

The orchestra was semicircular, for which reason it was called, in later times, Σῖγμα, from its resemblance to the form of that letter.

[1] See Casaubon, *de Sat. Poes.* i. 4. Valckenaer, *in Ammon.* p. 83. Alberti, *in Hesych.* v. Σίκιννις.

[2] Aristot. *de Poet.* 32.

[3] Athen. i. p. 22. Bentley, *Dissert.* p. 264.

V.—Of the Dress and Ornaments of the Actors.

Dress and Ornaments of he Actors.

Every one knows that the ancient performers wore masks adapted to their respective characters; a device which effectually precluded that expression of the countenance, in which we are accustomed, and with justice, to place a very considerable part of the histrionic art. The reason of it seems to have been, that as the actor was elevated by his *Cothurni* above the ordinary stature of a man, it was necessary, in order to preserve the due proportion of the human form, that his countenance should be enlarged in a corresponding degree. Besides which, the vizards were so contrived as to answer the purpose of a speaking trumpet, and to make the actor's voice sonorous and loud; whence, according to Gabius Bassus,[1] came the Latin term *Persona*. The Greek name πρόσωπον means literally *anything applied to the face*. This was the ancient term, but later writers called it προσωπεῖον.[2] In the earlier age of tragedy, the actors smeared their faces either with the lees of wine, as we have before observed, or with a kind of paint called βατραχεῖον.[3] Different actors invented different masks.[4] Who first introduced them into comedy is unknown.[5] But Æschylus first used them in tragedy; *personæ, pallæque repertor honestæ Æschylus*, says Horace.

Vizards.

The different kinds of vizards are described by Julius Pollux, iv. 133, *seq.*[6]

Buskins.

We come next to the buskins worn by tragic actors, called ἐμβάται or κόθορνοι. The invention of the buskin is attributed to Æschylus. So Horace, *Æschylus,—Et docuit magnumque loqui nitique cothurno.* Others ascribe it to Sophocles, as Servius relates in his notes on Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 10. *Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno.* Hence *cothurnus* is often put *metonymicè* for *tragœdia;* as in Horace, *Od.* ii. 1, 12, *grande munus Cecropio repetes cothurno.* Juv. xv. 29, *vulgi scelus, et cunctis graviora cothurnis.* The object of their wearing these buskins with thick soles, was to elevate them above the ordinary level of human stature; for the personages of all the Greek dramas were men of heroic ages, who were thought to have been superior in size to their posterity.[7] The reason commonly assigned is the great size of the Greek theatres, which seems a very inadequate one. Lucian[8] says, ἢ καὶ, νὴ Δί', εἴτις ὑποδησάμενος κόθορνους, μικρὸς αὐτὸς ὢν, ἐρίζοι περὶ μεγέθους τοῖς ἀπὸ ἰσοπέδου ὅλῳ πήχει ὑπερέχουσιν. It is doubtful whether the tragic buskin was ever called κόθορνος by the

[1] *In Aulus Gellius*, v. 7.

[2] *Ulp.* (or rather *Zosimus Ascalonita*, as Mr. Dobree has shown) *in Demosth. de Fals. Leg.* p. 116 A.

[3] Schol. *Aristoph. Equit.* 520.

[4] Athen. xiv. p. 659. B. Tyrwhitt, *in Aristot.* p. 139.

[5] Aristot. *Poet.* sec. 11.

[6] A work *de Personis et Larvis*, was published at Rome in 1639, by Agesilaus Marescottus; but it is exceedingly rare.

[7] Diomedes, *Comm. in Dionys. Thrac. ap.* Valckenaer, *Animadv. ad Ammon.* p. 75

[8] *Pro Imagin.* ii. p. 485.

more ancient writers, who used this word to denote a sort of sandal worn by women, not made right and left, as sandals usually were, but equally adapted to both feet; whence Theramenes was called *ὁ κόθορνος*, as having attached himself with equal readiness to that party which happened to be uppermost.[1] Dress and Ornaments of the Actors.

We are informed by Diomedes in the extract above referred to, that the actors wore garments down to their feet, in order to conceal the device of the buskins. Ister, the grammarian, informs us, that Sophocles invented the white sandals which were worn by the actors and the chorus.[2]

VI.—Of the Theatre.

The theatre at Athens was formerly a temporary building, constructed of wooden planks (*ἴκρια*) in the Forum.[3] These having given way during the representation of a play of Pratinas, or of Æschylus,[4] a more substantial theatre was erected in the precincts of the temple of Bacchus, near the Acropolis.[5] The Theatre.

That portion of the theatre appropriated to the performances, was divided into—1. **Σκηνὴ**, the whole stage; 2. **Λογεῖον**, in Latin *pulpitum*, that part where the actors stood;[6] 3. **Ὀρχήστρα**, a semicircular space before the **Λογεῖον**, and a little lower than it; on which was the **Θυμέλη** or *altar of Bacchus*.[7] 4. **Ὑποσκήνιον**, or **Κονίστρα**, the floor of which was on a level with the area of the theatre, a place decorated with columns and statues.[8]

The space before the **Σκηνὴ**, where the actors stood, was also called **Προσκήνιον**.[9] The following passage of Vitruvius will show the nature of these divisions:—

"*Ampliorem habent orchestram Græci, et scenam recessiorem, minoreque latitudine pulpitum, quod* **λογεῖον** *appellant: ideoque apud eos tragici et comici actores in scena peragunt: reliqui autem artifices suas per orchestram præstant actiones, ideoque ex eo Scenici et Thymelici Græce separatim nominantur.*"[10] See sec. i. p. 623.

It appears from a story told by Athenæus, xiv. p. 631, F. that the space beneath the stage, whither the actors retired to dress or repose, was called **ὑποσκήνιον**.

The wings of the scenes were called **παρασκήνια**; and there were three doors on the stage—one in the centre, which represented the door of a palace, or the residence of the chief personage of the drama; one on the right, through which the second actor retreated; and a third on the left side, which was appropriated to the **τριταγωνιστὴς**, or to

[1] Suidas, v. **Κόθορνος**.
[2] *Apud Auctorem Vitæ Sophoclis.*
[3] Photius, v. **Ἴκρια**.
[4] Suidas, vv. **Αἰσχύλος**. **Πρατίνας**. See the Preface to the *Persæ* of Æschylus, p. xvi.
[5] Hesych. v. **Ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ**. Ruhnken, *Auctar. Emend. in Hesych.* v. **Διονύσια**.
[6] Phrynich. *Ecl.* p. 64, *ubi vid. Nunnes.*
[7] Suidas, v. **Σκηνὴ**.
[8] Suidas, *ibid.* Pollux, iv. 124.
[9] Vitruvius, v. 6.
[10] Ibid. v. 8.

The Theatre.

represent some deserted house or temple.[1] And in tragedy, according to Pollux, the right-hand door is that by which strangers enter, and the left-hand door is that of a prison. Before the principal doorway was an altar of Apollo ἀγυιεύς.[2] The following passage of Vitruvius, (v. 8,) describes the difference of the scenes :—

"*Genera sunt scenarum tria, unum quod dicitur tragicum, alterum comicum, tertium satyricum. Horum autem ornatus sunt inter se dissimiles, disparique ratione: quod tragicæ deformantur columnis, fastigiis et signis, reliquisque regalibus rebus. Comicæ autem ædificiorum privatorum et mœnianorum habent speciem, perspectusque fenestris dispositos communium ædificiorum rationibus: Satyricæ vero ornantur arboribus, speluncis, montibus, reliquisque agrestibus rebus, in topiarii operis speciem deformatis.*"

Scenery.

The device of painting scenes to represent natural objects, is attributed by Aristotle to Sophocles;[3] but to Æschylus by the author of his life.[4] A particular, though rather confused account of the different scenes and machinery may be seen in Pollux, iv. 129 (which it is not worth while to transcribe), or in Bulenger's Treatise *de Theatris*, i. 14. It appears that in their devices for effect, they were not at all inferior to the stage mechanics of the present day. They had their εἰσκύκλημα, or rolling platform for sea-gods, &c. They had their μηχάνη or descending machine, on which the deities came down; their θεολόγειον, or sky-platform, on which the same heavenly personages talked aloft; their γέρανος or crane, by which the actors, as occasion required, were borne into the air by means of αἴωραι or ropes; their χαρώνιοι κλίμακες or Charon's ladder, which led to hell through the trap-doors, and by which the εἴδωλα, or ghosts, came up. They had, moreover, a βροντεῖον, or artificial thundering machine, consisting of a vessel loaded with stones, which was rolled along a sheet of copper; and their κεραυνοσκοπεῖον, which flashed lightning.

It appears from a passage of Aspasius, in his *Commentary on Aristotle* (iv. fol. 53, b. ed. Ald.), that there was much less of splendid ornament in comedy than in tragedy; the reason is, that comedy was for a long time very little thought of.

It has been observed before, that we have no direct testimony to inform us how many dramatic pieces were represented in the same day: it may throw some little light upon this question to add, that it appears from Theophrastus, that the theatres were filled at least four times in the same day.[5]

VII.—Of the Dialogue in Tragedy.

The Dialogue in Tragedy.

1. The dialogue was at first carried on in trochaic tetrameters:

[1] Pollux, iv. 124. The author of the *Life of Aristophanes* tells us, that the Chorus of comedy, when entering, as it were, from the city, came in at the left side, and from the country, at the right.

[2] Pollux, iv. 123. Eurip. *Phœniss.* 640.

[3] *De Poeticâ*, sec. 10.

[4] *In editione Robortelli.*

[5] *Charact.* 27

Aristot. *Poet.* iv. *τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρῶντο, διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν καὶ ὀρχηστικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν.*[1] Marius Victorinus distinguishes between the tragic tetrameter, which abounded in spondees; the comic, which had more dactyls and anapæsts; and the satyric, which had more tribrachs. The measure is said to have been invented by Archilochus, who prefixed a cretic foot to the iambic trimeter.[2] Aristotle says, that when tragedy had a regular *diction* (λέξις), nature itself suggested the proper metre for the dialogue; for the iambic is of all metres the most suited to the rhythm of discourse. We need not quote the words of Horace. The Dialogue in Tragedy.

The frequent occurrence of trochaic tetrameters in the *Persæ* of Æschylus, led Tyrwhitt to suppose that it was one of the earliest of that poet's tragedies: but as this notion is not supported by the chronology of the *didasculiæ*, it is reasonable to believe that the trochaic metre is introduced, as being suitable to the hurry and agitation which prevail throughout that play.

Since the tragic entertainments were wholly musical, it seems probable, that the tetrameters were recited to the sound of the pipe; as it appears that the iambic verses were afterwards; not *sung* to a melody, but chanted in a kind of recitative. (See Twining, *on Aristotle*, note 46.) Perhaps, however, all that the musicians did, while the dialogue was going on, was to mark the time. The opposition which Plutarch makes between *λέγεσθαι παρὰ κροῦσιν* and *ᾄδεσθαι*, excludes all notion of singing from the first expression. Hermann thinks that those trimeters only were sung, which were in the midst of the choric songs, or closely connected with them; while the others were pronounced to the sound of the flute.[3] If only one performer on the flute was employed on these occasions (which seems to have been the case), he could hardly have played without intermission through a whole tragedy.

It appears that the musician occasionally played a symphony, or *ritornel*, while the chorus was silent. Hesych. *Διαύλιον.*

VIII.—On the Parts of Tragedy.

The component parts of tragedy, according to Aristotle, are— The Parts of Tragedy.

1. *Prologue;* i. e., all that precedes the parodos of the Chorus.
2. *Episode;* i. e., all that intervenes between entire choric songs.
3. *Exode;* that entire portion, after which there is no choric song.
4. The *choric* part, consisting of *a*, the *parados*, or first discourse of the whole chorus; *b*, the *stasimon* (stationary), or choric song without

[1] That the satyric verses sung in honour of Bacchus were very different from the satyric drama of the tragedians, appears as well from other considerations, as from this circumstance, that the only surviving drama of that kind contains no tetrameter trochaics.

[2] It is more probable that the iambic trimeter was formed from the trochaic tetrameter. See Hermann, *Doctr. Metr.* xii.

[3] The iambic foot was adapted to song, for there was a particular instrument appropriated to it. See Hesych. v. *Ἰαμβίς, Παριαμβίδες, Ἰαμβύκαι.*

The Parts of Tragedy.

anapæsts or trochees (whence its name); *c*, the *commus*, or lamentation, whether uttered by the chorus or the actors.

IX.—Of the Prologue.

The Prologue.

The student will not confound the πρόλογος of the Greek tragedy with the *prologus* of the Latin comedy, which was an address of the poet to the audience. It was the business of the prologue to introduce to the spectator the subject of the drama, whether tragedy or comedy. The necessary information could be communicated, either indirectly, in the course of the action itself, or by a direct account given to the audience. The former plan, being the more agreeable to probability, was followed by Æschylus and Sophocles; the latter by Euripides. Aristotle, in his *Rhetoric*, describes the prologue as being δεῖγμα λόγου, and ὁδοποίησις τῷ ἐπιόντι, and its nature and office, as Mr. Twining observes, are well described by Terence, at the conclusion of his prologue to the *Adelphi*:—

> Dehinc ne expectetis, argumenta fabulæ,
> Senes, qui primi venient, hi partim aperient,
> In agendo partim ostendent.

Speaking of comedy, Aristotle says, (*Poet.* v.) "who invented masks, or prologues, or a number of actors, is unknown." For προλόγους Hermann contends that we should read λόγους, i. e., *arguments*. But Twining maintains, and with reason, that προλόγους is the true reading; for that anciently, the Chorus began the drama, as bearing the principal part in it; and one or more ἐπεισόδια, were introduced for variety; and that the πρόλογος was prefixed, when the drama assumed a regular shape, by way of introduction. And this was, no doubt, the real state of the case.

X.—Of the Episodes.

The Episodes.

The Ἐπεισόδιον was so called, from the entrance upon the stage of an actor, in addition to the Chorus. In fact, the ἐπεισόδια properly comprehend all the *action* or *drama*, introduced at first by way of relief, between the choric songs, to which were added, the πρόλογος for an introduction, and the ἔξοδος for a conclusion; hence, the Latins called them *actus*. Aristotle (sec. 10) λέγω δὲ ἐπεισοδιώδη μῦθον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἐπεισόδια μετ' ἄλληλα οὔτ' εἰκὸς οὔτ' ἀνάγκη εἶναι, *where the incidents are unconnected.* In sec. 17, he says, that the poet should take care that his episodes should be pertinent to the plot. He adds, that the episodes are short in the drama, and long in epic poetry; e. g., in the Odyssey, the story itself is briefly summed up: A man is absent from home many years: his domestic affairs are ruined by the suitors of his wife; and his son is plotted against. He returns home, and kills his enemies. This is the subject matter of the poem; all the rest is episode.

XI.—Of the Exodos.

The Exodos.

This part is considered as preparatory to the departure of the actors and chorus from the stage, the "L'envoy" of the drama. It seems that

they marched off to a certain tune. An instance of the ἔξόδιον μέλος may be seen in the concluding song of the *Eumenides*, which, as Hermann observes, partakes more of the nature of the *parodos*, than of the *stasimon*. The Exodos.

XII.—Of the Choric Part.

1. Πάροδος. We have seen Aristotle's definition:—"The parodos is the first speech of the whole Chorus." But there is great difference amongst the grammarians on the subject of the parodos. The fact seems to be, that Aristotle uses the term in its strict acceptation, to signify the first proper song of the entire Chorus, which was, at first, the beginning of the play; all the interlocutory parts of the Chorus which precede it, and all that was recited, and not sung, being considered a part of the prologue: whereas the later grammarians took the parodos to be the first appearance of the Chorus on the stage. And perhaps it may have been the case, that the *whole* Chorus did not come upon the stage in regular order till the parodos was to be sung, but only the Coryphæus and one or two more. Aristotle says "of the whole Chorus;" for in those short choric systems which were interposed in the action of the play, the Coryphæus alone sang. The Choric Part. The Parodos.

The parados was sometimes interrupted by anapæstic verses, which the Coryphæus recited; an instance of which is pointed out by Hermann,[1] in the parodos of the *Antigone*, but these did not form a part of the parodos, which, says Aristotle, was sung by the whole Chorus.

2. The *stasimon;* a song of the whole Chorus "without anapæsts or trochees;" i. e., not interrupted by anapæstic systems, or trochaic tetrameters; for there are many anapæstic feet, and short trochaic verses interspersed in the regular choruses. The Stasimon.

Hermann says, that the stasimon was so called, not because the chorus stood still when they sang it, which they did not, but from its being continuous, and uninterrupted by anapæsts or trochees; and, as we should say, *steady;* it seems to be derived from στάσις, *a set*, στάσις μελῶν, "a set of choric songs," i. e., a strophe and antistrophe, and perhaps an epode. Aristoph. Ran. 1314. Μὴ, πρίν γ' ἀκούσῃς χἀτέράν στάσιν μελῶν. Ἐκ τῶν κιθαρῳδικῶν νόμων εἰργασμένην. "don't go before you have heard another canto," where the scholiast says, στάσιν μελῶν: στάσιμον μέλος, ὃ ᾄδουσιν ἱσταμενοι οἱ χορευταί. Hesych. Στάσις: θέσις. χορός. Possibly it took its name from those sacred hymns which were sung in religious festivals by a choir standing; or from its being sung ἐν τῇ στάσει, *in their station*, in that part of the orchestra appropriated to the dances of the Chorus, and not, as the parodos, in front.

XIII.—Of the Commi, and the Choric Interlocutions of the Actors.

The parodos and stasimon, says Aristotle, were common to the whole Chorus; ἴδια δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, καὶ κόμμοι; i. e., "spoken The Commi.

[1] In Aristot. *Poet.* p. 143.

The Commi.

by individuals." *τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς*, are those passages which were sung by the actors (*ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς*, as distinguished from *τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρχήστρας*), e. g. *Prometh.* v. 115–118, 583, &c. The short songs thrown in by the Chorus, not forming part of the regular *στάσιμα*, were called *κόμμοι*, and when the actors and the Chorus alternated these songs, both were called *κόμμοι*. Aristot. *κόμμος δὲ, θρῆνος κοινὸς χοροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ σκήνης.* See Æschyl. *Theb.* 959, *seq.* The student will do well to consult Hermann, *on Aristotle's Poetics*, p. 132–143, and *Elem. Doctr. Metr.* iii. c. 22.

The parabasis was peculiar to comedy, and answered nearly to the parodos of tragedy. Upon the first retiring of the actors from the stage, the Chorus turned to the audience, and spoke to them in behalf of the poet, either on his own concerns, or on public affairs.[1] Aristoph. *Pac.* 733. See Hermann, *Elem. Doctr. Metr.* iii. 21.

XIV.—Of the Decline of the Greek Tragedy.

Decline of the Greek Tragedy.

Modern critics have observed, that the later tragedies of Euripides were written with much less care than his earlier ones, both as to metre and the handling of the subject: Hermann says, that the gravity of the tragic numbers began to be corrupted from the eighty-ninth Olympiad, especially by the resolution of long syllables.[2] In particular they admitted, in the resolution, dissyllable words, with the ictus on the first syllable: e. g., *Orest.* 25, *ἢ πόσιν ἀπείρῳ περιβαλοῦσ' ὑφάσματι*, is a verse which the older tragedy would not have admitted.[3] And he very ingeniously argues, that since the author of the *Rhesus*, who is confessedly not older than Euripides, is quite free from these licentious verses, we may infer that he lived long afterwards, when the Alexandrian poets imitated the best models of the Attic drama.

How long the Chorus continued is uncertain. Euripides departed a great way from its original institution, by introducing choric songs having no reference to the subject of the drama. After his time, says Aristotle, the choric songs have no more to do with the plot, than with any other tragedy; and Agatho began the practice of introducing songs from other plays. It was but one step, as Twining observes, from this, to the music between the acts. In the time of Dio Chrysostom (under Vespasian), it appears that the Chorus had fallen into disuse.

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[1] Platonius, *de Comœd.* p. xi. ed. Kuster.

[2] The old writers of iambics, the *iambographi*, as they are called, rarely used a trisyllable foot (Gaisford, *ad Hephæst.* p. 243); and those who first introduced that metre on the stage naturally adhered to their example more closely than those who succeeded them.

[3] *Doctr. Metr.* ii. xiv. 15.

THE

LYRIC POETS OF GREECE.

CHIEFLY BY

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SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

GREEK LYRIC POETS.

ALCMAN, WHO FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 670
ANACREON - - - - - - - - B. C. 650
STESICHORUS - - - - - - - B. C. 612
SAPPHO - - - - - - - - - B. C. 610
ALCÆUS - - - - - - - - - B. C. 604
IBYCUS - - - - - - - - - B. C. 540
SIMONIDES - - - - - - - - B. C. 540
PINDAR - - - - - - - - - B. C. 520
BACCHYLIDES - - - - - - - B. C. 452

THE

LYRIC POETS OF GREECE.

ALTHOUGH the Lyric Poetry of Greece attained a degree of excellence which has in no subsequent period been surpassed, it scarcely forms so distinct a class of imaginative works as the productions of her great tragedians. Perhaps this class of poetry, while its subjects vary with the ages and nations in which it flourishes, will be found, more nearly than any other, the same in its texture and philosophical principles from the earliest to the most recent times. The reason of this peculiarity will appear from a slight sketch of its principles and origin.

Origin of Lyric Poetry.

Lyric poetry, as its name denotes, was originally accompanied by instrumental music. Not only was it sung or chanted by the bard, like the ancient rhapsodies, but attended with such rude harmonies as could be produced from the musical instruments of the early ages. Hence, it became distinguished, in very ancient times, from every other mode of poetry. It was, necessarily, short, striking, vivid, and singularly harmonious; not like an epic rhapsody, referring to something precedent, and broken off as a fragment, but containing, in itself, the complete expression of the feeling which it was intended to convey. It is the musical development of some noble emotion, or beautiful or solemn thought. In its nature it differs essentially from the epic and the tragic. In the former of these, while the poet himself relates the events which he desires to immortalize, he refers to them as at a distance, or represents them as subjects rather of contemplation than of passion, and throws over the whole an air of stillness and repose. In the latter, the bard altogether disappears, and we are made at once spectators of the action or suffering, which is placed before us, as in actual progress. In the lyric, the poet appears immediately before us, not merely to tell of things past, or to sing the glorious deeds of other times, but to pour forth his own present emotions. The reality here is not in the memory of the past, as in the epic; nor in the view of the present, by personal representation, as in the dramatic, but in the poet's own mind. He throws himself into no other age or person, but speaks of his immediate feelings in his own character. He is triumphant, festive, joyous, solemn, or melancholy, according to the mood of his own soul. He has no guide but his feeling, modulated and attuned by his sense of the harmonious.

Hence we may perceive the reason why the *internal principles* of the ode have not partaken of the changes which have affected other

Internal principles of the Ode.

descriptions of poety. It is the mere expression of individual feelings which do not alter. As tragedy and epic poetry relate to things foreign to the poet himself, they have taken their form and colouring from the times, and the plastic and the picturesque have alternately prevailed as the mind was led to rest on the present, or prompted by vast and indistinct expectations of the future. But the simple feelings of sorrow and of joy—the sense of delight—the throb of suspense—the triumphant enthusiasm of patriotism—the raptures of love—and the contemplations of meditative philosophy, are essentially the same from age to age. Their subjects change indeed with the changes of time; but in lyric poetry it is not the subject, but the feeling, which is all in all. Thus the lyrical pieces interspersed in the Old Testament, though more sublime than any works of other times, because their objects are grander and more dignified, and the poetical spirit is supplied by the immediate inspiration of heaven, are the same in texture with the odes of the latest bards. They are equally with them the music of language expressing the music of thought. There is, in fact, no philosophical division of lyrical poetry into distinct classes. Some critics, who know of no distinctions in imaginative composition which lie deeper than the mere subjects on which it dwells, have divided lyrical effusions into various kinds, according to the occasions which have prompted them, or the sentiments which they breathe. Such a mode of classification requires as many divisions as there are variations in circumstance, and shades in passion and in thought. As we shall have occasion to point out the nicer adaptations of the sentiment and imagery to the feeling, in a particular view of the productions of each poet, we shall here rest contented with the glance we have taken at the philosophical principles on which all lyrical compositions are framed, and which distinguish them from the severer kinds of poetry.

Parts of the Greek ode.

But as one form prevails through the greater portion of the Greek odes, it may be proper to state here the constituent parts of which they are framed. They are, generally speaking, divided into three stanzas, which were denominated by the ancients the Strophe, the Antistrophe, and the Epode; of these parts, the two former were the larger, and consisted of an equal length and measure; and the latter was the lesser stanza. The chorus sang the Strophe on solemn festivals at the altar of the gods, and at the same time danced to the right; they then inverted the dance to the left, chanting the Antistrophe; and afterwards, assembling round the altar, they stood still and sang the Epode. It has been generally considered among those who have excelled in Grecian literature, that the Strophe and Antistrophe, of the Grecian lyrists and tragedians, answered to the modern recitative in music, and the Epode corresponded with the "air." A passage from Marius Victorinus, an ancient grammarian, confirms the view we have taken of the parts which comprised the ode:—"Pleraque lyricorum carminum, quæ versu, colisque et commatibus componuntur, ex strophe, antistrophe, et epode, ut Græci appellant, ordinata subsistunt. Quorum

ratio talis est. Antiquè Deorum laudes carminibus comprehensas, circum aras eorum euntes canebant. Cujus primum ambitum, quem ingrediebantur ex parte dextrâ, strophen vocabant; reversionem autem sinistrorsum factam, completo priore orbe, antistrophen appellabant. Deinde in conspectu Deorum soliti consistere cantici, reliqua consequebantur, appellantes id epodon.[1]—We shall now proceed to give some account of each of the Grecian Lyric Poets, in the order of time.

ALCMAN.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B.C. 670.

Alcman

ALCMAN was one of the most ancient of the Lyric Poets of Greece, and is supposed by some to have been the inventor of love-songs and the elegiac measure, his predecessors having uniformly written in hexameter verse. The place of his birth cannot be positively ascertained, for some authors assert that he was born at Lacedæmon, and others contend that the honour of his birth belongs to the island of Sardinia. It is, however, probable that Lacedæmon gave birth to this poet, for we find from ancient writers that the Spartans exulted that their country had produced a bard of such genius, and after his decease erected a splendid monument to his memory. We are told by Athenæus that Alcman was addicted to the pleasures of the table, and was so popular among his countrymen for the beauty and excellence of his amatory effusions, that he was the favourite of the Spartan fair, who committed his verses to memory, and sang them at their feasts and entertainments. Notwithstanding the celebrity which Alcman once enjoyed, the poet of Lacedæmon has suffered so much from the ravages of time, that his very name is scarcely known to the moderns, except as attached to a particular kind of verse, which is named after him, *Alcmanian*.[2] He is said to have written six books of verses in the Doric dialect, and also a play entitled Colymbosas; of these compositions only a few lines remain, and these are preserved in the works of Athenæus and Hephæstion. The works of Alcman having thus perished, we can form no accurate judgment respecting them; we are only enabled to glance at the opinion of his countrymen respecting their peculiar quality from a line which occurs in a Greek epigram:—

——— ἦν γλυκυς Αλκμαν.
Alcman's style was sweet.

[1] Most of the lyric poems, which are in verse and punctuated by colons and commas, are composed of strophe, antistrophe, and the epode, as the Greeks term them. The arrangement of these is as follows:—It was the custom of the ancients to walk round the altars of the gods, and sing their praises in verse. The first circuit, which they commenced from the right hand, they called the strophe. The reversion again, made to the left hand, on the completion of the first circuit, they termed the antistrophe. After which the choristers used to stand still before the images of the gods, and performed the remainder of the ceremony, terming it the epode.

[2] Alcmanian verse consists generally of seven feet, of which the first four are either dactyls or spondees, and the last three trochees, as

Sōlvĭtŭr | ācrĭs hў | ēms grā | tā vĭcĕ | Vērĭs | ēt Fă | vōni.

ANACREON.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B.C. 650.

Anacreon.

ANACREON, who carried the gay, luxurious, and festive style to its highest degree of excellence, was born at Teos, a city on the coast of Ionia, in Lesser Asia. Celebrated as the works of this poet have always been, we know little respecting his personal history. The names of his parents are lost, though, according to Plato, his family was noble, deducing their origin from Codrus, the last and best of the Athenian kings. He appears to have enjoyed, in a singular degree, the favour and patronage of the great. At the court of Polycrates, the monarch of Samos, he was held in peculiar esteem; and was honoured by the friendship of Hipparchus, the son of Peisistratus, who, like his father, delighted in assisting the development of genius. In the earlier part of his life he seems to have left his native country, at the request of Polycrates, and to have resided at Samos; but quitted this asylum at the invitation of Hipparchus, who, desirous of enjoying the society of the poet, sent a vessel of fifty oars to convey him to Athens. In that city he continued until the murder of his patron, and the restoration of the Athenian liberties, on which event he retired to his native country, where he reached the advanced age of eighty-five. He is said to have been choked with the stone of a grape; a characteristic conclusion of his life-long revelries.

But although we know so little concerning the events of Anacreon's story, we have ample testimony respecting his character in those of his works which have reached us. From these it appears that he was a voluptuary, not only in practice but in principle; at once, one of the many who practised what he taught, and of the few who would dare to teach all that he practised. He did not, however, unite avarice with voluptuousness; for Polycrates having presented him with four talents, which prevented him from sleeping, he returned them, observing, that though the sum was great, sleep was of greater value. Some parts of his conduct, as it appears from his poems, were of the deepest moral dye; but it is not our province in this place to detail them. A statue was erected to his memory at Athens, representing him as singing a Bacchanalian air when elevated with wine; thus perpetuating at once the recollection of his genius, and of the debasing purposes to which he made it the minister.

Many of the poems of Anacreon have escaped the ravages of time. They are, for the most part, in praise of wine, and of the appetites which have been so often and so improperly dignified by the name of *love*. In their kind, however, they are matchless. "A careless charm, a natural and unbought grace," is lent to all the festivities which he celebrates. A roseate hue is shed over everything. His pieces abound in the happiest turns, the most appropriate imagery, and the most charming felicities of expression. His verses are exquisitely musical. The circle through which his genius ranges, if not very extensive, is

crowded in every part with beauty and with grace. The wine seems to sparkle, and the flowers which crown the bowl to bloom for ever in his song. He has the power of rendering every subject subservient to his favourite themes, and extracts from everything a spirit of festive joy. If he alludes to the shortness of life, he makes it a plea for enjoying to the utmost the present hour; and strangely makes the prospect of the grave itself to give a zest to the pleasures he is so soon to leave for ever. He strives to make up in intensity what is wanting in duration, and seems almost to succeed in living years in the space of a few short hours: there is a festive air even in his very sorrows. No one can deny to him the genuine poetical faculty, however much he may be considered as having abused it; for he eminently possessed the rare power of making a variety of objects participate in one common expression, and of diffusing one feeling and sentiment over each of the beauties of the material creation at which he glances. It need hardly be added, that he thus stands far beyond all his imitators; although, from the too fascinating taste of his poison, they have been exceedingly numerous. Anacreon.

We present our readers with the following specimen, as giving some idea of the peculiar excellencies of Anacreon, subjoining the imitation of Cowley, who has caught the careless graces of the original:—

Εἰς Ἑαυτόν.

Ἐπὶ μυρσίναις τερείναις,
Ἐπὶ λωτίναις τε ποίαις,
Στορέσας, θέλω προπίνειν,
Ὁ δ' Ερως χιτῶνα δήσας
Ὑπὲρ αὐχένος παπύρῳ
Μέθυ μοι διακονείτω.
Τροχὸς ἅρματος γὰρ οἷα
Βιότος τρέχει κυλισθείς, &c. &c. Ode iv.

Underneath the myrtle shade,
On flowery beds supinely laid,
Odorous oils my head o'erflowing,
And around it roses growing;
What shall I do but drink away
The heat and troubles of the day?
In this more than kingly state,
Love himself shall on me wait.
Fill to me, Love! Nay, fill it up!
And mingled cast into the cup
Wit, and mirth, and noble fires,
Vigorous health and gay desires.
The wheel of life no less doth stay
On a smooth than rugged way;
Since it equally doth flee,
Let the motion pleasant be! *Cowley.*

We will present our readers with only one extract more: to give all that is beautiful of its kind in Anacreon, would be to quote the whole:—

Anacreon

Εἰς τὸ δεῖν πίνειν.

Ἡ γῆ μέλαινα πίνει,
Πίνει δὲ δένδρεὰ αὐτήν.
Πίνει θάλασσα δ' αὔρας
Ὁ δ' ἥλιος θάλασσαν
Τὸν δ' ἥλιον σελήνη.
Τί μοι μάχεσθ' ἑταῖροι,
Κ' αὐτῷ θέλοντι πίνειν. Ode xix.

Thus rendered by a translator in Bland's "Anthology:"—

The black earth drinks the falling rain,
Trees drink the moistened earth again;
Ocean drinks the mountain gales;
Ocean's self the sun inhales;
And the sun's bright rays as soon
Are swallowed by the thirsty moon.
All nature drinks,—if I would sip,
Why dash the nectar from my lip? *M.*

But perhaps a favourite Anacreontic of our own country will give the mere English reader a better idea of Anacreon's peculiar character of style than any of the passages we have quoted above:—

Busy, curious, thirsty fly,
Drink with me, and drink as I;
Freely welcome to my cup,
Couldst thou sip, and sip it up;
Make the most of life you may,
Life is short, and wears away.
Both alike, both thine and mine,
Hasten quick to their decline;
Thine's a summer, mine's no more,
Though repeated to threescore:
Threescore summers, when they're gone,
Will appear as short as one.

Translations of Anacreon.

The works of Anacreon, at least in detached portions, have been very frequently rendered into our language. Cowley has translated twelve odes; but has rather given the light, airy, and sportive graces than the full-hearted joyousness of his author. He was himself exuberant rather in his wit than in his sense of pleasure; and, happily for the morals of himself and of the world, but half an Anacreon. The translation of Fawkes is not unfaithful to the letter, but almost entirely destitute of the spirit of the poet. It seldom rises above respectable mediocrity. Recent attempts have been made to translate the works of this great voluptuary by Mr. Young and Mr. Moore, with very different success. The version of the first is coarse and revolting, while that of the latter is not only elegant, graceful, and most harmonious, but is executed in a spirit congenial with that of the Grecian. Perhaps, however, the very resemblance of the genius of Mr. Moore to that of Anacreon has prevented him from giving to the world a faithful translation. He has himself such singular quickness in forming the happiest combinations, and so ardent a feeling of the pleasurable, that

he could not be confined even to the text of him whom he has delighted to imitate. Unhappily for the cause of virtue, his paraphrase is more seductive than the original. While he deserves praise for the total suppression of some things which a Christian age would not endure, he has rendered sensuality more refined, and has heightened its charms by the glossy veil in which he has enveloped them. His work, in short, is liable to all the censure which attaches to his earlier writings, and which he has happily lived, not only to regret, but to redeem. Anacreon.

The following are the principal editions of the works of Anacreon:— Editions of the works of Anacreon.

Anacreontis Odæ, Gr. et Lat. H. Stephen. 1554. Editio princeps.

——— Gr. et Lat. à Fabro, 12mo. Salmurii. 1660 et 1690.

——— Gr. cum Gallicâ Interpretatione Annæ Daceriæ, ejusque ac Tan. Fabri notis. Parisiis, 1662, in 12mo.

——— Gr. cum Longopetræi (Longuepierre) metricâ Versione Gallicâ et Notis. Parisiis, 1682. 12mo.

——— à Baxter, 12mo. Lond. 1710.

This is an excellent edition.

——— à Joshuâ Barnes, Cantab. 8vo. 1705, 1721. Lond. 1734.

——— à Mattaire, Gr. cum Lat. Version. et Notis. Lond. 1725. 4to. Excudebat Gul. Bowyer.

——— Gr. et Lat. à Mattaire apud Bowyer. Lond. 1740. 4to.

These are Mattaire's splendid and accurate editions; and only one hundred copies of each were printed by Bowyer. See *Nicholls's Life of Bowyer*, note, p. 168.

——— Gr. 12mo. edit. Brunck, Argentor. 1778.

This is a beautiful and correct edition.

——— Brunck, Strasburg, 1786.

——— Fischer, Leipzig, 1793.

——— Malhorn, Glogau, 1825.

——— Bergk, Leipzig, 1834.

STESICHORUS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 612.

STESICHORUS, one of the nine lyric poets of Greece, was born at Himera, a town of Sicily. Plutarch informs us that his original name was Tisias, but that he was afterwards called Stersichorus, or Stesichorus, in consequence of the improvements which he introduced in the arts of music and dancing. Isocrates, and other authors, assert that the Sicilian poet was deprived of his eyesight for writing invectives against Helen, and that he only again received it upon the condition of making a recantation of his calumnies. The anachronism of this assertion is as self-evident as its absurdity. We learn from Aristotle, in his Art of Rhetoric, that Stesichorus was the first inventor of the well-known fable of the Horse and the Stag (which has been imitated by Horace and other poets), and that he composed it to prevent his countrymen from entering into an alliance with Phalaris, the tyrant of Stesichorus.

Stesichorus.

Agrigentum. Stesichorus is affirmed by some writers to have been the first who composed an epithalamium. He is said to have died at Catana, in Sicily, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and to have been magnificently buried there at the public expense. Mr. Cumberland, in one of the numbers of his Observer, has introduced some remarks upon the funeral honours paid to the Sicilian bard, and the esteem and admiration in which his memory was held by his countrymen. "A tomb was erected to his memory near one of the city gates, which was thenceforward called the gate of Stesichorus; this tomb was composed of eight columns, had eight steps, and eight angles, after the cabalistical numbers of Pythagoras, whose mysterious philosophy was then in vogue; the cubic number of eight was emblematic of strength, solidity, and magnificence; and from this tomb of Stesichorus arose the Greek proverb Παντα Οκτω, by which was meant anything perfect and complete. Phalaris of Agrigentum erected a temple to his name, and decreed him divine honours; all the cities in Sicily conspired in lamenting the death of their favourite poet, and vied with each other in the trophies they dedicated to his memory." This is all which is known of the life of Stesichorus. His compositions are said to have been written in the Doric dialect, and to have consisted of no less than twenty-six books, all which are now lost, with the exception of a few fragments preserved in Athenæus and Aristotle. We must be therefore satisfied, in the absence of the poems themselves, to rely upon the judgment passed upon them by the ancient critics and writers. Quinctilian esteemed Stesichorus in no degree inferior to Pindar, either in the sublimity of thought, the harmony of versification, or the beauty of language, which are the essential requisites of lyric poetry. He asserts that Stesichorus sustained all the dignity and majesty of the epic muse upon the lyre, and would have risen to the grandeur and sublimity of Homer himself, had not his style been too redundant. We may also form some idea of the genius of the Sicilian bard from what Horace, in his Odes, says respecting him:—

——— Non latent
Stesichorique graves Camænæ.[1]

Statius, in his Sylvæ, characterises him as

Stesichorusque ferox, &c.[2]

The Greek epigrammatist speaks of him in the following manner:—

Λαμπει Στησιχορος τε, &c.[3]

And again:—

——— Ὁμηρικον ος τ' απο ρεῦμα
Ἐσπασας Στησιχορ', &c.[4]

Every one of these recorded opinions bears testimony to his poetical

[1] The dignified strains of Stesichorus are well known.
[2] The impetuous Stesichorus.
[3] Stesichorus blazes or glows.
[4] Thou, O Stesichorus, hast drawn along with thee the Homeric stream.

merits, and they all agree respecting the peculiar character of his genius, which seems to have reached the true sublime, both in thought and expression. Stesichorus.

SAPPHO.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 610.

SAPPHO, the most celebrated for genius of the females of antiquity, was born at Mitylene, a city of the island of Lesbos, situate in the Ægean sea. The precise time of her birth is uncertain: according to Suidas, however, she was contemporary both with Stesichorus and Alcæus, and, if the opinion of Wolf is correct, was born in the thirty-sixth Olympiad, or about six hundred and thirty-two years before the Christian era. Herodotus and Suidas inform us that the name of her father was Scamandronymus, while others assert that he was called Symon, Semus, or Etarchus, and that the name of her mother was Cleis or Clois. According to Suidas, the poetess had three brothers, one of whom, Charaxus, seems, from the testimonies of Herodotus and Ovid, to have disgraced his family by his extravagance and shameless debaucheries. Herodotus represents the poetess herself as lamenting in verses the depravity of her relative, while she seems, with great simplicity, to have overlooked her own. She was married to a Lesbian of the name of Cercalus, by whom she had a daughter, whom she called by the name of her mother, Cleis. Her husband, however, soon died, and she passed the remainder of her life in a state of widowhood. After the death of Cercalus, Sappho conceived a violent passion for a young man of Lesbos, named Phaon, who seems at first to have returned her love, but afterwards to have grown weary of his mistress, and to have fled to Sicily to avoid her reproaches. Thither she determined to follow him, but was received only with contempt or hatred, and returned to Greece, to put an end to her existence, in shame and despair. Unable to endure the sense of her disappointment, she precipitated herself from the promontory of Leucas, or Leucate, in Acarnania, a country of Epirus, into the sea. The declivity afterwards bore the name of "the Lover's Leap," and is now called St. Maura. To this catastrophe Ausonius alludes:— Sappho.

> Et de nimboso saltum Leucade minatur
> Mascula Lesbiacis Sappho peritura sagittis.[1]

Statius, in his Sylvæ, bears testimony to the fatal close of Sappho's life:—

> ——————— saltusque ingressa viriles,
> Non formidata temeraria Leucade Sappho.[2] Book iii. 154.

Sappho was so much esteemed by the inhabitants of her native place, Mitylene, that they paid her divine honours after her death, erected temples and altars to her memory, and even stamped her image upon their money. Bayle, in his Dictionary, under the article

[1] And the masculine Sappho, about to perish with her Lesbian arrows, threatens a leap from the snow-crowned Leucade.

[2] And the rash Sappho did not dread Leucade. [Byron

Sappho.

of "Sappho," alludes to this remarkable homage, and adduces the authority of Ælian and Pliny in support of its truth.

Notwithstanding the amatory disposition of Sappho, there is reason to believe she was not favoured by nature with beauty of person. Some, indeed, infer that she possessed great personal attractions, from an expression of Plato, who, in his Phædrus, puts into the mouth of Socrates the phrase ἡ καλη Σαπφω, "the beautiful Sappho." But this may well be supposed to relate rather to the superiority of her genius than to the loveliness of her person. It must, however, be confessed that both Athenæus and Plutarch follow the statement of Plato, and make use of the epithet καλη whenever they mention her name. But, on the other hand, Maximus Tyrius plainly asserts that she was both diminutive in her stature and swarthy in her complexion. Ovid confirms this description in his Heroides, in the celebrated epistle from Sappho to Phaon:—

Si mihi difficilis formam natura negavit,
Ingenio formæ damna petenda meæ.
Sum brevis; at nomen, quod terras impleat omnes,
Est mihi; mensuram nominis ipsa fero.
Candida si non sum, placuit Cephëia Perseo,
Andromede, patriæ fusca colore suæ.

Thus translated by Pope:—

To me what nature has in charms denied
Is well by wit's more lasting flames supplied.
Though short my stature, yet my name extends
To heaven itself, and earth's remotest ends.
Brown as I am, an Ethiopian dame
Inspired young Perseus with a generous flame.

Among modern critics upon this point, Bayle gives his opinion that Sappho was "laide, petite, et noire," "ugly, little, and dark;" Madame Dacier, that she was "petite et brune," "little and brown;" and Professor Dalzel expresses an opinion of a mediocrity scarcely more flattering: "Quæ neque inter pulchras neque inter deformes sui sexûs numerari possit."[1]

The character of Sappho sufficiently appears, even from the scanty remains of her works which have reached us. It is not of a description

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Byron has thus alluded to the scene of Sappho's fate:—

But when he saw the evening star above
Leucadia's far-projecting rock of woe,
And hail'd the last resort of fruitless love,
He felt, or deem'd he felt, no common glow:
And as the stately vessel glided slow
Beneath the shadow of that ancient mount,
He watch'd the billows' melancholy flow,
And sank albeit in thought, as he was wont;
More placid seem'd his eye, and smooth his pallid front.

Childe Har. can. ii. l. 41.

[1] Who could be reckoned neither among the fair nor the deformed of her sex.

on which we should dwell, even believing, as we incline to believe, that the worst accusations against her are unfounded. There are, however, few intellectual treasures the loss of which is more deeply to be regretted than that of the works of this poetess; for the remnants which have reached us certainly display genius of the highest order: they are rich even to exuberance, and yet directed by the most exquisite taste. In these most delicious of love-songs the tide of passion seems deep and exhaustless; it flows rapidly, yet gently on, while the most sparkling fancy is ever playing over it; and the words themselves seem to participate in the sentiment which they develop. It is a mistake to imagine that the fragments of Sappho are nothing more than the eloquent expressions of amatory feeling; they are really works of high imagination, which renders them as beautiful as they are intense, and, in the opinion of some writers, raises them even to the sublime. Thus Longinus quotes the following celebrated ode as an example of sublimity; a species of excellence, however, which Dr. Blair energetically denies to it:—

Φάινεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν
Ἔμμεν ὠνὴρ, ὄστις ἐναντίος τοι
Ἰσδάνει, καὶ πλασίον ἀδυ φωνᾶ-
σαί σ' ὑπακούει,

Καὶ γελαίϊς ἰμερόεν τό μοι μὰν
Καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόασεν.
Ὠς γὰρ ἔιδω σε, βροχέως με φωνᾶς
Οὐδὲν ετ' ἴκει·

Ἀλλὰ καμμὲν γλῶσσα ἔαγε, λεπτὸν δ'
Αὐτίκα χρῶ πῦρ ὐποδεδρόμακεν,
Ὀππάτεσσιν δ' οὐδὲν ὄρημι, βομβεῦ—
σιν δ' ἀκοαί μοι.

Καδδ' ἰδρὼς ψύχρος χέεται, τρόμος δὲ
Πᾶσαν ἀγρεῖ, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας
Εμμί· τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω' πιδεῦσα,
Φαίνομαι ἄπνους.

This celebrated lyric is thus translated by Mr. Phillips:—

Blest as th' immortal gods is he,
The youth who fondly sits by thee,
And hears and sees thee, all the while,
Softly speak and sweetly smile.

'Twas this deprived my soul of rest,
And raised such tumults in my breast;
For, while I gazed, in transport tost,
My breath was gone, my voice was lost;

My bosom glowed; the subtle flame
Ran quick through all my vital frame;
O'er my dim eyes a darkness hung;
My ears with hollow murmurs rung;

In dewy damps my limbs were chilled;
My blood with gentle horrors thrilled;
My feeble pulse forgot to play;
I fainted, sunk, and died away.

Sappho.

Here are, indeed, "thoughts that breathe and words that burn." The imagery is as vivid as the passion is intense. Most truly is it observed by Longinus, that we see everything described distinctly before our eyes: *την ψυχῆν, το σῶμα, τας ἀκοας, την γλωσσαν, τας ὀψεις, την χροιαν επιζητει.*[1]

The critique of Dr. Blair on Longinus' decision will not be uninteresting to the reader. Having remarked that there is an indefinite, and therefore an improper, sense in which sublimity is sometimes attributed to mere elegance or beauty of composition,—"I am sorry," he says, "to be obliged to observe that the sublime is too often used in this last and improper sense by the celebrated critic Longinus, in his treatise on this subject. He sets out, indeed, with describing it in its just and proper meaning, as something that elevates the mind above itself, and fills it with high conceptions and a noble pride. But from this view of it he frequently departs, and substitutes in the place of it whatever, in any strain of composition, pleases highly. Thus many of the passages which he produces as instances of the sublime are merely elegant, without having the most distant relation to proper sublimity; witness Sappho's famous Ode, on which he descants at considerable length. He points out five sources of the sublime: the first is boldness or grandeur in the thoughts; the second is the pathetic; the third, the proper application of figures; the fourth, the use of tropes and beautiful expressions; the fifth, musical structure and arrangement of words. This is the plan of one who was writing a treatise on rhetoric, or on the beauties of writing in general, not on the sublime in particular. For of these five heads only the first two have any particular relation to the sublime. Boldness and grandeur in the thoughts, and, in some instances, the pathetic, or strong exertions of passion: the other three, tropes, figures, and musical arrangements, have no more relation to the sublime than to other kinds of good writing, perhaps less to the sublime than to any other species whatever, because it requires less the assistance of ornament."[2]

No less beautiful is the Hymn to Venus, preserved by Dionysius Halicarnassus, a portion of which we give, in the amended form of Mr. Upton's edition of that author:—

Εις Αφροδίτην.

Ποικιλόθρον' ἀθανάτ' Ἀφροδίτα,
Παῖ Διὸς, δολοπλόκε, λίσσομαί σε.
Μή μ' ἄσαισι, μηδ' ἀνίαισι δάμνα,
Πότνια θῦμον·

Ἀλλὰ τυῖδ' ἔλθ', αἴ ποκα κᾶτερῶτα
Τᾶς ἐμᾶς αὐδᾶς ἀΐοισα πόλλυ
Ἔκλυες, πατρὸς δὲ δόμον λιποῖσα,
Χρύσιον ἦλθες.

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[1] The soul, the form, the ears, the eyes, the tongue, the complexion, all are presented by the poet's genius.

[2] *Lectures on Rhetoric.*

Sappho.

Ἄρμ' ὑποζεύξασα· καλοὶ δέ σ' ἆγον
Ὠκεῖς στροῦθοι, πτέρυγας μελαίνας
Πύκνα δινεύντες ἀπ' ὠρᾶν ἀθέ-
ρος διὰ μέσσω
Αἶψα δ' ἔξικοντο· τὺ δ' ὦ μάκαιρα,
Μειδιάσας' ἀθανάτῳ προσώπῳ,
Ἤρε' ὄ, τττι γ' ἦν τὸ πέπονθα κ' ὄ, τττι
Δῆμι σι κάλημι.——

Oh, Venus! beauty of the skies,
To whom a thousand temples rise,
Gaily false in gentle smiles,
Full of love-perplexing wiles:
Oh, goddess! from my heart remove
The wasting cares and pains of love.

If ever thou hast kindly heard
A song in soft distress preferr'd,
Propitious to my tuneful vow,
Oh, gentle goddess! hear one now;
Descend, thou bright, immortal guest,
In all thy radiant charms confest.

Thou once didst leave almighty Jove,
And all the golden roofs above,
The car thy wanton sparrows drew,
Hovering in air they lightly flew;
As to my bower they wing'd their way,
I saw their quiv'ring pinions play.

The birds dismist (while you remain),
Bore back their empty car again:
Then you, with looks divinely mild,
In every heavenly feature smil'd,
And ask'd what new complaints I made,
And why I call'd you to my aid? *Phillips.*

Mademoiselle Le Fevre (afterwards Madame Dacier) conjectures that this ode was composed by Sappho during the absence of her lover Phaon, when he fled from her into Sicily. We shall close our extracts from the writings of Sappho with two fragments, the one preserved by Demetrius Phalereus, and the other by Fulvius Ursinus:—

Ἕσπερε πάντα φέρεις,
Φέρεις ὄϊνον, φέρεις αἶγα,
Φέρεις μάτερι παῖδα.[1]

The second fragment is of singular beauty; "we may suppose," as Warton remarks, "the fair author looking up earnestly on her mother, casting down the web on which she was employed, and suddenly exclaiming—

"Γλυκεῖα μάτερ, οὔτοι
Δύναμαὶ κρέκειν τὸν ἱστὸν,
Ποθῷ δαμεῖσα παιδὸς,
Βραδινὰν δι' Ἀφροδίταν."[2]

[1] Oh, Evening! thou bringest every thing; the wine, and the goat;—thou also bringest the child to its mother.

[2] "Beloved mother, I can no longer weave the web, inspired with love for some beauteous boy, by the gentle Venus."

Sappho.

This short effusion might have afforded a worthy subject for the first among the Italian painters, who alone could have transfused this inimitable expression of deep affection to the features of a love-inspired form.

Sappho is said to have composed nine books of lyric poems, besides epigrams and elegies, which seem to have been extant in the days of Horace and Catullus. No poet of antiquity has ever been praised with more rapture by succeeding critics and bards. In the following epigram, descriptive of the merits of the chief Grecian lyrists, she is celebrated as the tenth Muse:—

Ἐκλαγγε ἐκ Θηβῶν μέγα Πίνδαρος, ἵπνει τερπνὰ
Ἡδυμελιφθόγγου μοῦσα Σιμωνίδεω.
Λάμπει Στησιχορός τε καὶ Ἴβυκος· ἦν γλυκὺς Ἀλκμάν.
Λαρὰ δ' ἀπὸ στομάτων φθέγξατο Βακχυλίδης.
Πειθὼ Ἀνακρέοντι συνέσπετο· ποικίλα δ' ἀυδᾷ
Ἀλκαιος κιθάρᾳ Λέσβιος Αἰολίδι.
Ἀνδρῶν δ' οὔκ ἐνάτη Σαπφὼ πέλεν, ἀλλ' ἐρατειναῖς
Ἐν Μούσαις δεκάτη Μοῦσα καταγράφεται.[1]

Horace, in his Odes, again, thus panegyrizes her poetry:—

——————— Spirat adhuc amor,
Vivuntque commissi calores
Æoliæ fidibus puellæ.[2]

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and, as we have seen, Longinus, speak in terms of the warmest admiration of two fragments which are preserved in their works; but we need not multiply quotations to establish her fame.

The verse in which the two odes quoted above are written, and which she is supposed to have invented, has been always denominated Sapphic. It is a noble measure, equally adapted to the expression of tenderness and of lofty thought, as the Odes of Horace, in which it is adopted, abundantly prove. From the different construction of modern languages, attempts to introduce it in later times have, however, failed of success.

Translations and imitations of Sappho.

The translations and imitations of Sappho have been numerous in our own country, as well as in France and Italy. Addison published an entire translation of the two celebrated odes, the six fragments, and the two epigrams, in 1733, Lond. An anonymous translation also appeared in Bland's Anthology of part of the ode, "Προς την ἐρωμενην γυναικα," 1813, Lond. Mr. Phillips's translations we have already given. The Ode to Venus has been also imitated by Smollett, and by Akenside, in his elegant "Ode on Lyric Poetry."

[1] The last two lines, which relate to Sappho, may be thus literally translated:—"Sappho is not the ninth lyrist of human beings; but she is the tenth among the lovely Muses."

[2] The Æolian maid's soft numbers breathe
The sighs of tenderness, the soul of love. *Boscawen.*

The chief editions of Sappho are as follow :— Editions of Sappho.

The first publisher of any portion of Sappho's fragments was H. Stephens, in his edition of Anacreon, in 1554.

Sapphûs Fragmenta, à Joan. Christoph. Wolfio, Gr. et Lat. 4to. Hamb. 1733.

> This edition is an admirable one, and the only fault which we can find with the learned editor is, that he has, perhaps, needlessly illustrated the sense of his author by long and tedious quotations.

Sapphûs Fragmenta, with Anacreon, Edinb. 1784.

——— with Anacreon, by Tanaquil Faber, Gr. et Lat. Salmur. 1660 et 1680, et cum Vers. Ital. Bartt. Corsini, Neap. 1700.

——— with Alcæus, in the Glasgow edition of Anacreon, Gr. 1751, 1757, 1777, and 1783.

——— with Anacreon. Gr. et Ital. by Fran. Saverio di Rogati, 1782.

——— Frag. Ode in Venerem, in Puellam, et Fragmenta ex Hephæstione; in Baxter's Anacreon, Lond. 1695 and 1710.

Poetræ Sapphûs quæ supersunt Gr. et Lat. in Trapp's Anacreon, London, 1733 and 1742.

——— Reliquiæ nonnullæ, cum notis et quibusdam versionibus, cum Anacreonti, M. Maittarii, Lond. 1740.

Sapphûs Poetriæ Oda in Venerem, extat in Dionysii Halicarnassensis de Structurâ Orationis libro, ex recensione Jacobi Uptoni, Lond. 1747.

——— Omnia Opera extant in Brunckii Analect. Vet. Poet. Gr. t. i. p. 54, sq-q. *Argentorati.* 1786. 3 vols. 8vo.

——— H. F. M. Volger, Leips. 1810, 8vo.

——— D. C. Frid. Neue, Berol. 1827, 4to.

The Fragments have been edited by Bishop Blomfield, in the Museum Criticum, vol. i., and by Schneidewin, in his "Delectus Poèseos Græcorum."

ALCÆUS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 604.

Alcæus.

ALCÆUS was born at Mitylene, the chief city of Lesbos, and is represented by some as the contemporary of Sappho and Stesichorus. He is reported, but perhaps scarcely on sufficient authority, to have offered his hand to Sappho, who rejected his suit. The ancient writers represent our poet to have felt an enthusiastic attachment to the cause of liberty, a feeling which was not only expressed in his poetical effusions, but which directed and impelled him in his conduct. He appears, however, to have possessed more zeal for liberty than personal courage in its defence. Herodotus informs us, that in an engagement between the Athenians and the inhabitants of Mitylene, Alcæus made his escape from the battle by flight, and having thrown away his arms, the victorious Athenians obtained possession of them, and hung them up, as

Alcæus.

trophies of their success, in the temple of Minerva, at Sigeum. The following are the words of the historian: *Πολεμεόντων δέ σφεων, παντοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγενετο ἐν τῇσι μάχῃσι· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητὴς, συμβολῆς γενομένης, καὶ νικώντων Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει, τα δέ ὁι ὅπλα ἴσχουσι Ἀθηναιοι, καί σφεα ἀνεκρέμασαν πρὸς το Ἀθήναιον τὸ ἐν Σιγείῳ. τᾶυτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μέλεϊ ποιήσας ἐπιτιθεῖ ἐς Μιτυλήνην, ἐξαγγελλόμενος τὸ ἑωϋτοῦ πάθος Μελανίππω ἀνδρὶ ἑτάρῳ.* "The two parties having made war against each other, various events took place in the battles. Among the rest, the poet Alcæus, an engagement taking place, and the Athenians proving victorious, fled, and the Athenians, obtaining possession of his arms, hang them up in the temple of Minerva, at Sigeum. Alcæus putting this account into verse, sent it to Mitylene, charging his disaster upon his friend and comrade Melanippus."

Alcæus is said to have been the first inventor of the "barbiton," or harp; and has given his name to the measure which is called Alcaic, which, if he did not actually invent, he brought into high repute by constantly employing, and probably rendered more perfect and harmonious.[1] The spirit of liberty by which he was animated seems also to have inspired the minds of his descendants; for we read that his sons, in conjunction with Pittacus, one of the seven sages of Greece, fired with indignation at their country's wrongs, gallantly delivered Lesbos from the oppression and despotism of the tyrant Melarchus. Here must close our account of Alcæus, for history supplies no further materials concerning his life and character. Alcæus, though a Lesbian, wrote in the Æolic dialect; but of his numerous lyrical compositions, which are said to have comprised amatory, bacchanalian, political, and

[1] Alcaic verse is divided into two principal species; the first is of five feet, and is composed of a spondee or an iambic, a second iambic, a long syllable, a dactyl, and a second dactyl. Thus—

Vides, ut altâ stet nive candidum
Soracte, nec jam sustineant onus
Sylvæ laborantes, geluque
Flumina constiterint acuto? *Hor.* Ode ix.

is to be scanned thus:—

Vĭdēs	ŭt āl	tā	stēt nĭvĕ	cāndĭdum
1st foot.	2nd foot.	3rd foot.	4th foot.	5th foot.

And in like manner the second line. The third line thus:—

Sўlvæ | lăbō | rāntēs | gĕlū | que;

which is an iambic Archilochian dimeter to complete the stanza. The fourth line exhibits the second sort of Alcaics, composed of two dactyls and two trochees:—

Flūmĭnă | cōnstĭtĕ | rīnt ă | cūtŏ?

There is, beside these two principal species, which are sometimes called dactylic Alcaics, a third kind, which are called simple Alcaics, of an epitrite, two choriambuses, and a bacchius.

The ALCAIC ODE generally contains four strophes, each of which has four verses; the first two are Alcaic verses of the first dactylic kind; the third consists of four iambic feet with a long syllable; the fourth is an Alcaic verse of the second dactylic kind.

martial effusions, none have come down to us entire; and the few convivial fragments which survive are preserved in the works of Athenæus. We must, therefore, have recourse to the opinions of the ancients, as the only guides to a just estimate of his merits as a poet. Horace mentions him in an animated panegyric:— Alcæus.

Et te sonantem plenius aureo,
Alcæe, plectro dura navis,
Dura fugæ mala, dura belli!
Utrumque sacro digna silentio
Mirantur umbræ dicere: sed magis
Pugnas et exactos tyrannos
Densum humeris bibit aure vulgus. Book ii. Ode xiii.

Thus rendered by Mr. Francis:—

Alcæus strikes the golden strings,
And seas, and war, and exile sings:
Thus while they strike the various lyre,
The ghosts the sacred sounds admire;
But when Alcæus lifts the strain,
In thicker crowds the shadowy throng
Drink deeper down the martial song.

Again:—

——————— Alcæi minaces
——————— Camænæ.[1] Book iv. Ode ix.

Ovid, in his Heroides, also bears testimony to the martial and enthusiastic strain of the poetry of Alcæus:—

Nec plus Alcæus, consors patriæque lyræque,
Laudis habet, quamvis grandius ille sonet. [2] L. 35.

The Greek epigrammatist thus speaks of his poetry and character:—

Καὶ ξιφος Ἀλκαιοιο, τὸ πολλακις αἷμα τύραννων
Ἐσπεισε, πατρης θεσμια ῥυομενον.[3]

And, again:—

——————— ποικιλα δ' ἀυδᾳ
Ἀλκαῖος κιθαρᾳ Λεσβιος Αἰολιδι.[4]

Akenside, in his Lyric Odes, has the following passionate apostrophe to "the Lesbian patriot," Alcæus:—

Broke from the fetters of his native land,
Devoting shame and vengeance to her lords,
With louder impulse and a threat'ning hand
The Lesbian patriot smites the sounding chords:
Ye wretches, ye perfidious train,
Ye curs'd of gods and free-born men,
Ye murderers of the laws;
Though now ye glory in your lust,
Though now ye tread the feeble neck in dust,
Yet Time and righteous Jove will judge your dreadful cause.
On Lyric Poetry, st. iii.

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[1] The threatening strains of Alcæus

[2] Tho' great Alcæus more sublimely sings,
And strikes with bolder rage the sounding strings. *Pope.*

[3] The sword of Alcæus was often bathed in tyrants' blood, in defence of the liberties of his native land.

[4] The Lesbian Alcæus sung of various themes on his Æolian lyre.

Alcæus. The measure in which Alcæus wrote has been adopted by Horace in some of his noblest compositions, and has consequently been chosen by many of the modern writers of Latin verse.

IBYCUS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 540.

Ibycus. IBYCUS was a native of Rhegium, a town of Italy. The life of this poet is, if possible, involved in still greater obscurity than that of Alcman; for of his private history nothing is known, and of his works not a single line has reached the moderns. From the testimony, however, of Cicero and Ælian, it appears that his lyrical compositions were celebrated for their spirit and dignity; and the latter, in his "Various History," has given us a singular narrative of the poet's death. According to this, he was attacked and murdered by robbers, and when on the point of death, implored the assistance of some crows, who were at that moment flying over his head. A few days after, as the murderers were standing in the market-place, they observed the same flight of crows, and one of them exclaimed to his companions, Αι Ἴβυκου ἐκδικοι παρεισιν, "There are the avengers of Ibycus." These words, connected with the recent murder, exciting suspicion in the bystanders, the assassins were apprehended, and being put to the torture, confessed their guilt, and suffered the punishment due to it. The Greek epigrammatist thus mentions Ibycus amongst the nine lyric poets of Greece:—

——— ἠδυ τι πειθοῦς
Ἴβυκε ἀνθος ἀμησαμενε.[1]

SIMONIDES.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 540.

Simonides. SIMONIDES, who was born in the island of Cos, a little before the time of Pindar, enjoyed the singular felicity of acquiring, while living, a large portion of honourable renown. His fame was not confined to the narrow precincts of Cos, but extended, long before his death, through Greece and Sicily. The estimation in which his genius was held by the polite and learned of those ages may be inferred from the terms of familiarity on which he lived at Athens with the tyrant Hipparchus; the honours with which he was welcomed to Sparta by Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian general; and, finally, the attentions which he received at the elegant court of Hiero. The Sicilian monarch particularly valued his compositions for their pathos, elegance, and sweetness; and he is said to have preferred the effusions of his muse to the sublimer strains of Pindar or the moral dignity of Bacchylides. It appears that the name of the father of Simonides was Leoprepis or Theoprepis, but nothing is known of his circumstances or history.

[1] And thou, too, Ibycus, hast plucked the sweet flower of persuasion.

Simonides, according to Cicero and Quinctilian, added the two long vowels η, ω, and the two double consonants ξ, ψ, to the Greek alphabet; and is said to have first introduced the artificial improvement of the memory: he is also reported by Horace to have been the inventor of elegiac writing. He carried off the prize for poetry when he was eighty years of age: but this was not the only instance which is recorded by the ancient writers of his good fortune; for Phædrus, in one of his fables, informs us that he was so great a favourite with the gods that the life of the poet was miraculously preserved at an entertainment when the roof of the house fell down upon all those who were present at the banquet. The life of Simonides was protracted to the advanced period of ninety years: he died in the capital of his royal friend and patron; and the inhabitants of Syracuse, who had highly honoured and esteemed him when living, erected a magnificent monument to his memory. According to some writers, the lyric and elegiac poet of Cos left behind him a grandson, whose name also was Simonides: it is likewise said that he was the author of some books of inventions and genealogies, and flourished a few years before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war. The poetical writings of Simonides, composed in the Doric dialect, consisted of lyrics, elegies, epigrams, and dramatical pieces, and we are told that he composed an epic poem on Cambyses, king of Persia; but Pindar more than once insinuates that his muse was prostituted for the love of gain. There are known at present only a few fragments and epigrams of, perhaps, the most pathetic poet which antiquity can boast. One of these fragments is founded upon the following circumstance: Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius, king of Argos, according to the ancient mythological fables, became pregnant by Jupiter in a shower of gold, and brought forth, as her son, the celebrated Perseus; the father of Danaë seized upon the mother and child, and enclosing them in a chest, committed it to the sea, there to drift at the mercy of the winds and waves. Our poet puts into the mouth of the suffering Danaë the following beautiful lamentation, alike inimitable for the simplicity and feeling with which it abounds. We give, in the original Greek, the verses as they stand in Mr. Upton's edition of the Treatise of Dionysius Halicarnassus, "De Structura Orationis:"— Simonides.

"Οτε λάρναι ἐν δαιδαλίᾳ ἄνεμος
Βρέμε πνέων, κινηθεῖσά τε λίμνα
Δείματι ἤριπεν, οὐδ' ἀδιάντοισι
Παρειαῖς, ἀμφί τε Περσέϊ βάλλε
Φίλαν χεῖρα, εἶπέν τε, ὦ τέκος,
Οἷον ἔχω πόνον· σὺ δ' ἀυτως, γαλαθηνῷ
Ἠτορι κνώσσεις ἐν ἀτειρεῖ δώματι,
Χαλκεόμφῳ δι, νυκτιλαμπεῖ,
Κυανέω τε δνόφῳ· τυ δ' ἀναλέαν
Ὑπέρθε τιὰν κόμαν βαθειᾶν
Παριόντος κύματος οὐκ ἀλέγεις,
Οὐδ' ἀνέμου φθόγγων, πορφυρέᾳ

Simonides.

Κείμενος ἐν χλανίδι, πρόσωπον καλόν.
Εἰ δέ τοι δεινὸν τόγε δεινὸν ἦν,
Καί κεν ἐμῶν ῥημάτων λεπτὸν
Ὑπειχες οὐᾶς· κίλομαι, εὕδε, βρέφος,
Εὐδέτω δε πόντος, εὐδέτω ἄμετρον κακόν.
Ματαιοβολια δε τις φανειη,
Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἐκ σέο· ὅττι δε θαρσαλέον
Ἔπος, ἔυχομαι τεκνόφι δίκας μοι.

This exquisite fragment has been elegantly translated into Latin verse by Dr. Jortin, and admirably imitated by Dr. Markham. It is thus translated into English by a writer in the "Greek Anthology:"—

When the wind, resounding high,
Bluster'd from the northern sky,
When the waves, in stronger tide,
Dash'd against the vessel's side,
Her care-worn cheek with tears bedew'd,
Her sleeping infant Danaë view'd,
And trembling still with new alarms,
Around him cast a mother's arms.
"My child! what woes does Danaë weep!
But thy young limbs are wrapt in sleep.
In that poor nook all sad and dark,
While lightnings play around our bark,
Thy quiet bosom only knows
The heavy sigh of deep repose.
The howling wind, the raging sea,
No terror can excite in thee;
The angry surges wake no care
That burst above thy long deep hair.
But could'st thou feel what I deplore,
Then would I bid thee sleep the more!
Sleep on, sweet boy, still be the deep!
Oh, could I lull my woes to sleep!
Jove, let thy mighty hand o'erthrow
The baffl'd malice of my foe;
And may this child, in future years,
Avenge his mother's wrongs and tears."

Of the epigrams of Simonides which have come down to us, and which are preserved in Brunck's Analecta and Jacobs' Anthologia, we shall select one as a specimen of his manner:—

Μνῆμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστίου, ὅν ποτε Μηδοῖ
Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,
μάντιος, ὃς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα ἰδώς
οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτας ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.

Thus rendered by an anonymous translator in the Anthology:—

This tomb records Megistias' honour'd name,
Who, boldly fighting in the ranks of fame,
Fell by the Persians near Sperchius' tide.
Both past and future well the prophet knew,
And yet, though death was open to his view,
He chose to perish at his general's side.

From the fragments which are in our hands, we should imagine that

the style of Simonides was remarkable from its sweetness and elegance, and we find this opinion confirmed by the Greek epigrammatist:— Simonides.

Ἡ τε Σιμωνιδεω γλυκερη σελις, &c. &c.[1]

Again:—

——————— ἑπνεε τερπνα
Ἡδυμελιφθογγου μοῦσα Σιμωνιδεω.[2]

Horace merely says of his poetry, "Ceæque Cæmenæ;" and thus praises his elegies:—

Sed ne relictis, musa procax, jocis,
Ceæ retractes, munera næniæ.[3]

PINDAR.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 520.

PINDAR, the most celebrated of the Lyric Poets of Greece, was a native of Thebes, the metropolis of Bœotia, which country his name alone might redeem from the stigma of dulness. His birth seems to have taken place about B. C. 520. According to some writers, the name of his father was Daiphantus; according to others, Scopilenus; and that of his mother Myrto, or Myrtis. It is related of him that when he was an infant a swarm of bees settled on his lips, and left their honey there; an omen of his future excellence in the arts of poetry and music. The history of Pindar's early days seems to refute in some degree the opinion of those who think education has a tendency to repress originality of genius, and to tame it down into dexterous imitation or humble correctness. No poet, perhaps, ever dared so much as Pindar, and yet none was ever instructed in the finest arts with greater care. It is singular, that for much of his instruction he was indebted to the female sex, at a time when women were excluded from the higher departments of knowledge, and regarded as scarcely endowed with intellectual faculties. According to Suidas, he was first taught to combine simplicity with elegance in the composition of his verses by Myrtis — probably his mother, who was herself the author of poems adapted to the lyre. At a subsequent period, the beautiful Corinna became his instructor. Some assert that he enjoyed also the singular advantage of being the pupil of Simonides, though no styles of poetry can be more dissimilar than that instinct with the ardent, impetuous, and daring spirit of Pindar, and the soft, pensive, and mellow tenderness of his reputed master. Not only poetry, but also the sister art of music, was carefully studied by the bard. Athenæus informs us that Lasus of Hermione, an excellent musician and dithyrambic poet, imparted to him his skill in playing on the lyre. Certain it is that he was prepared by no common attention for that high and glorious career in which he left every competitor behind him. Pindar.

[1] The sweet page of Simonides.

[2] The Muse of the honey-tongued Simonides breathed forth enchanting strains.

[3] But, oh, jocund Muse! do not thou presume upon the province of the Cœan elegy!

Pindar.

Pindar seems to have been early received with great honour by Alexander, son of Amyntas, at the court of Macedon. He overcame his teacher Myrtis in a contest of musical skill; but was no less than five times defeated by Corinna in striving for the reward of poetry. It is intimated, indeed, by some, that the judges were inclined to favour the female candidate rather by the admiration of her personal charms than of her poetical genius. Our bard must, however, have been very young at this time, as Diodorus Siculus asserts that he had only attained the age of forty at the time of the battle of Salamis.

In the public assemblies of Greece, Pindar no sooner appeared than he attained a height of popular favour which seems never to have left him; nor was his fame confined to the people. As he sung the praises of the conquerors in those games at which kings and princes strove for the prize, he naturally acquired the favour and patronage of the great. He enjoyed the favour of Hiero, king of Syracuse, whose munificence he delighted to repay by immortal praise. His partiality to the Athenians, however, drew on him the resentment of his countrymen. Because he had celebrated Athens as the chief support of Greece, they laid on him a heavy fine, on which the Athenians presented him with a sum of double the amount. Authors are divided respecting the time in which he died, some asserting that he only reached the age of fifty-six, while others maintain that he was eighty-six at the time of his decease. His departure from life was gentle, for it took place while he was sitting in a public assembly, and, till the spectators retired, he was thought to be slumbering. As a prodigy is related of his birth, so attempts were made by the Greeks to surround his death by mystery. It is said that having in one of his poems represented Agamedes and Trophonius as rewarded by sudden death for having built the temple of Apollo, he was referred by the priestess, on his inquiring what was best for mankind, to his own verses. He understood this reply as an intimation of approaching and sudden dissolution, which soon after took place.

Extraordinary honours were paid to Pindar, both during his life and after his decease. His odes and religious hymns were chanted in the temples of Greece before the most crowded assemblies, and on the most solemn occasions. The priestess of Apollo, at Delphi, declared that it was the will of that divinity that Pindar should receive half of the first fruits annually offered at his shrine. The Athenians erected a statue of brass in honour of him, representing him with a diadem and a lyre, and a book folded on his knees, which was remaining in the time of Pausanias; and a portion of the sacrifices at the great festivals of Greece was, for a long time, set apart for his descendants. When the Lacedæmonians took Thebes, they spared the house and family of Pindar; and when, afterwards, the city was taken by Alexander, the same mark of veneration was shown to his memory. His works have been extolled in terms of the most ardent admiration by some of the first ancient writers. Quinctilian says of him, in his Institutes, "Novem Græcorum Lyricorum Pindarus princeps, spiritu, magnificentiâ, sen-

tentiis, figuris; beatissimus rerum verborumque copiâ et velut quodam eloquentiæ flumine, propter quæ Horatius nemini credit eum imitabilem." Pindar.

"Of the nine Greek lyric poets, Pindar is the chief, in spirit, in magnificence, in moral sentiment, and in metaphor; most happy both in the abundance of his matter and of his diction; and, as it were, with a certain torrent of eloquence, so that Horace says no man can imitate him."

A yet higher authority—Horace himself—has thus expressed his admiration of our bard:—

Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari,
Jule, ceratis ope Dædaleâ
Nititur pennis, vitreo daturus
Nomina ponto.
Monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres
Quem super notas aluêre ripas,
Fervet immensusque ruit profundo
Pindarus ore.

He who to Pindar's height attempts to rise,
Like Icarus, with waxen pinions, tries
His pathless way, and, from the venturous theme
Falling, shall leave to azure seas his name.
As when a river, swollen by sudden showers,
O'er its known banks from some steep mountain pours;
So, in profound, unmeasurable song,
The deep-mouth'd Pindar, foaming, pours along. *Francis.*

In the course of this ode, the epithet of Dircæus cycnus, "the Theban swan," is given to him; and the judgment of the Greek epigrammatist is in unison with the opinions of Horace and of Quinctilian:—

Πινδαρε Μουσαων ἱερον στομα, &c. &c.[1]

Again:—

Ἐκλαγγε ἐκ Θηβῶν μεγα Πινδαρος, &c.[2]

We cannot sufficiently regret the loss of the compositions which called forth these eulogies, because though, compared with the works of many other renowned authors, a considerable number of Pindar's odes have reached us, those which survive are not the most interesting in their subjects, nor probably the most felicitous in their execution. The works of Pindar consisted of hymns and pæans in honour of the gods; songs accompanied by dances, in honour of Apollo; dithyrambic verses to Bacchus, and some minor effusions, with the odes on the Olympic, Nemæan, Isthmian, and Pythian games. Of these latter forty-five remain, which, with a few fragments, form the only materials on which we can now form any opinion of the extent or peculiar character of Pindar's genius.

No subjects, at first sight, could seem more unfitted for sublime poetry than those of the Pindaric remains; but the poet has, with characteristic impetuosity, overcome this difficulty by the practice of abandoning the professed objects of his panegyric, and bursting into

[1] Oh, Pindar! thou sacred mouth of the Muses.
[2] Pindar's lyre clanged loftily from Thebes.

Pindar.

celebrations of the heroes of former days, the mighty exploits of demigods, and the gorgeous fables of oldest time. In the transition he uses little art, but seems to rely, as he safely might, on the change being, in itself, most welcome. He is chiefly remarkable for the gigantic boldness of his conceptions and the daring sublimity of his metaphors, which stamp him the Æschylus of lyric poetry. The flights of his imagination are not, however, like those of the great tragedian, mingled with the intensity of human passion, which, while they carry us beyond ourselves, still come home to the heart. He has the light without the heat; his splendours dazzle, but do not warm us. There is little of human feeling in his works; they are little more than exhibitions which excite our surprise, but not our sympathy. His compositions have something hard and stony about them—the sublimity and nakedness of the rock. The sunshine glitters on the top, but no foliage adorns the declivity. All the interest, such as it is, arises from the earnestness of the poet himself, and the intense ardour with which he is impelled in his lofty career. Hence we think more of him than of his work; while in Homer and the Greek tragedians the author is forgotten. His conception is so ardent that he cannot wait to develop his metaphors; he often but half unfolds them, and suffers them to blend with the literal descriptions and form part of the subject; and hence, it appears to us, the obscurities so frequently complained of in Pindar have, in a great degree, arisen. In the mechanical composition of his odes, however, Pindar is by no means so irregular as some have been disposed to imagine. He commonly preserves the arrangement of strophe, antistrophe, and epode; and though the construction of these vary in different odes, all the strophes and antistrophes in the same ode are framed on the same principles, and all the epodes are composed in similar measures to each other.

The following is the commencement of the Ode to Hiero:—

Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Απολλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων
Σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον·
Τᾶς ἀκούει μὲν βάσις, ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά,
Πείθονται δ' ἀοιδοὶ σάμασιν,
Ἀγησίχορων ὁπόταν τῶν ϝροιμίων
Ἀμβολὰς τεύχῃς ἐλελιζομένα·
Καὶ τὸν ἀιχματὰν κεραυνὸν σβεννύεις
Ἀενάου πυρός· ἔν—
δει δ' ἀνὰ σκάπτῳ Διὸς ἀιετός, ὠκεῖαν πτέρυγ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν χαλάξαις,
Ἀρχὸς ὀιωνῶν· κελαινῶπιν δ' επί οἱ νεφέλαν
Ἀγκύλῳ κρατί, βλεφάρων
Ἀδὺ κλαΐστρον, κατέχευας· ὁ δὲ κνώσσων
Τγρὸν νῶτον ἀιωρεῖ, τεαῖς
Ριπαῖσι κατασχόμενος· καὶ γαρ βιατὰς Αρης, τραχεῖαν ἄνευθε λιπῶν
Εγχίων ἀκμὰν, ἰαίνει καρδίαν
Κώματι. κ. τ. λ.

This is imitated, in animated style, by Gray, in his "Progress of Poesy:"— Pindar.

Oh! sovereign of the willing soul,
Parent of sweet and solemn-breathing airs!
Enchanting shell! the sullen cares,
And frantic passions bear thy soft control.
On Thracia's hills the lord of war
Has curbed the fury of his car,
And dropped his thirsty lance at thy command.
Perching on the sceptred hand
Of Jove, thy magic lulls the feathered king
With ruffled plumes and flagging wing:
Quench'd in dark clouds of slumber, lie
The terrors of his beak, and lightnings of his eye.

Akenside, in his Hymn to the Naiads, has also imitated part of this extract:—

——————— With slackened wings,
While now the solemn concert breathes around,
Incumbent o'er the sceptre of his lord,
Sleeps the stern eagle; by the numbered notes
Possessed; and satiate with the melting tones,
Sovereign of birds. The furious god of war,
His darts forgetting, and the rapid wheels
That bear him vengeful o'er th' embattled plains,
Relents.

In the second Olympic Ode, Pindar thus introduces us into the Fortunate Islands, the Paradise of the ancients, and paints with equal vividness and beauty the felicity of the blessed. West in his translation seems to have caught some portion of the spirit of the original:—

Ἴσον δὲ νύκτεσσιν αἰεί,
Ἴσα δ' ἐν ἁμέραις ἄλιον ἔχοντες, ἀπονέστερον
Ἐσθλοὶ νεμόνται βίοτον, οὐ χθόνα ταράσσοντες ἁλκᾷ χερῶν,
Οὐδὲ πόντιον ὕδωρ,
Κεινὰν παρὰ δίαιταν· ἀλλὰ παρὰ μὲν τιμίοις
Θεῶν, ὅτινες ἔχαιρον ἐυορκίαις,
Ἀδακρυν νέμονται
Αἰῶνα· τοὶ δ' ἀπροσόρατον ὀκχέοντι πόνον.

Ὅσοι δ' ἐτόλμασαν ἑστρὶς
Ἑκατέρωθι μείναντες
Ἀπὸ πάμπαν ἀδίκων ἔχειν
Ψυχάν, ἔτειλαν Διὸς
Ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν· ἔνθα μακάρων
Νᾶσον ὠκεανίδες
Αὖραι περιπνέουσιν· ἄνθεμα δὲ χρυσοῦ φλέγει,

Pindar.

Τὰ μὲν χερσόθεν, ἀπ' ἀ-
γλαῶν δενδρείων,
Ὕδωρ δ' ἄλλα φέρϐει·
Ὀρμοισι τῶν χέρας ἀνα-
πλέκοντι καὶ στεφάνοις.

STROPHE IV.

But in the happy fields of light,
When Phœbus with an equal ray,
Illuminates the balmy night,
And gilds the cloudless day,
In peaceful, unmolested joy,
The good their smiling hours employ.
Them no uneasy wants constrain
To vex th' ungrateful soil,
To tempt the dangers of the billowy main,
And break their strength with unabated toil,
A frail disast'rous being to maintain.
But in their joyous calm abodes,
The recompense of justice they receive;
And in the fellowship of gods
Without a tear eternal ages live.
While, banished by the Fates from joy and rest,
Intolerable woes the impious soul infest.

ANTISTROPHE IV.

But they who, in true virtue strong,
The third purgation can endure;
And keep their minds from fraudful wrong
And guilt's contagion pure;
They through the starry paths of Jove
To Saturn's blissful seat remove;
Where fragrant breezes, vernal airs,
Sweet children of the main,
Purge the blest island from corroding cares,
And fan the bosom of each verdant plain:
Whose fertile soil immortal fruitage bears;
Trees, from whose flowering branches flow,
Arrayed in golden bloom, refulgent beams;
And flowers of golden hue, that blow
On the fresh borders of their parent streams.
These, by the blest, in solemn triumph worn,
Their unpolluted hands and clustering locks adorn.

How sublimely has the Grecian poet described an eruption of Mount Ætna!—

——————— κίων
Δ' οὐρανία συνέχει,
Νιφόεσσ' Αἴτνα, πάνετες
Χιόνος ὀξείας τιθήνα.
Τᾶς ἐρεύγονται μὲν ἀπλά-
του πυρὸς αγνόταται
Ἐκ μυχῶν παγαί· ποταμοὶ
Δ' ἀμέραισιν μὲν προχέοντι ῥόον καπνοῦ
Αἰθών· ἀλλ' εν ὄρφναισιν πέτρας
Φοίνισσα κυλινδομένα φλὸξ ἐς ϐαθεῖ-
αν φέρει πόντου πλάκα συν πατάγῳ.

Which is thus inadequately translated by West:— Pindar.

By snowy Ætna, nurse of endless frosts,
The pillared prop of heaven, for ever pressed:
Forth from whose nitrous caverns issuing rise
Pure liquid fountains of tempestuous fire,
And veil in ruddy mists the noon-day skies,
While wrapt in smoke the eddying flames aspire,
Or gleaming through the night with hideous roar
Far o'er the reddening main huge rocky fragments pour.[1]

1*st Pythian Ode.*

Imitators of Pindar.

The imitators of Pindar, from Horace to Cowley, have been numerous; but the judgment of Horace, that he can never, in his own peculiar excellencies, be equalled, has not been yet disproved. Gray, in his happiest passages, has, perhaps, most nearly approached him. West has done all that could be accomplished towards a translation; and Mr. Pye and subsequent writers have attempted the same task. It is one in which to fail is no disgrace; for faithfully to translate Pindar into modern verse, without losing his spirit, appears impossible, even could it be undertaken by a congenial lyrist.

Editions of Pindar.

The chief editions of Pindar are as follow:—

Pindari Carmina. Græcè. Venetiis in Ædib. Aldi, 1513, fol. This is the Princeps and Aldine edition.

——— Operâ Zachar. Calliergi Cretensis Romæ, 1514. Heyne says of this edition, that it is the foundation of all the subsequent ones.

——— Gr. et Lat. Henricus Stephanus, Parisiis, 1560.

——— Operâ Erasmi Schmidii, Græc. Viteberg. 1616. Professor Heyne says of the editor that he is "Editorum Pindari facilè principem."

——— Jo. Benedictus, M. D. Salmurii, 1620, 4to. This is an excellent edition, and is accompanied with a Latin translation, and a paraphrasis. Mr. Huntingford has made an abundant use of it in his respectable and useful edition of Pindar.

——— per Nicolaum Sudorium (Le Sueur), Oxon. 1697, fol. This splendid Oxford edition was edited by Richard West and Robert Welsted. According to Professor Heyne, it is not celebrated for its critical research and acumen.

——— à Christian Gottl. Heyne, Gottingæ, 1773, 8vo et 4to. Interpretatio Latina Koppii. This is by far the most complete edition which has ever been presented to the learned world. Professor Heyne

[1] The following is an attempt at a translation in prose:—
"The snowy Ætna binds him; the mother of eternal frosts and snows, the prop of heaven's blue vault, from whose caverns pure fountains of inapproachable fire gush forth; and by day-break dark streams of smoke and vapour are poured out; but in the shades of night the red devouring flame rolls on rocks and woods, and precipitates them with a resounding crash into the billows of the ocean."

Pindar. attached to it his "Additamenta" in 1791. This edition was reprinted, with the valuable Scholia, at Oxford, 1807, by Nathaniel Bliss, with great and laudable accuracy.

Pindari Selecta. Cum Scholiis selectis suisque notis, edidit Fredericus Gedike. Berolini, 1786. A very useful edition, and the notes are elegant and learned.

——— iterum curavit Chr. Gottl. Heyne, 3 vol. Gottingen, 1798, 8vo. To this edition is added a dissertation upon the metres of Pindar, by Godfrey Hermann, a celebrated German critical scholar, and well known as the opponent of Professor Porson. Mr. Huntingford also published, in 1816, a new edition of Pindar, with notes, taking for his text that of Heyne, and subjoining the excellent paraphrase of Benedict. This is a very good edition, especially for young students; and, upon the whole, may be considered as the most *useful* which has yet appeared; for it was the object of the editor to combine in one publication the various excellencies of his critical predecessors.

The best recent editions of this author are, that of A. Boeckh, Leipsig, 1811–21, 2 vols. 4to., containing dissertations and a valuable commentary, and displaying a profound acquaintance with the musical and poetic system of the Greeks; the second edition of Dissen, edited by Schneidewin, published in Gotha, 1843; and a most valuable edition by Donaldson, London, 1841.

Those of our readers who would wish to see a complete list of all the editions of Pindar which have appeared, may consult Professor Heyne's admirable preface to his edition of that poet, where a full and detailed account of them is given.

BACCHYLIDES.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 452.

Bacchylides. BACCHYLIDES, the last of the nine lyric poets of Greece, was a native of Julis, a city in the island of Cos, or Ceos, and nephew to the poet Simonides. He seems to have been a favourite at the court of Hiero, in common with Pindar and his uncle; and it is said that his poetical works were preferred by the Sicilian monarch to the compositions of his relative. Of the particulars of the life of Bacchylides we know nothing, and of his numerous productions only a few small fragments remain. His writings are asserted to have been so pregnant with moral sentiment, that the emperor Julian, on that account, particularly esteemed them, and was in the habit of committing them to memory, and of frequently repeating them.

Horace is said to have imitated him in several of his poems, particularly in his Prophecy of Nereus, which is founded upon an ode of our bard, in which he introduced Cassandra as predicting the fall of Troy. Of the numerous odes, hymns, and epigrams, composed by Bacchylides in the Doric dialect (although he was not a Dorian by

birth), the following lines, addressed to Peace, form the principal fragment remaining:—

Bacchylides.

Τίκτει δέ τε θνατοῖσιν Εἰράνα μεγάλα,
Πλοῦτον, δε μελιγλώσσᾶν ἀοιδῶν ἄνθεα,
Δαιδαλέων τ' ἐπὶ βωμῶν θεοῖσιν ἄϊθεται ϐοῶν
Ξανθᾷ φλογὶ μηρα, δασυτρίχων τε μήλων·
Γυμνασίων τε νέοις αυλῶν τε καὶ κώμων μέλει
Ἐν δὲ σιδαροδέτοις πορπαξιν αιθᾶν ἀραχνᾶν
Ἱστοὶ πέλονται· ἔγχεά τε λογχωτὰ,
Ξίφεά τ' ἀμφάκεά ἐυρὼς δάμναται· χαλκέων
Δ' ὐυκέτι σαλπίγγων κτύπος· ὔυδε συλᾶται μελίφρων ὕπνος
Ἀπὸ γλεφάρων ἄμοιν ὅς θάλπει κέαρ.
Σωμποσίων δ' ἐρατῶν ϐρίθοντ' ἀγυιαὶ,
Παιδικοί θ' ὕμνοι φλέγονται.[1]

We have only to add to these slender suggestions on the life and writings of Bacchylides, that he is extolled, by two of the Greek epigrams in the Anthologia, for elegance and cheerful grace:—

——————— καὶ λαλε Σειρην
Βακχυλιδη, &c. &c.[2]

Again:—

Λαλα δ' ἀπο στοματων φθιγξατο Βακχυλιδης.[3]

The fragments of Bacchylides have been published by Bergk, in his "Poetæ Lyrici Græcè," and by Neue, "Bacchylidis Cei Fragmenta," Berol, 1823.

[1] For thee, sweet Peace, abundance leads along
Her jovial train, and bards awake to song.
On many an altar, at thy glad return,
Pure victims bleed, and holy odours burn;
And frolic youth their happy age apply
To graceful movements, sports, and minstrelsy.
Dark spiders weave their webs within the shield;
Rust eats the spear, the terror of the field;
And brazen trumpets now no more affright
The silent slumber, and repose of night.
Banquet and song and revel fill the ways,
And youths and maidens sing their roundelays.
Bland.

[2] And Bacchylides, the loquacious syren.

[3] Bacchylides' was a cheerful Muse.

THE

OLD COMEDY OF GREECE.

GREEK COMIC POETS.

EPICHARMUS, WHO FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 450
PHORMIS - - - - - - - - - - B. C. 452
CRATES - - - - - - - - - - - B. C. 452
CRATINUS - - - - - - - - - - B. C. 440
EUPOLIS - - - - - - - - - - B. C. 434
ARISTOPHANES - - - - - - - - B. C. 435

THE

OLD COMEDY OF GREECE.

ALTHOUGH the name of Aristophanes is one of the first, and by far the most illustrious, which we meet with in the history of the ancient Greek comedy, we must by no means conclude that this species of poetry was unknown to the Greeks until the period in which he flourished. The Greek comedy and tragedy were twin sisters, and had their common origin in the feasts of Bacchus and the humble cart of Thespis. But the tragic muse outstripped the comic, and was already in the meridian of her splendour, when the Greek comedy had been scarcely embodied in a regular form. From the time of Thespis, about B.C. 539, to Epicharmus, who flourished about B.C. 450, we meet with no name of any consideration in comic poetry. By birth a Sicilian, according to the testimony of Aristotle, this poet is generally understood to have given to the world the first written comedy, and may, therefore, be styled the father of the art. Τὸ δὲ μύθους ποιεῖν Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμις ἠρξαν. Τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ Σικελίας ἦλθε. Των δὲ Ἀθήνησι Κράτης πρῶτος ἠρξεν, κ. τ. λ. "Epicharmus and Phormis first began to fashion fables, which originally came from Sicily: Crates first introduced this practice at Athens."[1] His immediate contemporaries, Phormis and Crates, are only known to us on the same authority. Origin of Greek Comedy.

The Greek philologists and philosophers have given us the derivation of the word κωμωδια, comedy, from κωμη, a "village," and have explained the reason for this derivation; but they are unable to inform us who first introduced or invented the characters, the actors, and the prologues. Aristotle here confesses his incapacity: τις δε προσωπα ἀπεδωκεν, ἡ προλογους, ἡ πληθη υποκριτων ἠγνοηται. "We are ignorant who first invented the masks, the prologues, or a number of performers." But from the circumstance of Thespis and his cart of actors wandering up and down the villages of Greece, either singing licentious songs, or indulging in idle and satirical invective against the most prominent persons of the neighbourhood, the Stagirite suggests the true allusion of the word κωμωδια, and combats the absurd opinion of its being derived from κωμος, commessatio, "a revel."[2] His language

[1] *Poetics*, sec. xi.

[2] Ὡς κωμωδους, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμαζειν λιχθεντας ἀλλὰ τῆ κὰτα κωμας πλανη, ἀτιμαζομενους ἐκ τοῦ ἀστιως. "Comedians were so called from wandering in the κωμαι, or villages, when disgracefully expelled from the city."—*De Poet.*

would induce us to infer that the comic followers of Thespis were not at all more respectable in the origin of the art, than in the estimation of many of the legislators and moralists of modern times: a description of them confirmed by various writers, and ill sustaining a comparison with the more dignified occupations of the tragedian.

Progress of Comedy.

It is singular, however, that Aristotle, in a professed treatise upon the art of poetry, does not attempt a *definition* of comedy; and scarcely points out the boundaries between the respective spheres of the tragic and the comic muse. He confesses that the origin and progress of the latter were both obscure and tardy: ἡ δὲ κωμωδία, διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδάζεσθαι ἐξ ἀρχης, ἔλαθεν· καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὀψέ ποτε ὁ ἄρχων ἔδωκεν ἀλλ' ἐθελονταὶ ἦσαν. Sect. xi. "Comedy, from not originally receiving encouragement, languished; for the Archon did not, till a late period, allow a chorus of comedians, but formerly they were volunteers;" and he only conjectures that as the Iliad and Odyssey formed the materials of tragedy (for Æschylus confesses that his repasts consisted only of fragments from the banquet of Homer), so, in like manner, that the Margites of the bard of Chios bore the same analogy to comedy:[1] What was the precise nature of this work the Greek philosopher does not condescend to tell us; but it is generally understood to have been a ludicrous and satirical poem at the expense of some half-learned pedagogue. Aristotle calls Homer, το γελοῖον δραματα ποιησας, "a dramatiser of the ludicrous," as the author of that work; but the few lines which are quoted by Plato, in Alcib. ii. p. 457; Aristot. Eth. Nicom. vi. c. 7; and Aristoph. Ὀρνιθες. 914, are exceedingly obscure.

Comedy less suitable than Tragedy to a barbarous age.

The slow progress of the Greek comedy, indeed, and its feeble hold upon the public mind, when contrasted with the successful efforts of the early tragedians, may be satisfactorily explained. The province of tragedy, from its first appearance, according to Aristotle, was to excite pity and terror (φοβος καὶ ἐλεος), to rouse the deeper emotions of the soul, and embody the whirlwinds of passion, which abound in a barbarous age. It alternately exercises the strongest and most characteristic sympathies of mankind, whether of pleasure or of pain, while it depicts "in thoughts that breathe and words that burn," the adultery and murder of Clytemnestra; the woes of Monimia; the villany and ambition of Richard; or the frenzy and breaking heart of Lear. In the infancy of society, the *material* of tragedy was continually multiplying: the great virtues and great vices that exerted themselves were first portrayed and then stimulated by the true poet, and formed the most prominent features in the moral landscape; while the lighter shades of human character, the peculiar levities, the characteristic traits of frivolity, upon which the whole structure of comedy is so dependent, were not observed, because they had not yet

[1] Ὁ γὰρ Μαργειτης ἀναλογον ἐχει, ὡσπερ Ἰλιας καὶ Ὀδυσσεια πρὸς τὰς τραγωδιας οὑτω καὶ οὗτος πρὸς τὰς κωμωδιας. "For the Margites bears the same proportion to comedy as the Iliad and Odyssey to tragedy." Sect. 8.

Characters proper for Comedy found only in polished society.

been elicited by circumstances, and exist but in a more artificial state of society. Neither comedy nor satire could have found originals to copy nor feelings to work upon in the early ages of the world: the whole inhabitants of a district were divided mainly into two classes— those of the artisan and the soldier: and the simplicity and necessities of the one, and the bullying insolence of the other, were almost the only topics upon which the old comedy could descant. There was little subdivision of labour, and no subdivision of character; the grave professions which have always furnished in their unworthy members the most ample scope for satire, were unknown at this period. Cervantes might have looked in vain for the archetype of the Knight of La Mancha, or Le Sage for the original of his Sangrado; character was generic, not specific, and what might be predicated of the genus might be justly applied to the species. It is only in the higher state of polish which society was for ages reaching after, that we can find the diversified personages, the Protean characters of modern comedy; and it would be as absurd to look for the "Dramatis Personæ" of Molière and Sheridan in the comic writings of Greece or of Rome, as to expect to find the portrait-painting of Shakspeare in the bold outline of Æschylus. Hence, and with great justice, the rude or perfect state in which the art of comic writing exists, has been considered by various writers as the great criterion by which the civilization or barbarism of a people may be appreciated. It was only in the elegant court of Augustus that the kindred art of satire, which had been first rudely essayed by Lucilius, received its last polish from the hands of Horace; and the coarse jests and coarser language of Plautus were finally discarded for the more elegant and harmonious strains of Terence:—

> At nostri proavi Plautinos et numeros et
> Laudavere sales, nimium patienter utrumque,
> Ne dicam stultè, mirati; si modo ego et vos
> Scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto,
> Legitimumque sonum, digitis callemus, et aure.[1]
>
> *Hor. Ars. Poet.*

Peculiarities of the old Greek Comedy.

Amongst the Athenians, too, it is evident that the improvement of comedy kept pace with the refinement of the national manners and the delicacy of the national taste. The Old Comedy of Greece permitted the illustrious statesmen, generals, and public characters of the commonwealth to be brought forward on the stage by name, and held up to ridicule, even personally, before an applauding audience; until it was deservedly superseded by what is termed the Middle Comedy, which abolished the chorus, and compelled the poet to substitute for any real personages or characters, in whom he attempted to satirize

[1] "Our ancestors praised both the wit and numbers of Plautus, and admired him, I will not say foolishly, but certainly in too favourable a manner; that is, if you and I know the difference between rustic and elegant diction, and are skilled in discerning harmony and melody of verse both by our ears and fingers."

New Greek Comedy.

the vices and follies of the times, disguised or fictitious names. This improvement paved the way, and, in fact, may be considered as the stepping-stone to the introduction of the New Comedy, under the auspices of Menander and Philemon; a form of the Attic drama which finally introduced the comedy of the moderns. As it remains, indeed, in the works of Terence, the "dimidiatus Menander" of Rome, it may be considered as affording the entire foundation of this branch of the dramatic art, with the exception of the passion of love, and to have had the same general cast of character which pervades these productions to the present day. The increasing civilization, and the consequent delicacy of manners, has happily been correcting the worst features of comedy to a very recent period in this country; and the obscenities of such early dramatists as Etheridge and Behn would not be tolerated by the audiences who are capable of appreciating the chaste beauties of Cumberland and the sparkling elegance of Sheridan. In the satirical writings of this country, too, we may observe a similar improvement in the national feeling, corroborative of our preceding remarks. The coarse satires of Donne and the gross ribaldry of Swift slumber with the compositions of Rabelais on the shelves to which they are still admitted; there to shield from dust the chaster efforts of the modern muse; to be admired and quoted, but rarely read. The spiritual comedies, which were so much admired by the Italians in the infancy of their dramatic literature, shared a similar fate at its maturity, and were universally scouted as the productions of a semi-barbarous age. On a comparison, then, between the progress and perfection of the ancient tragedy and comedy, respectively, it appears that the former, almost with its first efforts, reached the summit of a still unrivalled perfection, and sprang, like Pallas, from the brain of Jove, mature in infancy; while the comic muse languished from her birth in obscurity and deformity, and required the fostering hand of care, and of natural as well as artificial support, to attain anything like a sisterly excellence.

Progressive refinement of Comedy.

EPICHARMUS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 450.

Epicharmus.

We have already observed that Aristotle, in his Poetics, ascribes the first written comedy to EPICHARMUS. Both the Stagirite and Horace call him a Sicilian, but the exact place of his birth is disputed; some writers contend that he was a Syracusan, some that he was a native of Crastum, others of Megara, in Sicily: Diomedes the grammarian states that he was born in the island of Cos, and, in fact, derives the word comedy from the name of that island, a circumstance which in no way strengthens his authority. The father of Epicharmus, according to Stobæus, was named Chimarus, or, according to others, Tityrus: his mother's name was Sicida. Cicero, in his Tusculan Disputations, calls Epicharmus, "acutum nec insulsum hominem," "an

acute and clever man;" and Demetrius Phalereus commends him for the elegant and apposite choice of his epithets, on account of which the Greeks gave the name of "Epicharmion" to his style, making it proverbial for its beauty and purity. Epicharmus.

Among the epigrams of Theocritus, published by Henry Stephens in 1579, there are some verses that appear to have been inscribed to Epicharmus upon the pedestal of a brazen statue, which the Syracusans had erected to his honour. As far as this testimony goes it would settle the point of his birth, by expressly stating that he was a native of Syracuse, while it ascribes to him, in common with all antiquity, the invention of written comedy: it is a fragment of ten lines in the Doric dialect to

——— χὠ ἀνηρ ὁ ταν κωμῳδιαν
Ἐυρων Ἐπιχαρμος.[1]

Again:—

Τον Συρακοσσαις ἐνιδρυνται
Οἱ ἀνδρι πολιτᾳ.[2]

It celebrates him, in conclusion, for the many useful maxims which he gave for the instruction of youth. Of the life of this early comic poet little is known, and of his writings still less. Diogenes Laertius, in his lives of the ancient Greek philosophers, represents him to have been a Pythagorean in his philosophical tenets; and states that he first introduced comedy at Syracuse during the reign of Hiero; of whom Plutarch says, that he severely fined the poet, and doomed him to heavy manual labour, for certain obscene jests which he introduced in the hearing of his queen. Some writers assert, that Epicharmus was a schoolmaster, and that he instructed pupils about four years before the Persian invasion, a circumstance that has been thought to be corroborated by the concluding part of the epigram of Theocritus, to which we have before alluded. Diogenes Laertius further states, that he composed several treatises upon medicine and philosophy; but of these scientific works, as well as of his comic productions, nothing has come down entire to modern times. According to the testimony of Horace, however, we may catch the likeness of the Sicilian poet from the imitative sketches of Plautus:—

Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi.[3]

He is said, by Aristotle and Pliny, to have added two letters to the Greek alphabet (χ and θ); and, according to Diogenes Laertius and Stobæus, he attained to the advanced age of ninety years. Epicharmus appears to have been a liberal contributor to that branch of literature in which he led the way. Porphyry says, that Apollodorus the gram-

[1] The man who invented comedy, Epicharmus.

[2] Which statue they have erected at Syracuse in honour of their fellow-citizen.

[3] Plautus took the Sicilian Epicharmus for his model.
Hor. 2 Ep. i. l. 8.

Epicharmus.

marian made a collection of his works in ten volumes; Suidas reckons fifty-two plays; Lycon only thirty-five; but other critics have given the names of forty, with the authorities by which they are ascertained. It were useless to load our pages with these titles of tales no more: the most accurate list of them will be found in Stobæus. We shall conclude our account of this poet by presenting the English reader with the translation of a fragment of one of his comedies, preserved by Stobæus. It is a retort upon the pride of ancestry from a person of obscure birth, to one who was boasting of her high descent:—

> Good gossip, if you love me, prate no more:
> What are your genealogies to me?
> Away to those who have more need of them!
> Let the degenerate wretches, if they can,
> Dig up dead honour from their father's tombs,
> And boast it for their own—Vain, empty boast!
> When every common fellow that they meet,
> If accident hath not cut off the scroll,
> Can show a list of ancestry as long.
> You call the Scythians barbarous, and despise them;
> Yet Anacharsis was a Scythian born;
> And every man of a like noble nature,
> Though he were moulded from an Æthiop's loins,
> Is nobler than your pedigrees can make him.
>
> *Cumberland.*

There is a valuable edition of Epicharmus by H. P. Kruseman, Haarlem, 1834.

PHORMIS.—CRATES.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 452.

Phormis and Crates.

Of PHORMIS and CRATES, who are mentioned by Aristotle as the contemporaries of Epicharmus, we know scarcely anything but their names. The former appears to have flourished in the time of Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, and was in great favour at the court of that prince; but of his compositions not a single line remains. Of Crates we glean a few particulars from the works of Stobæus. He was by birth an Athenian, first an actor, and afterwards a writer of the "old comedy;" he is said to have performed the principal characters in the plays of Cratinus, and was the great rival of Aristophanes' favourite actors, Callistratus and Philonides. We have the titles of twenty comedies, and four small fragments of this author: the former are said to have been of a cheerful and facetious cast; and the author of the Prolegomena to Aristophanes assigns to him the merit of being the first who introduced intoxication on the Athenian stage. It is evident that this experiment succeeded, for subsequently even the tragedians exhibited characters in this situation. Aristotle, in his treatise Περὶ Ποιητικης, ascribes to Crates an important improvement in the Iambic metre of the old comedy, which he is said to have delivered from its former trammels and to have made more suit-

able to familiar dialogue : ἀφεμενος τῆς ιαμβικῆς ἰδεας, καθολου ποιεῖν λογους ἢ μυθους.—"He discarded the strict Iambic form, and constructed his plots in a plain and simple manner," sect. xi. Of the remains of this poet, we shall quote the last fragment of the four which survive, containing a short but affecting picture of old age :— Crates.

These shrivelled sinews, and this bending frame,
The workmanship of Time's strong hand proclaim,
Skilled to reverse whate'er the gods create,
And make that crooked which they fashion straight.
Hard choice for man, to die—or else to be
That tottering, wretched, wrinkled thing you see:
Age then we all prefer; for age we pray,
And travel on to life's last lingering day;
Then sinking slowly down, from worse to worse,
Find heaven's extorted boon our greatest curse.

Cumberland.

CRATINUS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 440.

CRATINUS, the son of Callimedes, the Athenian, was a comic writer of Athens, and was the contemporary, although the senior, of Aristophanes. He flourished about B. C. 440. None of the entire compositions of this poet have come down to us; and a few fragments alone remain of those comedies which elicited the applauses of an admiring audience, and received the warm praises of Horace and Quinctilian. Of the private life of Cratinus little or nothing is known; it would only seem to have been distinguished for its irregularities;—a fact which we may gather from the fickle mob of Athens erecting a monument to his memory, which, omitting all mention of his fine talents, stated only that he was a notorious drunkard: this also is said to have procured him the name of Φιλοποτης, "the wine-bibber." Cratinus.

Horace also bears testimony to this feature of his character.

Prisco si credis, Mæcenas docte, Cratino,
Nulla placere diù nec vivere carmina possunt,
Quæ scribuntur aquæ potoribus.[1]

Epist. xix. b. i. l. 3.

We are told by Quinctilian, that when he died, about B. C. 431, he was no less than ninety-seven years of age. Within a short period of his death, Cratinus is said to have composed a comedy, aptly enough termed the "*Flaggon*," as a reply to Aristophanes, who had ridiculed the infirmities under which he laboured, and which were attributed to his intemperance and debauchery. The vivid imagination of the poet was never more conspicuous or successful than upon this occasion: he entered the lists with his more youthful opponent, obtained the laurel The Flaggon.

[1] O! learned Mecænas, hear Cratinus speak,
And take this maxim from the gay old Greek;
No verse shall please, or lasting honours gain,
Which coldly flows from water-drinker's brain.

Francis.

Cratinus. crown and a complete triumph at the Dionysia, and shortly afterwards expired in the arms of victory. He seems to have been a poet of considerable energy and fancy, and to have commanded a copious, florid style; but his sense of decorum did not prevent him from attack-

Ulysses. ing Homer himself, in his "*Ulysses*," in which he parodied and ridiculed the Odyssey. Scarcely a single line of his numerous comedies have reached us; one spark of his genius (ex pede Herculem) will be seen in the following epigrammatic turn of thought upon the loss of a statue, which being the workmanship of Dædalus, he supposes to have used its privilege of wings and escaped from its pedestal:—

My statue's gone! By Dædalus 'twas made:
It is not stolen therefore; it has strayed!

Cumberland.

If, however, the moral character of the Athenian poet was thus largely blemished, he is commended by Horace for his public spirit in lashing the vices and immoralities of the times, in that poetical triumvirate which the Roman poet so highly praises:—

Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poetæ,
Atque alii, quorum Comœdia prisca virorum est,
Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus, aut fur,
Quod mœchus foret, aut sicarius, aut alioqui
Famosus, multâ cum libertate notabant.[1]

Hor. b. i. sat. 4.

Persius, also, in his satires, thus speaks of the three contemporaneous writers of comedy at Athens:—

——— Audaci quicunque afflate Cratino,
Iratum Eupolidem prægrandi cum sene palles,
Aspice et hæc.[2]

Suidas reckons but twenty-one comedies to have been left by Cratinus; but we have the titles of at least thirty of his pieces, of which nine received the crown of victory at the Dionysia. Father Brumoy says of him, though we cannot see upon what authority, Il étoit aussi timide guerrier, que hardi comédien; "he was as cowardly as a soldier, as he was bold as a comedian."

[1] The comic poets, in its earliest age,
Who formed the manners of the Grecian stage,
Was there a villain, who might justly claim
A better right of being damned to fame;
Rake, cut-throat, thief, whatever was his crime,
They freely stigmatized the wretch in rhyme.

Francis.

[2] Whosoever thou art who growest pale at the satire of the bold Cratinus; or of the indignant Eupolis; or the grave and dignified Aristophanes;—look also at these things.

EUPOLIS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 434.

EUPOLIS was the more immediate contemporary of Aristophanes, and became a very popular author some years before the death of Cratinus. He is said to have composed no less than seventeen dramatic pieces, at the early age of twenty. Of these, and other comedies which he doubtless wrote, for we have the titles of upwards of twenty plays of his composition, we have only a few fragments. The manner of his death has been variously related. Some authors affirm that Alcibiades caused him to be assassinated for exposing him to ridicule in a comedy, written against the obscene worship of the goddess Cotytto and the Baptæ, who were her priests; others contend that he was drowned; and Suidas, in particular, asserts that he perished in an engagement which took place in the Hellespont, between the Athenian and Lacedæmonian fleets. This lexicographer further states, that his countrymen, deploring his fate, passed a decree, that henceforth no poet should engage in military enterprises. Cicero, however, in his first epistle of the sixth book to Atticus, attacks a similar account of the poet's death as a vulgar error, and quotes Eratosthenes for the fact of Eupolis having written certain comedies after the time when the event of his fall was dated:—Redarguit Eratosthenes; offert enim, quas ille post id tempus fabulas docuerit. "Eratosthenes has already refuted this statement, for he brings forward the very plays which Eupolis composed after this time." There is found in Ælian's Natural History an interesting story of the devoted attachment of a dog to Eupolis. The animal is said to have been once upon the point of killing a slave for attempting to steal some of the comedies of his master, and to have died from hunger and sorrow, watching upon Eupolis' tomb. This, according to Pausanias, was erected upon the banks of the Æsopus, in Sicyonia. Some authors, however, assert that the poet was buried at Ægina; but in what year he died, his precise age, and the number of his comedies, are alike unknown. Eupolis.

It appears from the works of Eupolis which remain, and from the opinions of ancient writers, that the bold and unsparing character of his satires recommended him to the people of Athens, more than the beauties of his style, which, it seems, he was not very solicitous to polish. While, in common with his contemporaries, he stooped continually to the degrading expedient of flattering the intellect and even the vices of the populace, he occasionally attacked the most powerful profligates of the republic, regardless of his personal interest, the terrors of the magistracy, and the mysteries of superstition. In his celebrated comedy of the "*Baptæ*" before alluded to, he bitterly inveighs against the effeminacy of his countrymen, and holds them up to deserved contempt as the lascivious priests of Cotytto, in the dresses and fashion of female minstrels:— The Baptæ.

Eupolis.

Talia secretâ coluerunt orgia tædâ
Cecropiam soliti Baptæ lassare Cotytto.[1] *Juv.* sat. ii. 91.

The first and second Autolycus.

He also wrote two comedies expressly against Autolycus the Areopagite, whose conduct in the Chersonesian war had rendered him unpopular and infamous, and called them after his name, "*The first and second Autolycus.*"

The People.

In his comedy of the "*People*" he complains loudly of the general state of the public affairs, and satirizes the Athenian fickleness, in the choice of the most incompetent public men to conduct the government of the commonwealth.

Lacedæmonians.

The "*Lacedæmonians*" severely attacks both the public and private character of Cimon, the son of Miltiades; so that Plutarch, in his life of that statesman, declares it to have been the principal means of exciting the Athenian populace against him.

Marica.

Eupolis also wrote another successful comedy, called "*Marica*," against Hyperbolus, shortly after which, according to Thucydides, that orator was sent into banishment by the sentence of ostracism.

The Flatterers.

The following fragment is from the "*Flatterers*," composed about two years after the decease of Cratinus, and during the archonship of Alcæus. It is the speech of a parasite enumerating a few of those arts usually practised by adventurers on the wealthy:—

Mark now, and learn of me the thriving arts
By which we parasites contrive to live:
Fine rogues we are, my friend (of that be sure),
And daintily we gull mankind.—Observe:
First, I provide myself a nimble thing
To be my page, a varlet of all crafts;
Next, two new suits for feasts and gala days,
Which I promote by turns, when I walk forth
To sun myself upon the public square:
There if perchance I spy some rich, dull knave,
Straight I accost him, do him reverence;
And sauntering up and down, with idle chat
Hold him awhile in play! at every word
Which his wise worship utters, I stop short,
And bless myself for wonder; if he ventures
On some vile joke, I blow it to the skies,
And hold my sides for laughter—Then to supper
With others of our brotherhood, to mess
In some night-cellar on our barley cakes,
And club inventions for the next day's shift.

Cumberland.

Ben Jonson introduces a fine imitation of this character in a speech of Mosca, in the play of the Fox.

Horace, in his Art of Poetry, describes the old comedy of Greece as immediately succeeding the tragic triumphs of Æschylus; and we now proceed to give some account of the only author whose works remain, to afford us a fair idea of its peculiarities; and who has been justly called the prince of the comic poets:—

[1] The Baptæ, who were wont to weary the Cecropian Cotytto, celebrated similar orgies with the midnight torch.

Successit vetus his comædia, non sine multâ Laude; sed in vitium libertas excidit et vim Dignam lege regi: lex est accepta, chorusque Turpiter obticuit, sublato jure nocendi.[1] Eupolis.

Ars Poetica.

ARISTOPHANES.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 435.

ARISTOPHANES presents us, in his own works, with the few frag- Aristophanes ments of his personal history upon which any reliance can be placed. Once admired and courted by all Attica, almost as little is now known of this poet as of the humblest ministers to his fame who "strutted and fretted" their transitory hour upon the stage. An enumeration of the works of literary men, and the incidents attending them, is generally, perhaps, the best and most accurate history of their lives. But of these incidents, few remain respecting the literati of antiquity, and still fewer of those private anecdotes that, in modern biography, take the mask of the author from the man, and so decidedly illustrate the whole structure of his works. The Memorabilia of Xenophon, and the Dialogues of Plato, may convince us, however, of the manner in which this desideratum was estimated in the "olden time," and of the talent that was occasionally engaged in the task;—such a memorial of Aristophanes had doubtless contained an inexhaustible fund of humour, and of that species of comparative instruction which the wise and virtuous can draw from every diversity of human character. But this poet was never made the subject of biography amongst the ancients, and his name is only particularly mentioned by Plutarch, Quinctilian, Ælian, and Horace.

Aristophanes was a Rhodian by birth, the son of Philip of Rhodes, Born according to some writers, and was born about B.C. 460. Others B. C. 460. state, that he was a native of Ægina, a small island opposite to Athens; and all agree that he was not born an Athenian, though domiciliated there in early life. The poet calls himself the son of Philip, of Cydathene, a borough of Attica, but states that he possessed some patrimony at Ægina; while Plutarch informs us, that his rights as an Athenian citizen being called in question by Cleon, a commission was appointed to try the question, and gave a solemn judgment in his favour. Plutarch, however, does not state the grounds of this decision; and it is more than probable, from the well-known vanity of the Athenians, that they were proud to enrol this celebrated poet amongst their citizens, regardless altogether of the origin of his claims. Father Brumoy, in his "Théatre des Grecs," relates, from Plutarch, a

[1] The old comedy succeeded them, and was deserving of considerable praise; but its freedom too often degenerated into a licentiousness, which the laws were under the necessity of curbing: when a wholesome restraint being imposed, and the Chorus abolished, all power of doing mischief was effectually removed.

Aristophanes

characteristic anecdote of Aristophanes on this occasion, which attributes his success to a bon mot. Parodying two simple lines of Homer, he addressed the judges with great gravity:—

> Je suis fils de Philippe, à ce que dit ma mère:
> Pour moi je n'en sçai rien. Qui sçait quel est son père?[1]

—a witticism, says Brumoy, worth as much to Aristophanes, as the eloquent harangue of Cicero in favour of the poet Archias, upon a similar occasion. Aristophanes is represented as having been very tall in his person, of a muscular robust make, and we have his own authority in one of his comedies, the *Peace*, for his baldness. There cannot exist a doubt, but that our author was a man of considerable influence and political consequence amongst his countrymen; and the peculiarly factious and fickle temperament of the republic under which he lived, afforded him but too many opportunities of indulging the malevolence of his muse. He is said, however, to have been of a frank, free, and convivial temper in private life; and his company was sought after by Plato and the most illustrious characters of the age. His popularity was so considerable amongst the Athenians, according to Plutarch, that he not only was publicly crowned with olive as a testimony to his intellectual greatness, but they decreed him pecuniary confiscations and fines from those who attacked him with suits and prosecutions. Nor was his fame confined within the precincts of Athens, but, even in the poet's life-time, spread throughout Greece and Sicily, and to the Persian court:—

> Οὑτω δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ της τόλμης ἤδη πόρρω κλέος ἥκει,
> Ὅτι καὶ βασιλευς Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν πρεσβειάν βασανίζων,
> Ἠρώτησε πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοὺς, πότεροι ταῖς ναυσὶ κρατοῦσιν·
> Εἶτα δε τοῦτον τὸν ποιητὴν, ποτέρους ἔιποι κακὰ πολλα.
> Τούτους γὰρ, ἔφη, τοὺς ἀνθρώπες πολὺ βελτίους γεγενῆσθαι.
> Καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ πολὺ νικήσειν, τοῦτον ξύμβουλον ἔχοντας.[2]
>
> *Aristoph. Achar.* l. 646.

Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, made the most flattering overtures to Aristophanes to reside in Sicily, but in vain, and at the very time, too, when the Socratic philosophers, Æschines, Aristippus, and even Plato, were the inmates of his court. But the poet, though almost an object of adoration at home, and enjoying a brilliant reputation abroad, was not exempt either from the shafts of envy, or of just retaliation; the man whose biting satire and cruel invective were levelled against such virtuous and powerful citizens as Socrates,

[1] I am the son of Philip; at least, so says my good mother.
Who in the name of heaven ever knew his father?

[2] The fame and report of his boldness has extended far and wide; so that the Persian monarch, when questioning the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, first asked them whether they were masters of the sea; and then immediately interrogated them respecting this our poet. "Which of the two powers does he censure?" said the king; "for, the cause of the party he espouses will certainly come off victorious in the present war, inasmuch as they have him for their coadjutor."

Euripides, and Cleon (the latter of whom the political influence of Aristophanes ultimately brought to deserved disgrace and punishment), was not likely to remain free from the most hostile and vigilant attacks of his opponents. His works exhibit sufficient proofs of their industry; for we there find, that the Chorus, so far from assisting the general action of the play, is principally occupied in defending the poet from the attacks of his adversaries, in justifying his general political conduct, and in retorting and heaping up fresh invective upon those who differed from him in opinion. We refer our learned readers particularly to the speech of the Chorus in the Acharnæ of our author, verse 625, Brunck's edition. Aristophanes

Aristophanes does not seem to have been personally addicted to the gross immoralities and unnatural passions he so forcibly describes, but, in common with Cratinus, he was a decided votary of Bacchus. Athenæus, in the Deipnosophistæ, indeed, asserts, that, as Sophocles insinuates of Æschylus, he was always in a state of intoxication when he composed. He seems to have been unhappy in his family circumstances, for in one of his comedies he frankly declares, Την γυνᾶικα δ' ἀισχυνομαι, "I am ashamed of my wife;" and his two sons, Philippus and Ararotes, were notoriously undutiful and profligate characters. Our poet himself lived to the advanced period of seventy years of age. Eleven of his comedies, written in the Attic dialect, still remain in a perfect state, and we have the titles of no fewer than fifty, of which some fragments only have survived the general wreck.

It will not be irrelevant to advert in this place, to the opinions of some of the most illustrious critics, both of ancient and modern times, respecting the productions of Aristophanes. To Plato, the disciple and friend of Socrates, is ascribed the following beautiful epigram on our poet:— Critical opinions respecting Aristophanes

"Αι χαριτες τεμενος τε λαβειν, ὁπερ ουχι πεσειται,
Ζητουσαι ψυχην εὗρον 'Αριστοφανους.[1]

And Olympiodorus, in his life of that philosopher, mentions his enthusiastic attachment to Aristophanes and Sophron. Cicero speaks of him as "facetissimus poeta veteris comædiæ," "the most facetious poet of the old comedy." Longinus also, in his treatise Περι Ὑψους, quotes Aristophanes as an instance of the sublime; but confines this praise, according to the theory of the eulogist, to the structure of his sentences, and the collocation of his words.

Quinctilian speaks of the ancient comedy as alike remarkable for the pure Attic graces of its style, and the flowing eloquence that breathes through it. "Although its principal excellency," he says, "consists in the censure of vice, nevertheless it possesses considerable merit in other respects. It is at once dignified and elegant; and I know not, with the single exception of Homer, (who, like his own Achilles, is

[1] The Graces, in search of a temple which could never fall, found thy tuneful breast, Aristophanes!

Aristophanes always beyond comparison,) of any compositions more resembling the speeches of orators, or better adapted to make men public speakers, than the works of its principal authors, Aristophanes, Eupolis, and Cratinus."

Aristophanes has also found an able and eloquent advocate in the celebrated John of Antioch, St. Chrysostom. Æmilius Portus, in an epistle to Bisetus, one of the scholiasts of Aristophanes, thus expresses at once his own admiration of the poet, and the attachment of St. Chrysostom to his writings:—Facundiam, et in dicendo suavitatem incredibilem, habet. Hæc, Johannem, illum Antiochenum, summorum theologorum lumen, qui, propter aureum eloquentiæ flumen, Chrysostomi cognomen obtinuit, ad hujus poetæ quotidianam lectionem impulerunt, ex quâ, maximam tum facundiæ, tum vehementiæ suæ partem incorripiendis vitiis hausisse fertur. Ut Alexander Homeri poema, sic etiam præstantissimus ille theologus, Aristophanem pulvillo subdere, solebat.—"He possesses an incredible degree of eloquence and suavity of style. These excellencies induced John of Antioch (the pride and ornament of theologians, who obtained the surname of Chrysostom for his golden strain of rhetoric), daily to peruse his writings, from whence he is reported to have drawn his eloquence and vehemence in lashing the vices of his age. This excellent divine, in imitation of Alexander's conduct with respect to Homer, was in the habit of placing the plays of Aristophanes under his pillow." We cannot help considering them rather questionable companions; but to this father of the church has often been attributed the preservation of the writings of our poet.

Plutarch, in his comparison between Aristophanes and Menander, expresses a very different opinion from that of St. Chrysostom. Aristophanes, according to this celebrated biographer, outrages nature in his comedies; he addresses the populace rather than the people; his style is at once licentious and obscure; sometimes high and glowing, at other times low and colloquial; always unequal and ill sustained. He reproaches him too with great want of discrimination in character, and says that it is impossible to distinguish the son from the father, the citizen from the peasant, the hero from the tradesman, or the god from the valet. The cruel and bitter invectives of Aristophanes excite a similar spirit in his commentator: he reproaches him for his puns and his play upon words; and concludes with affirming, that the audience who could have tolerated these exhibitions must have been lost in gross debauchery and sensuality. This picture is probably too highly coloured; and the true character of Aristophanes will be found in a medium between the panegyric of Plato and the censure of Plutarch. It is supposed by Father Brumoy, that the biographer laboured under considerable prejudice against the Athenian poet, from considering him the instrument of the death of Socrates; a fact which that acute Jesuit disputes. However this may be, Plutarch speaks in terms of rapture of the superior wit and elegance of Menander, and is

anxious to exalt him at the expense of Aristophanes. Father Brumoy appears to us to have triumphantly proved that there is little ground for the serious charge against our poet above alluded to, and that so far was the comedy of the "Clouds" from being the immediate cause of the death of Socrates, this play was performed full twenty-three years before that iniquitous event took place. In this opinion he has been followed by Rollin, by Blair in his Belles Lettres, and by Cumberland in his Observer. Aristophanes

Among modern critics, Aristophanes has been severely handled by Rapin, Voltaire, and La Harpe, while he has been ably defended by Madame Dacier and Brumoy. Rapin, who implicitly follows the judgment of Plutarch respecting his merits, closes his critique by comparing his muse—à une femme effrontée, et celle de Menandre à une honnête femme—"to a bold and shameless woman, and that of Menander to a modest matron." Voltaire, who furnished the article Aristophanes in the French Encyclopædia, characterizes him as—ce poëte comique, qui n'est ni comique, ni poëte, n'aurait pas été admis parmi nous à donner ses farces à la foire St. Laurent.—"This comic poet, who is neither comic nor poetic, and who would not be suffered to exhibit his farces at St. Lawrence's fair." And La Harpe speaks of him in similar terms in his "Cours de Littérature," warmly defending Plutarch's opinion. Madame Dacier, on the other hand, in the preface to her translation of the "Clouds" and "Plutus" of our author, highly extols the Attic wit and graces of his style, and declares that she read the "Clouds" two hundred times over, for the pleasure its humour afforded her. She concludes by affirming—"Que l'on ait étudié tous ce qui nous reste de l'ancienne Grece, si l'on n'a pas lû Aristophane on ne connâit pas encore tous les charmes et toutes les beautés du Grec."—"Supposing a person had carefully studied all that remains to us of the compositions of ancient Greece, but was unacquainted with the writings of Aristophanes, he could not be said to have a perfect knowledge of the charms and beauties of the Greek language." Cumberland, in one of his papers in the Observer, makes a similar remark: "If any man would wish to know the language as it was spoken by Pericles, he must seek it in the scenes of Aristophanes." We have not room to enter upon other able criticisms on the works of this celebrated Athenian; but these may suffice to prepare the reader for a slight review of his writings.

It will be difficult to convey to the English reader any just sense of the merits and defects of Aristophanes in comparison with the comic poets of modern times. His writings, in fact, are not comedies, nor even farces, in the modern sense of the word, but a mass of miscellaneous poetry on criticism, ethics, and politics. They have no intricacy of plot, no gradual development of character, no leading story interwoven with a subordinate one which shall, at the same time, help forward the general plot, and form a kind of *relief* to its various incidents. The characters, it is true, are marked, if not with General estimate of his works.

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delicate wit, at least with strong humour, but at the same time they exhibit but few lights and shades, and are rather to be considered as successful caricatures than faithful likenesses of individuals: while of the passion which generally predominates over every other, on the modern stage, both in tragedy and comedy, little will be found in his works but of the most unqualified description. In truth, love, as considered by the juster taste of modern times, rather in the light of a sentiment than a passion, was, from the seclusion of their women, and the semi-barbarism of their manners, utterly unknown to the ancient classic writers. Thus, only, indeed, can we account for the extreme grossness of the old Greek comedy, as exhibited in the scenes of Aristophanes. It is well known that the philosophers and women of character never attended the comic theatre, an example which the respectable part of the citizens would be likely to follow; in this case, as the audience must have consisted of the profligate part of the female sex, and a turbulent and ferocious rabble, it ceases to be matter of astonishment that the poet should have indulged in ribaldry and buffoonery (curiously mixed up with the factious politics of the day), and that to a degree of coarseness which would now scarcely be tolerated at the Fauxbourg St. Antoine or St. Bartholomew's fair. But although Aristophanes is thus exposed to the charge of gross indelicacy in his writings, it is in some measure counterbalanced by a strong vein of rich and original humour; there is also in his dramatis personæ a certain bonhommie, a mixture of good nature and drollery, of shrewdness and naïveté, which have been the perpetual objects of imitation amongst the writers of modern comedy. The Strepsiades in the Clouds of Aristophanes is, in the opinion of Fontenelle, the undoubted archetype of Monsieur Jourdain, in the Bourgeois Gentilhomme of Molière, and exhibits, in no small degree, the simplicity, ignorance, and credulity which alike excite our compassion and contempt. Ben Jonson and Molière have, indeed, most freely copied from the plays of the comic poet of Athens; and there can be no doubt that the Carions and Parasites of the Greek are the prototypes of the Moscas and the Sganarelles of later times. But of all modern writers, the facetious dean of St. Patrick's has imbibed most of the peculiar genius of Aristophanes, and the resemblance is so strong, that it must strike even the most superficial reader of their respective works. Swift, it is true, was not a writer of comedy, and from a sense of professional decorum did not turn his attention to the stage, but his writings abound with the same bitter satire, the same love for coarse but powerful humour, and the same fondness for indulging in filth and venom: they both had a strong turn for the ludicrous; their sense of it was exquisite even to a fault; and their satirical strokes were sharp and pointed; but the modern poet possessed a malignity peculiar to himself, and a revolting misanthropic contempt for his species, unknown to the Attic bard. The Athenian somewhat resembles the

busy gnat, who, having drawn our blood, flies into the air and dis- Aristophanes
appears; but the English wit strikes like an assassin with a poisoned dagger, and watches with a malignant satisfaction over the agonies which his thrusts have excited. Those of our readers, in particular, who are acquainted with Swift's humorous History of John Bull will see many points of resemblance between the two satirists; and, in fact, the Demus of the Knights of Aristophanes may be considered as the original from whence Swift drew his portrait of the English populace; though the sketch of the Greek has been justly thought to be far the more spirited of the two. To Foote, in this country, was once universally given the title of the "English Aristophanes;" but an intimate acquaintance with his works does not enable us to discover the resemblance. True it is, that his comedies and farces are distinguished for broad humour, personal satire, and coarse bitter invective; but here the comparison ceases: Ephraim Suds, Papillon, Wilding, and Mother Cole, have nothing in common with the Aristophanic personages; and to the bursts of true poetic feeling, the flights of imagination, or the elegant and sparkling diction which abound in the Athenian poet, the English comedian can make no pretensions whatever: he is even deficient in the varied humour and delightful whim of the ancient. The French satirist, Rabelais, may perhaps be regarded as the most acknowledged and successful imitator of Aristophanes. His portrait of Pantagruel, Dandin, and some other whimsical characters, are sketched with much of the spirit and truth of his original: the wit of both writers, in some measure, qualifies their indelicacy, and their raciness of style is often successfully employed to conceal the homeliness and even coarseness of their sentiments. They are alike remarkable for their low buffooneries, immoralities, and puns; but there is, after all, a redeeming spirit of true taste about them which well rewards us for the perusal of their writings. In the elegance and occasional sublimity of his style, Aristophanes has no successful rival amongst his imitators; nor has he in that vein of genuine poetry which runs through strata of all descriptions,—that frequent magic of diction which distinguishes his writings, and forms so admirable a contrast to the homeliness and rusticity of his dialogue. Indeed, we have ever considered the perfect melody of his versification as an insuperable bar to his appearing like himself in an English dress. Some of the choral parts, as our learned readers well know, would not suffer by a comparison with the wild sublimities of Æschylus, or the magnificence of Sophocles; and the light, graceful varieties of the metre surpass, perhaps, in harmony, the choruses of these mighty masters of the tragic drama. With these recommendations, however, the works of Aristophanes have never been a favourite study in this country; he has been more admired than read by critics, and more culled for occasional amusement than correctly understood. The difficulties which present themselves to the proper appreciation of his beauties, may partly account

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for this. Independent of the obscurities of his style and the perpetual allusions to obsolete manners and customs, the continual play upon words, and the constant reference to the politics of the day—the state of parties, and private anecdotes—frequently give the whole point and sting to the snip-snap of the dialogue. The reader must not only be intimately acquainted with the principal events of the Peloponnesian war, but be equally familiar with the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, or it is impossible for him to perceive the point of the author's satire, or the appropriate introduction of the passages which he so facetiously parodies. These difficulties, however, have not deterred the scholars of the Continent from giving considerable attention to our poet.

Acharneans.

The comedy of the "*Acharnensians*," or "*Acharneans*," which stands the first of the works of Aristophanes in order of time, was written during the calamitous period of the Peloponnesian war, and represented in the third year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad, during the archonship of Euthydemus. It is altogether a political piece, abounding in allusions to the state of parties, and seems to have been written for the express purpose of persuading his countrymen to an amicable accommodation of their differences with the Lacedæmonians and the other states of Greece. The plot, if it can be called one, is simple and improbable enough; and turns upon a separate treaty of peace, which one of the characters of the drama makes exclusively for himself with the Lacedæmonians, and the indignation which is excited among his townsmen by this pusillanimous conduct. Dicæopolis, the principal personage of the play, is of the same stamp of character with Strepsiades, a strange compound of knavery and honesty—of credulity and shrewdness, and by his numerous mistakes and blunders contributes much to the general effect of the piece. In this play the poet boldly ascribes the origin of the Peloponnesian war to the ambition of the famous Pericles, and his resentment of an insult which was offered to his beautiful and accomplished mistress Aspasia. Euripides, who seems to have been the pillow on which Aristophanes reposed his resentment and his wit, is not forgotten: Dicæopolis is humorously introduced as requesting that tragedian to lend him the beggarly dress of Telephus, in order that he might plead his cause with more effect, and excite the compassion of his judges the Acharneans. The addresses of the Chorus to the audience are written in an animated and patriotic strain; they portray with much force and humour the factious disposition of the public assemblies of the Athenians, and lash with no sparing hand the prevailing vices and follies of the "sovereign people." The play concludes by the discomfiture of Lamachus, the Athenian general, who is represented by name on the stage, as being adverse to a general pacification, and the complete triumph of Dicæopolis. This piece is written throughout with strong farcical humour; some of the situations are very ludicrous; and the parabases, or addresses of the Chorus, are

replete with sentiments of public virtue, and adorned with great splendour of diction. Aristophanes

The play of the "*Knights*" was performed in the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, in the fourth year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad, during the archonship of Stratocles. This comedy was avowedly written against the demagogue Cleon, one of the Athenian generals, who, by his factious eloquence, had made himself a great favourite with the populace of Athens. It is generally stated that Cleon was fined five talents after the representation of this play, and that Aristophanes boasts of his victory in the Acharneans; whereas the latter play was performed the preceding year. There can be no doubt, however, but that this performance was completely successful in overturning the undue influence which Cleon enjoyed in the republic; it painted in vivid colours the character of that dangerous and obnoxious demagogue. But the poet is not content with a single object; he proceeds to depict, in an unrivalled strain of force and humour, the foibles of the Athenian people. In the composition of this comedy Aristophanes may certainly claim to have exhibited some traces of the most glowing patriotism; but at the same time he had conceived a strong antipathy against Cleon for having endeavoured to curb the licence of the comic theatre, and for having interfered with his rights of citizenship. The representation of this play was attended with a curious and interesting circumstance: Callistratus, the favourite actor of Aristophanes, dreading the resentment of Cleon, declined undertaking to personate that powerful demagogue. In this dilemma, the poet himself appeared upon the stage as a performer, and sustained his arduous task with ease and spirit. The character of Cleon, of course, is the most prominent one of this drama; the whole Athenian people are personified under the appellation of Demus. Knights.

The "*Clouds*," exhibited, for the first time, in the archonship of Isarchus, in the ninth year of the Peloponnesian war, and in the first of the eighty-ninth Olympiad, underwent several alterations and improvements in the following year, Aminias being at that time archon. The chief notoriety of this piece is derived from its being considered by Plutarch as the immediate cause of the trial and death of Socrates; an event, as we have stated, which did not take place until several years afterwards. From the most authentic records (the Greek Preface and the scholiasts), the date of the popularity of this play is clear; and, taking the death of Socrates to have happened at the earliest possible period, it will not occur till the first year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, during the archonship of Laches, twenty-four years after the period of the popularity of this piece. Plutarch was followed in this charge against the Athenian poet by Ælian, in his Various History, who adds, that Aristophanes was bribed by Anytus and Melitus thus to expose Socrates to the ridicule and resentment of the people; but the objection of the date of the play is fatal to both accounts. The plot of this piece is simple, clear, and uncommonly Clouds.

Aristophanes

interesting. Strepsiades is represented as a father, oppressed by debts and expenses brought upon him by an extravagant and prodigal son, who flies to any resources, however evil, for extricating himself from his embarrassments. These resources he pretends to have discovered in the school of Chærephon and Socrates, who is introduced by name upon the stage throughout the whole progress of the play, and is placed in every ridiculous point of view, as a sophist and an atheist, by his witty and malicious persecutor. Of the other characters, that of Strepsiades is the most prominent, and ingeniously contrived to reflect the greatest possible ridicule upon the pedantry and chicanery of the sophists, by the contrast of his rusticity and credulity. Nothing indeed can exceed the ludicrous figure which Socrates cuts in this play; the poet at one time introduces him hoisted up (as Ben Jonson expresses it) "with a pulley, and made to play the philosopher in a basket; to measure how many feet a flea could skip geometrically by a just scale, and edify the people from the engine." Socrates himself, according to Ælian, was present in the theatre during the whole of the performance, and boldly stood up in view of the audience during the representation. Notwithstanding this magnanimous conduct, the theatre rang with plaudits, and the philosopher was but the more conspicuous object of the insults of an infuriated rabble. One can hardly account for the cause of the enmity which Aristophanes bore against the Grecian sage; but it has been conjectured that it arose from the circumstance of his disapproving of the undisguised licentiousness and bitter personalities of the Greek comic theatre, and exhorting the respectable part of the Athenian citizens from frequenting such immoral exhibitions.

Wasps.

The comedy of the "*Wasps*" appeared in the ninth year of the Peloponnesian war, and the second of the eighty-ninth Olympiad. It was designed to ridicule the extreme fondness of the Athenians for litigation, and their practice of constantly attending the courts of law; from which neither private nor political engagements, nor the amusements of the stage, could detach them. The personal satire of the piece, however, seems to be principally directed against Laches, an Athenian general, who, according to Justin, had commanded the first expedition against Sicily, and had become rich by the bribes of the enemy. The committal and trial of the dog Labes was obviously intended to be applied to this commander, and nothing can be more truly comic than the formal accusation of the dog, for various corrupt practices, and his final acquittal by a mistake. Racine has chosen this comedy as the model of his "Les Plaideurs," the only comic drama which he ever composed; he has successfully transplanted many of the witticisms of the Attic poet, and has substituted the law terms of the French bar for those of the Athenian with admirable skill and felicity. Still, however, the copy wants the energy of the prototype. Racine has happily enough parodied, in the Aristophanic style, some

of Malherbes' verses; and the scene between Chicanneu and the Countess may be considered as equal to anything which can be found in the comedies of Molière or Voltaire; but there is an air of carelessness and ease about the undress of the Greek for which we look in vain in the brocade and gala suit of the Frenchman: and the characters, considered generally, are as essentially different, as the manners and customs of Athens and Paris. Ben Jonson has also imitated this production of the Grecian poet, in his facetious play of the "Staple of News," in which the legal process against the dog is managed with much spirit and humour. Aristophanes

The "*Peace*" was performed at the Dionysia, under the archonship of Astyphilus, in the thirteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. This play is purely political, and the same object is pursued throughout as in the Acharneans, but with considerably more dramatic effect. Aristophanes seems to have been utterly averse to the continuance of the war; and the whole of the plot turns upon a plan for an universal peace. The laxity of our poet's opinions with regard to the religion of his country is here very evident,—or rather the utter contempt and disbelief in which he held the deities of the pagan mythology. Tyrgæus, the principal character of the piece, is a citizen of Athens, discontented with the duration of the war and the miseries it produced, and determined to go to Olympus to expostulate with the gods upon the subject. For this purpose the poet furnishes him with an enormous black beetle, on whose back he can proceed earthward or heavenward; and thus conveyed to the sacred abodes, he inquires of Mercury for Jupiter, who rather reluctantly informs him that Jove and the rest of the celestial court are abroad, but that their chambers were occupied by the god Polemos, who had thrown the good lady Peace into a well, the mouth of which was covered with huge stones. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, Tyrgæus is much disconcerted, and begins to think that his handsome present of butcher's meat, to Mercury, for this information, will be thrown away. Two allegorical personages, resembling the Strength and Necessity of Æschylus, and whose names are War and Tumult, are then brought upon the stage with an immense mortar, in which they are represented as pounding all the cities and states which had unfortunately become their victims. During the absence of one of them, who departs in quest of a pestle, the Athenian citizen collects together a body of labourers and rustics, in order to assist him in drawing up from her prison-house the goddess Peace; and, succeeding in their efforts, Tyrgæus forthwith descends from heaven, bearing off the goddess, and proclaiming, with heartfelt joy, her return to earth. The play concludes with the rapturous exultation which is expressed by the Chorus at the restoration and the blessings of peace, and with strokes of raillery and triumphant joy pointed against those who had a positive interest in the continuance of the war. Peace.

Aristophanes Birds.

The "*Birds*" follows next in chronological order. This comedy was acted in the eighteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, and the second of the ninety-first Olympiad, under the archonship of Chabrias, at the feast of Bacchus. It is supposed to have been composed in order to rouse the Athenians to exertion, and to divert their attention from the Sicilian war to the projects of the Lacedæmonians for fortifying Decelia, a town of Attica. Much obscurity, however, is attached to the origin of this piece: it is, perhaps, the most insipid and uninteresting of the poet's compositions; and the want of plot and the barrenness of incidents are scarcely redeemed by the breaks of poetry which we occasionally meet with, and the variety and elegance of the language in which they are clothed. The choral odes, in particular, amidst the low buffooneries and the revolting obscenities with which they are surrounded, seem, like the chrysalis, to start from filth and deformity into instant beauty and splendour, and sometimes take a flight which the bard of Pella or the Theban swan might not be ashamed to follow.

Thesmophoriazusæ.

The "*Thesmophoriazusæ*," or "*Feasts of Ceres*," was exhibited at the Dionysia, in the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war, during the archonship of Callias. In this play Aristophanes is exceedingly satirical against the fair sex, and abounds with the bitterest reflections on their reigning vices. But he does not forget the former object of his hatred, Euripides; in fact, the whole comedy was avowedly written for the purpose of ridiculing the occasional langour and affectation of that poet's style, his insipid and injudicious prologues, his pedantic expressions, and perverse morality. Aristophanes, perhaps, hated Euripides as the friend and pupil of Socrates, and the severe censurer of the indecorum of the old comedy; but, in a literary point of view, we can hardly join in the clamour which has been raised against him, for his severe attack upon the great tragedian, whose unrivalled pathos has certainly been acknowledged and felt by every reader, but whose defects as a writer laid him open to the attacks of criticism. The Thesmophoria were festivals held in honour of Ceres and Proserpine, at which none but free-born Athenian women were suffered to be present. In the opening of the play it is announced to Euripides, who was known by the epithet of μισογυνος (the woman-hater), that the ladies, enraged at his unjust and ill-natured reflections upon them, intended to consider, during this festival, what revenge they should inflict upon him for his conduct. The poet, alarmed at the intelligence, and aware that their resentment was not to be despised, flies in a great fright to Agatho, a brother poet, to know what must be done in this juncture. There is no regular plot in the play; but the author contrives to laugh at Euripides throughout, and constantly to place him in several whimsical situations, that might give the palm of victory to his female opponents.

The "*Lysistrata*," was represented in the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war, in the first year of the ninety-second Olympiad, and during the archonship of Callias. The plot of this play is to the last degree gross and disgusting; but its general intent, in common with many other of the plays of this poet, was to promote the restoration of peace. Lysistrata, with other Athenian females, are brought forward upon the stage in deep consultation upon what measures they should pursue to obtain that desirable event. Aristophanes Lysistrata.

The "*Frogs*" was also exhibited in the archonship of Callias, in the twenty-sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, and the third of the ninety-third Olympaid. This is another of the comedies of Aristophanes directed against the literary merits and personal character of Euripides. The "Thesmophorizusæ" was performed during that poet's lifetime, although at the time of its representation he had attained to an advanced age; but the "Frogs" was not exhibited upon the stage until about two years after his decease. Frischlinus, one of the commentators upon Aristophanes, asserts, that it was composed with the view of averting the popular hatred which had been drawn down upon the head of our author by the tragedy of Palamedes, in which Euripides had tacitly reproached the Athenians with the unjust murder of Socrates. It is, perhaps, the most diverting of his performances; and the contest between Euripides and Æschylus for the tragic chair is laughable in the extreme: the witty parodist of course assigns the pre-eminence to Æschylus, and the play finishes with the award in his favour. Frogs.

The "*Ecclesiazusæ*," or the "*Female Orators*," was played in the last year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad, during the archonship of Demostratus. This drama contains a violent and undisguised satire against the female sex, as a body, and a vehement attack upon the polity of Athens. But in the midst of political reflections and personalities, Aristophanes engages in a facetious and malicious parody of the style of Euripides, and laughs at his tragedy of Melanippus,—a play which is now lost. Upon the whole, this indelicate and singular performance may be considered as a burlesque upon all Utopian forms of government, and upon those crude and undigested plans of reform, of which the turbulent innovators of Athens, in common with more modern patriots, were such professed admirers. The play turns upon a project concerted by Praxagora, and other discontented Athenian matrons, to array themselves in the garments of their husbands, and then proceeding in this masquerade dress to the Ecclesia, or public assembly, there to vote, that the guidance of the affairs of the commonwealth should be committed to their hands. This is the general scope of the play; but there is much coarseness in the execution. Ecclesiazusæ.

The "*Plutus*," or "*Riches*," was introduced upon the stage in the fourth year of the ninety-seventh Olympiad, and, according to the Riches.

Aristophanes

Greek preface and scholiast, under the archonship of Antipater. It is the last, in point of time, of the comedies of Aristophanes; and we are told by the Greek scholiast, that it is the second of this name which was composed by the poet. It is remarkable for belonging rather to the middle, than the old comedy, and clearly shows that the licence indulged in by the comic writers had been much curtailed in the days of Lysander and the thirty tyrants. No real characters are here introduced upon the stage; the personalities of the satire are much qualified, although it is still caustic enough in all conscience; nor are the indelicate and immoral sentiments which, unfortunately, too deeply tincture the dialogues of Aristophanes, so prominent in this piece as in the preceding comedies. The dramatic art appears in an evident state of improvement with regard to decency and *bienséance*, and was receiving that polish which it finally and happily attained in the works of Plato, Menander, and Philemon. The argument, or plot of this play is probably familiar to the generality of our readers, and is admirably detailed by Addison, in the 464th number of the Spectator. It is a satire upon the rich, and institutes an able comparison between the relative advantages of wealth and poverty.

Translations of Aristophanes.

We have now only to speak of the translations and editions of Aristophanes, as we have already noticed the various imitations of his style and manner. Of the latter, however, we would first give the mere English reader some idea, although we are well aware of the difficulty of a faithful and spirited translation of any portion of his works. In the play of the Clouds, he thus introduces Socrates solemnly addressing and invoking them, and afterwards follows the chorus of Clouds themselves: —

INVOCATION OF SOCRATES.

Oh, sovereign lord, immeasurable air,
  Circling the pendent globe! Oh, holy light!
And ye dread maids, that heaven's loud thunder bear,
  Arise, ye clouds, and burst upon my sight!
Come, sister goddesses, come, awful powers,
  That on Olympus' snow-clad brow recline,
Or in old father Ocean's secret bowers
  With sea-born nymphs the mystic dance combine,
Or fill your golden urns from distant Nile,
  Or on Mæotis' placid breast repose,
Oh! hear my prayer! upon your suppliant smile,
  And to my gaze your heavenly forms disclose.

CHORUS.

Appear, immortal clouds appear!
  Light shadows haste away!
From father Ocean's echoing tide,
And groves that shade the mountain side,
O'er watch-towers high, that far and wide
  The outstretch'd globe survey;

The fruits and fields that drink the dew,
And fountains gushing to the view,
And the wild waste of waters blue
That break upon the ear.
Throw your dark showery mantles by,
Your sacred forms unfold;
And now, while heaven's unwearied eye
In mid-day lustre flames on high,
The subject world behold!

ANTISTROPHE.

See, Virgin rulers of the storm,
'Tis Pallas' holy ground,
Fair region of the brave and wise;
Behold the mystic domes arise,
Where many a secret sacrifice
And nameless rites abound;
And glittering altars crowd the plains,
And statues and high-towering fanes,
And priests with chaplet-bearing trains,
Their solemn vows perform.
Each hour the wonted feast requires,
And with returning spring,
For Bacchus, breathe the living lyres,
And dance, and sweet contending choirs
Salute the festive king. *Anon.*

This chorus in the original sufficiently proves that the higher elements of poetry are occasionally mingled in the compositions of Aristophanes. The following quotation is no unfavourable specimen of his powers for humour and raillery. In the play of the "Knights," Demosthenes and Nicias are introduced upon the stage, as complaining of the fickleness and ingratitude of their master Demus (in whose person the vices of the Athenian people are covertly attacked), and inveighing against the unprincipled conduct of the demagogue Cleon. We avail ourselves of the spirited, but somewhat too diffuse translation of a contributor to a periodical of high literary character:—

With reverence to your worship, 'tis our fate
To have a testy, cross-grain'd, bilious, sour
Old fellow for our master; one much giv'n
To a bean diet; somewhat hard of hearing.
Demus, his name, sirs, of the parish Pnyx, here.
Some three weeks back or so, this lord of ours
Brought home a lusty slave from Paphlagonia,
Fresh from the tan-yard, tight and yare; and with
As nimble fingers, and as foul a mouth
As ever yet paid tribute to the gallows.
This tanner-Paphlagonian (for the fellow
Wanted not penetration), bow'd and scrap'd,
And fawn'd, and wagg'd his ears and tail, dog-fashion;
And thus soon slipp'd into the old man's graces.
Occasional douceurs of leather-parings,
With speeches to this tune, made all his own.
'Good sir, the court is up—you've judg'd our cause—
'Tis time to take the bath—allow me, sir—
This cake is excellent—pray sup this broth—
This soup will not offend you, though crop full—

Aristophanes

You love an obolus; pray take these three—
Honour me, sir, with your commands for supper.'—
Sad times, meanwhile, for us! With prying looks,
Round comes my man of hides; and if he finds us
Cooking a little something for our master,
Incontinently lays his paws upon it,
And, modestly, in his own name presents it!
Then, none but he, forsooth, must wait at table;
(We dare not come in sight) but there he stands
All supper-time, and, with a leathern fly-flap,
Whisks off the advocates; anon, the knave
Falls to his oracles; and, when he sees
The old man plunged in mysteries to the ears,
And scar'd from his few senses, marks his time,
And enters on his tricks. False accusations
Now come in troops; and, at their heels, the whip.
Meanwhile, the rascal shuffles in among us,
And begs of one, browbeats another, cheats
A third, and frightens all. 'My honest friends,
These cords cut deep, you find it—I say nothing—
Judge you between your purses and your backs.
I could, perhaps'——We take the gentle hint
And give him all: if not, the old man's foot
Plays such a tune upon our hinder parts,
That flogging is a jest to't, a mere flea-bite.

Italian, French, and German translations.

Pindar, until very lately, had not the good fortune, in this country, to meet with a translator hardy enough to undertake an entire version of his works; and a complete translation of the compositions of Aristophanes is to this day a desideratum in English literature. We are not, however, at all astonished at this, for reasons which we have before assigned. The Italians have attempted to introduce the knowledge of his plays among them by a poor translation, which was many years since executed by the Rosetini, and our lively neighbours across the channel have become imperfectly acquainted with his merits by that of Poinsinet. Terucci, a native of Italy, furnished a translation of the Plutus and Clouds, which has considerable merit, and is enriched with some excellent notes. In addition to Poinsinet's entire translation in French, Madame Dacier also published a translation of the Clouds and the Plutus, which gives no mean idea of the spirited original; and, notwithstanding the sneers of Fielding and of Brunck, appear to us remarkable for their spirit, fidelity, and even delicacy.

Germany, with its accustomed learning, has produced two excellent translations of the whole of Aristophanes; that of Voss, Brunswick, 1821, and that of Droysen, Berl. 1835–38.

English translations.

Although this country cannot boast of a translation of all the comedies, it has been by no means deficient in endeavours to transplant among us the beauties of Aristophanes. The first translation that appeared in England of the Plutus was published by a Thomas Randolph, in 1651, under the quaint title of "Hey for Honesty! Down with Knavery!" This was followed by another, in 1659, with the signature of H. H. B. Stanley also translated the Clouds, which was

printed in a folio form at London, 1708. Duplicate versions of the Clouds and Plutus have been made by White and Theobald. These translations were all below mediocrity; until, in 1797, Cumberland presented us with a version of the Clouds, which we do not hesitate to consider, not only as far superior to the efforts of his predecessors, but unrivalled, for its ease, spirit, and fidelity, by any other modern attempts at a translation of this poet. Young and the author of Tom Jones conjointly printed a version of the Plutus, of which the notes are good, but the wit, humour, and force, have entirely evaporated from the text. Dunster, the editor of Paradise Regained, published a version of the Frogs, which is superior to the preceding, and is only inferior to Cumberland's admirable performance. In 1812 an anonymous translation of the "Birds" appeared—the first of this play, we believe, that was ever executed in this country. Unfortunately for the success of this attempt, the author, instead of making use of the familiar blank verse of our early dramatists, has descended to plain prose, as the vehicle of conveying the wit and spirit of the comic poet of Athens. We admire his learning, his knowledge of the text, and his general accuracy of explanation; but the diction, the choral sublimities, and the spirit and life of the dialogue, are utterly lost in this dress. Aristophanes

The Acharnanians, Knights, and Wasps, have been translated into verse by the Rev. Mr. Mitchell; the Birds and Plutus by Cookesley, with English notes.

The Princeps edition of Aristophanes was published at Venice, folio, 1498, by Manutius Aldus. It contained only nine plays, as the Lysistrata and the Thesmophoriazusæ were not at that time discovered. The second edition was published at Florence, in 8vo, in 1515, by Bernard Junta, containing eleven plays. The third was a reprint of the Aldine edition, at Florence, with the Greek Scholia, 1525, in 4to, by Antonius Franciscus. Ludolph Kuster published an edition at Amsterdam in 1710, in a folio form. It was accompanied by the invaluable Greek Scholia and the Latin version of Frischlinus. This is by far the most important, and, on the whole, the most complete edition. In 1760, Stephen Bergler published an edition of Aristophanes, at Leyden, in two quarto volumes; to which a Latin translation is appended. His faults have been ably pointed out, and deservedly castigated, by Brunck, who published, at Strasburgh, in the year 1783, an edition of the whole eleven plays of Aristophanes, with the fragments collected by Canter, but omitted in Kuster's edition; together with an entire new Latin version, composed by himself. The editions of separate plays have been numerous, both amongst continental and English scholars; but of the complete works of Aristophanes, the most valuable modern editions are that of Bekker, London, 1829, 5 vols 8vo, and of Dindorf, 4 vols. 8vo, Oxon, 1835. Editions of the works of Aristophanes.

We are indebted for the following remarks, corroborative of the opinions expressed in this article, to a new volume of Grote's excellent *History of Greece*, which has appeared just as this sheet was going to press:—

Warfare of Greek comedy against philosophy, literature, and politics.

"It is in Aristophanês that the genius of the old libellous comedy appears in its culminating perfection. At least, we have before us enough of his works to enable us to appreciate his merits. . . . . Never, probably, will the full and unshackled force of comedy be so exhibited again. Without having Aristophanês actually before us, it would have been impossible to imagine the unmeasured and unsparing license of attack assumed by the old comedy upon the gods, the institutions, the politicians, philosophers, poets, private citizens specially named, and even the women, whose life was entirely domestic, of Athens. With this universal liberty in respect of subject, there is combined a poignancy of derision and satire, a fecundity of imagination and variety of turns, and a richness of poetical expression, such as cannot be surpassed, and such as fully explains the admiration expressed for him by the philosopher Plato, who, in other respects, must have regarded him with unquestionable disapprobation. His comedies are popular in the largest sense of the word, addressed to the entire body of male citizens on a day consecrated to festivity, and providing for them amusement or derision with a sort of drunken abundance, out of all persons or things standing in any way prominent before the public eye. The earliest comedy of Aristophanês was exhibited in 427 B. C., and his muse continued for a long time prolific, since two of the dramas now remaining belong to an epoch eleven years after the Thirty, and the renovation of the democracy, about 392 B. C. After that renovation, however, the unmeasured sweep and libellous personality of the old comedy was gradually discontinued: the comic chorus was first cut down, and afterwards suppressed, so as to usher in what is commonly termed the middle comedy, without any chorus at all. The 'Plutus' of Aristophanês indicates some approach to this new phase; but his earlier and more numerous comedies (from the 'Acharneis,' in 425 B. C., to the 'Frogs,' in 405 B. C., only a few months before the fatal battle of Ægospotami) exhibit the continuous, unexhausted, untempered flow of the stream [rudely bitter and extensively libellous] first opened by Kratinus. . . . . More was probably lost than gained by Athenian life from the lessons of the comic muse; not only bringing out keenly all that was really ludicrous or contemptible in the phenomena of the day, but manufacturing scornful laughter, quite as often, out of that which was innocent or even meritorious, as well as out of boundless private slander. . . . . The warfare of comedy, in the persons of Aristophanes and other composers, against philosophy, literature, and eloquence, in the name of those good old times of ignorance, 'when an Athenian seaman knew nothing more than to call for his barley-cake and cry yo-ho!' and the retrograde spirit which induces them to exhibit moral turpitude as the natural consequence of the intellectual progress of the age, are circumstances going far to prove an unfavourable and degrading influence of comedy on the Athenian mind."—GROTE, *History of Greece*, London, 1850, vol. viii. p. 450.

THE

MIDDLE AND NEW COMEDY OF GREECE.

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POSIDIPPUS - - - - - - - - B. C. 289

MIDDLE AND NEW COMEDY.

MENANDER.

FROM A. M. 3662, B. C. 342, TO A. M. 3711, B. C. 293.

THE literature of Athens, always most strongly developing itself in the theatre, existed, at that period of its history at which we are now arrived, in the comic drama alone. The subject of the present article, the delight of ancient and the regret of modern times—the writer who left for Terence no ambition but to imitate, and no praise but that of having imitated successfully, may be taken to represent all that it remained for the country of Æschylus and Aristophanes to produce, after she had yielded to the arts and arms of her Macedonian conquerors. But how is it represented? The name of Menander, and of the other less celebrated writers of the middle and new comedy (for the present we adopt the distinction), with a few dates, tell all that we must aspire to know of the artists; whilst some unconnected and misanthropic fragments of moralising commonplace, convince us, by their strange opposition to all that antiquity has told us of their art itself, of the utter fruitlessness of any attempt to form, for ourselves, an extended estimate of its tendency and spirit. The scenes of Terence, indeed, familiar to every scholar, may serve as a specimen of the plot and conduct of the comedies of the new school—a school which Marmontel, writing in the spirit of French criticism, has characterised as having called comedy from coarseness to simplicity and nature. But, judging from the terms in which ancient writers have conveyed to us their encomiums of the dramas of the Athenian comic poets of this period, and, above all, of Menander, we cannot avoid believing that Terence, the "dimidiatus Menander," as Julius Cæsar called him, without having incurred the blame of a parsimonious encomiast, has not presented to us the better half of his original. Where do we discover in the elegancies of the Roman poet, the traces of him who is described by Pliny as "omnis luxuriæ interpres?" Where do we recognise the traits of that author, whose *enjouement* seems to have shown itself in his verses, no less than in his life? Ill, however, as Terence may express much of the delicate luxuriance of this "Priest of Love," as Plutarch, his unqualified admirer, designates him, to him we owe at all events a gayer portrait of the comic muse, than the few morsels which time and bigotry have spared would have allowed us to depict for ourselves. Why we ascribe to bigotry a share in causing our loss of the entire works of the new comedians, must be explained by Demetrius Chalcondylas, who assures us that the Greek emperors burnt the works of our

Comic drama of Athens.

Menander.

Imitated by Terence.

author and his brethren, at the instigation of the priests, who felt, or feigned, scandal, at the amatory plots on which they were framed. The relics which have been preserved to us we chiefly owe to the taste and reading of some of the early Christian writers, in whose works there are frequent extracts (frequent with relation to the subject of the treatises where they are found, though scanty, indeed, if referred to the number of the plays from which they are taken), from the moral and general reflections which the comedies supplied. "It may well be supposed," observes Cumberland, in his learned and judicious remarks on the Greek Theatre,[1] "that they would naturally take the most moral and sententious from amongst the comedies they quoted, and such as afforded grave and useful remarks upon life, harmonising with their own doctrines and instructions." Hence such passages as that which the same ingenious writer has translated in the following lines, form the amount of all that we now have of the gay and amiable Menander. The original is preserved in the commentary of Eustathius:—

Fragments of Menander's comedies.

> Suppose some god should say—Die when thou wilt,
> Mortal, expect another life on earth;
> And for that life make choice of all creation
> What thou wilt be—dog, sheep, goat, man, or horse;
> For live again thou must; it is thy fate:
> Choose only in what form; there thou art free:
> So help me, Crato, I would fairly answer—
> Let me be all things, anything but man.
> He only, of all creatures, feels afflictions;
> The generous horse is valued for his worth,
> And dog, by merit, is preferred to dog:
> The warrior cock is pampered for his courage,
> And awes the baser brood.—But what is man?
> Truth, virtue, valour, how do they avail him?
> Of this world's good, the first and greatest share
> Is flattery's prize; the informer takes the next;
> And bare-faced knavery garbles what is left.
> I'd rather be an ass than what I am,
> And see these villains lord it o'er their betters.

The era in which comedy flourished under Menander succeeds immediately to that of Alexander the Great. He was the contemporary of Demetrius of Phalèreus, and had been instructed by Theophrastus in philosophy; but in his manner of thinking he approached nearer to the Epicureans. There is an epigram of his, in which he says, "That as Themistocles had preserved the political liberty of his country, so had Epicurus preserved its freedom of reason." He was, in his private habits, a refined voluptuary. The picture which Phædrus gives of his exterior is sufficiently characteristic:—

Menander an Epicurean.

> Veniebat gressu delicato et languido,
> Unguento delibutus, vestitu adfluens.[2]

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[1] *Observer*, vol. v. No. xv. 8.

[2] He moved with delicate and languid step,
Perfumed with unguents; decked in flowing robes.

The intimacy of his connexion with the courtesan Glycera, has been often recorded; and furnished Alciphron, the letter-writer, with some of his most elegant and amusing epistles. These are mentioned by Cumberland, as if they were the authentic productions of the poet; a curious error in the grandson of Bentley, whose most successful labours were directed against the supposititious letters of the sophists. It would not, perhaps, be fair to ascribe to the character of the poet, or of his philosophy, the licentiousness which some of the ancient writers have described as colouring his dramas. The political state of the stage at the period in which he wrote may, without any excess of liberality, be allowed to form a better apology with such tenacious moralists as deem an apology needful. An Athenian, living under the domination of a foreign power, might well be pardoned if he showed too ready a propensity to those perversions of the seducing but dangerous doctrines of Epicurianism, which place the highest happiness of life in the gratifications of sense, without ever awakening the desire of noble exertion. The sentiments which this indulgent morality inspires, seemed made to console the mild and serene disposition of the Greeks for the absence of glory. And as such a doctrine is perhaps most suitable to the spirit of the comic poet, because it only produces moderate impressions, and never seeks to excite violent indignation against the weaknesses of human nature, so the Stoic philosophy is more conformable to the sentiments by which the tragic poet is animated. It is therefore easily to be understood, why in these times of political oppression, the Greeks were inspired by so passionate a taste for comedy; since by turning their thoughts from public affairs and the interests of human nature, it fixed them wholly on their domestic and personal circumstances.

Effects of political oppression on the Greek drama.

It is a question with us how far a parallel can fairly be instituted between comedy in this and in its earlier stage; between what we know of Aristophanes, and what we are told of Menander; between the wild and fantastic web of the imagination, in which the one envelopes his generalisations of the intellect and politics of his own age, and the accurate portraits of life and character which were drawn on the tablet of the other. Such parallels, however, the critics, from Plutarch downwards, have indulged in; and nearly the whole tribe have agreed with him in attributing to the old comedy nothing but gross and monstrous irregularities; whilst, for the new, they have claimed the praise of all that is pure in conception and execution. We speak particularly of the critics of France; of Marmontel, of La Harpe, of Voltaire, even of Barthelemy, whose familiar acquaintance with the writings and manners of Athens should, it may be thought, have induced a juster estimate of the writers of the old comedy, than is found in such sentences as the following:—

Parallel between the comedy of Aristophanes and Menander.

"Les auteurs de ces satyres" (and it is the comedies of Aristophanes from which he derives his acquaintance with them) "recouroient à l'imposture, pour satisfaire leur haine; à de sales injures, pour satisfaire

le petit peuple. Le poison à la main, ils, parcouroient les différentes classes de citoyens, et l'intérieur des maisons, pour exposer aux yeux des horreurs qu'ils n'avoient pas éclairées. D'autres fois ils se déchaînoient contre les philosophes, contre les poëtes tragiques, contre leurs propres rivaux."

Schlegel's criticism.

A critic, however, there is, of modern times, to whose accurate and profound learning, to whose original and philosophical views of the objects which that learning has set before him, we owe a just and adequate exposition of the transcendent merits of Aristophanes; of his rich and imaginative humour; his creative control over language and versification; his masculine sense, and his unflagging energy. We refer to the celebrated German critic, Augustus Schlegel, whose course of lectures on dramatic literature, delivered at Vienna in 1808, contains at once the most brilliant and the most accurate picture of this, as of every other portion of the ancient and modern drama.

Schlegel has rejected, and, we think, very justly, the old division of the post-Aristophanic comedy into middle and new. It is well known that the comic writers were prohibited, by a specific decree, from introducing real characters on the stage. It has been customary to assert that, on losing this privilege, the *middle* school, as it is termed, resorted to the evasion of representing actual individuals under feigned names; and that the new comedy, properly so called, which consisted of personages, fictitious in fact as well as name, was of a later period, commencing about the era of Menander. It is, however, easy to comprehend (and this is the point of view in which Schlegel has contemplated the subject) that there was an intermediate space of doubtful duration, in which comedy oscillated, before it settled into the form which it finally assumed. We may, then, follow the example of many learned men, in admitting different kinds of *middle comedy*, or rather different shades between the ancient and modern. All these distinctions may find their place in the history of the art; but, in a theoretical point of view, a connecting link does not constitute a distinct species.

Modern comedy founded on the Greek New Comedy.

It is to the new comic drama of the Greeks that we must refer the origin of comedy amongst the moderns; of that branch of the dramatic art, the end and merit of which consists in the liveliness and truth of the pictures which it offers of human nature, under the varied modifications of society. The union which subsisted under the first writers of comedy between ridicule and imagination, was here divorced—and for ever.

The serious interest which they had felt and expressed, and the influence which they had been allowed to exercise in the public transactions of the day, were forbidden; their gaiety and vigour were driven to pour themselves through other channels; and that change was effected, so well described by Schlegel, in his seventh lecture, from which we transcribe the following words:—

"The *new* comic authors, deprived of the free exercise of their

pleasantry, sought a compensation for this loss, in borrowing one of the serious elements of tragedy; they introduced it in the form of the composition, in the knot of the intrigue, and in the impression they sought to produce."

The history of tragedy, as Schlegel has drawn it in his earlier lectures, shows the gradations by which that art descended from its ideal height; whether in approaching reality by the close delineation of character, and by the more conversational tone of the dialogue, or by manifesting a tendency to practical instruction; namely, to the end of teaching mankind how best to arrange their common and domestic life, as well as all the details which compose it. Aristophanes, indeed, often jeered Euripides on this direction towards *utility*. This last poet was in effect the forerunner of the new comedy: the authors of this class have extolled him above all others, and the greater part are his acknowledged disciples. Euripides bore so great a resemblance to them, that several sentences drawn from his works have been attributed to Menander: and we find, in the fragments of Menander, speeches which rise fully to the dignity of the Euripidean tragedy.

Death of Menander.

After a literary career of thirty years, in which he produced upwards of a hundred comedies, Menander, by a fatality which seems to have reigned over the destinies of many of the literati (of whose sudden and extraordinary deaths a whimsical account forms part of Bland's lively preface to his *Translations from the Greek Anthology*) was doomed to end his days (Ol. 122) "by cold submersion in the waters of the Piræus."[1] Of the adventures of his life we know nothing. He appears, however,to have been patronised and courted by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus: a fact, we believe, proved only on the authority of the epistles to which we have already referred.

We have adverted to Cumberland's papers in the *Observer*, and to Schlegel's *Lectures* on the history of the Greek drama. Cumberland has, moreover, executed translations of several of the most interesting remains, with singular fidelity and spirit. A pleasing and scholar-like collection of the original fragments of the new comedians (as well as of the minor writers of the old school) has been published by Robert Walpole.

G. BERNHARDY[2] has recently investigated this subject fully. We quote the following enumeration of the poets of the middle and new comedy from his history:—

Poets of the Middle Comedy.

1. *Middle Comedy.*—The authors of the middle comedy were in number about forty. Their dramas exceeded more than twice the number of those belonging to the old comedy. We merely name a few of the most eminent of these writers, the fragments of whose works have been chiefly preserved by Athenæus. ANTIPHANES,

[1] Comicus ut liquidus periit dum nabat in undis. "As the comedian perished in the waves while swimming." Ovid, *Ibis*. 593.

[2] *Grundriss der Griechischen Litteratur*, Halle, 1845, Th. ii. S. 1005.

flourished about Ol. 98. Above 260 comedies were ascribed to him. EUBULUS of Athens, the contemporary of Demosthenes. Witty, and given to parody. The author of more than fifty comedies. ANAXANDRIDES; the first of those comic writers who made love stories the subject of their dramas. ALEXIS, who lived to the age of 106, and was the author of 245 dramas. ARAROS and PHILIPPUS, sons of the comic poet Aristophanes. They do not seem to have attained any considerable reputation. TIMOCLES, one of the most talented of the comic writers of this epoch.

Poets of the New Comedy.

2. *New Comedy.*—The authors of the new comedy were formerly estimated at sixty-four, but it is now impossible to discover more than the half of that number. The master of the entire class was MENANDER; in the next rank to whom we may place PHILEMON, DIPHILUS, POSIDIPPUS, and APOLLODORUS. These writers were all wonderfully fertile, but the brevity of their comedies diminishes the astonishment with which we should otherwise be struck.

For a complete and satisfactory account of all that is known respecting the poets of the middle and new comedy, the reader is referred to BERNHARDY.

THE

IONIC LOGOGRAPHERS.

BY

E. POCOCKE, Esq.

IONIC LOGOGRAPHERS.

HECATÆUS, WHO FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 520
CHARON - - - - - - - - - - B. C. 504
XANTHUS - - - - - - - - - - B. C. 480
HELLANICUS - - - - - - BORN B. C. 482

THE

IONIC LOGOGRAPHERS.

Οὗτοι προαιρέσει τε ὁμοίᾳ ἐχρήσαντο περὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὑποθέσεων καὶ δυνάμεις οὐ πολύτι διαφερούσας ἔσχον ἀλλήλων· οἱ μὲν τας Ἑλληνικὰς ἀναγραφοντες ἱστορίας· οἱ δὲ, τὰς βαρβαρικάς· καὶ αυτὰς δὲ ταύτας οὐ συνάπτοντες ἀλλήλαις, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διαιροῦντες καὶ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ἐκφέροντες ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν φυλλάττοντες σκοπόν, ὅσαι διεσώζοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις μνῆμαι κατὰ ἔθνη τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, εἰτ' ἐν ἱεροῖς, εἴτ ἐν βεβήλοις ἀποκείμεναι γραφαὶ, ταύτας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἁπάντων γνῶσιν ἐξενεγκεῖν, οἵας παρέλαβον. . . . . Ἐπιτρέχει μέντοι τις ὥρα τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν, καὶ χάρις τοῖς μὲν πλείων, τοῖς δ' ἐλλάττων, δι' ἣν ἔτι μένουσιν αὐτῶν αἱ γραφαί.

These both had a similar purpose in the selection of their subjects, and possessed powers not greatly differing from each other; some, on the one hand, writing Greek, and others, foreign histories; yet the former and the latter, not connectedly, but ranging them under ethnic and civic divisions; and though they published them independently of each other, yet keeping one and the same object in view, whatever traditions, national or civic, were still preserved by the natives, or records, whether laid up in archives sacred or profane,—these, such as they received them, they used to publish for the common information of all. . . . . however, considerable care pervades their works, nay grace too, in some more, in others less, whence these writings of theirs still remain.—*Dion. Hal., Jud. de Thucyd.*

Method of historical investigation.

In historical investigation, in proportion as the chain of direct evidence is deficient, a judicious collation of coincidental facts, combined with unbiassed deduction, is of paramount importance. A retrospect of the legends of the past, observantly contrasted with the historical facts of succeeding ages, must secure valuable results;[1] whilst the vast volume of human nature, like some ample treasury of language, unfolding alike its principles and its practice, is ever open to elucidate the darkness of the past by the light of the present. These principles of historic research are not less available in literary inquiries,[2] and we shall exemplify them in our review of the Ionic Logographers, whose history recedes into the mists of antiquity. We have to penetrate those mists, and to develop the facts which they obscure; to demonstrate the existence, and to examine the productions, of men who were not only eminent in their day, but who have notably influenced the literature of succeeding ages.

Its application to literary inquiries.

[1] Τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς γεγενημένοις τεκμάιρεσθαι.—*Isoc. Paneg.*

[2] See also Dion. Halic., Proæm. Antiq. Ἵνα καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς διατρίβουσι λόγους, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν φιλόσοφον ἐσπουδακόσι θεωριάν, ... ἀποχρώντως ἔχουσα φαίνηται.

In entering upon the inquiry, we must remark that this obscurity is not to be attributed to an erroneous source; it is not a product generated by innate insignificance—the darkness in which we diffide is the darkness of our own ignorance; not a proof that ignorance was a characteristic of the age to which we refer. Evidence indeed exists, that long anterior to the time of the Ionic Logographers, literature and the arts had been cultivated with success. Sixteen centuries in advance of the Christian æra, India possessed not only a knowledge of arts and sciences, but a poetry at once grand, tender, and imaginative.[1] In the fourteenth century, B. C., Arabia produced the sublime dramatic poem of Job; in Judæa, the historic and legislative records of the Hebrew lawgiver, clear, luminous, and precise, and his inferential testimony, nearly ten centuries previous to the narrative of Herodotus, to the far higher antiquity of science in Egypt.

Early literature in India, Arabia, and amongst the Hebrews.

What then are the causes of the obscurity that darkens the distant horizon of Ionic literature? They are partly coincidental with those by which truth was warped or totally obscured in the middle ages; national and individual jealousies, corporate monopolies of sacerdotal science, and difficulties of international communication. But a cause still more important existed amongst the Greeks in their yet partial acquaintance with the phonetic system of writing,[2] an art greatly neglected in consequence of the vast amount of traditional knowledge conveyed through the mythopæic strains of Homer and the Cyclic

Causes of the obscurity involving early Ionic writings.

[1] See Ritter's Geschichte der Philosophie, vol. i. p. 70. Also Colebrooke on the Vedas (Asiatic Researches, vol. viii.), who, after pronouncing them to be genuine, observes that "they are the same compositions which, under the same title of Veda, have been revered by Hindoos for hundreds, if not thousands, of years."

[2] See Vallancey's Celtic Ogham, in connection with the Phœnician alphabet, *vide* Kruse's Hellas, vol. i. p. 13, and Grote's History of Greece, vol. iii. p. 457, n. 1. A wide distinction must always be drawn between the occasional and the general use of a scientific accessory. Grote observes, "The various statements or conjectures to be found in Greek authors (all comparatively recent) respecting the origin of the Greek alphabet are collected by Franz, Epigraphicê Græca, s. iii. pp. 12–20: 'Omnino Græci alphabeti ut certa primordia sunt in origine Phœnicia, ita certus terminus in literaturâ Ionica, seu Simonidæâ. Quæ inter utrumque a veteribus ponuntur, incerta omnia, et fabulosa.' The Greek authors," he adds, "as might be expected, were generally much more fond of referring the origin of letters to native heroes or gods, such as Palamêdês, Prometheus, Orpheus, Linus, &c., than to the Phœnicians. The oldest known statement, that of Stesichorus (Schol. ap. Bekker, Anecdot. ii. p. 786), ascribes them to Palamêdês. Both Franz and Kruse contend strenuously for the existence and habit of writing amongst the Greeks in times long anterior to Homer; in which I dissent from them." Grote, vol. iii. p. 457, n. 1. In this opinion we entirely concur; two weighty though simple considerations, founded on the doctrine of experience, will be sufficient to illustrate this:—First, a state of society exists in some parts of the world analogous to the ante-Homeric period; such a state still more frequently existed in the middle ages; in neither of these cases was such society in "the habit of writing,"—when this *did* occur, it was a rare instance. Secondly, the *habit of writing* has ever wrought rapid advances in civilization; and evidences of such civilization in the Greeks cannot be adduced prior to or during the Homeric period.

poets, which served in that age as a substitute for literature. To classify, to harmonize, and to group within the barren fields of history, these indistinct forms and wild creations—to give continuity to the perspective through which they were to be viewed, so as, on the one hand, to satisfy the artistic vision of the historic Muse, and, on the other, to disencumber her domain from the ruins strown by the hand of time, and therefrom to raise some individual structure—such was the ill-assorted task of those pioneers of scientific verification, the Ionic logographers,[1] the primitive writers of Grecian narrative. As a class, they date from the close of the sixth century, B. C., and present the earliest evidences to be found of the vivification of the historic sense in Hellas.

Difficult position of the Ionic logographers.

This progeny of tradition and of legendary song was doomed to a perpetual struggle with the difficulties bequeathed by its poetic ancestry: its position was false; apparent wealth it possessed in abundance, but it was a wealth rather heritable than available—confined to speciality of purpose, and tied down by the guaranty of religion. The earliest members of this body held an earnest and a simple faith in the marvels of fiction, whether national, divine, or heroic; but, as new light dawned upon their successors, the task of record became more difficult; even the first and most eminent of their class felt this in all its force. After a struggle between national bias and internal conviction, the latter proved victorious, and he was fain to confess that "the fictions of Greece were manifold and ridiculous."[2] The later logographer, though not unfrequently imbued with correct notions of historic evidence, rarely trenched upon speculative ground; the fate of Pythagoras[3] might warn him to keep within the beaten track of the multitude. His business then was, not to demonstrate, neither was it to neologize, but to give probability to what was problematical—to accommodate opposing legends—to present, not to refute, their discrepant varieties: he had to entertain a faith which the doctrine of Nature was constantly shaking; and whilst still wearied with the active play of doubts and of contradictions, he had to furnish a pleasing and plausible narrative to his reader. Still, his labour was not entirely lost: he had done much towards laying the foundations of the temple of history: amongst legends not a few, he had collected and classified a vast number of facts: he had shown in various lights the same tradition, which thus became to posterity typical of the same fact: occasionally he had ventured to rationalize

Their increasing mental embarrassment.

Results of their toilsome labour.

[1] The non-classical reader will understand that the term "Logos" may signify narrative either true or fictitious, whereas "Historia" implies *the result of research.* Herodotus styles Æsop a logopoist, ii. 134, and Hecatæus likewise, ii. 143.

[2] Τάδε γράφω, ὡς μοι ἀληθέα δοκέει εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοί τε καὶ γελοῖοι, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, εἰσίν. Hecat. Genealog. 332.

[3] See the excellent political reflections of Heeren, on the expulsion of the Pythagoreans and their leader from Croton by the popular party. Heeren's Greece, Sciences in connection with the State, p. 197.

improbabilities,[1] and by this process had inspired additional vigour into his successor: the very myths which he recorded, he so systematized involuntarily, by correlative fact or legend, that to the inquisitive mind he had opened up a rich vein of evidence, which, though it did not directly support, was yet subsidiary to the vigorous sustenance of the historic muse. Aids such as these no candid searcher after truth would despise. Hence Herodotus, sensible that the successive results of investigation form the successive bases of the historic art, became a deep student of the writings of the logographers; to him, also, these writings became a text-book of history, and a theoretic course of travel, by him to be resolved, where resolvable, into practice. In him also they nourished that ardent taste for unrestrained freedom of movement, that, springing from the native buoyancy of his soul, was cherished by the living springs of the Homeric fount. The logographers, as a body, then, were mainly in the position of diligent craftsmen, who, whilst busily engaged in forming a communication between the opposite banks of some important stream, industriously make use of such materials as they chance to possess: if, as in the case of their prototypes, these materials were not wholly of that enduring quality which would firmly span the tide of time, some parts at least of such an arch were trustworthy. Much of the old erection was renovated by their immediate successor Herodotus, by whom combined grace and correctness were superadded; but it was not until the searching glance of Thucydides had scrutinized the structure, and his masterly hand had given security to the keystone, that it might be pronounced faultless. Such then, in contradistinction to their successors, were the Ionic logographers, who, in narratives of prose, essayed to historicise the facts, traditions, mythology, legends, genealogies, and even chorography, found current in poetic song; whilst again, some, as in the case of Hecatæus, copiously recorded the results of individual visit and personal investigation.

Herodotus a student of the logographers.

Their comparative position.

Keeping these observations in view, we propose to introduce a few brief notices of early Greek literature, the offspring of the Ionic mind, alike graceful in the garb of history, of science, or of song. The credit due to the Ionian writers—their style—its adaptation to its object—the source whence sprang their knowledge—and the enduring impulse they gave to legislation, genius, and the arts—are topics that will occupy our attention.[2] We commence by a few remarks respecting the region in reference to which these writers were styled "Ionic." True it is, that to be born in the land of Ionia was not a necessary

Application of the term "Ionic writers."

[1] Hecatæus wishes to trace an allegory in the tale of Cerberus, the dog of Hades, whose type he imagined he had found in some serpent guarding a cave on Mount Tænarus: ἀλλὰ Ἑκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Μιλήσιος λόγον ἔρεν εἰκότα, ὄφιν φήσας ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ τραφῆνι δεινὸν, κληθῆναι δὲ Ἄιδου κύνα, ὅτι ἴδει τὸν δηχθέντα τεθνάναι παραυτίκα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ· καὶ τοῦτον ἔφη τὸν ὄφιν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἀχθῆναι παὶ Εὐρυσθέα. Hecat. Frag. 246; Didot, 1846.

[2] See Heeren's Sciences in connection with the State, in his Ancient Greece.

element in this titular claim; since Dorian and Attic Greeks, nay, even Asiatic princes, were thus designated.[1] In the Greek language we find a triple dialectic division, the Ionic, Doric, and Æolic, in the popular account of which we are furnished with a triad of eponymous chieftains, Io, Dorus, and Æolus, after whom these tribes and dialects are said to have been respectively denominated.[2] Names so nicely quadrated to nations carry an appearance too precise and artificial for early society, and partake more of poetic creation[3] than of historical fact; accordingly, the genealogical tree of each Greek family bears more or less the impress of artificial pruning. We proceed, however, with the popular account. The founder of the Ionians, we are informed, was Io, who, after leading a colony into southern Greece, returned again to Athens. Subsequently to this re-emigration, we find Neleus conducting to Asia Minor both Peloponnesian Ionians, as well as numerous settlers and natives of Attica, who found this region too contracted and barren for their support:[4] this settlement was

Greek dialects.

Popular account of the Ionians.

[1] Vide Hippoc. viii. sect. 3, 4, 5; and Epist. Græc. p. 455.

[2] See also Theog. of Hesiod, 1013. Καὶ Ξοῦθος μὲν λαβὼν τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἐκ Κρεούσης τῆς Ἐρεχθέως Ἀχαιὸν ἐγέννησε καὶ Ἴωνα, ἀφ ὧν Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Ἴωνες καλοῦνται. Δῶρος δὲ, τὴν πέραν χώραν Πελοποννήσου λαβὼν, τοὺς κατοίκους ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Δωριεῖς ἐκάλεσεν. Αἴολος δὲ βασιλεύων τῶν περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλιάν τόπων, τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Αἰολεῖς προσηγόρευσε. Apollodorus, i. 7, 3. Edit. Firm. Didot. Paris, 1846.

[3] Compare the remark of Herodotus upon Homer and Hesiod, as the inventors of the Greek theogony, who observes (ii. 53) that they were the poets who "framed the Hellenic system of theogony, and gave distinctive names to the gods." Of this eponymizing tendency, amongst poets of the east as well as of the west, the Persian poet, Ferdousi, furnishes an evidence in point; he observes, under the canto بخسش کردن فریدون جهانرا به پسران ("On Feridoon's distribution of his possessions to his sons," the counterpart of Apollod, i. 7, 3, τοῖς δὲ παῖσιν ἐμέρισε τὴν χώραν):—

دگر تووررا داد توران زمین
ورا کرد سللار تورکان وچین

Then next to *Tùr*, *Tūrānia's* soil he gave,
Tūrkān and Chēēn to sway, their chieftain brave.

And again:—

وز ان پس چو نوبت بایرج رسید
مر اور پدر شهر ایران گزید

Shah Nameh, Calc. 1829, vol. i. p. ٥٨.

For *Iraj* next, whose claim alternate rose,
His sire's behest, *Irania's* cities chose.

Mr. Grote (Hist. Gr. vol. i. p. 138, n. 1) has some most pertinent remarks on this point: he observes, "How literally and implicitly even the ablest Greeks believed in eponymous persons, such as Hellen or Ion, as the real progenitors of the races called after him, may be seen by this, that Aristotle gives this common descent, as the definition of γένος (Metaphysic. iv. p. 118, Brandis): Γένος λέγεται, τὸ μὲν .... τὸ δὲ, ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ὦσι πρώτου κινήσαντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι. Οὕτω γὰρ λέγονται οἱ μὲν, Ἕλληνες τὸ γένος, οἱ δὲ, Ἴωνες· τῷ, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Ἕλληνος, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἴωνος, εἶναι πρώτου γεννήσαντος."

[4] Compare Theoph. Inst i. 1, tit. 2, ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις ἐκέχρητο ἐπεισάκτῳ σίτῳ διὰ λεπτόγεως οὖσα. The superficial nature of the soil here noticed was not

Ionic emigration. B.C. 1050.

effected about B. C. 1050. Another opinion is—1st. That the primitive language of the Greeks, styled "common," or "Hellenic," was spoken by the Thessalians and Macedonians; hence sprang two dialects, the Doric and the Ionic; the latter identical with the Attic. 2ndly. That when Neleus took possession of the coast of Asia Minor, the language of these emigrants began to differ from the Attic, and was styled Ionic. This change, however, could have been but trifling; as we may judge from the analogous case of the Celtic in Scotland and Wales, the Basque in Spain, and the Bas Breton in France: in all which instances we perceive an inherent power of retaining specific dialect, unaffected by the juxtaposition of powerful states. It is not, however, our object to discuss this point, but briefly to notice the Ionic settlements in Asia: these were, the southern coasts of Lydia, the northern shores of Caria, and the isles of Samos and Chios. This beautiful region, fertile in soil, lovely in climate,[1] and blest with the richest bounties of nature, ranged from the river Hermus, along the shores of the Ægæan, to Miletus, and far out to the temple of Branchidæ, on the promontory of Posideum. We behold this enterprising band of Ionians, in the true spirit of commerce and of Greek nationality, founding and peopling, with a rapidity almost unexampled, twelve important cities, stretching consecutively from north to south.[2] Let us for a moment survey the fortunate geographical position of Ionia. First, an extensive line of sea-board, with power of still farther expansion by conquest or commerce; a vast inland mart for her trade, nothing less than the populous empire of Persia, far into which the policy of her government had constructed a grand military road, subserving the purpose not only of warlike enterprise, but of continental traffic, carried onward to the depths of Asia;[3] fertile isles, forming the outposts of the Ægæan; the range of the Mediterranean to the south; and, on the north, the Pontus Euxinus, whose shores were soon to be studded with rich settlements, tending materially to the support of the mother-country. These positions, chosen with that keen observance and sagacious forecast which marked the Greek character, speedily became the mart of a vigorous commerce. Soon, from the teeming harbours of Ionia, poured forth to distant lands her second emigration. On everything was stamped the Ionic type. Marseilles, the early seat of arts and literature in France, was the creation of Phocæa,[4] one of the Ionian settlements. The

Analogic proof of slight dialectic change.

Ionic settlements in Asia Minor.

Ionic cities.

Favourable geographical position of the Ionic coast.

Sagacious choice of locality by the Greeks.

New colonies from the Ionic coast.

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the only cause of the influx of population into Attica; it was the security of its position. Thucyd. i. 2. Compare also Plut. Solon, c. 22, who assigns the same reason.

[1] Herod. i. 142:—"The Ionians have built their towns beneath the finest sky and the sweetest clime in the world that we know."

[2] Phocæa, Clazomenæ, Chios, Erythræa, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, Ephesus, Samos, Priene, Myus, Miletus. See Grote's Hist. Greece, vol. iii. chap. xiii.

[3] *Vide* Heeren's Man. Anc. Hist. iii. 129.

[4] Μασσαλία, πόλις τῆς Λιγυστικῆς, κατὰ τὴν Κελτικὴν, ἄποικος Φωκαίων.—Hecat. Frag. 22.

navigation of this state was extensive: Cadiz, Italy, France, Corsica, were witnesses of her enterprise, and received her colonies.

It is not, however, to be supposed that settlements, however well-directed, if fixed within the immediate range of a powerful dynasty, can always maintain their independence. Accordingly, we find that, though the Ionians, with few exceptions, held this proud position for more than five centuries, yet, during the reign of Cyrus, they fell under the Persian yoke, B. C. 569.[1] They still retained, however, their own form of government unimpaired; the chief indignity affecting these ardent lovers of freedom being the payment of a tribute. Far advanced in prosperity before the other towns of Ionia, were Ephesus, Phocæa (of which we have already spoken), and Miletus. This flourishing settlement was their chief commercial emporium. Early sensible of the importance of its position, the Greeks dislodged, and drove before them with much slaughter, its original settlers, the Carians, whose disastrous struggles with Minos, king of Crete, are noticed by Thucydides.[2] Nor was this the only colony swept before them by the fierce onslaught of the new comers. Colophon, a city about twelve miles to the north of Ephesus, was captured by one of these enterprising bands, and the ancient inhabitants driven out.[3] In the brightest sunshine of her prosperity, Miletus, as an ancient mart for the commerce of the age, ranked second only to Carthage or to Tyre. Let us briefly glance at her trade. Abounding in colonies studding the shores of the Propontis and the Euxine, she commanded a commerce in slaves, salt fish, furs, and pulse; the latter in that early age, as at present, growing luxuriantly in those regions: her navy almost equalled the ordinary marine establishment of Athens, for she sometimes equipped fleets of a hundred sail. Ephesus, like Miletus, was originally a Carian foundation.[4] Here rose that celebrated temple destined to attract the deep interest of the Pagan world, and its worshippers the sacred energy of the apostolic rebuke.[5] Burnt by Eratosthenes B. C. 355, it towered again with still greater splendour from its ruins. Ephesus rose to eminence much later than her sister colonies; her government

Ionians lose their independence. B. C. 569.

Commercial emporium at Miletus.

Colophon taken by the new settlers.

Sketch of the commercial importance of Miletus.

Ephesus—original foundation.

B. C. 355.

Government.

[1] Herod. i. 162.

[2] Thucyd. i. 8.

[3] See Grote's Hist. Greece, vol. iii. p. 245:—

> Ἐς δ' Ἰρατῆν Κολοφῶνα, βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες
> Ἐφιζόμεθ' ἀργαλέης ὕβριος ἡγεμόνες.
>
> *Mimnerm.* ap. Strab. xiv.
>
> At lovely Colophon, with checkless might,
> The first were we, in bitter scorn of right,
> To plant the soil.

During the Peloponnesian war, the seaport of this city was made a colony of the Athenians, which was governed by the Attic laws. *Vide* Thucyd. iii. 34. The Colophonians were noted for luxury and profusion. Theopomp. Frag. 129; Phylarch. 62.

[4] Ταύτης (τῆς Ἰωνικῆς παραλίας) φησὶ Φερεκύδης, Μίλητον μὲν καὶ Μυοῦντα, καὶ τὰ περὶ Μυκάλην, καὶ Ἔφεσον, Κᾶρας ἔχειν πρότερον.—Pherec. Frag. 111.

[5] Acts, xix. 26, 27.

was aristocratic and corporate, consisting of a senate and magistracy for the direction of affairs; the descendants of the royal family still possessing some privileges. Of all the Ionic island cities, Samos became the most commanding, from its naval power and commerce. In the year B. C. 440, we find it a dependency of Athens, which, by making it a formidable outpost for her troops against Sparta, and constituting a democracy, sorely galled the ruling families in that island. Samos flourished in its acme of prosperity under Polycrates B. C. 540–523.[1] Chios, an island almost as powerful as its insular rival, was enrolled in the Attic league soon after Xerxes was baffled in his ambitious designs upon Greece. To give some idea of its naval resources, we would observe, that in the insurrection of Aristagoras, ninety-eight sail was the contingent furnished by this state to the combined fleet. In common, however, with the rest of the Ionian colonies, it at length succumbed to the Persian yoke.

Power of Samos.

B. C. 440.

Becomes an Athenian dependency.

Resources of Chios.

Various fortunes of the Ionic settlements.

In contemplating the fate of the Ionic settlements, the student of history cannot but be struck with the varied fortunes of this confederacy. Oligarchies, tyrannies, corporate or mixed governments, democracies, despotisms, or hostile factions—all these continually engaged in protracted contests for independence, sway, shake, and finally dissever the Ionic structure, reared upon a politico-commercial basis. Here are political causes more than sufficient to account for the destruction of literary works. Can we wonder that a local tyrant would not tolerate strains that tended to foster liberty? That historic records which cast reflections on arbitrary power and denounced oppression, should, with their authors, be vindictively consigned to destruction? That compositions, having a national tendency, should be subject to the influence of Persian power, or patronage, or gold? That the majority of the Ionic writers should be more or less suspected, by the democracy of the mother-country, of a strong bias towards Persia, or, as Herodotus so expressively styles it, of *Medizing?*[2] Again, is it not probable that local histories would necessarily be circumscribed in their interest, and would participate in the fate of the immediate cities whose history they recorded? Whereas, a national subject would be calculated for an endurance coeval with nationality itself; "for an everlasting possession," as Thucydides nobly expresses it.[3] Hence we find that the history of Herodotus and the strains of Homer, appealing to patriotic nationality, have remained, the monuments of freedom, unchanged by the lapse of ages.

Political causes of obscurity in Ionic literature.

Tendencies of local, in contra-distinction to national, histories.

We have thus paused at the vestibule of the temple of Ionic

[1] This island, when captured by the celebrated Pericles, was taken principally by the mechanical skill of the Lacedæmonian engineer, Artemon, of whom Ephorus (Frag. 117) gives an interesting account. *Vide* also Schol. ad Aristoph. Acharn. See likewise Pliny's account of his statue by Polycletus (Plin. H. N. xxxiv. 19, s. 2).

[2] See also Thucyd. i. 95.

[3] i. 22. Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί

genius, ere we enter its interior, whence time has removed so many of its goodliest statues. Three, however, still remain, instinct with the characters of life—Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus. The high merits of the two first our readers will find largely discussed in the preceding pages. Of the last, we shall presently give as complete an account as is permitted by the scanty records bequeathed to us by antiquity.

Ionic writers divided into two classes.

Ionic writers may be divided into two classes: 1st. Those whose compositions have not come down to us in a connected form, but of whom incidental or fragmentary notices are given by subsequent authors or commentators. 2nd. Those whose writings have reached us in a complete form, or nearly so. This division applies equally to the Ionic poets, philosophers, and logographers. Among the writers of the former class, dividing with Cadmus and Pherecydes the honour of being the first prose writer of Greece, stands

HECATÆUS.

WHO FLOURISHED B. C. 520.

Ἑκαταῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος παρ' οὗ δὴ μάλιστα ὠφέλειται ὁ Ἡρόδοτος καθαρὸς μέν ἐστι καὶ σαφὴς, ἐν δέ τισι καὶ ἡδὺς οὐ μετρίως. Τῇ διαλέκτῳ δὲ ἀκράτῳ Ἰάδι, καὶ οὐ μεμιγμένῃ χρησάμενος.—*Hermogenes, de Gen. Dicend.* ii. 12.

Hecatæus the Milesian, to whom Herodotus is so much indebted, is polished and clear in his language, and in some parts of his work unusually sweet. His dialect is the purest Ionic, unaffected by any admixture.

Hecatæus of Miletus.

Born of a noble family, and held in high honour at Miletus, HECATÆUS, an eminent historian and geographer, appears to have been one of the popular chiefs of the confederacy at that time hostile to Darius, the great king of Persia; for we find him in the Ionic convention at Miletus, developing sound and politic principles of action on the proposed movement.[1] In common with many distinguished individuals of Greece and Rome, he lays claim to a lineage derived from the immortals, tracing his connection with Apollo, the fifteenth in the ascending line.[2] The great historian of Halicarnassus refers to the reception of this genealogy by the Egyptian priesthood,[3] whose response must have proved somewhat derogatory to the high claim of Hecatæus,[4] since they pointed out to him four hundred and forty-five

Genealogic claim.

[1] Ἐι δὲ τὰ χρήματα καταιρηθείη τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ τοῦ ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι, τὰ Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀνέθηκε, πολλὰς ἔιχε ἐλπίδας ἐπικρατήσειν τῆς Θαλάσσης.—Herod. v. 3. See also Herod. v. 124, 125.

[2] Herod. ii. 143. *Vide* Grote's Hist. Gr. vol. i. p. 526. Miltiades, we know, claimed descent from Ajax, and Thucydides is placed by Marcellinus (Vita Thucyd.) as the descendant of Miltiades. *Vide* Pherecyd. Frag. 20. Θουκυδίδες .... ἀπόγονος τῶν ἐυδοκιμωτατῶν στρατηγών, λέγω δὴ τῶν περὶ Μιλτιάδην καὶ Κίμωνα.—κ. τ. λ.

[3] Herod. ii. 143, where these are traced up to a "Piromis," or "noble and good man."

[4] The subject of our notice must not be confounded with Hecatæus the Abderite; the latter accompanied Alexander into Asia, and wrote on the antiquities of the Jews. Joseph. c. Apion, i. 22.

colossal statues as the representatives of an equal number of ancestors of the existing hierarch. Concerning the education and early training of our author, Suidas, our chief informant (who, on this point, is chronologically inaccurate), makes Protagoras his instructor. Instead of this, we are inclined to read "Pythagoras;" adopting the proposed emendation of an eminent authority,[1] supported in this opinion by the correspondent style and kindred talent for philosophic investigation acknowledged by no mean judges of antiquity,[2] who exalt Hecatæus in his own rank of geographer and historian to the dignity of parallelism with Pythagoras in philosophy. To whatever commendation, however, the instructor of the Milesian logographer may be entitled for exciting and fostering the spirit of investigation, afterwards applied so earnestly to the records of precedent ages and to the structure of our globe, it is probable that our author was chiefly indebted to self-instruction drawn from the pages of nature, and matured by reflection. Of this personal examination, in some regions of the east, doubts have been hazarded: these we shall notice in their place. Certain it is, both from the direct testimony of Herodotus,[3] and from the internal evidence afforded by the existing fragments of his writings,[4] that he travelled much in Egypt. The provinces of the Persian empire were not exempt from the scrutiny of this great traveller, or polyplanist, as he is emphatically styled by Agathemerus.[5] The shores of the Euxine; the possessions of numerous Thracian tribes; the whole of Greece; the northern coasts of Africa;[6] the south of Spain; several cities of Liguria: these, with their inhabitants and relative arts, were the objects of his research. It is a subject of deep regret that the relics of his works which have hitherto reached us are not grouped together in that easy and continuous style that we might have anticipated from the high fame of this great logographer.[7] In this, we should doubtless have been gratified, had the original series been spared by time. The narrative grace which so much charms us in Herodotus, would have been equally the subject of our admiration in Hecatæus, as it is in Homer and the great masters of the Cyclic group, whose noble simplicity harmonises so beautifully with the easy flow of their dialect. We have already pointed out the influential position held by our author in his native city, where his great talents, sagacity, and solidity of judgment, now called him a second time to point the path of safety to his fellow-citizens, who were just on the eve of an invasion from the satraps of the Persian king. His advice in this emergency, as in the first, was neglected, and with results equally disastrous.

Suidas' account of the instructor of Hecatæus.

High rank of Hecatæus as a geographer and historian.

Topical and national travels.

Want of grouping in the relics of Hecatæus.

Hecatæus as a statesman.

[1] Sevin, Commentaires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. vi. p. 474.

[2] Diog. Laert. ix. 1. Ælian, Var. Hist. xiii. 20.

[3] II. 143.

[4] *Vide* Steph. Byzantius, Arr. de Exped. Alex. v. 6; Athen. iii. 80, in Hec. Frag. sub. Αἰγύπτιακα. C. T. Müller, Paris, 1846.

[5] Ἀνὴρ πολυπλανὴς, Agath. i. 1.

[6] See Agatharchus, de Rubr. Mari, p. 48.

[7] See Ælian, V. H. xiii. 20. Eratosthenes, apud Strab. i. p. 7; xiv. p. 635.

Clazomenæ and Cumæ had been already reduced, while the storm was about to burst upon the rest of Ionia and Æolia. Herodotus, who has recorded these events, notices the desperate position of Aristagoras the insurgent chief,[1] whose pusillanimity rendered futile the keen forecast of Hecatæus. The result was, the disastrous slaughter of the Ionians near the isle of Lade,[2] and the fierce assault of Miletus by land and sea. Under these perilous circumstances, however, Hecatæus did not desert his country; for, on the subsequent pacification of Ionia, his twofold influence with the Persian satraps and the Milesians brought affairs to a conclusion very favourable for the latter;[3] nay, we find him, in a spirit at once noble and politic, dispensing the best of blessings to his fellow-countrymen, and inducing the Persian deputies to carry out, unwittingly, one of the brightest precepts of Christianity.[4] Towards the conclusion of the pacification, acting in his capacity of Ionian delegate, he inquired of Artaphernes his reasons for continuing his distrust towards the Ionians; the reply of the Persian, drawn from an intimate observation of human nature, was, that he feared the vanquished could not discard the memory of previous indignities: "Then," replied the Greek diplomatist, "if injuries create distrust, kindness will compel our state to be well disposed to the Persians."[5] This reply had its due weight with Artaphernes, who contented himself with imposing a tribute, and enacting a mild code of laws for the vanquished. From this point we are left in ignorance of the movements of Hecatæus. The exact period during which he was engaged in travel cannot be determined. It must have been previous to the Ionian struggle B.C. 500; for, subsequently, the war would have thrown almost insuperable impediments in his way.

Desperate position of Aristagoras, and Ionic defeat at Lade.

Influence of Hecatæus in the pacification of Ionia.

Noble reply of Hecatæus when Ionian delegate.

Supposed period of his travels.

Having concluded this brief notice of the political career of the subject of our memoir, we have now to allude to the high estimation in which he was held by ancient authors. By Hermogenes,[6] he is raised to an equal historic dignity with Thucydides, Herodotus, and Xenophon. By Solinus,[7] he is styled "the glory and brightest ornament of Asia Minor;" whilst Ælian[8] has preserved a saying of Cercidas, the Megalopolitan, who observes, "that he could freely relinquish life, anticipating, after death, an union with Pythagoras amongst the philosophers, and Hecatæus amongst the historians." In fine, the great Herodotus himself furnishes an involuntary testimony to his high opinion of the Milesian, by his own anxiety to refute the assertions of Hecatæus upon dissentient points of history or geography: take, for instance, that remarkable passage of the illustrious

Opinions of antiquarian critics on the merits of Hecatæus.

Involuntary testimony of Herodotus in his favour.

[1] Herod. v. 124. [2] Ibid. vi. 14.
[3] Diod. Frag. Vat. p. 41, ed. Dindorf.
[4] Epist. Rom. xii. 20; Matt. v. 44; Luke, vi. 28.
[5] Excerpt Vatic. ed. Mai. tom. ii. p. 38.
[6] De Gener. Dic. ii. 12.
[7] Polyhist. c. 43. [8] Var. Hist. xiii. 20.

Halicarnassian,[1] so clearly aimed at Hecatæus, who was known to have corrected the bronze map of Anaximander.[2] "Now, I smile," says he, "on seeing several who, before now, have been drawing out maps of the world,[3] though they have no sense at all in explaining the matter; these draw the ocean flowing round it, and the earth itself too, as circular, as from a pair of compasses;" and he follows up this assertion, not by offering philosophical proof of the physical form of the earth, but by the traveller's argument of personal observation, and by adding the chorographic nomenclature. These remarks of the father of history manifest a deep, though unintentional, homage to the correct theory, unfolded in this early essay of science, while they exactly harmonise with the geological phenomenon recorded by the inspired writer.[4]

Literary sally of Herodotus.

Chief treatises of Hecatæus.

The two chief compositions of Hecatæus are his "Periēgēsis," or "Periodos Gēs," "Explanatory Description of the Earth," a geographical treatise, and an historical work, styled "Genealogies," or "Histories." The former is contained in two books; the first of which treats of Europe, the second of Egypt, Libya, and Asia. In this chorographic system, the distances have every appearance of being carefully noted; nor does our author appear to have been less industrious in his essays to unravel the mythic thread:[5] on which point we shall shortly make a few observations. The "Europe" of Hecatæus runs to the northern part of the world, separated from Asia by Mount Caucasus, and embraces the islands in the Ægæan Sea, with the exception of a few adjacent to the Asiatic coast. Each book is divided into chapters, the names of which are partially preserved. The first chapter, first book, was entitled "The Hellespont;" another, "The Æolic Regions;" a third, "Egypt," including an account of Æthiopia; a fourth, "Libya," and its subdivision "Phenician Libya." The course of logography pursued by Hecatæus is, according to Klausen,[6] as follows: in the first book he describes the route from the Hellespont, through Thrace, Scythia, and as far as Mount Caucasus; in the second book, through Central Asia-Minor, to the Chalybians, Colchians, Medes, Parthians, Persians, and Indians. Then, again, from the same starting-point of the Hellespontic Æolia, through the western and southern coasts of Asia, on to Syria, Egypt, and Libya. The general descriptive system maintained by our author, as Müller[7] observes, is very simple. Immediately after the name of a nation, he subjoins, without comment, the bare designation of its cities, to which he sometimes

The Europe of Hecatæus.

Klausen's system of Hecatæus' travels.

Simple divisional method of Hecatæus.

[1] Herod. iv. 36.

[2] *Vide* the interesting description of Aristagoras' journey to Sparta with this map. Herod. v. 49.

[3] "Περιόδους γῆς," the title of one of Hecatæus' treatises.

[4] 2 Epist. Pet., iii. 5. See also Bridgewater Treatises, Buckland's Geology.

[5] See Arrian, Anab. ii. 16. Pausan. iii. 25, s. 5.

[6] Berlin, 8vo, 1831.

[7] Prolegomen. to Hec., Firmin Didot, Paris, 1846.

adds the origin of the inhabitants, the ethnic phraseology, the special divinity of the country, and very frequently the founder of the state.

In the writings of Hecatæus, as in those of Hellanicus, Herodotus, and all the Ionic historians of high standing for independence of judgment, keenness of research, and accuracy of opinion, there is a striking peculiarity, from which even the profound Thucydides is not wholly exempt.[1] It is this: that though the vigorous capacity of the historian at once discriminates between the myths of the Cyclic poets and the records of pure fact—between the legends of the heroic period and the verifications of the historic art—his mind is still shackled by the chain of traditionary reverence for these venerable creations of poetry, and his vision clouded by the dim grandeur of a remote ancestry. Once on the threshold of this temple of imagination, he must either believingly enter its glorious precincts, or exchange his dream of faith for dull reality. But to the imaginative Greek, whose literature, whose traditions, whose devotion, whose exquisite appreciation of art, were the measure of his very existence, what a change! Here, then, the logographer treads upon tempting ground, and a wide distinction must be drawn between his wishes and his power. Accordingly we find the wonders of the Homeric legend, presenting to our author irresistible attractions. The Pygmies,[2] their residence at the extremity of Egypt, near "the streams of ocean;" the desolating war waged on the diminutive race by the cranes: these and other particulars are faithfully rehearsed.[3]

Powerful effects of legendary association upon the early historian.

Mythic attractions for the logographer.

Again, do we find a prodigy of nature vouched by the professor of even an alien creed?—for the sake of piety it has its corresponding record; whilst the reverential feeling for the Epichorian god, that guardian deity of each peculiar soil, commands a respect as powerful as the native divinities of the Greek writer. He therefore feels bound to relate the mythical wonders of distant lands, because they have been vouched for to him by the immediate priesthood of the deity. Of this we have a remarkable instance, producing precisely a similar effect on a Greek mind of cognate cast nearly a century subsequent to our author, so much so as to induce the celebrated Porphyry[4]

Simple piety of the early logographer.

[1] *Vide* Grote's Hist. Greece, vol. i. p. 547. See also his note upon Isocrates.

[2] So when inclement winters vex the plain
With piercing frosts, or thick descending rain,
To warmer seas the cranes embodied fly
With noise and order through the midway sky,
To pigmy nations wounds and death they bring,
And all the war descends upon the wing.
Pope's Homer, book iii.

[3] Πυγμαῖοι. Ἔστι δὲ ἔθνος γεωργικὸν ἀνθρώπων μικρῶν κατοικούντων εἰς τὰ ἀνωτάτω μέρη τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς γῆς, πλησίον τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ . . . . . Φησὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἑκαταῖος ἐπὶ σχημάτων κριῶν ἐξιοντας ἀλέξασθαι αὐτὰς, τὰς δὲ, καταφρονούσας τοῦ μήκους πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς. Hecat. Frag. 266. Firm. Did., Paris, 1846.

[4] Porph. apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang. x. 3. *Vide* also Dionysius, Jud. de Thucyd. 5; Strabo, i. p. 18. Porphyry goes so far as to say that he had actually copied whole passages; in which there is no truth.

Erroneous opinion of Porphyry.

to imagine that Herodotus (to whom we here allude) had copied his account of the phœnix nearly verbatim from the pages of Hecatæus, forgetting that Herodotus had the means of access to the exact source whence his predecessor Hecatæus drew his information, viz., the Egyptian priesthood, whose narrative descriptions of antiquity, given to foreigners through a series of years, would, from constant repetition, become, as it were, a stereotyped memorial, not differing much from the unvarying round of tale with which the local ciceroni of modern times are accustomed to entertain the curious traveller. "Herodotus," says he, "in his second book, has taken from Hecatæus the Milesian's 'Description of the Earth,' many things verbatim, a few he has slightly altered, as his account of the phœnix, the river horse, and the crocodile."[1] Such a statement is entitled to every respect, where the subject is not one of tradition or mythology, or where two distinct historians cannot have access to the same authorities; the reverse of which is the precise position of Hecatæus and Herodotus. On the other hand, if we take the case of the island of Chemmis, recorded by the Halicarnassian, it is here evident, from the quasi-polemical tone of the writer, that he had not only been on the spot himself, but that he had before him Hecatæus' "Periēgēsis of Egypt,"[2] wherein the Milesian states that "the island of Chemmis, sacred to Apollo, was moveable, sailing up and down the water." This account Herodotus also gives[3] as the report of the Egyptians, affirming, however, not "that it did *not* move," but that he had never *seen* it move; throwing at once, yet without a positive denial, some slight doubt on the accuracy of Hecatæus.[4] He adds, that he was astonished when he heard of the existence of floating islands. It is not probable, however, that Herodotus would have been a complete infidel in the Greek national faith of the floating Delos, that cradle of Apollo and Diana.[5] Notwithstanding the religious feeling which induces Hecatæus to record the marvels of the Egyptian hierarchy, yet on points dependent on individual observation, he is ever precise, clear, and decided. The great features of the country—its rivers, mountains, forests, and even its peculiar species of trees, the customs of the various tribes—these he everywhere fills in with a skilful touch and powerful effect.

Routine descriptions of the Egyptian priesthood.

Test of independent originality in composition.

Periēgēsis of Hecatæus, seen by Herodotus.

Precision of Hecatæus on non-religious subjects.

We have already seen the same gifted individual, with masterly hand, not tracing, indeed, but correcting a geographical work, by one of the most eminent philosophers of his country. So accurate, indeed, was it, in outline as well as detail, that it appears to have subserved

[1] Herod. ii. 73.

[2] See Frag. 284, from Steph. Byzant.

[3] Herod. ii. 156.

[4] It is not impossible, from the superior mechanical skill of the Egyptians, that Chemmis might have been an artificial island formed upon rafts, round the temple in its centre. Compare the accounts of the immense timber rafts on the Danube, and Dr. Clarke's narrative of the moveable houses on the Don.

[5] *Vide* Champollion's Syst. Hierolog. 112. See Herodotus' remark on Delos (vi. 98), where he alludes to the earthquake only. See also Thucyd. ii. 8.

the most important political objects on the occasion of the Aristagorean insurrection. Our account is to be found in Herodotus;[1] and it is of so interesting a nature, and drawn with a cast so lifelike, that the reader cannot but be deeply attracted even by a transcript. "Aristagoras," Herodotus observes, "the tyrant of Miletus, arrived accordingly at Sparta, when Cleomenes was reigning; and I would observe that he came to a conference, bringing with him a brazen tablet,[2] on which was engraved the outline of the whole earth, all the sea, and all the rivers. Entering then into discourse, Aristagoras thus addressed him:—'Cleomenes, do not wonder at the eagerness with which I have come hither, for the circumstances of the case are the following: That the sons of the Ionians should be slaves, instead of freemen, is both a disgrace, and the very bitterness of grief to ourselves, and still more to you, in common with the rest of the Greeks, inasmuch as you take a standing at the head of Hellas. Now, therefore, by the Hellenic gods! I conjure you, defend from slavery the Ionians, who are men of kindred blood with yourselves.' (He then points to the map.) 'These nations,' he goes on to say, 'dwell contiguously to each other, as I am about to tell you. Next to these, the Ionians, are the Lydians here, who inhabit a fertile country, and have immense quantities of silver.' (As he said this he pointed to the map of the world which he brought with him, engraved upon the tablet.) 'Adjoining the Lydians,' Aristagoras went on to say, 'dwell these you see, the Phrygians, to the eastward; these, of all men that I know, are the richest in fruits and cattle. Next to the Phrygians, the Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians. Bordering upon these are the Cilicians, reaching down to this sea, you observe, in which lies the island of Cyprus; these pay to the king the annual tribute of 500 talents. Contiguous to these, the Cilicians, you see, are these, the Armenians; and these, too, are very rich in cattle. Adjoining the Armenians are the Matienians, occupying this country; and next to these is this territory, Cissia, in which you must know, on this river Choaspes, is situate that very Susa where the great king both makes his residence, and where are all the treasures of his wealth. Now, by taking this town that you see, you may confidently vie with the great Jove himself in riches.'" Here we have a scientific accessory brought to bear upon the paramount object of securing Spartan co-operation, a project that failed from a very singular cause,—a sudden dislike to Aristagoras, which his urgency and bribery produced in Gorgo, the little daughter of Cleomenes.[3] "Father," said she,

Accuracy of Hecatæus' map, with which Aristagoras arrives at the court of Cleomenes in Sparta.

Address of Aristagoras.

Politico-geographical observations of Aristagoras.

[1] Her. v. 49.

[2] Compare Joshua, xviii. 4-9. Sesostris also appears to have left maps of a similar description, with the colonists whom he settled at Colchis. Apol. iv. 279. Hence this seems to have been an Egyptian invention: amongst which people also the Israelites may have acquired some knowledge of the art. See Wordsworth's Greece, p. 1.

[3] See the interesting account of Cleomenes' daughter Gorgo, Her. v. 51. Ἀναγνόντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένεος προέβαινε τοῖσι χρήμασι ὑπερβάλλων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης, ἐς ὃ πεντήκοντά τε τάλαντα ὑποδέδεκτο, καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἠυδάξατο, "πάτερ, διαφθερέει σε ὁ

"your guest will corrupt you, if you do not send him away directly." The rhetoric of Gorgo overpowered that of Aristagoras.

Genealogies or Histories.

We have before observed, that another work of Hecatæus was entitled "Genealogies, or Histories." These undoubtedly contained at least four books, since we find corresponding notices of them in a similar classification of fragments. The narrative of Deucalion and his offspring leads the way, and the work is thus arranged by Klausen:

Klausen's arrangement.

First book.

First, the progeny of Hellen; then, under that head, first, the offspring of Dorus; the expedition of the Dorians: then the stock of Æolus, and, under this, Phryxus the son of Athamas, Æson the son of Cretheus, Jason the son of Æson, with the Argonauts; Armythao, Melampus, Amphareus, sons of Cretheus, named afterwards Orestheus, another son of Deucalion; Phyteus, Æneas, and Tydeus. To the second book, he refers Hercules and the Heracleidæ, whose numerous exploits we know were handled by Hecatæus. They are so arranged as to be placed in the following order: first, Peloponnesian enterprises, the Erymanthian boar, Acye, Cerberus, the Lernæan hydra, Augean stable; then other Greek subjects, Geryon, Achalia; then foreign achievements by the Amazons; and, finally, the Heracleidæ. From the third book nothing is quoted but subjects connected with Arcadia; and yet, since we have in addition many notices of Argolic enterprise, we may suppose that all the Peloponnesian exploits, whose respective heroes spring neither from Hercules nor Deucalion, are there treated of; as, for instance, Egyptus and Danaus, Prætus and the Cyclops, and, finally, Perseus; subsequently, others in Greece at large, sprung from the same stock. Of the fourth, we are entirely ignorant, excepting that we have a notice of Caria and Lycia; and it is highly probable, that in this division of the work were narrated those tales connected with Asia Minor, of a vast range of which Hecatæus must have been cognizant. Of the style of Hecatæus we have already spoken, and we would sum up our remarks upon this elegant accomplishment by quoting the high critical authority of Longinus, who observes, that our author is not unfrequently vivid and animated in the highest degree.[1]

Contents of the second book.

Of the third book.

The fourth book.

Opinion of Longinus.

For the best editions of the fragments of Hecatæus, *vide* note.[2]

Pursuant to our chronological arrangement, we now come to another of those pioneers in Hellenic literature to whom the after compositions of Greece were so much indebted,—Charon.

ξεῖνος, ἢν μὴ ἀποστὰς ἴῃς·" or, as Plutarch more strongly says, ἐὰν μὴ τάχιον ἀυτὸν τῆς οἰκιας ἐκβάλῃς. Plut. t. ii. p. 240.

[1] See also cap. xxvii. De Subl. Διὸ καὶ ἡ προχρησις του σχήματος τότε ἡνίκα ὀξὺς ὁ καιρὸς ὧν διαμέλλειν τῳ γράφοντι μὴ δίδῳ, ἀλλ' ἐυθὺς ἐπαναγκάζῃ μεταβαινειν ἐκ προσώπων εις πρόσωπα.

[2] Creuzer's Hist. Græc., Antiquissimorum Frag., Heidelberg, 1806, 8vo, contains the fragments of the Genealogies. R. H. Klausen's edit., Berl. 1831, 8vo, and C. and T. H. Müller's Frag. Hist. Græc., Paris, 1841 and 1846, contain the Periēgēsis and Genealogies. This last edition (Firmin Didot) is very valuable. See also "Ukert's Untersuchungen über die Geographie der Hecatæus u. Damastes." Weimar, 1814.

CHARON.

FLOURISHED B. C. 504.

This writer, a native of Lampsacus, a town situated on the coast of Hellespontic Mysia, has been the subject of much critical discussion in regard to the era of his works as well as his parentage. Suidas and Pausanias are our chief original authorities on these points: by the latter he is styled the son of Pitheus; by the former, the son of Pythocles. Both Plutarch and Tertullian[1] agree that he was the predecessor of Herodotus by a considerable period, though Larcher makes Herodotus to be his contemporary. The evidence of Dionysius Halicarnassus, however, decidedly negatives this opinion.[2] Our author appears to have been a fertile composer, unless we are to understand that the works of other individuals of the same name have been attributed to him, which the opinions of ancient commentators and grammarians show to be not improbable. He undoubtedly composed a "History of Persian Affairs," and four books of "Hellenics." A great proportion, however, of these works appear to have been rapidly-drawn outlines and sketches, which were afterwards filled in with a masterly hand by Herodotus. Of the "Hellenics" nothing seems to have been saved. Next in order to this part of the work, Suidas places his "Prytanes," or "Lacedæmonian Kings," whose names and exploits he had probably taken from those ancient archives noticed by Plutarch,[3] and to which it is highly probable that Herodotus had access.[4] The "Annals of Lampsacus,"[4] and the "Foundation and Origin of Cities," were also his composition. Two fragments of this latter work are recorded by Creuzer as genuine, though not acknowledged as such by Müller. Polyænus[5] has preserved a portion of this writer, evidently taken from the "Annals of Lampsacus," which may give some idea of the general cast of the work. It is as follows: "The Lampsacans and the people of Parium having a dispute relative to their respective boundaries, determined mutually to despatch at cock-crow individuals from each state, and wherever they should meet each other, that spot was to be the boundary of each country. On the approval of this proposal by both parties, the Lampsacans induced some fishermen, immediately they should discern the Parians passing by, to put a great quantity of fish on the fire, and pour out abundance of wine, as though making a sacrifice to Neptune, and under such fortunate auspices to invite them to honour the deity, and to participate in the libation. They did so; and the other party, being induced by the fishermen, feasted and drank with

Biographic variations on the birth and parentage of Charon.

Works of Charon.

Prytanes.

Annals of Lampsacus.

Foundation and Origin of Cities.

Ingenious device of the Lampsacans.

[1] Char. Frag. Pers. Plut. de Mal. Her. p. 859. Tertull. De Anima, cap. xlvi.
[2] Jud. de Thucyd. p. 769.
[3] Adv. Colot. xvii. p. 1156.
[4] Her. i. 65. *Vide* Müll. Dorien. p. 131. (This treatise is sometimes styled, "Description of the Territory of Lampsacus.")
[5] Stratag. vi. 24.

them, slackening their eagerness for the journey. The Lampsacans, however, stretching forward, were the first to reach Hermæum. This point is distant from Parium 70 stadia, but from Lampsacus 200. So much land did the Lampsacans, by their ingenuity, take from the Pariani; thus fixing their boundary at Hermæum."[1]

XANTHUS.

FLOURISHED B. C. 480.[2]

Birth and country of Xanthus.

The birth and parentage of XANTHUS are not less uncertain than those of so many of the Ionic paleographers. Lydia appears to have been our author's country, and Sardis was probably his native city. Suidas, indeed, asserts this positively;[3] while Strabo, a far more careful authority, speaks of it doubtfully.[4] "Xanthus," says he, "the ancient Syngraphist, is said indeed to have been a Lydian, but whether he be of Sardis I know not." Xanthus was the author of a work styled "Lydian History," in four books, afterwards abridged by Menippus.[5] Other works are ascribed to him, though doubtfully, such as "Rites of the Magi," and "Biography of Empedocles." It has, however, been a point of discussion whether many fragments, preserved by ancient authorities, are the actual composition of Xanthus or of Dionysius Scytobrachion, who is said to have composed a "Lydian History" under the name of Xanthus.[6] We know that it was not unusual, during the age of the Ptolemies, when originality was a rare qualification, to substitute for native talent the interpolated and re-arranged compositions of previous writers, to which the compiler prefixed his name.[7] For such operations manuscripts have ever presented great facilities; nay, even where fraud is not an object, the errors of mere transcript, and the number of various readings, are amply exemplified by the lacunæ and discrepancies of Arabic and Persic manuscripts of the present day.[8] Other motives also prompted

Lydian History.

Rites of the Magi.

Literary forgeries.

[1] The best editions of this work are by Creuzer, Heidelberg, 1806; C. and T. Müller, Frag. Hist. Græc., Paris, 1841 and 1846. *Vide* also Strab. xiii. p. 583; Ælian, V. H. i. 15; Pausanias, x. 38; Voss, de Hist. Græc. b. i. c. i.; Clinton, Fast. sub ann. 504, 464.

[2] *Vide* Creuzer, on the Chronology of Xanthus.

[3] Ξάνθος Κανδαύλου, Λυδὸς ἐκ Σαρδίων. ἱστορικός.

[4] Strab. xiii. p. 931.

[5] Diog. Laert. 610. Ὁ γράψας τὰ περὶ Λυδῶν καὶ Ξάνθον ἐπιτεμόμενος.

[6] Athenæus (xii. c. 11) here quotes the authority of Artemon. Περὶ βιβλίων συναγωγῆς.

[7] Ἐν γὰρ τῷ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀτταλικούς τε καὶ Πτολεμαϊκοὺς βασιλεάς χρόνῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιφιλοτιμουμένους περὶ κτήσεως βιβλίων, ἢ περὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφάς τε καὶ διασκευὰς αὐτῶν, ἤρξατο γίγνεσθαι ῥᾳδιουργιά τοῖς ἕνεκα τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀργύριον ἀναφέρουσιν ὡς τοῦς βασιλέας ἀνδρῶν ἐνδόξων συγγράμματα.—Hippocr. De Nat. Hom., vol. xv. p. 109, Kühn. Before this period, however, of royal scientific rivalry, and the handsome rewards given to the collectors of old works of merit, this system does not appear to have existed. See Ritschl. de Biblioth. Alexandr. p. 21.

[8] This is applicable to even the best standard authors, as Nizami, Sadi, Hafiz, and Firdousee, particularly the latter. See Calcutta edit. 1829, 4 vols. 8vo, by

the manufacture of entertaining histories. After the long discussions of the Platonic and other philosophic schools, the general tedium would seek relief in the marvellous or the romantic, and the ingenuity of new writers would be in requisition to gratify the popular taste.[1] To the "Lydian History" of Xanthus, however, such suspicion can hardly attach, when we find the high authority of Dionysius Halicarnassus affirming that "Xanthus is, if any one, skilled in paleographic history, and considered inferior to no one, and a sure authority on the subject of the institutes of his country."[2] Certain mythologic and traditional portions of our author's treatise, which, from the operation of various causes, seem to have escaped Greek commentators, grammarians, or historians, appear to have been preserved by Pliny,[3] such as Tylo's restoration to life and health by a Xanthian herb, after being slain by a serpent; and the tale of Candaules, the Lydian king, presenting to Bularchus for his painting of "The Storming of Magnesia," the weight of the picture in gold.[4] Under the "Lydian History" of Xanthus we have his testimony to the non-settlement of Tyrrhenus in Italy,—a description of an excessive drought in the age of Artaxerxes, productive of geological evidences of a great deluge,—singular volcanic appearances in Mysia, supposed by the ancients to have been traditionized by the myth of Typho,—the origin of the promontory Hermæum,—geographic notices of various cities in Lycia, Syria, and Lydia. The geographical notice is not uninteresting. Xanthus observes: "That on the failure of rivers, pools, and wells," (in the drought before noticed,) "he had seen in every direction petrified shells, cockles, and mussels, that he had seen likewise salt-water lakes in Armenia, Matiene, and Phrygia, whence he felt convinced that those plains had formerly been one wide sea."[5] The volcanic changes are thus noticed by him: "After this comes the region designated the 'Katakaumene,' or the 'Burned District,' in length 500 stadia, and in breadth 400, whether we style it Mysia or Mæonia, for it is called both. It is entirely destitute of trees, with the exception of the

Opinion of Dionysius Halicarnassus on Xanthus as an authority.

Passages preserved in Pliny.

Geographical notice.

Volcanic phenomena.

Turner Macan, where the interpolated episodes are noted at length—even the couplets of this work vary to the extent of several thousands. In fact, the profession of the katib or scribe, being distinct and purely mechanical, no literary responsibility attached. *Vide* some excellent remarks on this subject in Belfour's Ali Hazin, Lond. 1831.

[1] The extent to which spurious compositions may be carried may be seen in the Brahminical fraud upon the learned Wilford, and in the case of Psalmanazar, who invented a language sufficiently copious and regular to deceive men of extensive learning. His History of Formosa, and the pretended Latin original of Paradise Lost, are well-known literary forgeries.

[2] Ἱστορίας παλαιᾶς εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ἔμπειρος ὤν, τῆς δὲ πατρίου καὶ βεβαιωτὴς ἂν οὐδενὸς ὑποδεέστερος νομισθείς.—Antiq. i. 28.

[3] Hist. N. L. xxxv. c. v.

[4] Pliny, Hist. N. viii. 3. The latter, Müller has proved by chronological fact, cannot be the work of Xanthus.

[5] Frag. 3, Eustath. ap. Strabo, i. 49.

vine, which produces the Katakaumenite wine, inferior in quality to none of the most celebrated. The surface of the plain is a continuous sheet of cinders; the mountains and rocky districts are black, as if from the action of fire; some, therefore, conjecture that these appearances are the result of thunder-storms and blasts of lightning; nor do they hesitate to connect with it the tale of Typho."[1]

Mythic explanation.

To Xanthus succeeds

HELLANICUS.

BORN B. C. 482.

Suidas, one of the usual authorities in classical biography, in speaking of HELLANICUS of Mitylene,[2] has shown himself destitute of that exactness that should ever characterise the genealogist. Wavering amidst various informants, he first styles our author's father Andromenes, then Aristomenes, and finally Scammon. His notice goes on to say, that "in company with Hecatæus, Hellanicus spent some time at the court of Amyntas, the Macedonian king, at the era of Euripides and Sophocles; that he was born after Hecatæus the Milesian, about the time of the Persian war, or a little before, and lived to the time of Perdiccas, dying at Perperene, opposite Lesbos. His compositions in prose and verse were multifarious." Unfortunately for this interesting narrative of the interview of Hecatæus and Hellanicus during their visit to the Macedonian court, Müller[3] has very clearly shown a serious anachronism in the statement; Suidas making this interview to take place when Hecatæus was just leaving, and Hellanicus just entering into the world. We shall shortly have occasion to remark on this straining for dramatic effect, as exemplified in an important point in the biography of Herodotus.[4] Sturz has noticed a passage from Pamphila, quoted by Aulus Gellius,[5] where the Egyptian savante asserts that "Hellanicus, Herodotus, and Thucydides flourished cotemporaneously, and were in high reputation; nor was there any great difference in their ages; for Hellanicus, at the commencement of the Persian war, seems to have been about sixty-five years of age, Herodotus fifty-three, and Thucydides forty.[6]" The result of a critical investigation, however, would appear to prove that our author was born B. C. 482. Of the particulars connected with the public or private life of Hellanicus, we are left totally ignorant: he appears, however, to have died at Perperene, a city opposite Lesbos, on the

Confused chronology and incorrect tale of Suidas.

Pamphila's notice quoted by Sturz.

Hellanicus died at Perperene.

[1] Frag. 4, Strabo, xii. 579.

[2] In addition to Hellanicus the Mitylenian, we have Hellanicus the Syracusian, in the time of Dionysius (Plut. Vit. Dion.), Hellanicus the grammarian, preceptor of Ptolemæus Aristarchus, and Hellanicus the Elean. Pausan. v. 5.

[3] Müller, Prolegomen. in Hellan. Parisiis, Firmin Didot, 1846.

[4] See p. 239, note on Dahlman's Herodotus, Aus seinem Buche, sein Leben.

[5] Noct. Att. xv. 23.

[6] *Vide* Sturz, Comment. de Vita Hellanici, Leips. 1826.

gulf of Adramyttium. The compositions of Hellanicus appear to have been voluminous, partaking of the poetic as well as the historic and mytho-historic character. In fact, the time had not as yet appeared when the Greek mind was sufficiently freed from the trammels of the Cyclic legend to adopt that independent course of action, which was soon to distinguish the vigorous records of Thucydides. From the fragments remaining, we should be led to form a conclusion that Hellanicus wrote no less than thirty works on various subjects, did we not know that the ancient logographers usually gave to every section a special title, and hence the strong probability that fragmentary records, ranged each under a titular division, would be raised to the dignity of a complete and distinct work. The classification and arrangement of writings thus ravaged by time have engaged the laborious scrutiny of men distinguished by their sagacity and profound attainments, but with few important results. Where the lacunæ are so many, no canons of criticism can apply. We may, however, safely present these fragments under their titular order; from which a system, more or less complete, may be evolved, the leading heads of which will be, 1st, Hellanicus's *Genealogical* Works; 2nd, *Chorographical;* and, 3rd, *Chronological.* The sectional divisions are, Bœotian History, Phoronis, Asopus, Deucalion, Argolic and Thessalian Myths; the Priestesses of Argive Juno; Atlantes—subjects in connexion with Arcadia; Atthis[1] and Carneonica.[2] Then follow ethnic, or historico-geographic sketches, such as "Treatise on Nations," "Ethnic Nomenclature,"[3] the "Foundation of Nations and Cities," the "Origin of Chios," "Æolic and Lesbiac History," "Notices, Egyptian,[4] Lydian, Trojan, and Cyprian;"[5] treatise on "the Journey to the Temple of Jupiter Ammon,"[6] "Persian and Scythian Sketches,"[7] "Barbaric Institutes,"[8] and "Fortunes of Jove."[9] The "Phoronis" contains Argolic mythologies, dating from Phoroneus, the cotemporary of Ogyges, of diluvian fame, in all probability to the return of the Heracleidæ. The second book contained the Legend of Hercules, a sketch

Voluminous works of Hellanicus.

Sectional divisions of the logographers.

Division of the work threefold.

1st. Genealogical.

2nd. Chorographical.

3rd. Chronological.

The Phoronis.

The second book.

[1] This was a history of Attica, containing four books—possibly more. The first took up the history of the mythic ages: the second, the antiquities of the Attic Demi; whilst of the third and fourth we possess scarcely any information. It is highly probable, however, that Hellanicus may have included some notices of the Athenian colonies settled in Ionia. *Vide* Thucyd. i. 97.

[2] Καρνίονικαὶ. This was a list of the victorious candidates in the musical and poetic contests at the festival of the Carneia. *Vide* Athen. xiv. p. 635. Dahlman does not consider this the production of Hellanicus.

[3] Ἐθνῶν ὀνομασίαι, classed by Preller as spurious. See the excellent arrangement of Hellanicus by Preller, Dorpat, 1840, 4to.

[4] Αἰγυπτιάκα, classed by Preller as spurious.

[5] Κυπριακά, not allowed by Preller.

[6] Εἰς Ἄμμωνος ἀνάβασις, not allowed by Preller.

[7] Not allowed by Preller.

[8] Βαρβαρικὰ νόμιμα, not allowed by Preller.

[9] Not allowed by Preller.

merely sufficient to support the genealogy of the hero—which system is applied to the general treatment of the subject by Hellanicus. It is pretty evident that our author, though sketching the mythic tales of Greece in a connected series (of which scarcely any but the Attic remain), did not pause here, but carried forward these outlines continuously till they ranged close to the Peloponnesian war,[1] and, as Müller supposes, even later. The "Priestesses of Argive Juno" embraced a chronological conspectus of the subjects previously handled by Hellanicus. This was a Greek as well as Egyptian system of templar registry, ranging to a high antiquity, classifying chronology amongst the Greeks by the official position of each priestess.[2] The archives of these Hērēsides, as the sacerdotal series was styled, were in all probability in the temple of Juno, taking their origin, in fact, either at the period when the importance of undoubted records was first felt, or, with stronger probability, systematised from those Egyptian hierophantic records, so often noticed by Herodotus. On these fixed calendars, therefore, our author raises his historic edifice, sketching the outlines of each event under its appropriate Hēresis. The importance of such a classification must have been deeply felt, for we find it commending itself to the notice of the reflecting Thucydides,[3] who would not have readily lapsed into any system solely from popular custom.[4] These archives contained not only the sacerdotal nomenclatures, but the feasts, games, and more remarkable events, especially those relating to the worship of the gods. Yet whatever were the decided advantages to accuracy gained by this arrangement, the old logographers were not so easily induced to forego the ancient and more natural order of calculation by generations, which method seems to have been common to all the oldest nations, and particularly to the Jews.[5] Accordingly we find Hellanicus[6] occasionally reverting to this less artificial chronology, and at other times placing these two systems nearly in juxtaposition.[7] From our previous investigation we may satisfactorily conclude that the exploits of Hercules were noted down from a chronological conspectus in the registry of the Hērēsides, whilst the full narrative itself was in the "Phoronis." Hence the "Priestesses of Juno" contained not only Grecian histories, but the most prominent events of Italy, Asia Minor, and Sicily. This work was subdivided

Priestesses of Argive Juno.

Hērēsides.

Importance of the system of registry.

Compound system of chronology.

Priestesses of Juno.

[1] Phavorinus ex Harpocrat. in verbo Ἐλλωτεύειν.

[2] *Vide* Thucyd. ii. 2. Tzetzes, Posthomerica (Frag. 144); *vide* also Fisch. ad Æsch. Dial. iii. 10.

[3] Thucyd. iv. 133. Compare also Plut. De Mur., p. 1181, Preller, l. c. p. 34.

[4] This custom obtained amongst the Celtic of high antiquity in Ireland. See the extract in the Iberno-Celtic Institutes of the learned Vallancy (Dublin, 1773). The ancient MS. quoted by this profound antiquarian concludes by saying, "there are many of these venerable manuscripts preserved to the present day, and many copies of them are in the hands of the curious." See also the original Celtic "en regard."

[5] Matt. i. 17.

[6] Schol. Eurip. Or. 1648.

[7] Dion. Halic. Arch. i. 22.

into three treatises. In the first the subject was extended to the apotheosis of Hercules, and the reign of Theseus. The second book must have contained the events of the Trojan war, the draughting of various colonies, both Greek and Trojan; and of this we find an indubitable corroboration in the passage of Dionysius Halicarnassus just cited below. Under this division also may be classed the legend of "Theseus and Helen," and the "Capture of Troy."[1] The fact of our author's notice of the Naxian and Chalcedic settlements (chiefly A. C. 736) may convey a fair idea of the chronological development of this book, which we may conclude ranged down to the Persian wars. The third book necessarily embraced the remaining time. In the treatise entitled, "On Nations," we have two Scythian tribes, which may be appropriately classed with the "Scythian Sketches."[2] In the "Ethnic Nomenclature" of Hellanicus we are presented with a rapid outline of the "Libyan Institutes," which, on the same principle of classification, will be appropriately annexed to his "Egyptian Notices," and the "Way up to the Temple of Jupiter Ammon."[3]

The first book.

The second book.

The third book.

Ethnic Nomenclature.

In the geographic relics of our author, we are perpetually struck by the very brief and summary manner in which he dismisses each notice; many of them, which we might naturally have expected to have found grouped around their principal subject, taking an isolated position. This reflection, however, will serve to show that since he had written so fully upon subjects in connection with Greece, giving the whole bent of his mind to the foundation of its cities and the source of its different tribes, this ethnic treatise must have had reference chiefly to foreign nations. As a Greek, he had here little inducement to enter into chronological or genealogical detail; rapidly sketching, as he did, their cities, the natural features of their country, with the genius and institutes of the inhabitants.

His system of treating geography.

There yet remains to be noticed, a doubtful production of Hellanicus, concerning the title of which commentators are not agreed. Its usual title is, the "Fortunes of Jove;" Voss has proposed to read the "Various Progeny of Jove;"[4] but Sturz, preferring the usual heading,

The Fortunes of Jove.

[1] Frag. 144, Tzetz. Posthom. 768–780.

[2] Σκυθικά,

[3] Conspectus of Hellanicus' works (according to Preller):—

1. *Genealogic.*	2. *Chorographic.*	3. *Chronological.*
Deukaleonica.	Atthis.	Priestesses of Juno (Ἱέρειαι τῆς Ἥρας).
Phorōnes.	Aeolika.	
Atlantis.	Persika.	Karneonikai.

4. Spurious.

Aiguptiaka.
Way up to the Temple of Ammon (Εἰς Ἄμμωνος ἀνάβασις).
Barbaric Institutes (Βαρβαρικὰ νόμιμα).
Ethnic Nomenclature (Ἐθνῶν ὀνομασίαι).

[4] Πολυτοκία, Voss. de Hist. Græc. Müller would read πολυτυχία, referring it to a connection with the Orphic theogony. Prolegom. Frag. Hist. Gr.

considers it highly expressive of the various vicissitudes of fortune, of which Jupiter was the subject. We cannot positively decide whether it was a composition in verse or prose; though, from its apparently mythologic character and unity of object, it is highly probable that it was a species of Orphic romaunt.[1] In the mythologic account of Atthis, Hellanicus does not rest at the fabulous periods, but he appears to have connectedly linked the Attic legend and the Attic history in one series, from Ogyges or Cecrops to the Peloponnesian war. His usual treatment of the "Greek History" is, to compose a small treatise; then to arrange, classify, and fill this up, so as to distribute a quaternion of myths and families, whose corresponding heads with their primitive abodes are, of course, Deucalion in Thessaly, Phoroneus in Argolis, Atlas in Arcadia, and Cecrops in Attica. Hellanicus, just verging on that age when the mists of antiquity were to yield to the energetic vision of research, labours under the disadvantage of adapting a theme, essentially poetic, to the dull and cramped measure of a prose ill fitted for the wild freedom of the mythic flight. From these legends, too, various in their form and discrepant in their narrative, he had to select that which appeared less disunited—more plausible, yet not diverging towards any neologic system of Greek faith; and, in fact, where he has sometimes exercised an independent judgment, he has fallen under severe censure. By none is his veracity more strongly impugned than by Strabo and Ephorus: by the latter, indeed, he is roundly styled "a falsifier in most things;"[2] whilst Strabo observes, that he is so careless in treating antiquities, that Homer, Hesiod, and the tragic poets are entitled to equal credit.[3] It appears that Hellanicus positively denied the destruction of Troy,[4] asserting that the ancient and the (in his time) modern city, were identical.[5] Tzetzes observes that this was written to gratify the vanity of the then modern Trojans. This must be taken, however, with some qualification; since we find Hellanicus fixing, with a nicety somewhat marvellous, the month, day, and hour of its capture; and again, we have (in Fragment 127) the complete Virgilian account of the siege of Troy, including of course its destruction by fire. "Æneas," he observes, "induced by sound considerations, on perceiving that there was no possibility of saving the city, the greater part of which the enemy had already reduced, determined to abandon the fortress to the enemy, in order to preserve the persons of its inhabitants, its sacred things, and whatever money he could carry off with him. When he had resolved upon this plan, he sent forward the children, women, old men, and all the rest to

Atthis, containing the Attic legends.

Hellanicus' system of treating history.

One-sided censure of Ephorus and Strabo.

[1] Preller does not consider this authentic; a solitary fragment alone remains.

[2] Ephorus, ap. Photius, Cod. lxxii. p. 64.

[3] Strabo, xiii. 612.

[4] See the learned Jacob Bryant's work on the non-existence of Troy.

[5] Ἑλλάνικος δὲ χαριζόμενος τοῖς Ἰλιεῦσιν, ὅιος ὁ ἐκείνου μῦθος, συνηγορεῖ τῷ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι πόλιν τὴν νῦν τῇ τότε. Strab. xiii. 602.

whom a slow flight was indispensable; and he ordered them, after they had left the city, to take the road which led to Ida, whilst the Greeks intent upon the assault of the fortress, should not think of pursuing the flying multitude. . . . To these he had given instructions to occupy the most fortified posts on Mount Ida. He himself, with a picked force, remained within the walls of the fortress. By thus sending forward his people from the city he rendered their escape less difficult, as the enemy was intent upon the assault of the citadel. . . . In the mean time the Greeks had taken the city by storm, and wholly occupied with plunder, afforded great facilities for the safe escape of the fugitives. Æneas, however, and his comrades, following the route of the latter, and forming one body, seized upon a most strongly fortified position on Mount Ida; they came up also with the inhabitants of Dardanus, who had deserted their city in the night, on seeing the immense masses of flame which shot forth from Troy. . . . Æneas, however, with his children, his father, and the statues of the gods, sailed across the Hellespont in a fleet already prepared."

Penthesilea,[1] too, and the Amazons, are not omitted by Hellanicus; and we shall close our observations on this author by a quotation from the 146th Fragment, in which this popular tale is thus noticed:— Amazonian legend.

> By native valour urged, to Troy the maiden came,
> The nuptial rite to win, and swell the lists of Fame,
> Omen of ill it were, to mate those beauteous charms,
> Sank not some hostile chief beneath thy deed of arms.
> Penthesilea thus advanced 'midst war's alarms.

The best editions of Hellanicus are—Sturz, Hellanici Lesbii Fragmenta, Leips. 1796, 8vo, with introductory commentary (second edit. 1826); in the same year in the Museum Criticum, vol. ii. p. 90–107 (Cambridge); Preller's investigation, De Hellanico Lesbio Historico, Dorpat, 1840, 4to; C. and T. Müller, Frag. Hist. Græc., Paris, Firmin Didot, 1841 and 1846. Editions of Hellanicus.

[1] Tzetzes, Posthomer. 768:—

> ..... ἕνεκα σφετέρης ἀρετῆς ἐπιήλυθε Τροιὴ
> Κῦδος ἀέξήσασα, ὅπως τε γάμοισι μιγείη.
> Ταῖς γὰρ ἀπαίσιόν ἐστι παρ' ἀνδράσι βήμεναι ἰυνῇ
> Εἰ μὴ μὲν πολέμιοισι ἀριστήσωσιν ὑπ' ἄνδρας
> Τὼς μὲν Πενθεσιλείαν ἐλθέμεν ὄιγ' ἐρέουσιν.

THE

GREEK HISTORIANS.

BY

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GREEK HISTORIANS.

HERODOTUS - - - - -	BORN - -	B. C. 484
THUCYDIDES - - - -	BORN - -	B. C. 472
XENOPHON - - - - -	BORN ABOUT	B. C. 444

The account of THUCYDIDES was contributed by Sir T. N. TALFOURD to the original edition of this Encyclopædia, and has now been revised. Mr. POCOCKE'S articles on HERODOTUS and XENOPHON have been written expressly for the present edition.

HERODOTUS.

BORN B. C. 484.

Ἡρόδοτος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέων γενομένων, Ἑλλανίκου τε καὶ Χάρωνος, τὴν αυτὴ ὑπόθεσιν προεκδεδωκότων οὐκ ἀπετράπετο, ἀλλ' ἐπίστευσεν αὐτῶν κρεῖσσόν τι ἐξοίσειν.

Herodotus (though Hellanicus and Charon the historians preceded him, who had previously published works on the same basis) was not diverted from his design, but felt persuaded that he could produce something superior.—*Dion. Halic. Epist. ad Pomp.*

THAT one of the most powerful characteristics of human nature, in all climes and ages, should apparently forego its claim, where that claim is paramount, may prove the subject of no mean speculation to the philosophic mind. The love of fame—

> The spur that the clear spirit doth raise
> To scorn delights and live laborious days—

seems to have failed in obtaining its accustomed meed among some of the most eminent individuals of antiquity. The barren registry of the mere names of Homer, Hesiod, and Herodotus, are wellnigh all that biography can claim to deepen our interest in men so pre-eminently conspicuous amid the grey mists of early literature. If to this we add the slenderest notices of their birth-place and kindred,—even these not unfrequently the subject of dispute,—we then have all that can honestly be claimed as the story of their lives. This is a melancholy but a truthful reflection; and though a distinguished writer of the present day[1] has endeavoured to evolve the biography of Herodotus from his own work, the research and acumen brought to bear upon the investigation, have produced not a "Life," but a commentary upon the movements of our author, political, local, and historic. Is it that amid the absorbing interest of these noble writings, the individual has been lost in his works? His gift has been splendid; but how little do we know of the giver! Has he reared a temple to intellect, so vast and magnificent, that amidst its glorious dimensions the architect has shrunk into insignificance? Has the priest of genius left the altar with lineaments unrecognized? It may be so; but his spirit yet lingers at the shrine. Nay, from the early dawn of Hellas, it must be remembered that springing to life from the creative Pæans of Homer, and dilated into manhood by the patriotism of Herodotus, nationality now enthroned claimed a homage so deep and engrossing, as to permit few to search the records of an ancestor more humble

Slender biographic accounts of Homer, Hesiod, and Herodotus.

Dahlman on Herodotus.

Absorbing effects of nationality

[1] Dahlman, Herodotus, Aus seinem Buche, sein Leben.

than herself. Tradition, which has done so much for a people, has proved ungrateful to the individual; nay, the very festivals of classic Greece, those streams which swelled her mighty flood of glory, tended still further to sweep from view the life-forms of the poet and historian. The lyre may be sweet, but how few ask more than the name of the artisan by whom it was strung! Amidst the joyful splendours of a victory, a nation pauses but to catch the name of the conqueror.

Ionic festival at Delos—its policy.

To augment and give a direction to this deep feeling of nationality, the Ionians especially, by the magnificent festivities of Delos, had early marshalled an array of kindred and of policy, calculated to range beneath this banner all the continental and insular representatives of their race.[1] That tendency to graceful relaxation and buoyant mirth, so early characteristic of maritime states, and so beautifully sung by Homer,[2] had here full scope, and shone out in the most brilliant realizations of fancy. From the combined Ionic cities, and from Athens, poured forth all their beauty and their wealth, with every circumstance of joy that the delighted memory could treasure:—

> Untouched by age and deathless would he deem
> Ionia's throng, could he but greet them then,
> The grace combined would scan—his breast would teem
> With joy, each manly form, each lovely maid to ken,
> The swift-winged barks and boundless wealth of men.[3]

Effects upon Ionic literature.

These splendid festivals of Delos, though declining, and finally ceasing[4] long before the era of Herodotus, gave an impress and an enduring bias to the Ionic literature. Hence, the earliest writers of prose were the Ionic logographers, whose tale of marvels was here, doubtless, swollen either by actual converse with the man of many travels,[5] or

[1] See Thucydides, iii. 104, ξύν τε γὰρ γυναιξὶν καὶ παισιν ἐθεώρουν ὥσπερ νῦν ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια Ἴωνες.—κ. τ. λ.

[2] Odyssey, viii. 300, 12:—

> Let other realms the deathful gauntlet wield,
> Or boast the glories of the athletic field,
> We in the course unrivalled speed display,
> Or through cerulean billows plough the way.
> * * * * *
> Rise, then, ye skilled in measures: let him bear
> Your fame to men that breathe a distant air,
> And faithful say, to you the powers belong
> To race, to sail, to dance, to chant the song.
>
> *Pope's Homer*, 300, 308.

[3] Φαίη κ' ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀγήρως ἔμμεναι ἀιεὶ,
Ὅς τότ' ἐπαντιάσειε ὅτ' Ἰαόνες ἀθροοι ἦεν·
Πάντων γὰρ κεν ἴδοιτο χάριν, τέρψαιτο δὲ θυμὸν,
Ἄνδρας τ' εἰσορόων, καλλιζώνους τε γυναῖκας,
Νῆάς τ' ὠκείας, ἦδ' αὐτῶν χρήματα πολλά.

Hom. Hymn Apoll. Del. 146.

See Grote's Hist. Greece, vol. iii. p. 224.

[4] Thucyd. iii. 104, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατελύθε ὑπὸ ξυμφορων, ὡς εἰκὸς.—κ. τ. λ. The Thucydidæan version of that part of the Homeric Hymn quoted in this sect. (104) differs widely from all the MSS.

[5] (ἀνηρ πολυπλανής) Agath. i. 1, *ut ante.*

subsequently by the family traditions of those whose ancestors had taken part in these great festivals. The dialect of Ionia would now necessarily become the most graceful medium for narrative, both from the Homeric precedent and from its continuous series of mytho-historic writers. Here, then, was a language so beautifully adapted to his purpose, that Herodotus, though a Dorian by birth, selected it voluntarily; a circumstance the more remarkable, as the Doric was undoubtedly the haughtiest of the Grecian races.[1] Again, this dialect,

Dialectic fitness.

[1] We here present our readers with the beautiful remarks of Professor Jacobs (Vorzug der Griechischen Sprache, in ihren Mundarten) on the peculiar adaptation of the Ionic dialect to graceful narrative. "Was it only," he observes, "the accident by which the singer of the Iliad happened to be born beneath the sky of Ionia that moulded the Ionian dialect for ever to epic poetry, and a greater accident still, perhaps the whim of the moment, that moved the thoughtful Herodotus to prefer, in his inestimable work, the same language to the Doric, which was his mother-tongue, or to the Attic, which was just then shooting forth its fairest scions? We must therefore look about us for another, and a more satisfactory explanation. It is admitted by all who have followed out its history with attention, that civilization in Greece was more thoroughly unfolded by a natural growth than elsewhere, and that its crowning blossoms opened only when every other portion of the wondrous plant had been entirely matured. The mind of man, in Hellas, followed the most natural course in putting forth its powers, as it did in no other country, and among no other people. It awoke like a laughing infant under the soft heaven of Ionia. Here it enjoyed a life exempt from drudgery, among fair festivals and solemn assemblies, full of sensibility and frolic, joy, innocent curiosity, and child-like faith. Surrendered to the outer world and inclined to all that was attractive by novelty, beauty, and greatness, it was here the people listened, with great eagerness, to the history of the men and heroes, whose deeds, adventures, and wanderings filled a former age with their renown, and when they were echoed in song, moved to ecstasy the breast of the hearers. It was thus that the poets first took up those heroic legends here as the most favourable materials for their art, and from the legend by degrees sprang the epic poem. The narrative was clear, imaginative, picturesque, varied, and minute, as the youthful feelings of the age and of the listening multitude required. That the deed should be mirrored in the song; that every form should stand forth distinct and lively; that even in single parts the whole should be shadowed out: in a word, that the glorious world of heroes should move in perfect dignity and serene poetic splendour;—this was the aim of the epic poet, as of every one in whose fresh and vigorous fancy a subject kindled into life is struggling for utterance. The Ionic dialect answered this purpose the most completely. As the hexameter is and must be the peculiar metre of epic poetry, so may the Ionic dialect also be regarded as its peculiar organ, not only because it furnishes the greatest multitude of lively and picturesque expressions, but the greatest variety of forms, in the most comprehensive sense of the term. As among all measures, the hexameter moves most freely within the limits of law, so the Ionic dialect, even in its ancient form, enjoys the greatest and most graceful freedom in its resolutions and contractions, as well as in the loose connection of sentences, the free movement of its numbers, and even in the carelessness which it makes use of as a natural right. Its entire character is diffusive, unfolding its structure part by part, playful and episodical as the genius of epic poetry itself, which, in its free movements, aims at nothing so much as at clear, minute, and natural representation. When this adaptation had once been seized upon, in its full perfection, by the lively perception of the Greeks, through the Homeric poems, they never could have conceived the thought of separating what had grown together or of exchanging an organic part for another arbitrarily put on. But epic poetry, in a later time, and with a less picturesque language, could by no means be

still more than any other, would be the lingua franca of the Hellenic race; embracing not only their European settlements, but the Asiatic coast—much of Asia, and the colonies in the northern coasts of Africa.

We have already seen, from the inherent difficulties attendant on obtaining a legitimate "Life" of our author, that we must be content to receive from antiquity notices which have served as the basis of Herodotean biography, where they do not militate against authorities of superior weight for fidelity and for chronological exactness. Few writers have attracted so irresistibly the investigations of profound scholars and of enthusiastic admirers as Herodotus; and the names of Larcher, Valckenaer, Wesseling, Schweighauser, Gaisford, Creuzer, Dahlman, Baehr, and a host of other commentators, show the high estimation in which the great father of history has been increasingly held by the literary world. This illustrious historian was born at Halicarnassus,[1] in Asia Minor, in the first year of the 740th Olympiad, B.C. 484. A Dorian by extraction, and of distinguished family, we learn from the same authority[2] that the name of his father was Lyxes, his mother Dyro, his brother Theodorus. Panyasis, an illustrious poet, was another relative; so that by connection as well as by personal position, he was eminently qualified for the high object which he early contemplated. Herodotus, born ten years after the unsuccessful insurrection of Asiatic Greece,[3] soon left his native country, which had been completely enthralled by the grandson of the celebrated Artemisia, the tyrant Lygdamis, by whom his uncle, Panyasis, had been cruelly put to death.

Distinguished commentators on, and editors of, Herodotus.

Birth of Herodotus, 740th Ol. B. C. 484.

Parentage.

That practical course of mental training, which in Europe proceeds from books to men, was not adequately available at the era of Herodotus; and the converse order of acquiring knowledge had been

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remoulded, and what had bloomed in the infancy of the nation, if it lasted to mature age, could not but remain in its first and original simplicity. Hence there neither was nor could be Attic or Dorian epic poetry, but it remained what it was, and must needs be, at its origin, Ionic in spirit, melody, language, and measure. Hence we may also easily explain the use of the Ionic dialect in the Muses of the Dorian Herodotus. As the rhapsodies of Homer are the epos of poetry, so the wondrous and enchanting work of Herodotus is the epos of history. The wanderings of the much-enduring Ulysses embrace the whole extent of the then known or imagined world, and many great deeds of heroes, the various manners of men and of nations, countries and cities; and Herodotus works into the rich and lively picture that he unrols before us the deeds of elder and later times, the migrations of tribes and their kings, wonderful and pleasant adventures, wise and significant discourses, remarkable manners and modes of life among the people, extraordinary appearances of nature, and products of the laborious skill of man. Here too all is picturesque, lively, and minute. But the Doric dialect was no suitable organ for this epic spirit, and it might well have seemed impossible to shape it over for this purpose at a time when its character was already firmly fixed. Thus he adopted what was ready to his hands, the Ionic dialect, consecrated to epic poetry, and therefore suitable for his historical epos."

[1] Herod. i. 1; Clint. Fast. Hell. 29.

[2] Suidas in Vit. Herod.

[3] Dahlman, Herod., Aus seinem Buche, sein Leben.

the prevailing system from Ulysses downwards.[1] We accordingly find our author, in early manhood, when probably about twenty-five years of age, entering upon that course of patient and observant travel which was to render his name illustrious as a philosophic tourist. The shores of the Hellespont, Scythia, and the Euxine Sea; Syria, Egypt, Palestine, Colchis, the northern parts of Africa, Ecbatana, and even Babylon, were the objects of his unwearied research. On his return from these important travels, we find him settling in Samos, for the power of Lygdamis was still paramount in Halicarnassus. A strong party, desirous of crushing the power of the tyrant, still remained in that state. But a master spirit, well acquainted with the resources of the party, and the means of ensuring unanimity, was required to direct the springs of the enterprise. Such an one was found in Herodotus, who, urged by a desire to avenge his slaughtered relative, and to secure the independence of his country, lent his powerful aid, and carried the revolution to a triumphant conclusion. The tyrant was dethroned. The downfal of this oppressor failed, however, to secure the freedom of the people: a powerful oligarchy promptly seized the vacant position, and our historian, deeply read in the selfishness of human nature, and despairing to effect the desired result, bade his country a final adieu. Soon, however, seeking that distinction which even the disasters of his native land tended to advance, he proceeded to Olympia, where those games which formed the glory of Greece were in actual celebration. Here, amidst the vehement applause of the assembled Greeks, we are told he recited his work, which was honoured by the flattering title of the Nine Muses. On this occasion it was that Thucydides, then a youth, touched by the noble ambition of future excellence, was affected even to tears by the recitation of Herodotus. "Olorus," said the historian to the youth's father, "thy son is enthusiastically fond of science."[2] Subsequently to this, for

Journey of Herodotus.

Heads the combination against Lygdamis.

Leaves Halicarnassus.

Lucian's logopæic account of Herodotus at Olympia.

[1] Odyss. i. 4:—

Wandering from clime to clime, observant strayed,
Their manners noted and their tastes surveyed.

Pope's Odyssey, i. 5, 6.

[2] In presenting this popular and highly interesting account of Herodotus and Thucydides at Olympia, we are bound to remark that chronology has shaken the confidence once felt in its accuracy; at the same time we furnish the reader with the result of Dahlman's scrutiny on this point (Herodotus, Aus seinem Buche, sein Leben) and the remarks of Heeren, who observes (Anc. Greece, c. xiv. n. 1), "That Thucydides was not present as a hearer of Herodotus is clearly proved by Dahlman, pp. 20 and 216. Had he, as a youth of sixteen, in the year 456 B. C., listened to Herodotus, he must have formed his purpose of becoming an historian at least two-and-thirty years before he carried it into effect, and before he had chosen a subject; for his biographer, Marcellinus, informs us that he did not write his history till after his exile, that is, after the year 424 B. C. The narrative of Lucian, that Herodotus read his history aloud at Olympia, contains no date; the assumption that it was in 456 B. C. rests on the anecdote about Thucydides, which Lucian does not mention. Why then may it not have taken place at a later day? Lucian may have coloured the narrative, but hardly invented it. That such readings took place, not before the whole people, but only before those interested, follows of

twelve years continuously, we find Herodotus prosecuting his historical and geographical investigations, travelling principally in the Grecian provinces; when once more stimulated by previous triumphs, and possibly by the consciousness of enlarged information and greater accuracy in his work, he is described as again reciting his composition before an Athenian audience, at the august festival of the Panathenæa. The delighted assembly presented our author with ten talents, for the noble manner in which he had recorded the glories of their ancestors.[1] We might now naturally have anticipated that after a triumph so signal, Herodotus would have finally settled either at Athens or in Ionia. But he did not. Powerful motives must have induced a deviation from so natural a course. It is not improbable that the narration of certain facts, apparently incredible to the Greeks, may have rendered him the object of that incredulous laugh which not even "the stern philosopher can bear."[2]

Plutarch's Herodotus at the Panathenæa.

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course; and if Herodotus read, not his whole work, but only a part of it (and his work was probably finished by portions), the difficulties suggested by Dahlman disappear. These remarks are designed, not to prove the truth of the narrative, but to show that it does not involve improbabilities."

Amongst other difficulties, the following have been suggested:—First, that the work of Herodotus contains many allusions which *belong to a later date than the recitation at Olympia.* Secondly, that no one could have read a work like that of Herodotus' in the open air and under a burning July sun. And thirdly, that only a small number of those present could possibly have heard it. The first difficulty is not insuperable, since these facts might have been introduced during the residence of Herodotus at Thurii; nor is it necessary to find ancient evidence of such additions, as it is not probable that Herodotus would allow any copy of his work to go forth till after its complete revision. The second and third objections are not very weighty, since the reader of such a work might either be in a sheltered position, or he might recite in the cooler afterpart of the day; and the circumstance of a few only out of many being able to hear the speaker, would no more disprove the fact than to say that a popular meeting of the present day in the open air never took place, because there were numbers who could not possibly have heard the speaker. A stronger argument against the occurrence of such a recitation is, that 600 years elapsed before the first mention of it, and that the fact is then cited by Lucian, an author, the whole tenor of whose writings shows incontestably what sacrifices of truth he would make for the sake of dramatic effect. Once made, however, the statement was of a character so popular as to be readily embraced, and that tendency to an easy acquiescence which Thucydides so admirably criticises* would pass forward the tale to posterity.†

[1] This popular account rests entirely upon the credit of Plutarch, after whom it was repeated by Eusebius (Chron. p. 169); it is, however, diametrically opposed to chronology. There is a similar report of an Herodotæan recitation at Corinth, dependent upon Dion Chrysostomus (Orat. xxxvii. p. 103), which is entitled to no more confidence than the Olympic tale.

[2] Steph. Byz. says (v. *θούριοι*) that he left to avoid the insatiable Momus (*ἄπλητον Μῶμον ὑπεκφυγών*). The reader need hardly be reminded of the somewhat analogous case of the illustrious traveller Bruce, whose veracity was so sorely impugned.

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* Thucyd. i. 20. See also Herac. Pont. Alleg. Hom. p. 411, *ἀβασανίστως αὐτοῖς ἡ τῆς ἀληθειάς κρίσις ἔρριπται*; and Ælian. Frag. p. 1010, *ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος τε ἀβασανίστῳ γραφῇ τε καὶ ἀταλαιπώρῳ τῆς ἀληθείας. . . . κ. τ. λ.*

† Heyse and Baehr maintain the fact of the recitation, but with little effect. See Baehr's Herod. 1835.

An Athenian colony was just about sailing for Italy, to raise a settlement upon the ruins of Sybaris. With these pioneers of Italian civilization Herodotus sailed,[1] and in the city which they founded, Thurii, he took up his final resting-place, occupying himself with putting in the last touches to his graceful portraiture of the men and manners of his time. Hence, he is sometimes called the historian of Thurii[2] Here in retirement this great writer lived till the time of the Peloponnesian war.[3] The period of his death, though unknown, must have been subsequent to B.C. 408; at which date, as we may easily deduce from his own statements,[4] he was still living at the age of seventy-seven, and engaged on his history. A cenotaph (sometimes confounded with his grave) close to that of Thucydides, and just on the exterior of one of the Athenian gates, was the only spot which marked the reverence of antiquity for the man who had enlightened, elevated, and ennobled Greece.[5]

Settles at Thurii.

His death.

The style of this philosophic history admirably corresponds in sweetness with the various episodes which grace the leading narrative; the practical scope of which is to evince the triumph of civilization over barbarism, and to point the victory of mind over brute force. Before the eventful shock of Marathon, feeble and disparate indeed were the subjects for record; but now, the liberation of Greece, a theme of surpassing glory, patriotic piety, and meet triumph, formed a golden chain by which the affections of Hellas were drawn towards the generation which had striven so long and nobly for her children. The main achievement of our author then was, essentially, a history in the best acceptation of the term, a narrative unfolded by investigation and sealed by truth; a narrative having nought in common with the shadowy forms of antiquity, save the race of heroes which its inspiration had called into life.

Style and scope of the history of Herodotus.

We are now prepared to remark on the diverging tendencies of these noble writings, the more powerful from the entire absence of art. They are twofold. First, they embody the internal policy of Greece, with its attendant victories at Marathon and Platæa, while they evolve her external policy[6] under Agesilaus and Xenophon in Asia. Secondly, they are philosophic; taking the various forms of historical and mythogeographic investigations, antiquities, natural history, and occasional speculative allegories. On the first of these divisions we shall now treat, presenting, in a concise point of view, its chief features.

Diverging tendencies of the history of Herodotus.

[1] Some authors are of opinion that Herodotus did not sail to Thurii with this early expedition, but subsequently.

[2] Pliny, Hist. Nat. xii. 4; Strabo, xiv. 657; Arist. Rhet. iii. 9.

[3] Dion. Hal. De Thucyd. Jud. t. vi. c. v. While at Thurii he appears to have visited several of the Greek settlements in Italy and Sicily.

[4] Herodotus, in his work, mentions many incidental facts, and of these allusions the latest brings us down to B.C. 408.

[5] Marcellinus in Vit. Thucyd.

[6] *Vide* Dr. Arnold's Lectures on History.

[G. L.]

Revolt of the Ionians.

The revolt of the Ionian confederacy[1] drew towards it a naval force from Athens, by whose assistance the Ionians seized on Sardis, which they burned.[2] On receiving intelligence of this disaster, Darius determined to be avenged. He commenced by again subjugating the Ionians,[3] and then despatched a powerful army against Athens.[4]

Defeat of the Persians at Marathon.

At Marathon, the defeat of the Persian power was decisive.[5] Immediately subsequent to this terrible check, Darius was still further exasperated by the insurrection of Egypt,[6] at that time a Persian province; but whilst making still more formidable warlike preparations against Athens, he was cut off by the hand of death.[7] His son and successor, Xerxes, inherited all his father's desire for conquest: there was not wanting in his court a faithful adviser to counsel his youthful imprudence; but the sound judgment shown by Artabanes, the king's uncle, was scornfully rejected by the ambitious monarch. He resolved not only on the destruction of Athens, but the complete subjugation of all Hellas.[8] The narrative given by Herodotus of the mighty force thus led against the Greeks, the immense fleet and the vast magazines of provision, covering the frontier of the Asiatic empire towards Greece, embody the most lively and interesting descriptions.[9] This loud note of preparation continued incessantly for two years, when, on the opening of the succeeding spring, the gigantic armament began its onward movement.[10] After penetrating into Greece, Xerxes first experienced, at the pass of Thermopylæ, a desperate foretaste of the valour of Greece;[11] he next suffered the destruction of his fleet at Salamis,[12] and finally, he was himself forced to fly ignominiously into Asia.[13] His best commander, however, Mardonius, still remained in Greece with a formidable army; but the fortunes of this officer proved as disastrous as those of his royal master; for, in the following year, Platæa witnessed his utter defeat and death.[14] Exactly coincident with this victory of the Greeks at Platæa, a Persian army posted at Mycale,

Xerxes makes preparations for the invasion of Greece.

Defeated at Thermopylæ and Salamis.

Defeat and death of Mardonius at Platæa.

[1] Herod. v. 99. [2] Ibid. 100. [3] Ibid. vi. 6–25.
[4] Ibid. 43. [5] Ibid. 112, *et seq.* [6] Ibid. vii. 1.
[7] Ibid. 4. [8] Ibid. 18.

[9] Παρεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὅπλα ες τας γεφύρας βύβλινά τε καὶ λευκολίνου ἐπιτάξας Φοινιξί τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι, καὶ σιτία τῇ στρατιῇ καταβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ λιμήνειε ἡ στρατιὴ μηδὲ τὰ υποζύγια ἐλαυνόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἀναπευθόμενους δὲ τοὺς χώρους, καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευε, ἵνα ἐπιτηδεώτον ἴιη, ἄλλον ἄλλῃ ἀγινέοντας ὁλκάσι τε καὶ πορθμηΐοισι, ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης πανταχόθεν. See likewise Her. vii. 21, *sub. fin.* The difficulties of furnishing a commissariat for immense bodies of troops in actual service were deeply felt in Napoleon's campaign in Russia. *Vide* Count Ségur's Expedition to Russia.

[10] Herod. vii. 37. [11] Ibid. 233. [12] Ibid. viii. 84.

[13] Ibid. 117. The extent of this calamity is treated by Æschylus, as might be anticipated, with a poetical embellishment somewhat highly coloured:—

"Οσοι δὲ λοιποὶ, κἄτυχον σωτηριάς,
Θρῄκην περάσαντες μόγις πολλῷ πόνῳ
ἧκουσιν ἐκφευγόντες, ου πολλοί τινες,
ἐφ' ἑστιοῦχον γαῖαν. κ. τ. λ.

Vide the remarks on this retreat by Grote (Hist. Greece, vol. v. p. 190).

[14] Herod. ix. 63.

in Caria, experienced the fate of their brethren in Europe;[1] in both cases near the precincts of Eleusinian Ceres.

We have thus drawn the broad outlines of this interesting work, on which the reflecting mind will not fail to remark, that the shock of the east against the west has ever been followed with uniform results, from the day of Marathon downwards, through the crusading field of Ascalon to the plain of Plassy. Here, too, we behold the uniform springs of human nature producing results exactly correlative—unjust aggression ever exciting retaliation. Do we remark this Persian host assaulting the liberties of Greece?—we observe the rebounding scale launch forth the Agesilaus, the glorious Ten Thousand, and finally the avenging Alexander. Do we see the "dire Hannibal" marshalling his imposing array before the gates of Rome?—another glance discloses Scipio, with the terrible Roman, trampling down the rival walls of Carthage. Time rolls on, and an "Invincible Armada" leaves the shores of Spain, to crush the realm of England. Again, the refluent tide rolls back a triumphant navy through succeeding years, till the stronghold of the foe remains in British hands. The tale is repeated in our own day, and requires not an Herodotus to fathom its sources. The hosts of Napoleon rush upon the north, and the descending weight of Europe soon paralyses France. The picture drawn by Herodotus in these cases would have been that of "the outraged gods of the land;" and his moral, "the jealous visitations of the Divinity on presumptuous power."[2] Historical reflections.

We now pass on to consider the second division of our author, embracing antiquities, natural history, &c. Ere we commence our investigation, however, we naturally inquire what were

The Resources of this Ancient Traveller

for the ready prosecution of his arduous researches? We have already seen that he was of noble parentage, and of high consideration in his native city; and from this we may fairly infer, that Herodotus possessed not only influence but considerable wealth. Even discarding this pro-

[1] Herod. ix. 98, 104.

[2] Ibid. i. 32; vii. 46. Compare also the exact counterpart of this sentiment in Sophocles:—

Εἰ δὲ τις ὑπέροπτα χερσὶν
ἢ λόγῳ πορεύεται,
Δίκας ἀφόβητος, οὐδὲ
δαιμόνων ἕδη σέβων,
κακά νιν ἕλοιτο μοῖρα,
δυσπότμου χάριν χλιδᾶς,
εἰ μὴ τὸ κέρδος κερδανεῖ δικαίως,
καὶ τῶν ἀσπέτων ἔρξεται,
ἢ τῶν ἀθίκτων ἕξεται ματάζων. κ. τ. λ.

Œdipus Tyr. 883–891.

We shall have occasion hereafter to touch upon the cause of this singular harmony of sentiment between the poet and historian.

Rights of hospitality.

position, the customary rights of hospitality to the traveller in eastern climes, from the patriarchal[1] age through the Homeric[2] and succeeding ages, would bestow abundant means for the prosecution of his inquiries in the manner most gratifying to the Greek mind. Nor are we in our own time without instances of successful travel by the blind, and by those destitute of pecuniary resources,[3] even in the repulsive regions of the north. In Phœnicia we find the wanderer Ulysses, after an abundant banquet, receiving not only a costly sword with a vest and tunic, but each chief presents the hero with a golden talent, while from his host he receives a golden cup of elaborate design; and, to crown these graceful acts, the queen appropriates from her own stores an elegant coffer to contain the whole.[4] Now, though the heroic hospitality had passed, yet the deep impress left on society at large by customs so adapted to its wants, must have made little practical difference between the Homeric age and that of Herodotus; who in fact, as analogy goes far to prove, would have been hailed with a greeting the more welcome, just in proportion as he left behind him the institutes of artificial society.[5] Again, we have no intimation of any personal peril encoun-

[1] Gen. xviii. 3; xix. 2, *et passim.*

[2] But enter this my homely roof and see
Our woods not void of hospitality;
Then tell me whence thou art, and what the share
Of woes and wanderings thou wert born to bear?
Pope's Odyssey, xiv. 53-56.

See also Iliad, vi. 17, on the hospitable Axylus slain by Tydides:—
In fair Arisbes' walls (his native place)
He held his seat, a friend to human race;
Fast by the road, his ever-open door
Obliged the wealthy and relieved the poor.

[3] See Holman's and Cochrane's Travels.

[4] Hom. Odys. viii. 450:—
Twelve princes in our realm dominion share,
O'er whom supreme imperial power I bear.
Bring gold, a pledge of love; a talent bring,
A vest, a robe, and imitate your king.
* * * * *
L. 491:— A bowl that flames with gold, of wondrous frame,
Ourselves we give, memorial of our name.
* * * * *
L. 501:— Herself the chest prepares; in order roll'd
The robes, the vests are ranged, and heaps of gold.

[5] The hospitality of the North American Indians is well known (see Loskiel, Hist. of the Miss. of the Unit. Breth. amongst the N. Am. Ind., part i. c. ii.) The ancient Germans were celebrated for this virtue: "Cum defecêre qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes, proximam domum non invitati adeunt; nec interest—pari humanitate accipiuntur." Tacit. German. c. xxi. Amongst the Arabs this virtue is not only practically, but poetically celebrated; of Hatem, the most generous of the Arabians, it is said—

يشبه شعره جوده و يصدق قوله فعله

"His poems expressed the charms of beneficence, and his practice evinced that he wrote from the heart." See Pococke's Spec. Hist. Arab.; and Carlyle's Specimens of Arabian Poetry.

tered by our author whilst on his travels; he always appears to be on the best of terms with his informants: this possibly may have arisen as well from the sacred laws of hospitality, as from the insinuating address of the traveller, which is seen through the transparent tracery of his own literary portrait.

To the best authorities in Egypt, the most important point of his antiquarian researches, Herodotus must have had facilitated access through the medium of the Ionic residents.

Settlement of Naucratis.

The settlement of Naucratis, too, founded in the reign of Psammetichus,[1] and vested with extensive privileges in the time of Amasis (whom we find from Herodotus to have been a great admirer of the Hellenes, and whose reign of forty-four years tended still further to consolidate Greek commercial interests), must have proved a most advantageous status, whence to prosecute his inquiries. Here a most important factory, maintained by nine Græco-Asiatic cities, of which four were Ionic, gave additional spirit to the naval enterprise of Halicarnassus, which we find enrolled amongst the supporters of this great emporium.[2]

A religious establishment, corresponding in dignity and wealth to this great commercial speculation, gave to the undertaking the sanctions of the Hellenic religion.[3] Familiar intercourse with this maratimo-corporate body—whose members traded to Africa, Italy, Sicily, the Euxine, and Palestine; whose overland commerce was connected with Babylon, Colchis, the interior of Persia, Scythia, and Syria—would give every information that could be accessible to a traveller in the age and position of Herodotus. Here, at the noble institute of the Hellenium, he would be already advanced a formidable stage on his journey, and yet experience all the feeling and security of home that a Greek could possibly enjoy in a foreign country. Pecuniary assistance, if required; recommendations to established trading posts or to foreign agents; advice as to the best modes of procedure and the most eligible track for travel; previous warnings of national dangers, or national peculiarities; the mode of effectually conciliating the more intractable tribes: these, and many others,

Institute of the Hellenium.

[1] Πλεύσαντες γὰρ ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχου τριάκοντα ναυσὶν Μιλήσιοι . . . . . πόλιν ἔκτισαν Naύκρατιν, οὐ πολὺ τῆς Σχεδίας ὕπερθεν. Strabo, xviii. 801.

[2] "Naucratis was for a long time the privileged port for Grecian commerce with Egypt. No Greek merchant was permitted to deliver goods in any other port, or to enter any other of the mouths of the Nile except the Kanopic. If forced into any of them by stress of weather, he was compelled to make oath that his arrival was a matter of necessity, and to convey his goods round by sea into the Kanopic branch to Naucratis; and if the weather still forbade such a proceeding, the merchandise was put into barges and conveyed round to Naucratis by the internal canals of the Delta. Such a monopoly, which made Naucratis in Egypt something like Canton in China, or Nangasaki in Japan, no longer subsisted in the time of Herodotus. But the factory of the Hellênion was in full operation and dignity, and very probably he himself may have profited by its advantages." Grote's Hist. Greece, vol. iii. p. 448.

[3] Herod. ii. 178.

would be the advantages furnished by actual intercourse at the Hellenic station of Naucratis,—a position so much the more desirable, as it placed at his disposal the whole result of Egyptian and Phœnician experience.

We have now to take into consideration

The Indirect Sources of Information

possessed by our author. The mind of Herodotus had been evidently imbued with the noblest maxims of the Ionic philosophy, which everywhere sheds a mild light over his writings; and his familiar acquaintance with the poems of Hesiod and Homer, would naturally give a zest to that love of nature and of independent travel, so beautifully painted in the pages of the latter: it was fitting that the representative of the epos of prose[1] should enjoy the free wanderings of the father of poetry. With the writings of Simonides, Alcæus, Sappho, Pindar, and Æschylus, he was familiar; and he had read, as we have before shown, the works of the best logographers.

Herodotus and Sophocles.

But not only with these writings was Herodotus acquainted. He enjoyed the personal friendship of the noblest representative of the Tragic Muse in Greece—Sophocles,[2] whose high-toned philosophy breathes a solemn melody responsive to the religious reflections of our author. Here, from this lofty source, he doubtless caught the pure rays of that hallowed fire which shed its lustre on Euripides: the intimacy thus formed must have been of the most delightful character; and the result was a poem addressed to Herodotus by the great tragic writer, the title of which breathes the most tender simplicity.[3] With a mind thus enlightened, thus fortified with the precepts of philosophy, and prepared to acquiesce in the fated decrees of the Divinity,[4] he was well qualified to enter upon his arduous career. If he brought not to his investigations the profound political sagacity of Thucydides—if he evolved not from his inquiries maxims for the future statesman—he yet possessed that native Greek quickness of perception, that enabled him to take in objects at a single glance in their fairest proportions; and a sentiment so benevolent, as to carry along with him the feelings of his reader.

But we must now rapidly pass on to investigate

The Direct Sources of our Author's Information.

These may be classed under two heads; viz., Hieratic and Demotic: to the former, we may refer the majority of results presented to us in

[1] Μόνος Ἡρόδοτος Ὁμηρικώτατος ἐγένετο. Long. De Sub.

[2] *Vide* Donaldson's interesting notice on this subject in the Transactions of the Philosophical Society, vol. i. No. 15.

[3] Ὠιδὴν Ἡροδότῳ τεύξειν Σοφοκλῆς ἐτέων ὧν
πεντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα·
Plut. An Seni, sit Gerend. Respub. iii. 784.

[4] τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατά ἐστι ἀποφυγέειν καὶ θεῷ. Herod. i. 191.

the Egypt of Herodotus; to the latter, local legends or personal observation. There is one canon, however, laid down by our author very decidedly, which he applies indifferently to either source, viz., *that he considers it his duty to relate what is told him ;*[1] *but as to his giving implicit credence to everything, he does not consider himself bound to do so at all ;* " *and let this my remark,*" he adds, " *hold good with respect to this entire history :*" and this is his practice, however sceptical he himself may be.[2] This does not preclude his sometimes subjoining an independent opinion of his own, where the tale seems very extraordinary. On other occasions we find him rationalizing spontaneously, where a marvellous legend seems at all capable of the process, as in the case of the feathers that fall in Scythia, " with which the atmosphere is so replete, as to hide the extent of the continent ;" this he very naturally defines to be snow.[3] He again gives his opinion that the two doves, the one at the grove of Dodona,[4] the other in Libya, are allegorical representations of two priestesses; the one black, the other white: this satisfies his mind. But, on the other hand, he does not rationalize the tale of the two wolves that lead the blindfolded priest to the temple of Ceres, twenty stadia from the city, who afterwards bring him back to the same point.[5] He does not rationalize the tale of Abaris[6] the Hyperborean, who was carried by an arrow over the world without eating; nor again, that of the Argippæi, who inform him that certain mountains are inhabited by the Aigipodes, or goat-footed men;[7] nor again, the

Canon of Herodotus.

Rationalizing tendencies of Herodotus.

His non-rationalizing.

[1] Ἐγῶ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τα λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαί γὲ μὲν ων οὐ παντάπασι ὀφείλω καὶ μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔχέτω ἐς πάντα τὸν λόγον. Herod. vii. 152. This canon contrasts most favourably with that of Firdausi, the poetic historian of early Persian events, who, after observing that " whatever he relates is taken from records," and desiring his reader " not to imagine his history a fabulous falsity " تو این را دروغ فسانه مدان is inconsistent enough to observe, in another part, that much of what he had written was pure fable. *Vide* گفتار اندر فراهم اوردن شاه نامه p. ۸, Lumsd. Sh. Nam. Calcut. 1811.

[2] Herod. ii. 123.

[3] Ibid. iv. 31.

[4] Ibid. ii. 55. We learn from Dion. Halic. Ars Rhetor. i. 6, Strabo, that the Dodonæan oak itself was once gifted with the faculty of speech.

[5] Ibid. 113.

[6] Ibid. iv. 36. See Higgins's Celtic Druids, and Creuzer's Symbol., both of whom are of opinion that Abaris was a Druidical priest. That profound antiquarian, Gen. Vallancey, observes (De Rebus Hibernicis) that Abaris was the priest of Apollo or Baal—" Abar-ais," *i. e.* " one on whom dependence may be placed." Himerius says " he was affable and pleasant in conversation; in despatching great affairs, secret and industrious; a searcher after wisdom, and having everything entrusted to him for his prudence; his dress common to the Airē Cotī and Chaldeans; he wore the فَلُوت or plaid. He came to Athens holding a bow in his hand, having a quiver on his shoulder, his body wrapped up in a plaid, girt about the loins with a gilded belt, and wearing trousers reaching from the belt downwards."

[7] There appears to be a singular coincidence in the vein of popular superstition ranging between these Thraco-Grecian legends and those of the uninformed Persians

race of men who sleep six months at a time:[1] nor will he attempt to adapt the legend of Hercules slaying a thousand men;[2] nor as little

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of the present day. Compare the Gorgon with the "Sil," an imaginary serpent-monster with a quasi-human face, the sight of which makes every creature fly, and whose near approach is instant death. Compare with Pegasus and Bellerophon (90) "Raksh," a winged monster, subdued and tamed by Hoshang, and mounted by him in all his wars against the Diws. The "Suham," too, conquered by Sām Narīmān, has the head of a horse and the body of a flame-coloured dragon:—

Ἵππον πτερόεντ' ἀναβὰς δ' εὐθὺς ἐνόπλια χαλκωθεὶς ἔπαιζεν.
σὺν δέ κείνῳ καὶ ποτ' Ἀμαζονίδων
ἀιθέρας ψυχρᾶς ἀπὸ κόλπων ἐρήμου
τοξόταν βάλλων γυνακεῖον στρατόν
καὶ Χίμαιραν πῦρ πνέοισαν καὶ Σολύμους ἔπεφνεν.
Pind. Ol. xiii. 86–90.

For additional analogies of a striking nature there are ample materials.

[1] The modern Persian legend acknowledges the "Goolīm Goshān," a race of sleepers, whose ears serve, *the one for a counterpane, the other for a mattress.*

[2] The connection between Egypt and Judæa, so often noticed in the Scriptures, and the occasional alliances on the one hand, and the trade of the Phœnicians with both countries on the other, are quite sufficient to account for the disguise in which several scriptural facts appear in Herodotus; for instance, Hercules slaying a thousand men, is evidently an Egyptian version of Samson's exploit at Ramath Lehi (Judg. xv. 17); and the *taking of Hercules to the altar* to be sacrificed, and his *putting forth his strength and slaying them every one* when they began the solemnities (ii. 45), shows that the slaughter of the Philistines was mixed up with Samson's pulling down the temple of Dagon at Gaza (Judg. xvi. 30). Again, Herodotus (ii. 42) is told by the people of the Theban nome, who wish to account for their sacrificing sheep and not goats, "that Hercules was very desirous of seeing Jupiter; Jupiter did not wish to be seen; he therefore skinned a ram, cut off the head, which he held before him, next wrapped himself in the fleece, and thus *showed himself* to Hercules." Now though the ram may have been adapted by the Egyptians to emblematic astronomy, it is more decidedly emblematic of fact. Hercules wishing to *see*, *i. e.* offer sacrifice to Jupiter, is the Egyptian garbled account of Abraham about to sacrifice his son. Jupiter does not wish to be *seen*, *i. e.* God does not wish to receive the sacrifice; he causes a ram to be slain, however, and with this sacrificial intervention *shows* himself to Abraham. Abraham's sojourn in Egypt, his intimate connection with that country, and the high antiquity of that connection—these at once prove the source of the Egyptian tale, and account for its perversion; the "*seeing*" and "*showing*" in Herodotus involve devotional Hebraisms that throw a still stronger light upon this source. The very Hebrew term Amon, "*faithful*," closely connects this history with the title given to Abraham. Again, we find the same disposition to Egyptianize foreign history in the account given to Herodotus (ii. 141) of Sennacherib king of the Assyrians' invasion of Egypt. Herodotus was told "that the field-mice poured forth in legions against the enemy *during the night*, and ate up their quivers, bows, and shield-thongs, so that the next day, a multitude of the invaders, being deprived of their arms, fell in the flight." With the Egyptians the mouse was emblematic of destruction (Horapoll. Hierogl. i. 50). Hence, after appropriating to themselves the Jewish history (2 Kings, xviii. 19; 2 Chron. xxxii.), they not only emblematized that destruction, but applied the emblem in its literal sense. Herodotus records the capture by Pharo Necos of Cadytis (called by the Arabs El-Cods, the holy city, *i. e.* Jerusalem) and his victory over the Syrian forces at Magdolus. This time the Egyptian credit was safe, and we accordingly find greater harmony with the Scripture account. See 2 Kings, xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 22.

does he start an exegetic theory, for Rhampsinitus' descending into the place that the Greeks consider Hades, to play at dice with Ceres, sometimes getting the advantage of the goddess, at others the goddess beating him.[1] Nor, finally, does he adapt a theory for the Phœnix, which is said to come out of Arabia, bringing his father with him to the temple of the Sun, embalmed in myrrh, and there burying him.[2] No; these tales of travellers are too monstrous for him, he hazards a positive doubt of them; and to both hierophantic and demotic informant, he applies but one standard, and that is Nature:[3] and his conclusion is, that such things cannot be. But though, as a Greek, he can probably see nothing impossible in the legend of the one-eyed Cyclops, or the golden fleece; yet he has a positive qualm about the one-eyed Arimaspi, and the griffons that guard the gold. Again, he can readily grant that the era of Semele antedates his time sixteen hundred years:[4] nay more, he does not make any objection to the Egyptian chronology, which carries back their god Osiris, or Bacchus, fifteen thousand years from Amasis, B. C. 550. These dates, he observes, "the Egyptians assert they know accurately, as they have always kept an account, and have always registered the years."[5] There was amongst the Egyptian priesthood, in common with the Pythagoreans, an initiation into esoteric and exoteric doctrines. Now just as the ancient oracles were a systematized type of futurity, the transition to a systematized allegory of the past would be easy. Here, then, we probably have the key to that prodigious chronology, if not to many of the extraordinary tales which Herodotus received from the priests; these he takes in their literal sense, whilst the hieratic interpretation is in the possession alone of the sacerdotal caste.[6] The east has ever been the land of apologue and allegory;

Herodotus easy of faith upon chronological subjects.

Allegorical chronology and history.

[1] Rhampsinitus receives a golden napkin from Ceres, seemingly typical of a rich harvest.

[2] *Vide* a most able article on the Allegoric Phœnix by Vallancey (Ouseley's Orient. Collect.), typical of a cycle. Boulanger observes, "Quoiqu'il en soit, le phenix n'a eté dans son principe qu'une signe chronique, qu'une symbole cyclique, qui a eté personifié comme tant d'autres."

[3] Κως φυσιν εχει; κ. τ. λ. Herod. ii 45. See Grote's Hist. Greece, vol. i. 532–534.

[4] Herod. ii. 145.

[5] .... ἀεί τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ ἀει ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτεα.—ii. 145.

[6] Compare the Cycle of the Phœnix (note [2], *supra*) with the Brahminical "*day*" and "*night*" of Brahma:—

सहस्रयुगपर्यन्तमहर्यें ब्रह्मणो विदुः
रात्रिं युगसहस्रान्तां ते ऽहोरात्रविदो जनाः

"Those who know that the day of Brahma ends with a thousand yoogs, and his night with a thousand, these individuals really know what day and night are," (Bhagavad Geeta, viii.) With these compare the occult "*seventy weeks*" of Daniel, the "thousand years" of the Revelation, and the Chaldee formula, "a time, times, and a half." As the word "yoog" literally signifies "a joining," it has been con-

and we cannot determine how far a complete course of the latter may have been successfully engrafted upon the earliest forms of devotion.

Our author certainly appears to have had a species of initiation into the Pelasgic rites of the Cabiri,[1] the Bacchic rites,[2] and those of the Thesmophoria;[3] all these, in modified forms, were Hellenic ceremonies; but they therefore by no means invest him with the science of the Egyptian priesthood: nay, on the contrary, we know that he was refused admittance to the subterranean apartments of the labyrinth.[4] His initiation, then, would be applicable to a ceremonial participation, and possibly a comprehension of their recondite signification; but beyond the pale of these isolated mysteries, they would not carry him. Again, it is not probable that Herodotus, who was obliged to refer to the sacerdotal caste to interpret inscriptions, would be able to gain access to, much less to comprehend, their immense repository of symbolic knowledge.

Extent of Herodotus's initiation intoEgyptian mysteries.

As to the Egyptian system, then, of general worship, and its typical mysteries, he undoubtedly knew much; farther than this, without a long training in the hieratic literature, he could not advance.[5]

His slender knowledge of the hieroglyphic character.

Herodotus, indeed, translates Egyptian terms very frequently, but then they are demotic: thus, he tells us the meaning of the word "asmach,"[6] "the men that stand on the king's left hand;" but when he reads an inscription upon the pyramid, he is indebted to an interpreter; he "perfectly remembers[7] the interpreter's reading to him the inscription." Herodotus, indeed, gives the signification of the hieroglyphics on two of the images set up by Sesostris; but it is to be remembered that they were in Ionia, where so observant a traveller would copy the inscriptions, and obtain the interpretation in Egypt.

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jectured that the "yoogs" are really astronomical periods formed by the coincidence of certain cycles. Compare Plato's notions on the esoteric sense contained in the old poets: *παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων, μετὰ ποιήσεως ἐπικρυπτομένων τους πολλ. κ. τ. λ.* (Theætet. xciii. 180). See also Pausan. on the religious duty of studying and interpreting the sacred ænigmas of the ancients, viii. 2. *Vide* also the valuable chapter (vol. i. chap. xvi.) on the ancient handling of allegories in Grote's Hist. Greece.

[1] Herod. ii. 51. [2] Ibid. 49. [3] Ibid. 171.

[4] Herod. ii. 148. Their declining to show these apartments, on the score of their containing the bodies of their monarchs, and of the sacred crocodiles, evinces the limited extent of Herodotus' initiation. There are ample materials in Herodotus alone to form a good chapter on antique freemasonry.

[5] We know that the Jewish lawgiver "was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" (Acts, vii. 22), and that his position, from long residence and from his status at the court of Pharoah, was in every way superior to the case of a temporary visitor like Herodotus. This wisdom was necessarily of a scientific cast, as the rigid devotion of the Hebrew legislator to his religion made him refuse to be called the son of Pharoah's daughter (Heb. xi. 24), but it would not preclude his having access to the Egyptian archives, which no doubt contained a considerable collection of MSS. (Herod. ii. 100) on scientific as well as chronological subjects.

[6] Herod. ii. 30.

[7] Ibid. 125: *ὡς μὲν ἐμὲ εὖ μεμνῆσθαι.*

Here, for the acquisition of the popular language he had great facilities, as there was a distinct body of interpreters descended from those young Egyptians who, by command of Psammetichus, had been trained in the Greek language by the Ionian settlers;[1] indeed, there seems to have been no lack of such facilities wherever Greek commerce was concerned, even in the most barbarous regions, since we find that "the Scythians, who perform this journey (to the Argippæi), transact business in seven different languages, through the medium of seven different interpreters."[2] In the course of his travels, Herodotus does not appear to have used any commonplace-book; he is generally indebted to his memory, a notice of which we have just given. A man so accustomed to call this faculty into vigorous requisition —trained, as it previously must have been, by the range of legend taken in by the Homeric cycle—would have little need of extraneous assistance.

Position of Egyptian informants.

We would now pause to notice the position of our author's hieratic informants in Egypt. Here we observe a body of men, from motives of interest pledged to uphold both the dignity of their order, the fame of their sovereigns, and the high antiquity of their institute. We have already seen to what an extravagant extent their chronology has ranged, with what perfect good nature our traveller has acquiesced in the claim, and with what an easy faith he imbibes every pedigree. To debit a traveller possessing so much complaisant *bonhommie* with a series of accounts as weighty as he might well manage to audit, there would be a strong temptation. Under some of these, however, Herodotus seems to have broken down, and his informants to have overshot the mark; yet in no one instance do they retract or qualify their statements: this would have had a tendency to lower their dignity. We may, in fact, infer that they felt the necessity of making a good tale, and our author certainly loved to hear one.[3]

Natural doubts of Herodotus.

The bursar of one of these temples, Herodotus says, with much simplicity,[4] seemed at best to be only joking with him in asserting that he (the bursar) knew the sources of the Nile perfectly well; whereas, observes Herodotus, "of all the Egyptians, Libyans, and Greeks that I ever conversed with, no one professed to be acquainted at all with the sources of the Nile, but the bursar of Minerva's temple in Sais." The stationary position of this officer might well cause a shade of incredulity to pass across our author's mind. What fees may have been received by such local ciceroni, we know not; but it is not improbable, that in proportion to the amount of marvellous fact

[1] Herod. ii. 153.

[2] Ibid. iv. 24.

[3] This fondness for romance in the Athenians is humorously ridiculed by Lucian (vol. iii. chap. ii., iii., iv.), who observes that the "strangers who came to see the antiquities of the city would not be satisfied to hear from the guides who showed them the simple truth, though they should hear it gratis."

[4] Herod. ii. 28.

or embellished romance, just so would the visits of strangers be graduated.[1]

Demotic source of information.

We now pass on to remark principally upon the Demotic source of information presented to our author; and here we have a more general dependence upon the accuracy of results, where those results arise from personal observation; accordingly we find national customs portrayed in lively colours, and chorography careful noted, nor is it until he introduces some startling native legend, that we recognize the traveller, and not the historian: we have, however, his canon always at hand, by which to be guided. How observantly does he note the consecration of various days and months to special deities;[2] the mode of embalming;[3] the description of the hippopotamus;[4] the Egyptian national airs;[5] the accordance of the Egyptian with the Pythagorean and Orphic rites in discarding woollen clothing;[6] the minute divisions of the Egypto-medical system.[7] How carefully does he record the sleeping of the marsh population on the summit of their high towers to avoid the mosquitoes;[8] and the singular protection of the fishing-net to the residents in the vicinity of the marshes.[9] The ordinary style of living, too, is as currently, yet as carefully drawn.

Egyptian customs.

The use of a species of beer amongst the Egyptians,[10] their living with the brute creation; these are equally noted with the result of his personal inquiries relative to the Scythian soothsayers;[11] the barbarous drinking-cups,[12] and other savage customs of that wild country. Scientific inventions, also, are equally the objects of his rapid but accurate outline; land-surveying, the clock, the sun-dial,[13] these pass quickly under review. It would exceed our narrow limits to remark upon a

[1] Compare the remarks of St. Paul on this Ionic tendency amongst the Athenians (Acts, xvii. 21), who "spend their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear *some new thing*."

[2] Herod. ii. 82. In Persia, every month was supposed to be under the guardianship of an angel, from whom it received its name; and every day had its angel of secondary degree. September is named "Mihr," the angel supposed to superintend the orb of the sun; and the sixteenth day of every month is called "Mihr," in consequence of which they imagined that the horn of an ox (a creature sacred to the sun) killed on that day must be impregnated with extraordinary and anti-demoniacal virtues. *Vide* Richardson's Persian Lex. 1829, art. "Kosah-nishīn." *Vide* also Jablonski, Panth. iii. 6; Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 427.

[3] Herod. ii. 86. [4] Ibid. 71. [5] Ibid. 79.
[6] Ibid. 81. [7] Ibid. 84. [8] Ibid. 95.

[9] In summer the Egyptians still sleep upon their houses to avoid gnats. *Vide* Trans. of Entomolog. Soc. 1834, where Mr. Spence observes, that a net, or even a few lines of thread, drawn before a window, will prevent a house-fly from entering.

[10] Herod. ii. 77. See also Hecat. Frag. 290: τὰς κριθὰς εἰς τὸ πῶμα καταλίουσιν. *Vide* also Septuag. Is. xix. 10: καὶ πάντες οἱ ποτόυντες τὸν ζύθον λελυπηθήσονται.

[11] Herod. iv. 67.

[12] Ibid. 65. See Vallancey, "De rebus Ibernicis," p. 275, on the continuance of this custom amongst the Celts, in his remark on a passage in the Chronicle de Monstrelet, vol. i. p. 268.

[13] Herod. ii. 109.

tithe of his observant sketches; with two more, however, we will conclude, because they embrace a subject of great interest in the present day—we allude to the science of engineering. Our author here relates two enterprises undertaken by that great mercantile community, the Samians; the first, the construction of a tunnel, through a mountain, 4,247 feet in length, in the centre of which ran an aqueduct, conveying water from a copious spring; the second, a breakwater surrounding the harbour, 100 fathoms in depth, and in length exceeding 1,213 feet.[1] These spirited enterprises may serve to convey some idea of the engineering science of this early period, and of the abundant resources thus drawn together and expended by a wealthy maritime community. If, however, our author is a careful and a rapid observer, as well as a pleasing companion on our path, the pliant and highly poetic cast of his mind render him sometimes a hazardous guide in philosophical speculation, when dependent either on the exact sciences, or on the doctrine of experience. He ventures on a theory of the rise of the Nile,[2] on the peculiar appearances of gregarious fish leaving that river, and returning to it;[3] hazards the opinion that "Europe is known to exceed the length of the two other continents put together;"[4] strangely considers Sardinia as the largest island in the world;[5] he is "certain that it would take less than ten thousand years for the deposits of the Nile to fill up the Arabian Gulf, if directed thither."[6] In these instances we generally see the application of theories sufficiently plausible to satisfy the lively imagination of the Grecian traveller, though possibly an Aristotle, or an Archimedes, might require more exact proof.

Ancient engineering.

Theories of Herodotus.

Very few, however, are the instances in which our author is in error, where personal inspection points the result; and to the accuracy of this class of information, time has borne a testimony increasingly strong, of which we shall shortly have occasion to speak. Even here, however, he is sometimes, though rarely, at fault; as for instance, when the movement of the crocodile's head was of such a nature as to lead him to imagine that "the animal does not move the lower jaw, but brings the upper down to the lower;" this being a mere *deceptio visus*, is very pardonable in an individual who has furnished such a mass of valuable information on almost every point. We must ever bear in mind that Herodotus does not profess to be a classifier of facts—no, he is a delightful companion, who does not trammel the mind with an operation so artificial; and no effort is required to keep pace with one whose tale of travel flows as easily as his kindly spirit. His resolution, however, to get the most accurate information is most self-denying and energetic. He will measure the pyramid himself;[7] he is nothing daunted by difficulty nor distance; he undertakes a

Effects of personal observation.

[1] Herod. ii. 62.
[2] Ibid. xxii. 25.
[3] Ibid. ii. 93. See Aristotle's explanation of this (Nat. Hist. i. 185, Schneid.)
[4] Ibid. iv. 45.
[5] Ibid. i. 170; v. 106; vi. 2.
[6] Ibid. ii. 11.
[7] Ibid. ii. 171.

voyage to Tyre in Phœnicia, "anxious," as he observes, "to get correct information" relative to Hercules; here again he has recourse to the sacerdotal caste—he "enters into conversation with the priests of the god,"[1] just as was his constant practice in Egypt; he visits Dodona;[2] he is carefully observant at Delphi;[3] is at the rich temple of Apollo at Abœ;[4] and far from resting satisfied with the hieratic announcements of each separately, he is determined to verify them by instituting a comparative investigation; he tests the narratives at Memphis by those at Thebes and Heliopolis, "wishing to ascertain if the accounts there would harmonise with those at Memphis."[5] As if still farther to augment our pledge for the fidelity of Herodotus, we are constantly struck with

The Deep Religious Feeling

that pervades his work, assuming almost every variety of form of which that exalted sentiment could have been capable in an enlightened heathen. His *charity* is tender: he will not willingly hurt the character of any individual; he knows who it was that engraved the false inscription at Delphi, but he "need not mention his name."[6] Nor is his high-toned morality less distinguished: he is excessively guarded where his *veracity* may be suspected; he is "perfectly satisfied that, to those who have never been in Babylonia, what he has said about its products will appear too exaggerated to be credited.[7]" In common with the Greek tragedians, he has the strongest sentiment of the direct interference of the Divinity in mundane affairs—specially as a retributive avenger;[8] holds the firmest belief in his providence;[9] is deeply sensible of the instability of fortune;[10] is of opinion that omens, signs, or dreams, are specially sent as individual[11] or national warnings;[12] is thoroughly imbued with the doctrine of fatalism;[13] is impressed with the conviction that the Divine jealousy attends on overweening pride, trust in riches, and excessive self-exaltation.[14] Where, too, he has been admitted into any religious brotherhood, or where he feels that he is trenching upon sacred ground, his deep reverence for these mysteries, or even the mysterious names of the Divinity, ever exercise the most profound influence; these are considered the property of the gods, and he is not entitled to reveal them.[15] Nor is his piety

Deep religious feeling of Herodotus.

Its various tendencies.

[1] Herod. 44. [2] Ibid. 52.
[3] Ibid. i. 51. [4] Ibid. viii. 33.
[5] Ibid. ii. 3. [6] Ibid. i. 51.

[7] Ibid. i. 193. The Pindaric maxim on the occasional policy of silence was well known to Herodotus:—

καὶ τὸ σιγᾶν πολλάκις ἐστὶ σοφώτατον ἀνθρώπῳ νοῆσαι.
Pind. Nem. v. 18.

But, like Bruce, Herodotus was often too straightforward to regard it.

[8] Herod. ii. 120; iii. 64; ii. 134; iii. 38; ix. 65; iii. 51; ii. 111, 116.
[9] Ibid. i. 86. [10] Ibid. [11] Ibid. i. 38; iii. 124.
[12] Ibid. vi. 27; ix. 100. [13] Ibid. iii. 64; i. 91; i. 45.
[14] Ibid. iii. 40; i. 32; vii. 46. [15] Ibid. ii. 17; ii. 65; ii. 3; ii. 61; ii. 45.

less distinguished: his confidence in the efficacy of supplication is great—it is absolutely vital. In the hour of distress, "Pausanias," says he, "cast a look upon the Heræum of the Platæans, and invoked the goddess;" and he then adds, "immediately after the prayer of Pausanias, the omens became favourable."[1] Again, "*if it be fitting to conjecture on Divine subjects*," he observes, "Ceres would not receive those Persians who had fought adjoining her grove, (all of whom had fallen without the sacred precincts,) because they had fired her holy temple at Eleusis."[2] Here the principle of retribution again is visible.

Independence of character.

While, however, Herodotus is thus actuated by religious sentiment, he evinces high moral independence of character: he "is of opinion that the Hellenes narrate many things thoughtlessly;"[3] he even scruples not to fearlessly expose oracular irregularities: the bribery of the Pythia by the Alcmæonidæ is faithfully recorded.[4] He tells us plainly that Perialla, the Delphic priestess, was prevailed upon "to give the response that Cobon wished to be given;"[5] and he can even treat with a pitiful contempt the juggling personation of Minerva by the Athenian female, Phyê.[6]

Impartiality of Herodotus.

This uncompromising impartiality, in union with native ease of character, forms one of the rarest combinations that can adorn humanity. Easy would it have been for Herodotus to have glossed over these two important derelictions of duty; but this would have been to blur that transparent simplicity that permitted no second medium through which truth should be contemplated. Never does he defer to the force of national hatred. Of the Persians, as historians, moralists, or warriors, he can speak in commendatory terms—"they are anxious," says he, "not so much to adorn the exploits of Cyrus, as to speak the truth:"[7] in support of which we find, in another passage,[8] that "it is considered most disgraceful amongst them to lie, and next to this to contract debts, for many reasons; but chiefly," say they, "because a debtor must unavoidably speak falsely." Again, he candidly observes, "in resolution and in strength, the Persians were not inferior to the Greeks;"[9] and he honourably attributes the real cause of their failure to deficient discipline, to inadequate arms and accoutrements.[10] Towards friend or foe he evinces the most impartial discrimination in the just awards of merit;—the muse who historicises Aristodemus or Mardonius, Greek or Persian, must be the impersonation of truth. Nationality supplies no false foundation for overweening pride. Patriotism gives no sanction to contempt; and if Herodotus styles the non-Hellenic world "Barbarian," it is to be deemed the

[1] Herod. ix. 62. Compare the kindred feeling of Xenophon after having sacrificed to the wind.
[2] Ibid. ix. 65.
[3] Ibid. ii. 45.
[4] Ibid. v. 63.
[5] Ibid. vi. 66.
[6] Ibid. i. 60.
[7] Ibid. i. 95.
[8] Ibid. i. 138.
[9] Ibid. ix. 62. Compare the evidence of Plutarch: Περσῶν πολλοὺς οὐκ ἀπράκτως οὐδὲ ἀθύμως πίπτοντας, v. xvii.
[10] Herod. ix. 71.

transcript of human vanity, not so much national as universal, whose symbol, whilst proving indelible, soon received the milder interpretation of "foreigner."[1] All these bright characteristics combined, and brought to bear in one focus upon the venerable Father of History, light up in the most cheerful manner every feature of his character, and we see that we are walking with an artless and lively companion, and not the slightest doubt disturbs the charm of his society. But not only do religion, independence, and morality, substantiate the basis of veracity in Herodotus; but time, that overthrows all the grandeur of art, has proved the noblest architect in building an imperishable monument to the simplicity of truth. Few enlightened tourists are there, who can visit Egypt, Greece, and the regions of the East, without being struck by the accuracy, with the industry, with the patience of Herodotus. To record all the facts substantiated by travellers, illustrated by artists, and amplified by learned research, would be utterly beyond the scope of this treatise; so abundant, so rich, has this golden mine been found, that the more its native treasures are explored, the more valuable do they appear. The oasis of Siwah, visited by Browne, Hornemann, Edmonstone, and Minutuoli; the engravings of the latter, demonstrating the co-identity of the god Ammon and the god of Thebes;[2] the Egyptian mode of weaving,[3] confirmed by the drawings of Wilkinson and Minutuoli; the fountain of the sun,[4] visited by Belzoni; one of the stēlæ or pillars of Sesostris, seen by Herodotus in Syria, and recognized on the road to Beyrout with the hieroglyphic of Rhamses still legible; the monument mentioned by Herodotus, (2106) seen by Professor Welcker, and described in the Rhein. Mus. ii. p. 430; the kneeding of dough, drawn from a sculpture in Thebes,

General effect of these qualities.

Modern corroborations of the truth of Herodotus.

[1] Herod. i. Proem. *et passim.* It is singular to reflect with what exclusiveness each nation, in the dawn of knowledge, has ever treated its cotemporaries. The Egyptians looked upon all others as barbarians (Herod. ii. 158). The Hebrew formula was equally exclusive, "Jews and Gentiles;" whilst Apollonius (apud Joseph. cont. Apion) says, "Judæos esse barbarorum ineptissimos." The Hindoos call all beyond their own pale "Mlechch'as," barbarians, (*vide* the list of Brahminical outcasts, Manava Dherma Sástra, c. x.) The Arabs took equally lofty ground; with them "Arab ū Ajam," Arab and Persian, was equivalent to Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι; nor were the Romans behindhand, though they subsequently excepted the Greeks (*vide* Cicero, f. ii. 14): non solum Græcia et Italia, sed etiam omnis *Barbaria* commota est:—

Grecia llama *Barbara* à la gente
Que sus ciencias y ritos no bevia,
De que fingiò en Parnasso tener fuente.

And of Rome:—

Al inculto Español su tributario
Tambien le llamò *Barbaro*, y agora
Es nombre de ignorantes ordinario.
Lupercio Leonardo.

The Chinese style of the present day is well known: all nations other than the Chinese are "outside barbarians."

[2] Herod. ii. 32.

[3] Ibid. ii. 60.

[4] Ibid. iv. 181. Still called by the Arabs by the equivalent "ain oo' shamso."

by Wilkinson; the dress of the lower classes, by the same author; the prodigies of Egyptian architecture at Edfou; Caillaud's discovery of Meroë in the depths of Æthiopia: these, and a host of brilliant evidences, centre their once divergent rays in one flood of light upon the temple of genius reared by Herodotus, and display the goddess of Truth enshrined within. But not only does our confidence repose upon this solid basis—we are also charmed by the very absence of demonstrative process, and our convictions are wrought, not by logical proof, but by a simplicity of character, by a native grace, embellished by the rich epic colouring which mildly glows throughout his narrative. This, as we shall demonstrate, takes its source in

The Steadfastness of the Eastern Type.

Steadfastness of the eastern type.

The physical peculiarities of nature are the powerful moulds in which are cast, not only substantial existence, but the forms of intellect; and though the latter are the less palpable, they are not the less defined, the outline of their shadow varying in distinctness in the ratio of the intensity of light. The steadfastness of this source has been evidenced by repeated illustration of scriptural obscurities, drawn from existing oriental customs. With few exceptions, the sunny skies of the East have rapidly multiplied and matured the fairest scions of creation; and man, its noblest type, has participated in this wealth of nature.

Surrounded by the images of abundance and elated by warmth and brightness, he surrenders himself involuntarily to the fulness of their reaction upon his mind; his language participates in this richness: in the relations of life, he illustrates by apologue; in poetry, by fervid metaphor; in narrative, by digression. Here, such fertility smiles around, such varied forms of life attract, such groups of animated beauty beckon, that language, like vision, is crowded with objects which, however interesting, have no immediate connexion but that which is supplied by the landscape; a connexion, however, in poetry, full of beauty. Thus, beneath the glowing sun of Ionia, with a heart overflowing with the abundance of nature, the glorious bard of Hellas struck the chords of living fire kindled by the god of day. Nor did he confine himself to the simple melody of his subject: wherever the warm gush of inspiration swelled his soul, a thousand varying combinations were richly worked into the theme; sweet bursts of music, like the harmonies of Memnon, drawn forth by the rising sun. Under this sun too, amidst the golden harvest of matured experience, the sire of history takes no formal path, but ranges where the sense of beauty guides, and where his vision may be enriched with the fulness of living nature. He thus digresses, it is true; but it is to return to that eminence whence the prospect lies direct before him. Nor is this rich digression a temporary product of the East; it is to be traced

with varying distinctness in the historians of that climate in the present day, and rare are the instances in which it has been duly limited. But if this be a peculiarity in Herodotus, it is one which possesses great attractions, and claims the most lively interest. Because he is more a painter than a geographer, his work is rather a picture than a geographical map; hence they are the men and manners that he places before us, not the latitude and longitude: the one is warm with life-blood, the other cold with the mechanism of art.

Again, to the eastern type, as its special source, is to be traced narrative itself, in all its simple charms of artless style.

In a climate in which the chief part of life is spent beneath the vault of heaven, or under the shelter of the spreading tree or tent, the tendency of narrative is decidedly non-historic, but various as the shades of individual life and adventure; a narrative with little adherence beyond the events of the day, furnishing few motives for political deduction. Hence, next to the leading history, graceful tales and wonderful legends, not scientific reflections, form the staple of Herodotus; so much so, as to attract the notice of Aristotle, who styles him a mere story-teller.[1] Hence, too, at the present day, that love of fable and that delight in marvellous adventure, which characterise the eastern story-teller, especially on the very spot which witnessed the inquiries of Herodotus—the very source of his tale of travel. Now, as then, Simorghs and Griffins, Afrites and Arimaspi, formed, and are forming, the legends of the same countries. The "Arabian Nights," the "Heft Paikar, Hatim Taee," and the preponderating number of works of wild fiction and romance, that swell an eastern library—these show the continued tendency towards tales similar to those with which Herodotus was entertained; while such works as the "Mūgamut of Harīrī,"[2] in which the interest of the work turns mainly upon the credulity of the party imposed upon by the clever literary adventurer, its hero, throws a strong light upon the position of Herodotus and his informants, the Egyptian priests. Nor is this all. To this steadfast type we refer the structure of the ancient Ionic mould of dialect[3]—nay, even its graceful impress on the sweet treasures of the

[1] Aristot. de Animal. Gener. iii. 5.

[2] See the مقامات of Kāsim ool Harīrīyo, edited by Lumsden, Calcutta, 1809.

[3] Compare the formula ὁυ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ (Herod. i. 29) with the Hebraisms, Acts xii. 18, 19, 23; Matt. ii. 6. Conf. جَآءَ بِٱلشَّراب with ἥκει ἔχων ὄινον—ἥις ἔχων. Again, the periphrasis, ᾤχετο φεύγων (i. 157); ὄιχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας (i. 1); in reality a condensed compound form, supplying the copula, "went and fled away," "went and sailed away," like the Sansc. गत्वा प्रवद राघवं "go and say to Rāghava," or the Hindoost. ūske pās jākar ūsē Khīlāte, "go and feed him." Again, conf. ου τι ἐπιδρὰμων πάντα τὰ διδόμενα ἐδέκετο (Herod. iii. 135) with the Hebraism וַתַּעַמְאֵל־הַשָּׁלָל (1 Sam. xv. 9). Again, Herodotus' use of the present

"Attic Bee"[1]—and that variegated,[2] nay, poetic form in the language of Herodotus, which Longinus has so graphically noticed. "Do you see, my dear Terence," writes the critic, "do you see how he carries one along with him, leading our imagination into various countries, and letting us rather see than hear?"[3] Nor is this analogy less striking in the dramatic, or direct form of discourse, ranging widely through the oriental type, till it assumes, in the dreams, denunciations, and commands of Homer and Herodotus, the venerable simplicity of the Hebrew Scriptures. The messenger is no longer a messenger, he is the impersonation of authority; and by the form of his missive, which is religiously preserved, he speaks with the dramatic power and effect of present king, chief, or prophet. Nor is it in the repetitory style alone, as the unerring messenger, that Herodotus stands distinguished; the history of the individual is not recitative, it is personal; he is placed before us, and we see him speaking for himself:—it is Harpagus; he is of humbler rank than Astyages, whom he is addressing—he places his hand upon his breast as he speaks: "In this humble individual, O king! thou hast hitherto witnessed no ingratitude, and it will be my great care, both now and for the future, not to offend against thee."[4]

Herodotus does not dilute any special Persian term of office by a loose translation; he does not designate the vizier who holds it, by the mere title of "satrap"—he calls this responsible officer by his own expressive name, he is "the King's Eye."[5] How exactly the poetry

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for future tense is quite Asiatic. See i. 108, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ, and i. 124. See Lee's Heb. Gram. pp. 344, 345; and De Sacy's Arab. Gr. vol. i. 210, 211, art. حكايت. Conf. the formula ὀυκ ὧν ἐστὶ μηχανὴ ὀυδεμία (Herod. i. 209), لا بدّ لي من فعل; also, لا بدّ ما. Again, in the comparatives of adjectives, observe the Homeric Ionism (Hom. i. 505), ὠκυμορώτατος ἄλλων (sub. πάντων), closely approximating to the Hindoostani "sub se bihtur." Various notices of other structures to a great extent might be given; our object, however, is not to institute a verbal criticism, but to display a similarity of mental action in the Ionic and Eastern races: of the former, there was perhaps never a better representative as a writer than Herodotus, though a Dorian by extraction. Dionysius Halicar. calls him ἄριστος κανών of the Ionian.

[1] *Vide* Hutchinson's edit. of the Anabasis, in which the relative Hebraisms are largely noted.

[2] Hermogenes aptly describes the style of Herodotus as being ποικίλη.

[3] Long. de Sub. xxvi. 86. The source of the vocalic influences exercised in common upon the Ionic and South Sea dialects may present an interesting theme for the contemplative mind.

[4] Herod. i. 108. So in writing memoirs, the writer speaks of himself in the third person; instead of saying "I was the eldest son," he more elegantly expresses himself by the form "The eldest son is this insignificant person" (Maūlud nikhūstīn een bīmagdār ast). See Ali Hazin, ch. ii.

[5] Compare the repetitory style, Homer, ii. 9–15, 23–34, 60–69, *et passim*, with the scriptural "Thus saith the Lord," followed by the exact words of the Divine

of the west is translated by the prose of the east, may be seen in Sādi's phrase, "Arkani doulat," the verbal interpretation of Shakspeare's "Pillars of the State."

The reader will have occasion to notice the singular harmony of religious sentiment subsisting between the Moslems of the present day and Herodotus, which we shall still further elucidate. Ferdousi and Sādi abound with these reflections: the *τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων*, or doctrine of Providence (Herodotus ix. 100), is beautifully amplified by Sādi, in his "Pand Nāmah," or system of ethics, (c. xix. در صفت حق تعالي.)[1]

Behold yon azure dome, the sapphire sky
Rears in unpillared might its canopy!
That vast pavilion gemmed with worlds of light,
Whose circling glories boast a boundless flight,
And as they roll survey man's chequered state,
And scan the destinies of mortal fate.
Here the poor sentry takes his lonely stand;
There throned in state a monarch rules the land.

Whilst the instability of human affairs (the *οὐδὲν ἀσφαλέως ἔχον* (Her. i. 86.) is eloquently, embellished (c. xx. در نا پايداريي دُنييا.)

ON WORLDLY INSTABILITY.

Henceforth trust not to fortune-chequered fate,
Lest sudden doom attend life's transient state;
Trust not to empire, nor to grandeur's train,
They all have perished and must fade again.
Countless the forms in beauty's light arrayed,
Whose sunny charms illumined bower and glade;
Countless the happy fair in this our globe,
Rich in their blushes as the bridal robe:
Names of renown engraved on Fortune's brow;
And cheeks where living roses loved to glow;
All, all have left thy robes! life's sunny ray,
And veiled their faded forms in mantling clay.
Here, in life's garden, towers no tree on high
Which 'scapes the stubborn axe of Destiny.
Forget this spot, where thou no more may'st dwell,
Oh! hear the bard's last words—receive his last farewell!

The fatalists' creed (the *Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν* of Herodotus, i. 91) ranges in varied forms through the whole circle of Arabic, Persic, and Hindoostanee literature; nor, perhaps, can we find a more affecting instance of this, than in the death of Soohrab, who was slain by his father, Rustam, somewhat paralleled by the death of Crœsus' son, Alyattes; the one slain directly, the other indirectly, by a parent.

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speaker. So the Hebraism *καλῶς εἶπας ὅτι ἄνδρα οὐκ ἔχω*, John, iv. 17. *Vide* also Acts, xiv. 22, where the contrast of the recitative and dramatic form is strongly marked. For some excellent remarks on this subject see De Sacy's Arab. Gram. vol. i. p. 453.

[1] See the author's translation of the Pand Nameh of Sādi, pp. 82–87.

The reflection of Crœsus on this dreadful event was, that Adrastus was not the cause of the calamity, but "a god," says he, "if I mistake not, who long since foreshowed to me what was to happen;"[1] whilst, on the other hand, the unhappy Soohrab, endeavours to console his wretched and almost frantic sire, by finally observing "for I see it written in my stars, that I should at last die by the hand of my father."[2]

Piety of Herodotus.

Again, not only do the rich epic colouring, the overflowing digression, the artless narrative, the love of wondrous tale, the vocalic influences and dramatic forms, so brilliant in Herodotus and in Hecatæus,[3] draw their brightness from the light of the eastern type; but the glow of piety also, with which the Halicarnassian is animated—in this he stands alone: he is unapproachable amongst the ancients, as the moral expositor and the religious commentator of the historic Muse. These profound principles were imbibed at the same source which had enlivened the noblest of the Ionic philosophers; at the same "fountain of the sun," whence the tragedians so deeply drank. Thales, to whom extensive travels in Egypt and in Asia are ascribed; Pythagoras, renowned by still wider research, and by more profound personal and political influence—the one a native of Miletus, the other of Samos; these were the predecessors of Herodotus in the same track of travel. A century earlier than our author, Pythagoras had seen Egypt under the last of its own kings. In this country he had imbibed the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, from whose principles he had evolved a complete course of ethics,[4] and on his return, established, at Croton, a monastic order, whose ramifications extended to the most powerful cities in Italy. Here, though this brotherhood was broken up as a political engine, its influences upon the philosophic mind continued to act, directing the energies and giving power to the researches of inquisitive intellect. Herodotus intimates his knowledge of many Greeks, who at various times had held these tenets, whose names however he declines mentioning.[5] That he himself had received admission into the Orphic and Bacchic mysteries, some of whose ceremonies he acknowledges were identical with the Pythagorean,[6] is perfectly clear. But it was not mere external initiation that placed Herodotus upon the exalted threshold of that temple into which Pindar[7] had preceded him; he rose to that eminence by the tenure

[1] Εἰς δὲ ὀυ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος, ... ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις ὅς μοι καὶ πάλαι προεσήμαινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι. Herod. i. 45. Observe the same Homeric belief in Helen's address to Priam: ὄυ τί μοι αἰτίη ἐσσί θεοί νύ μοι αἴτιοί εἰσιν.

[2] Chū bīnem nevishteh badakhtar basar
Ki men kūshtah gardam ba desti padar.
Calc. edit. 1829, vol. i. p. 365.

[3] Longin. Περὶ ὕψους, c. xxvii.: Ἔτι γε μὴν.—κ. τ. λ.—where he praises the vivid style of Hecatæus.

[4] Grote's Hist. of Greece, iv. 534, n. 3.

[5] Herod. ii. 123. [6] Ibid. 81. [7] See Pind. Ol. ii. 68.

of a pure morality, of which all ceremonial was but emblematic. Of this religious structure, the Brahminical theism which had penetrated into Egypt laid the foundations; and the contemplative Hellenic mind had reared thereon a superstructure of chaste simplicity and intellectual beauty. Here then it was that Herodotus worshipped, and here he received the inspirations of the loftiest philosophy.

We have already noticed the strong disinclination evinced by Herodotus to utter even the name of the Deity when it has been emblematic of some mystery, and we have the key to the special source of this custom in one of the main tenets of the Brahmins of the present day. In the Bhagavad Gita, Krishna, when instructing his disciple, Arjoon, defines himself as being "amongst words, the monosyllable; amongst worship, the silent worship." This mystical emblem of the Deity is the monosyllable "Om," which is to be uttered only inwardly in silence: this vocable is emblematic of the creator, the preserver, and the destroyer. Of all the objects of Herodotus's visit to Egypt, the special point was Heliopolis, or the city of the sun, called by Moses "On" (Gen. c. xli. v. 45); the worship of the sun (typical of the three qualities above noticed) gave its name to the city,[1] and forms a connecting link with the theism of the east, corrupted by the Egyptians, as we have already shown was their frequent practice. That there should have been such a variety of animal worship amongst them, an adoration of the sun, so many ceremonial initiations, and yet so much pure theism in their doctrines (shown by the tenets of the Ionic philosophers, who imbibed their principles in Egypt, and formed the devotional tragic mind of Greece), these are considerations which evidently point to different sources of religion: they show likewise, that while Herodotus in person passed through formal ceremonials, his mind knew how to appropriate the pure in doctrine.

We cannot touch farther here upon the evidences of progressive devotion westward; but we would briefly observe that this devotion, like the primitive stream of civilization, was never retrograde, but like the sun, was always seen to travel from east to west.

Thus have we briefly traced to their source those peculiarities of style and sentiment by which Herodotus stands as the representative of the eastern type amongst Hellenic historians, forming the antithesis of the European vigour of Thucydides. Like twin rivers that fertilize the soil through which they glide, these "streams of time," equally held on their course towards the great ocean of truth that lay in unbounded expanse before them, but their characteristics were essentially diverse: the majestic volume of the one rolled on with undeviating might; the placid course of the other was varied by graceful meanderings "midst sunny landscapes and midst flowery meads:" the embodied transparency of the one flowed over the prostrate edifices of

[1] *Vide* Dr. Lee's Hebrew Dict. sub. v. אוּר בַּשְׂדִּים. Conf. etc. the modern Persian name Khūrshēdābād, or Sun-town.

ancient prejudice, disclosing the sands upon which they had been built; the fulness of the other often, with unknown sources, like the ancient Nile, has vivified a rich harvest of intellectual sustenance co-expanding with the dominions of time.

There is every probability, from the abrupt termination of Herodotus' history, and from his nonfulfilment of a promise of greater detail upon a particular subject,[1] that his work was not complete. He also twice specifies his intention of writing a history of Assyria,[2] the only subsequent notice of which is to be found in Aristotle, who mentions the history of the siege of Nineveh, the narration of which event is promised by Herodotus. There is a life of Homer once usually attributed to our author, which is entitled to no further notice than from its being a source of trustworthy information on some important points, since, though not genuine, its internal testimony proves it to have been written at a period comparatively early. Herodotus has not escaped the usual lot of genius in being subject to invidious censure. Ctesias, Ælius, Harpocration, and Manetho, wrote against him. All envious writings, however, have been swallowed up by time, with the exception of that by Plutarch, on "The Malignancy of Herodotus;" but the bad feeling of the writer of that work is so evident, and the accusations contained in it are so trivial, that it is entitled to no attention.

Finally, a review of the evidences we have advanced entitles us to draw the following summary:—1st. It is clear that, whatever Herodotus relates, he always exercises an independent judgment. 2nd. That he endeavours to explain difficulties, if he thinks they admit of explanation. 3rd. Narratives considered by him extravagant he leaves to the interpretation of his reader, still deeming it his province rather to relate all that he had learned, than that portion only which he considered credible. 4th. That he had every facility that a traveller could then have for approximating to the truth, but accompanied with a traveller's usual difficulties, for the Egyptian priest often tempted him, as he tempts his reader, to draw his own conclusion. Lastly, that he spared no exertions to obtain ample and accurate information: more than this could hardly be expected from any traveller. Summary.

CONSPECTUS HERODOTEUS.

Book I. Clio.—Transfer of the Lydian kingdom from Gyges to Crœsus—minority of Cyrus—his overthrow of the Lydian power—rising greatness of Athens and Lacedæmon. Conspectus Herodoteus.

Book II. Euterpe.—Dissertation on Egypt—Egyptian customs, and the regal succession of that empire.

Book III. Thalia.—Achievements of Cambyses—his total subju-

[1] Herod. vii. 213.

[2] Ibid. i. 106, 184.

gation of Egypt—election of Darius Hystaspes to the Persian throne, then vacant by the assassination of Smerdis, the impostor.

Book IV. Melpomene.—Full narrative of the calamitous expeditions of the Persians against the Scythians in the reign of Darius Hystaspes.

Book V. Terpsichore.—The political progress of Lacedæmon, Athens, and Corinth—view of their relative resources during the time of Darius—expulsion of Hippias from Athens.

Book VI. Erato.—Origin of the kings of Lacedæmon—causes of Darius's hostility to Greece—first Persian invasion of Hellas—battle of Marathon.

Book VII. Polyhymnia.—Preparations and grand expedition of Xerxes into Greece—battle at Thermopylæ.

Book VIII. Urania.—Further progress of the Persian arms—Athens captured and burned—defeat of the Persians at the sea-fight of Salamis.

Book IX. Calliope.—Defeat of the Persians at Platæa—defeat at the promontory of Mycale, and their complete retreat within their own territories.

EDITIONS OF HERODOTUS.

Editions of Herodotus.

The first publication of Herodotus (a Latin translation only) was by Laurentius Valla, Venice, 1474; the first edition of the original work was that of Aldus Manutius, Venice, folio, 1502.

Herod. à Joach. Camerario, Gr. fol. Basileæ, 1541. A good edition, reprinted 1557.

——— ab Henrico Stephano, Gr. fol. 1570. One of the most correct, according to Dr. Harwood, of the Greek classics published by Stephens.

———Gr. et Lat. fol. Hen. Steph. Parisiis, 1592. This is an excellent edition, corrected, amended, and enlarged: it is a reprint of the former, but rendered greatly superior by the additional notes, &c.

——— à Gothofredo Jurgermanno, Gr. et Lat. fol. Frankfort, 1608.

——— cum notis Henr. Steph. a Fred. Sylburgio, Gr. et Lat. fol. P. Steph. Geneva, 1618.

——— à Thomâ Gale, Gr. et Lat. fol. Londoni, 1679.

——— à Jac. Gronovio, Gr. et Lat. fol. Lugduni Batavorum, 1715. The chief value of this edition arises from the use of the Medicean MSS.

——— Gr. et Lat. 12mo. Glasguæ, 1761, 9 vols. This is a very valuable edition.

——— a Petro Wesselingio, Gr. et Lat. fol. Amstelodami, 1763. This was by far the best edition of Herodotus which had hitherto appeared. It contains all the various readings, is adorned by numerous learned and judicious notes, and is, in short, an exemplar for future editors of classical books.

Herod., Gr. et Lat. cum notis Variorum, Reizius, tom. i., 8vo, Lips. 1778.

——— curâ Schæferi, Gr. vols. i., ii., 8vo, Lipsæ, 1800. This last edition takes Wesseling's text for its basis, and has certainly made some excellent emendations on the original text. It was commenced by Reizius, and upon his decease was finished by Schäfer. It was reprinted incorrectly at Oxford, in 1809, by N. Bliss.

Emilius Portus published a lexicon for the use of those who were desirous to study the works of Herodotus, and it was reprinted at Oxford, by Bliss, in 1817.

The reprint of Schweighäuser, London, 1818, in 6 vols., contains a superior text, in consequence of the collation of several new MSS.

Next to this, in importance, is Gaisford's, Oxford, 1824, 4 vols., 8vo. The collation of some English MSS., and the incorporation of Schweighäuser's, Wesseling's, and Valckenaer's notes, nearly entire, added additional value to the work. Bähr's edition, Leipsig, 1830, 4 vols., 8vo, besides being a most excellent work in other respects, contains most valuable notices of modern discoveries in connexion with the text. Matthiæ's, Leipzig, 1825, 2 vols., 8vo, G. Long's, Lond. 1830. Bekker's, Berlin, 1833–1837, 8vo; Stocker's (Persian war only), 2 vols., 8vo., Lond. 1843—are school editions.

TRANSLATIONS.

A curious old English translation of the two first books was published in London, by Marsh, in 1584. The first complete English translation was by Littlebury, 1737. In 1791 appeared Beloe's version. The next was by Laurent, Oxford, 1837, 2 vols., 8vo, executed with much care, and containing useful references to syntactical rules. Larcher's French translation (Paris, 1802, 9 vols., 8vo) deserves high commendation for its valuable commentary; but, certainly, there is not any version that equals the spirit and correctness of the German by F. Lange, Breslau, 1811, 2 vols., 8vo. Translations.

SUBSIDIA.

Travels of Parke, Shaw, Browne, Belzoni, Wilkinson, Minutuoli, Pococke, Norden, Denon, and Clarke. Geographies of D'Anville, Rennell, and Niebuhr.

THUCYDIDES.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3533, B. C. 471; TO A. M. 3613, B. C. 391.

THE details which ancient authors have left us respecting the life of THUCYDIDES, the immortal historian of the Peloponnesian wars, are neither consistent nor ample. The total absence of egotism, and even of individual prejudice, in his writings, while it gives us the highest ideas of his fitness for the great office he undertook to fill, prevents us from gathering from them many hints of his personal qualities. We shall attempt, however, to collect the unexceptionable information existing respecting him, before we examine the great monument of his genius which he has left us.

Family of Thucydides. Thucydides, according to the testimony of Plutarch, in his Life of Cimon, was of the same noble family with that illustrious Athenian, and Miltiades, his still more illustrious father. That great general had not only enjoyed large possessions in Thrace, but had reigned over the Dolonci, a people in that country, by a right derived from his uncle, until forced to abandon his throne, and seek refuge and glory at Athens. He had also enlarged his possessions by a marriage with the daughter of Olorus, king of Thrace. In what degree of relationship the father of Thucydides stood to the chief members of this celebrated family does not appear. As he bore the name of Olorus, it is probable that the appellation was given him from respect to his Thracian ancestor. So honourable was the family of Thucydides regarded, that Cicero has said of him, "his name would still have been remembered, he was so noble and dignified, even though he had not written a history." If, however, his name had descended to us, merely as that of a member of a splendid family, his fame would have derived little benefit from a barren remembrance with which no individual association would be connected.

Education of Thucydides. The authors who have professed to speak of the education of Thucydides differ. Marcellinus represents him to have been the pupil of Anaxagoras, and affirms, on the authority of Antyllus, that atheistical opinions were imputed to him, on account of his devotion to the theories of that philosopher, who was commonly regarded as rejecting all belief in the existence of the gods. As, however, the charge, in as far as it relates to the master, was founded only on his contempt for the degrading superstitions of his time, it can have no weight when urged, on such ground, against his admirer or pupil. Indeed, the writings of the scholar contain ample materials to prove it fallacious.

Some have represented Thucydides as the scholar of Antipho, and others have reversed the supposition, and made the former the latter's preceptor. These theories seem little more than conjectures. By whomsoever he was instructed, he appears very early to have felt those impulses which incited him to devote his whole mental energies to his immortal production. In the fifteenth year of his age, having been taken by his father to the Olympic games, he heard Herodotus read his history to the admiring assembly, collected from every part of Greece. After listening with the deepest attention, he burst into tears of admiration and joy. Herodotus is said to have observed his emotion, and to have congratulated Olorus on the early passion of his son for intellectual exertions.

Manhood of Thucydides.

The remainder of the youth, and the early portion of the manhood of Thucydides, are only subjects of speculation and conjecture. Some have conceived that he was opposed to Pericles, in the domestic administration of Athens, and banished thence by ostracism, through the influence of his more powerful rival. It seems, however, more probable, that the Thucydides thus driven into exile was a different person, though of the same family; and Dr. Smith, in the first preliminary discourse to his translation of the history, supposes the object of the resentment of Pericles to have been the son of Milesias, and a leader of the oligarchical faction at Athens. This will appear more probable, if we remember that there is no trace in the writings of the historian of any strong political feelings; nor is there any other ground, in the memorials of his life, for supposing that he ever directed his views to an active share in the civil government of the Athenians. He has besides described too minutely the circumstances of Athens, previous to the wars which he celebrates, to leave us at liberty to suppose that he was not an immediate observer of all which he so vividly pictures in the introduction to his history.

It has been affirmed that Thucydides accompanied Lampo and Xenocritus, together with his great forerunner Herodotus, on an expedition sent by the state to found a colony at Thuria, in Italy. If this were the case, his absence from Athens could not have been of very long duration. He was certainly present in Greece before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian wars; for he perceived their first indications, watched their earliest movements, and in anticipation of their mighty consequences, determined, before they actually commenced, to become the historian of their progress.

Military service of Thucydides.

Thucydides, like the old poets of Greece, took an active share in the events which he afterwards dignified by his genius. As every citizen of Athens was, in time of war, a soldier, he must have marched with Pericles to attack the country of Megaræ, since the whole force of the state, on that occasion, took the field. He informs us that he was at Athens when ravaged by pestilence, with which he was himself afflicted. In the forty-seventh year of his age, he was appointed to a command in Thrace, in which region he derived a large revenue

from gold mines, which had been the property of his ancestors. This appointment, however, which appeared so well suited to his circumstances and feelings, became the occasion of his exile.

Occasion of his exile.

Thucydides was stationed at the isle of Thasus, a Parian colony, when he received a message from Amphipolis, entreating his succour, as Brasidas, the Spartan general, had suddenly appeared before that city, and was plundering its envirous. The party who thus implored his aid were not, however, supported by the unanimous wishes of the citizens within the walls. A number of Argilians who resided in the town were disaffected to the Athenians, and Perdiccas and the Calcideans had emissaries there who awakened in many a zeal for the Peloponnesian cause. Although, therefore, Thucydides immediately embarked with his forces, and sailed for Amphipolis, that city had been peaceably delivered into the hands of Brasidas before his arrival. A proclamation by which the Spartan commander promised to the Athenians as well as the Amphipolitans, the undisturbed enjoyment of their properties, liberties, and rights, or allowed them to remove within three days, with all their possessions, had completed the work which the intrigues of his partisans had half accomplished, and occasioned the surrender. The squadron of Thucydides, however, was far from useless. Brasidas had prepared to improve his success by the immediate seizure of the port of Eion, an important post at the mouth of the river, and only two miles from the place of which he was already in possession. But his adversary was, in this instance, able to prevent his design from being carried into effect; for, in the evening previous to the night when the seizure would have been made, he arrived at the harbour, and immediately prepared the town for defence against a sudden attack, as well as for the protection of those who might remove thither from Amphipolis, according to the conditions of the late surrender. When, therefore, Brasidas, after suddenly passing down the river, endeavoured to seize on the projecting point of land at its mouth, and, at the same moment, made an attempt to enter the town by land, he was repulsed in both quarters, and compelled precipitately to retire.

Exile.

It might appear impossible to censure Thucydides for his conduct on this occasion. But with the people of Athens it was always criminal not precisely to answer the expectations they had formed, whether mere ill fortune compelled a general to fall short of them, or genius enabled him to rise above their level. They were as indignant at misfortune as they were envious of splendid success. Incited by the miserable demagogue Cleon, they deprived Thucydides of his command, and sentenced him to exile.

Retirement to Thrace.

But the conduct of his fickle and misguided countrymen does not appear to have been productive, in his mind, of any ungentle emotions. He might, indeed, well treat it with indifference, while he enjoyed already the perspective of an immortal and increasing fame. According to Plutarch, he retired to Scaptesyle, in Thrace, and there devoted all

his energies to the composition of his history. The sentence of his banishment continued in force twenty years, at the expiration of which period it was, in effect, annulled by the general act of amnesty, passed while Euclides was archon, after the destruction of the Lacedæmonian tyranny. Whether, however, he availed himself of the liberty to return to Athens we have no means of deciding. He died in the year before Christ 391, at the age of eighty, and was probably interred at Scaptesyle, so long the scene of his literary toils and delights, where a monument, supposed to have been a cenotaph, was erected to his memory. He is said to have left a son; but nothing is known respecting him.

Death of Thucydides.

Such is the brief sum of all that appears authentic of the details left us respecting the life of this great historian. Happily we are not reduced to gather faint glimpses of his literary merits as we are of his personal character. His great work remains uninjured by time, and seems destined to fulfil the design of its noble-minded author, who, in its introduction, declares that he placed it before the world to be a *possession unto it for ever!*

Character of the history of Thucydides.

At first view, the subject of that history may appear to want importance, dignity, and grandeur. The contest celebrated is confined to a tract of a country of insignificant size, and to a few years of duration. But its interest is not to be estimated by such standards. It was the mind, the virtue, the energy engaged, not the number of the armies, which ennobled the action of the Grecian wars. Within the hills and rocks which encircled Greece with narrow boundaries, had the freedom, the arts, and the genius of the west found its birthplace and its cradle. All that was profound in thought, beautiful in poetry, noble in sentiment, and energetic in action, had there been developed in a perfection, in which the most extensive kingdoms of the earth had hitherto been blessed with no similar example. Genius there had known the mighty graspings and boundless aspirations of its infancy and its prime; heroic virtue had there not only assumed the sublimest and most energetic attitude, but was, at the same time, touched with the freshest poetical bloom. Its band of illustrious conquerors and bards seem destined to show the triumph of the spiritual over the material part of our nature; to prove that the smallest country on earth might become, by genius and prowess, the greatest; and that the intuitive faculties required no painful efforts or length of time to be made manifest as gigantic and harmonious. When, therefore, Thucydides saw the energy of his hitherto unconquerable country, fresh from the triumph over the myriads of Persian invaders, divided, and about to be wasted in domestic war, he perceived that destruction was preparing for institutions which might otherwise have lasted to delight or to astonish the world as long as it should endure. He recognized in the contest the last exertions of a freedom which should have been immortal. With what deep interest then must he have contemplated struggles, in which every opponent was a hero, and the

genius of the earth's mightiest sons was employed, by a dark and mysterious providence, to illuminate the ruin it was destined to prepare! The history of Thucydides contains a minute and most vivid picture of those events which extinguished the freedom of Greece; of the last efforts of her greatness about to pass away; of withering corruption clinging round and poisoning her heroic virtue; of her genius and valour nurtured from a gorgeous antiquity, in the madness of enthusiasm, putting forth their sublimest exertions to achieve their sepulchre!

Qualifications and opportunities of Thucydides for his work.

This subject was not only grand and heroic, and calculated to excite his deepest emotions, but his situation and character peculiarly fitted him to write up "to the height of its great argument." Before the actual commencement of hostilities he was present in Athens, and marked them with the serious accuracy of one who was to be a witness before posterity of all the indications of the contest which he felt must terminate in its ruin. He was himself acquainted with martial affairs, by practice as well as theory, and held a command in the wars which he was preparing to celebrate. Had he continued a leader in the Athenian armies, the circumstance which added to his information must have affected the impartiality of his spirit. The injustice of his country, in a great degree, neutralized his feelings, and rendered him as impartial a witness as he was an intense observer. Banished from Athens, he refused to join with her foes, and in a dignified retirement looked upon the warfare with no emotions but those of a Greek, who saw in its struggles the bloom of Grecian virtue destroyed, and its glorious energies wasted. Never did historian do more ample justice to every individual whose actions he recorded. Not only are praise and censure equally measured to the Spartans and Athenians, but to the internal parties and statesmen, in the delineation of whom, personal feeling might be suspected to influence the colouring. The aristocratical and popular factions—Nicias and Alcibiades—Brasidas and Pericles—are represented with the truth as well as the vividness of a spectator, who united the calm wisdom of a philosopher with the life, energy, and spirit of a poet. His impartiality is like that of a being looking down from a lofty abstraction on the scene; and yet he puts human life, vigour, and passion into all. He feels with every one of his characters as though he were a partisan, and judges of all as if the ebb and flow of love, hatred, or sympathy, had not approached him. His deep and profound sentiment rendered him a most fit chronicler of the events in which the noblest institutions of earth were destined to perish. The tears which he shed, in youth, on hearing the works and witnessing the triumphs of Herodotus, proved how deeply lay the springs of thought, hope, and passion, within him. He had no love for the applause of the multitude; no taste for "the garishness of joy." His sympathies were worthy to be linked for ever with the decay of the most venerable and stately of human things. He wrote with the dignity, the earnestness, and scrupulous truth, of one

Subject of the history.

who felt himself bearing witness of the fatal causes which led to the ruin of his glorious country, before generations who, in distant years, would fondly and devoutly cherish its august memorials.

Composition and style of the history of Thucydides.

The work of Thucydides is exceedingly different, in form and structure, from the most celebrated of modern histories. It is distinguished from them by its minute representations of events, and by the elaborate speeches in which the author makes his leading characters develop their views of policy. It is, in short, more dramatic, picturesque, and vivid, but less extensive, elegant, and finished, than the works of later historians. The descriptions of public assemblies, sieges, and battles, are given with a vividness of detail, and a freshness of colouring, only exceeded in the Iliad. The whole forms a series of grand tragic scenes, over which one spirit of mournful solemnity appears to breathe. The beautiful clearness and simplicity of Herodotus find a worthy contrast in the stern majesty of his younger rival. Thucydides could not, with the sad presages of his country's ruin perpetually before him, imitate the undulating course of his predecessor, who loved to adorn the most miraculous tales, and compel his reader to follow him through enchanting digressions. The genius which pursues the decline of Greece through the Peloponnesian wars, seems ever impressed with the dark catastrophe approaching. The style partakes of the character of the subject; it is massive, stern, unbending, and sometimes obscure, from its force and solemn energy. The whole is in a harmony and keeping as perfect as the noblest of the ancient tragedies. It is at once the brilliant representation of the events preceding the downfal of Grecian liberty and rights, and a high and mournful dirge over their ruins!

Translations of Thucydides.

The history of Thucydides has been translated into our language by Hobbes, the celebrated philosopher of Malmesbury, and Dr. Smith, distinguished as a scholar of great elegance and taste. The work of the former is singularly faithful to the text, and as singularly destitute of the spirit of the author; that of the latter is at once nervous and clear, and seems to do all, which an English version can effect, towards expressing the power and majesty of the original.

An excellent version, illustrated by a variety of recondite notes, has been since published by Dr. Bloomfield, London, 1829.

Editions of Thucydides.

The earliest edition of Thucydides is that of Aldus, Venice, 1502, fol.; and this was followed in the next year by the Scholia. The first combined Greek and Latin text was published by H. Stephens, 1564, fol. The edition of Bekker, Berlin, 1821, 3 vols., 8vo, is marked by superior accuracy of text. Other editions are—Poppo, Leipzig, 10 vols., 8vo, 1821—1833 (the Prolegomena are very valuable); Haack, Leipzig, 1820, 2 vols., 8vo; Göller, 2 vols., 8vo, Leipzig, 1826; Dr. Arnold, 3 vols., 8vo, Oxford, 1830—1835.

XENOPHON.

BORN ABOUT B. C. 444.

WE have now reached the last of the great Greek historians; a man equally distinguished as a soldier, philosopher, and writer. XENOPHON, the son of Gryllus, a native of Athens, was born in the Demus Ercheia. At an early age he became the pupil of Socrates, from whose precepts and example he derived that resolution in enterprise and calmness in danger that distinguished his career.

Parentage and education of Xenophon.

The even temperament of the great Athenian philosopher was admirably reflected in his disciple, the whole tenor of whose life, varied by exile and perils, by warlike and political incident, shows the deep impression that was produced by the Socratic course of instruction. Few writers of antiquity have possessed charms for so numerous a body of readers as Xenophon. The scope and variety of his subjects, the elegance with which they are treated, and his thorough amiability, attract universal good-will. Nor is the effect lessened by the noble manner in which he steps forward as the champion of the Socratic philosophy; nor by contemplating him as the energetic chief, who established for ever the distinction between the army of civilization and the army of barbarism. His writings suffer little by comparison with those of other classical historians. The depth of Thucydides may give him a small circle of more intense admirers, and the Commentaries of Cæsar may possess more exclusive attractions for the military man, but few are the authors whose works communicate such varied information as those of Xenophon, with so little exertion on the part of the reader.

General attractions of Xenophon and purity of his style.

And here we might justly eulogize that grace of style and purity of expression which entitled Xenophon to the appellation of the Attic Bee, had not the verdict of succeeding ages stamped with its approbation the decision of antiquity, and rendered it superfluous to dilate upon merits universally acknowledged. In addition to the instructions of Socrates, Xenophon, whilst a prisoner in Bœotia (for which fact Philostratus is our authority), appears to have been a pupil of Prodicus of Ceos; and Photius[1] mentions him as the disciple of the celebrated Isocrates: this, though not impossible, is somewhat dubious, since the master was younger than the scholar, being born B. C. 436.

Early military engagement.

One of the earliest military actions in which Xenophon was engaged, was the battle of Delium, fought between the Athenians[2] and Bœotians, B. C. 424, when, having fallen from his horse in the flight from the field, he was taken up and carried for several stadia on the

[1] Biblioth. cc. lx.

[2] Thucyd. iv. 96.

shoulders of Socrates,[1] who thus saved his life: the same generous devotion on the part of Socrates is recorded by Plutarch in behalf of Alcibiades at Potidæa. At the battle of Delium the noble generosity of Socrates was repaid by the young and brilliant Athenian, who being mounted, effectually protected the veteran philosopher.[2] Of any continuative military or political career of Xenophon we have no record; but his Anabasis describes the splendid sphere of action that was subsequently opened to his enterprise, when, in the year B. C. 401, he joined the celebrated expedition of the Ten Thousand, whose object, under the patronage of Sparta, was the dethronement of Artaxerxes and the elevation of Cyrus to the imperial dignity in Persia. Faithful to early principles and attachments, we find Xenophon consulting his master Socrates, on the propriety of his accepting the invitation of Proxenus, the friend who had urged his visit to the court at Sardis, and had promised him an introduction to Cyrus. The propriety of Xenophon's joining the great patron of the Lacedemonians, involved considerations of so grave a nature, as to induce Socrates to advise a consultation of the oracle at Delphi. Xenophon readily undertook the journey to Delphi, but declined consulting the oracle in reference to himself, merely performing sacrifices to ensure the success of the enterprise of Cyrus, upon joining which he had mentally resolved. The scruples of Socrates were by no means satisfied with this procedure, but as his disciple had received a favourable answer, he advised him to go forward. The exact age of Xenophon when he joined the expedition has been a subject of much controversy; but an impartial examination of the conflicting evidences, leads us to fix upon forty, as his probable age when he entered upon this brilliant course of action.[3] On the advance towards Persia of the formidable Greek force in the pay of Cyrus, Xenophon occupied no military rank, being present merely as a volunteer; and in this position he might have continued undistinguished, had not urgent necessity pointed him out as the Socratic man of action, the individual upon whom the salvation of the entire force depended at a juncture of extreme difficulty. The battle of Cunaxa threw back upon its own resources the whole Grecian armament, whose munificent patron had just fallen in battle. The hardy soldiery were now surrounded by crafty and bitter enemies, whose insidious treachery, far more dangerous than open assaults, threatened ruin in various forms. The force was completely isolated, without any base of operations; its communications cut off; without commissariat to supply its necessities, and deprived of its experienced chiefs by treachery. It must have perished in a manner as ingloriously as the unfortunate British expedition did at Cabul—to which event it forms, in fact, a striking antithesis—had not Xenophon's Attic vigour of mind, and the hardihood of his military training, pointed him out as the leader best suited to the emergency. The sudden attacks of

Incident at the battle of Delium.

Socrates' advice to Xenophon.

Age of Xenophon on joining Cyrus.

Chosen to be the leader of the Greeks.

[1] Strabo, p. 403. [2] Isoc. de Big. xii.

[3] See Philological Museum, vol. i. p. 507-8.

the Persians, their repeated acts of treachery, the commanding position and fierce assaults of the surrounding barbarous tribes; the perils of hunger, cold, and fatigue; all these were vainly arrayed against the heroism of Grecian intrepidity, led on by the dauntless disciple of Socrates. The qualifications of the new chief for the special service which now began to open in all its magnitude were of the highest order. The enterprise required not the scientific manœuvring of large bodies drawn up against a force equally disciplined; it demanded qualities adjusted to the ever-varying circumstances of a position where each succeeding day brought its own peculiar difficulties, to be met and conquered by improvised efficiency of action; it demanded the eloquence of persuasion to maintain a discipline which could not be enforced by power; the example of personal hardihood, resolution, decision, and activity; a sound knowledge of motives; philosophic calmness in enduring difficulties; and the practice of piety, justice, and mildness, to maintain a constant ascendancy. These qualities centred in Xenophon, and ensured that deference to authority, which the severe military discipline of Clearchus had been inadequate to uphold. It was this combination of talents, exercised on each varying occasion with the natural firmness of an individual conscious of being in his proper sphere, that founded and supported Xenophon's influence.

Qualifications requisite for the enterprise.

Little did the Ten Thousand imagine how much their safety depended upon the deep teaching and the searching examination of the philosophic missionary whom their infatuated countrymen had condemned to death.[1] In this school it was, that their present chief had acquired his sagacious forethought, his piety, his endurance, his vigorous decision, and still more, that persuasive power by which he guided and controlled ten thousand armed men, each individually proud of his independence.

Effects of Socratic training.

In the course of this perilous retreat, we find Xenophon, sensible of the low standard of human motives, proposing rewards to raise a special description of force foreseen to be necessary to cope with the enemy. We might have imagined that peril and patriotism alone would have called forth the necessary exertions; but Xenophon was better read in mankind, and his plan was eminently successful. Take another example of the judgment that guided his actions:—Soterides is sulkily discontented, and compares his own difficulties on foot with his commander's ease on horseback. Here example, not advice, is required. Xenophon leaps from his horse, and though heavily armed, moves forward with such vigour that the rest of the battalion can hardly keep pace with him, and Soterides becomes the laughing-stock of his companions. Does the ardour of Xenophon induce a dangerous military movement? he is the first to confess his error, simultaneously redeeming it by vigorous resources.[2] Is the army insubordinate? he calls in the aid of religion and awes the unruly. He is not the com-

Magnanimity and mental resources of Xenophon.

[1] See the excellent chapter (lxviii. vol. viii.) of Grote's Greece, on the principles and teaching of Socrates.

[2] Anab. iii. 16, 17.

mander only, he is the friend of the soldier. He is the mediator of the army; he heals quarrels and arranges differences. In all he is successful. Guided by such principles, and endowed with such qualities, Xenophon was eminently fitted for the successful movement of that difficult mechanism, a republican military force.

The followers of Cyrus had marched from their head-quarters at Sardis, through Lydia, Phrygia, Lycaonia and Cappadocia, traversed Cilicia and Syria, till they struck the Euphrates.[1] After fording this important river, and touching on Arabia, they moved forward through Babylon, till they reached the memorable plains of Cunaxa, where Cyrus perished. And now commenced their perilous retreat, which was conducted with a view to fall in with the Euxine, whose coasts abounded with numerous Greek settlements. From the battle-field they diverged to the Tigris; then striking off to the north through Media, and still taking the direction of the river, they traversed, amidst innumerable perils and fierce contests, the mountains of the Carduchii, whence, after incessant exertion, they reached the sources of the Tigris. To enumerate the various stratagems for deceiving their watchful foes, or their ingenious inventions for passing opposing rivers, would be impossible in this treatise; they may be more advantageously perused in Xenophon's History of the retreat. After traversing Armenia, passing over the Euphrates near its source, and losing many warriors in the marshes, from the effects of the piercing cold and the deep snows, they at length reached the Phasis, traversed the lands of the Taochi, Chalybes, Macrones, and Colchians, and finally struck the Greek colony of Trapezus, now Trebizond, on the coast of the Euxine.

Retreat of the ten thousand.

Ingenuity of the Greeks, and line of retreat.

It had been proposed to convey the troops by ships from Trapezus to their native country; but as there were not sufficient vessels to receive the whole force, the soldiers resolved to return home by land. The struggles of the gallant band were renewed by the attempt to put this resolution into practice. Many difficulties occurred, and some of the troops, urged by distress, entered the service of Seuthes, a prince of Thracia. Seuthes, after availing himself of Grecian valour, attempted to evade payment of the stipulated recompense, and it required the exertions and influence of Xenophon to induce him to pay the troops even a portion of the debt he had contracted.[2]

The remains of the Cyreian force were now invited to form a junc-

[1] The reader will find some excellent remarks on this retreat in Ainsworth's Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand, London, 8vo, 1844. In his preface he observes, "It is necessary to remark that the value accepted for the ancient measures is such as was proposed by the Royal Geographical Society, by Major Jarvis, of the Indian Survey (Athenæum, No. 150). This value is founded upon the admitted theory, that the ancient measures formed an integral portion of the earth's circumference; the Jewish parsa, Persian farsakh [properly farsang; farsakh is the Arabic form], and Greek parasang, being the 8000th of that circumference, or equal to 5,468,688 yards, and the Greek or Roman stadium as 607·62977 feet."

[2] Anab. vii. 55.

tion with the army of Thimbron, then at war with Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus; previous to which Xenophon, who had exhausted his finances, adopted the following expedient to recruit them. He made a dash into the plain of Caicus, and carried off Asidates, a Persian nobleman, with his women, children, and moveable property.[1] This action evinces how strongly the barbarous customs of the heroic ages[2] still held their ground, when a commander of the mild character of Xenophon could commit such an action, and record it as a matter of course, not considered reprehensible.[3]

[1] Anab. vii. 8, 2.

[2] Compare Thucydides' remark, i. 5.

[3] The right to "quarter upon the enemy" has not been used exclusively by heathen warriors; our own countrymen, in a Christian age, have been as little scrupulous as Xenophon, on whose "raid" we should therefore express our indignation with moderation. The following quotation shows how matters of this sort were managed in the glorious days of Queen Elizabeth:—

"Our Generall (Sir Francis Drake) thought it needfull, that we should run in with some place or other, before our departure from the coast; to see if happily we could by traffique, augment our provision of victuals and other necessaries, that being at sea we might not be driven to any great want or necessitie, albeit we had reasonable store of good things aboard us already.

"The next harbor therefore which we chanced with, on April 15, 1578, in 15 deg. 40 min., was Guatulco, so named of the Spaniards who inhabited it, with whom we had some entercourse, to the supply of many things which we desired, and chiefly bread, &c. * * * *

"And now having reasonably, as we thought, provided ourselves, we departed from the coast of America for the present: *but not forgetting, before we gate a shipboard, to take with us also a certain pot (of about a bushell in bignesse) full of royals of plate, which we* FOUND *in the town; together with a chain of gold, and some other jewels, which we* INTREATED *a gentleman Spaniard* TO LEAVE BEHIND HIM *as he was flying out of town.*"—From "The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, offered now at last to Publique view, both for the honour of the Actor, but especially for the stirring up of heroicke Spirits, to benefit their Countrey, and eternize their Names by like noble attempts. Collected out of the Notes of Master Francis Fletcher, Preacher in this imployment, and compared with divers others' Notes that went in the same Voyage." London, 1652.

The spirit manifested in the above extract is shown in the title-page of another book of the same period: "Sir Francis Drake Revived; Calling upon this Dull or Effeminate Age to follow his Noble Steps for Gold and Silver."

Master Francis Fletcher, preacher, and the "heroicke" admiral whose "noble steps for gold and silver" he accompanied, seem to have adopted the *Faustrecht* code of morals—

> "——————— the simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can."

The worthy preacher exhorts "heroicke spirits" to "eternize their names by like noble attempts," among which we find enumerated, with humorous self-complacency, the "finding" and appropriating the money of a civic treasury, and the "intreating" of a gentleman on the highway "to leave his gold and jewels behind him." This shows that 2,000 years of civilization, including fifteen centuries of Christianity, had made men of a certain character not more scrupulous in money matters than they were in the time of Xenophon. It is gratifying to add, that highway robbery is no longer considered to be part of the business of an English general, nor piracy that of an admiral. The universal prevalence among conquerors of just notions on

Socrates put to death.

During the brilliant career of Xenophon in Asia, the great moral teacher of the Athenians perished by the unjust decree of a capricious populace; nor was it long before the same jealous restlessness, which had expelled from the bosom of Athens the noblest of her sons, Aristides, Themistocles, and Thucydides, drove into exile the philosophic soldier, who had so triumphantly led back the Greek army from Asia.

Xenophon an exile.

Xenophon, now an exile, accompanied Agesilaus during a considerable part of his campaign against the Persians, B. C. 396, and attended that consummate warrior on his return, B. C. 394.[1] In the battle of Coroneia, fought in the same year, we find the Athenian hero in the ranks of the Lacedæmonians. After accompanying Agesilaus to Sparta, he finally settled at Scillus, near Olympia. Here, at this charming spot,[2] which gratified his taste in various ways, and which he made subservient to purposes of piety, by building a temple in imitation of that at Ephesus, he was joined by his wife Philesia and his children: his sons appear to have been subsequently educated at Sparta.[3] And now, in the entertainment of his friends, in the manly sports of the field, and in the composition of philosophical and historical works, especially the Hellenics,[4] his time passed smoothly away. After a peaceful yet active residence of twenty years, he was at last driven from his calm retreat by the Eleans, on which occasion his former political friends, the Lacedæmonians, made no stir in his behalf. This apparent neglect on the part of a race so firm in its attachments as the Spartans, plainly intimates the urgent necessities by which that brave people were surrounded, and would seem to point to the year B. C. 368, the date of the Bœotian invasion under Epameinondas. The Athenian sentence of banishment passed on Xenophon, who was now grown grey in exile, was rescinded on the proposal of Eubulus; and though the exact year is not known, yet it is not improbable that this took place B. C. 362, in which year the battle of Mantineia was fought. In this engagement, Xenophon's two sons, Gryllus and Diodorus, served in the cavalry of the allied armies, and the former perished gloriously, after mortally wounding the illustrious Epameinondas. When the news of his son's death was

Remains twenty years at Scillus.

Banishment of Xenophon revoked.

Gryllus and Diodorus in the allied cavalry.

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this point would do much good in the world. The following passage occurs in a letter, from Ensign Jones to Colonel Sykes, read at the Royal Asiatic Society in London, April 6, 1850. It relates to a town in the district west of the Indus:— "It required some trouble to make the natives of this and other places understand that no presents would be received, and *that provisions supplied would all be paid for.* This course was so different from the practice of the Sikh Sirdars that it was *almost incomprehensible*, but, when understood, produced a most favourable impression." Thus, long-continued oppression by the powerful renders honesty "almost incomprehensible" to the oppressed.

[1] ..... ὅτε ἀπῄει σὺν Ἀγεσιλάῳ ἐκ τῆς Ασίας τὴν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς ὁδὸν. κ. τ. λ.— Anab. v. 3, 6.

[2] Anab. v. 3, 7. [3] Plut. Ages. xx. [4] Diog. Laert.

brought to Xenophon, he was sacrificing, his head surrounded with a garland of flowers. He laid aside the bright wreath, but as he listened to the account of the glorious death of his son, inspired with the reminiscences of victory, the veteran resumed the sacrificial chaplet, exclaiming that the delight inspired by the valour of his son surpassed his grief for his death.

Honours conferred by the Mantineians on Gryllus.

The noble father was still further gratified by the conduct of the Mantineians, who honoured Gryllus with a public funeral and an equestrian statue, pronouncing him the "bravest of the brave" who had fought for them at Mantineia. The veteran chief, now personally honoured by the applause of admiring Greece, and exalted by the distinguished valour of his son, is said to have died considerably beyond the advanced age of ninety;[1] and as we have no evidence of his return to Attica, it is probable that his decease took place at Corinth, to which he had retired on leaving Scillus.

Death of Xenophon.

The military achievements of Xenophon, and several points of his character connected with them, have been so ably discussed in another part of the *Encyclopædia*, that we shall confine ourselves chiefly to his political, philosophical, and religious opinions: these, as might have been expected, were closely modelled upon those of Socrates. In the disciple we observe the practical notions of the master constantly apparent. The latter held that the best man, and most the favourite of the gods, was he who in all the relations of life performed his duty *well*: if a husbandman, the duties of husbandry; if a surgeon, the objects of the medical science; if a politician, his official duties towards the state; whereas, he who did nothing well, was neither useful nor beloved by the gods.[2] To ensure these qualifications, Xenophon was taught that *fitness* for office of every kind should be the leading principle of governments; hence the pilot held the supreme direction on shipboard, and the medical man in the patient's house; for their superior science in these several points was readily conceded. Then came the corollary which so powerfully stamped the sentiments of the Athenian sage on the hearts of such young men as Proxenus and Xenophon, placing in a vivid light the defective institutes of their country. "It was absurd," said their great teacher, "to select public officers by lot, since no one would hazard his life aboard ship by trusting to a pilot so chosen; nor would any one select a carpenter or musician in the same manner."[3] Again, he alone was the legitimate governor who knew how to govern *well*.[4] Aristophanes had trodden in this perilous path when depicting the gross features of Demus, but upheld by poetic wings, he had left an impress so slight in the mire of the Athenian democracy, as to escape the popular vengeance that tracked the firm step of the Athenian sage. It is not difficult to discern the tendency of these principles; and

Political, philosophical, and religious opinions of Xenophon.

Socratic sentiments upon government.

[1] Lucian, Macrob. xxi.
[2] Mem. iii. 9, 14, 15.
[3] Ibid. i. 2, 9. See Aristoph. Vit. Bekk. p. xiii. for the same sentiment.
[4] Xenoph. Mem. iii. 9, 10, 11.

while their author would be the last individual to violate the institutions of his native country, we cannot but be struck with the impossibility of carrying out these doctrines without practically running counter to Athenian democracy. In fact, though devoted to the state, and the solid improvement of the young, it is evident that the sentiment of Socrates was not in harmony with the constitution of Athens, but seems to have been similar to that which his disciple, Xenophon, has embodied in the Cyropædia. Throughout the whole of Xenophon's career we observe him unfolding the principles of the Athenian sage, both political and religious, marking carefully that nice distinction of idea where science ends and religion begins. In this case he endeavours to draw as broad a line as possible. The theories of Anaxagoras, and other eminent philosophers who had preceded him, however beautiful, were in general purely speculative; they differed, *toto cælo*, from the great principles which repose upon the basis of experimental philosophy, and we may therefore readily conceive that they not only possessed no charm for the practical mind of Socrates, but by invading the realms of space, seemed in some measure to grasp at the dominion of the gods. Hence the idea of the Socratic Xenophon is, that it was the design of the gods that those means by which they effected astronomical results, should remain beyond the power of mortal discovery, nor was it anything less than an act of impiety, as well as inutility, to investigate these arcana.[1]

Political feelings of Socrates non-democratic.

Line drawn between religion and science.

Still, attached to what was feasible, he allowed that a moderate knowledge of the celestial bodies, as far as they might serve as indices for navigation, the change of seasons, and the proper time for journeys, would be serviceable. Beyond this it was a mere waste of time, involving a corresponding loss of useful acquirements.[2]

Applications of celestial science.

"Let persons," he observes, "who have essayed such investigations as these, remember how the most distinguished men have signally failed, by a difference of results, and by a tenure of opinions, as opposite as those of madmen."

Had Xenophon, or rather his master, been aware that these very sciences were the least theoretical of all—from which all speculative elements must be excluded, save those which rest upon the exact sciences—most certainly there would never have existed a more earnest teacher of those very doctrines which he decried. Again, as to the application of the teaching of the gods in aid of human knowledge or its course of action, we find Xenophon looking to these as allotted by the celestials, for the purpose of being wrought out and completed by the agencies of man, with an order so clear and an effect so certain, that he who was really disposed to learn might learn; whilst, on the other hand, neglect of exertion ensured its own punishment. Still there were some junctures of an importance so vast, that the gods thought fit to conceal them from men, and to take the supreme direction themselves.[3] Notwithstanding this grand deviation from the

Influences of celestial teaching.

[1] Xenoph. Mem. iv. 7, 6. [2] Mem. iv. 7, 5. [3] Ibid. i. 1, 7.

The gods as approached by supplication.

ordinary sequence of things, it was the belief of Xenophon, that even here an humble and earnest application to the divine powers would elicit revelation, as well as premonitory signification of their will, and this very tender regard of the celestial beings towards mankind, in sending answers by sacrificial prodigies, or by oracles, constitutes the highest proof of their benevolence towards human frailty.[1] How deeply these principles had sunk into the bosom of Xenophon, is seen through the whole course of his varied existence. In his hazardous retreat, constant are his applications to learn the will of heaven by sacrifice, from whence he is ever ready to accept a happy omen; and these are generally cases beyond the ordinary resources of the military art, or the prudence of human foresight.[2]

Devotional spirit evinced by Xenophon.

The divine machinery of dreams plays as prominent a part in the Anabasis as in the Iliad; in both cases dreams are "from Jove."[3] From a review of the political principles of Socrates, we are not surprised at corresponding effects upon his steady auditors, especially Xenophon.

An individual who is thoroughly convinced of the powerlessness of any given political institutions to produce tranquillity and security to property, is undoubtedly entitled to secede from them; and if Xenophon entertained opinions of this nature, at a period when the peace of his native country was as little secured by her institutions, as that of France was by the Convention, he cannot fairly be stigmatised for manifesting such sentiments. His strong bias to the Spartan system of government, and his accompanying Agesilaus to the field of Coronea, have been considered by some eminent writers as a blot upon his political character, which others have attempted to explain away.[4] The case is one which needs no apology—it shows rather the good sense and sound judgment of our author, in preferring a constitution more in harmony with fixed principles of equity, and less liable to the impulses of collective irresponsible power. A state, where life, property, and tranquillity were perpetually imperilled,—a state of wavering institutes and grasping tyranny,—deserved no more respect from Xenophon than was shown by Moreau to France, when fighting in the ranks of the allied sovereigns, or by the exiles of the French revolution to the spoliators of their native country. If Xenophon's solitary action be considered treasonable, what can be said of the 30,000 Greeks, who, with Persians, the sworn enemies of their country, fought against Greeks, led on by Alexander, the recognised champion of national Hellas? Faction of the many, like individual despotism, is ever a merciless tyrant, and Xenophon acted prudently in seeking foreign service to escape the galling yoke, which fell heavily in Athens upon those possessed of competence. Nothing can be a stronger censure

His position with respect to Athens.

Analogic position of Xenophon.

[1] Mem. i. 1, 9, 19.

[2] Anab. iv. 5, 3, *et passim.*

[3] ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν.—Il. i. 63.

[4] See Delbrueck's Xenophon: Zur Rettung seiner durch G. B. Niebuhr gefaehrdeten Ehre, 1829.

upon a government than the death, banishment, or even secession of such men as Socrates, Aristeides, Æschylus, and Xenophon.

A state of society, or rather a dissocial state, where avowed hereditary enmity to the accused can be tolerated by judicial courts, and where the political offences of the father[1] are urged as a basis for the condemnation of the son, can offer little individual security, and can hold out few chances of happiness to the peaceable and quietly disposed, when guilty of the enormity of wealth.[2] The Leitourgiai, or state burdens, demanding the wealth and personal services of the rich, became on the one hand sources of the greatest extortion, and on the other of the greatest suffering.[3] The public was so easily filled with constant alarms about the loss of its liberty,[4] by the designing arts of influential demagogues, that it had become an assumed public maxim, that war with Sparta was most advantageous for the maintenance of the democracy.[5] Could any man of prudence, or of calm temperament, like Xenophon, endure the sway of such dangerous principles, by which property was to be confiscated to uphold national vanity, led on by individual aggrandizement? Dangerous position for independent feeling.

It is pretty certain that Socrates would have little to lose by such doctrines, though it is not so clear to what extent Xenophon might have been a sufferer by their arbitrary influence. One thing is certain, that by taking foreign service he avoided the perpetual annoyances that would have met him at every turn in his native country. What safety there could have been for Xenophon, or for any man of independent spirit, will be easily discerned by the state of the Attic government.[6] He certainly had no cause to regret being an exile

[1] Alcib. i. p. 141.

[2] The bitter workings of such a spirit are unhappily too evident in a country not far from our own shores, where the insane cry of "La propriété c'est le vol!" has become but too common.

[3] Even for the theatrical, gymnastic, and musical exhibitions, which at Athens were very numerous, heavy responsibility was attached to the unfortunate possessors of competence; and whilst their Attic estates were seriously injured by hostile ravages, upon these were levied extraordinary contributions, and their patrimonies swallowed up through the cupidity of such popular demagogues as could gain the public ear.

[4] Aristoph. 488-502.

[5] Andoc. de Pace, p. 23.

[6] "The pay of the jurors introduced by Pericles strengthened this impulse" (fondness for forensic proceedings) "by a fresh motive, which, when Cleon had tripled the amount of pay, acted more powerfully and on a larger class. A considerable number of citizens then began to look to the exercise of their judicial functions as a regular source both of pleasure and profit." Again, "A large fortune was both an object of cupidity, and of itself raised a suspicion of disaffection toward the democracy, which was sufficient to cover many defects in the evidence brought against the possessor, unless he could show he had reduced his income by voluntary and liberal sacrifices for the public benefit. This iniquitous prejudice was not only the cause of many unjust sentences, but subjected the rich to a kind of persecution which was continually threatening their peace, even if it did not actually assail them." Thirwall, Hist. Greece, vol. iv. pp. 230, 232.

Perilous residence at Athens.

from a city, where a decree inscribed on a column of the Council Chamber[1] sanctioned the atrocious doctrine of summarily slaying any individual who might be discovered aiming at the subversion of the democracy. If to this we add that the citizens swore to exercise this monstrous power, we shall have cause to congratulate on their independent spirit such men as Proxenus and Xenophon, while our admiration of the firmness of his great Athenian teacher will be still further enhanced. These views enable us to rate at its real value the superficial objection to this part of Xenophon's political career. Easy would it be to show that, buffeted by a jealous populace on the one hand, and crushed by an odious oligarchy on the other, Athens, in the time of Xenophon, offered no safe resting-place for the social denizen of antiquity; and his mildness, temperance, and piety, prove incontestably, that though circumstances enabled him to distinguish himself as a soldier, he was essentially a man of quiet tastes, who adorned not only the battle-field but the peaceful home. Antiquity may condemn him as an indifferent Athenian, but he would have made an excellent Englishman.

Works of Xenophon.

In addition to the Anabasis, already noticed, the chief works of Xenophon are the *Hellenica*, a historical treatise divided into seven books, extending over a period of forty-eight years, taking up the history of Greece from the time of Thucydides, and carrying it forward to the battle of Mantineia, B. C. 462. Niebuhr considers that

The Hellenica.

the Hellenica is composed of two distinct works, written at various times; the second book of the Hellenica completing the History of Thucydides by the account of the capture of Athens, B. C. 404, and the conclusion relating to the restoration of Athens by Thrasybulus, B. C. 403.[2]

Cyropædia.

The *Cyropædia* is a work in eight books, and is generally looked upon more as a political romance than a history, evolving Xenophon's idea of good government. An attentive consideration will undoubtedly entitle it to the appellation of an historical or biographical treatise, embellished possibly with the author's favourite ideas, but entitled to far more confidence in its chief features than much of the record of Herodotus, when dependent upon traditional sources.

We must not forget that Xenophon had ample means of establishing or refuting the information given him on Persian affairs, and that his general picture of early simplicity and good training amongst the Persians is amply corroborated in its broad features by numerous passages in Herodotus. This is a point upon which it has been usual of late to pronounce very dogmatically, as though Xenophon's campaign with Agesilaus, his connexion with the Persian court, and his retreat, gave him no better opportunities than those enjoyed by other Greeks;

[1] Lycurg. c. Leocr. p. 165. See Thirwall's Greece, vol. iv. p. 241.

[2] See the Classical Museum, No. 4, article by G. C. Lewis, on the division of the Hellenica into two books.

and because his portrait of the early Persians chanced to coincide with that of the Spartans, it has been imagined that the whole work was drawn up solely to carry a political point.[1]

Objects of the Cyropædia.

The Cyropædia, one of the most graceful and pleasing of Xenophon's works, portrays the course of rigid early training, in the paths of virtue and of hardihood, submitted to by Cyrus and the young Persian nobility: it especially points out the important habits of self-restraint, discipline, and obedience, to which the young prince and his companions were accustomed; the very antithesis to the unbridled passions and feelings of Athenian democracy. It thence traces him through the course of his warlike life, exhibiting the fruits produced by this early culture. The work is rendered still further attractive by the episodes it contains: that of Abradates is particularly interesting. The sentiment of Cyrus, on the immortality of the soul, is that of Socrates:[2] he observes, "I never could believe that the soul lives merely while it is in a perishable body, and that it dies when freed from it."

Œconomicus.

The *Œconomicus* is an excellent treatise, written in the form of a dialogue, demonstrating the art of duly administering one's household and property. The following sentiments show the thoroughly home-feeling of Xenophon, and evince his decided taste for domestic life. "I esteem a wife to be a good and necessary companion for the master of the house: there is only a little more power in the husband than in the wife; the substance of the estate is generally increased by the labour and industry of the man, but the wife, for the most part, has the labour and care of distributing and ordering those things that are brought into the house; and if, therefore, the husband and wife agree in their management, the houses and estates improve, but when there is not this harmony, they must necessarily decay." To Crito's question, what faculties Socrates would have him use? Socrates replies, "The king of Persia may set us a good example; for we are told that the sciences most esteemed by him are war and husbandry; these of all others he reckons most honourable, and therefore gives them the most encouragement." . . . Socrates goes on to say, "The prince employs great part of his time in riding about the neighbouring part of the country, observing the state of husbandry, whether the lands are tilled as they ought to be, and he sends to the remote parts such deputies as are esteemed to be the best judges. . . . . From these examples, do you not believe that the king of Persia has as great a regard to the people of his country, and the science of husbandry, as he has to keeping an army in such order as to be able to defend it? . . . . .

Political œconomics.

[1] Quindi Senofante, nato Ateniense, e fattosi Spartano alta scuola d'Agesilao, cercò fra i primitivi Persiani un modello di educazione, e di politico reggimento, che ai corrotti Greci fosse documento e rampogna, e tacitamente richiamasse la lora attenzione all'antica disciplina Laconica. Centofante. "Idea Storia expressa da Senofante," Firenze, 1841.

[2] Cyrop. viii. 7. See also Cic. de Senec. xxii.

Application to husbandry and the chase.

If a man is inclined to practise horsemanship, and to grow expert in that science for the defence of his country, a horse can nowhere be better kept than in the country; or if a man choose to exercise himself on foot or in running, husbandry gives him strength, and he may exercise himself in hunting.

"Here also is exercise for his dogs, as well as entertainment in the search for wild beasts and game; and the horses and dogs, thus assisted by husbandry, return as good service to the ground; for the horse may carry his master early in the morning to see that the workmen and labourers do their duty in the field, returning with the master again at night, at the latest hour, if his presence should be required till that time. And the dogs form a defence against wild beasts, preventing their destruction of the fruits of the earth, and of the sheep, and even keeping man safe in the wilderness." . . . . Again, he thinks

Domestic œconomics.

that "The queen-bee is an excellent example to a wife; she keeps always in the hive, taking care that all the bees that are in the hive with her are duly employed in their several occupations, and those whose business is abroad she sends out to their several works." "This example," says Isomachus to his wife, "is what I give you as a lesson worthy of your practice; your care requires your presence at home, to send abroad the servants, whose business is out of doors, and to direct those whose occupation is in the house. You must receive the goods that are brought in, and distribute such part of them as you think necessary for the use of the family, and see that the rest be laid up till there be occasion for it, and especially avoid the extravagance of using that in a month, which is allotted for twelve months' service. Above all, that which will gain you the greatest love and affection from your servants, is to help them when they are visited with sickness, and that to the utmost of your power." In accordance with these truly charitable principles, Xenophon piously sums up his dis-

Qualifications for domestic rule.

course, by observing, "A master of any other sciences as well as husbandry, who has good sense enough, and sufficient order to induce family affection, does not possess this power by teaching only, but it is from the gods that he must receive his good nature and wisdom. He must be born with a generous soul, which must proceed from them, and never have I yet found the true gift of government unattended by generosity. Where these excellent qualities are evident, all under such direction are willing to obey, especially if the ruling power be in the hands of those who are endowed with virtue and temperance. But where a master exercises himself in cruelty, or acts tyrannically against the good-will and reason of mankind, he can never anticipate the least ease or comfort."

On improving the revenues of the state.

His treatise *On improving the Revenue of the State* is founded upon the physical advantages of Athens and its territory; and he sets out with the maxim that "governments resemble the governors, and that the prosperity or decline, the vigour or decay of all states, is found to be derived from the virtues or vices, the abilities or weaknesses, of

their rulers. But since," observes Xenophon, "it is generally alleged in vindication of the Athenian ministry, that they understand the common principles of justice, as well as the rest of mankind, but that they are compelled, by the necessities of the people, to oppress their confederate cities with unreasonable tribute and taxes, I have attempted to examine whether this apology is well grounded, or whether they are not capable by native riches, and by the revenue of Athens, of maintaining the whole body of our people, which is the most just and honourable provision that can be thought of; for I imagine, if such a design could be carried out, that the wants of the people would be more effectually relieved, and the jealousies and suspicions of our neighbours quieted."

Proposition of premiums for the despatch of justice.

He proceeds, "It would be a great encouragement to commerce, if prizes and rewards were allotted to such judges of the merchant-court as should make the quickest and most equitable decision on all causes connected with trade, that the merchant might not lose the benefit of his market, by an attendance upon the courts of justice." From this proposal we may form some idea of the extraordinary state of Attic judicature; Xenophon also brings forward plans for swelling the revenue by building houses and merchant ships on hire, and for the better management of the silver mines, and the application of the wealth to be drawn from them.

The Athenian Republic.

The *Athenian Republic* (whose authorship has been attributed to some other Athenian exile) is certainly a non-eulogistic performance, and the writer everywhere shows his strong aversion to Attic institutes. "The Athenians," he observes, "in my opinion are entitled to little commendation for having originally adopted their present political institutions, because they are calculated to give an undue ascendancy to the poor and the bad over the wealthy and good—I cannot therefore commend them. These institutions, however, as they have been adopted, are admirably adapted, as can be demonstrated by abundant proof, to support the spirit of their constitution, and to enable them to transact public business, though among the rest of the Greeks a different opinion prevails."

The Lacedæmonian Republic.

The *Lacedæmonian Republic*, as a work, is a laudatory composition, embodying the well-known features of the Lycurgean code, in which the Spartan system is highly extolled.

The Horse.

Xenophon's treatise upon *The Horse*, is evidently the production of one thoroughly acquainted with his subject, and treated *con amore* and with vigour. "As it has fallen to our lot," he observes, "by long practice to have become experienced in horsemanship, we wish to point out to our young friends, how they may become skilful in that exercise; Cimon, indeed, has written a treatise on horsemanship; he also erected a brazen horse at the temple of Ceres at Athens, and carved on the pedestal his own deeds. We shall not expunge from our own writings whatever we find in accordance with his views, but we will give them with much more pleasure to our friends, reckoning

them more deserving of credit, inasmuch as he who was a horseman corresponded in opinion with us. Whatever he has omitted, we will attempt to supply." He then describes how a horse should be chosen; then follows the training of horses; the stable and its position; instructions to the groom; the best system of equitation; training for irregular ground; the correct use and management of a horse; the choice and management of a war-horse; the choice of a horse for show and of magnificent figure; the armour of the horseman. In the *Hipparchicus*, or the duties of a commander of cavalry, are to be found, not only military instructions, but a calm devotional feeling, taking its source in that confidence in the protection of Providence which was ever inculcated by Socrates. "It is usual," says Xenophon, "for foes to form enterprises against each other, but neither parties know what designs are formed against each severally; the gods know them, however, and foreshow them to whom they please, by auguries, sacrifices, voices, and dreams." This he writes, to account for his frequent use of the phrase "God willing," which exactly coincides with the Socratic doctrine of special revelation before noticed.

Hipparchicus.

Cynegeticus. The *Cynegeticus* treats of the dog; the breeding and training of dogs; of game, and the method of catching it. Throughout the whole of it there is a heartiness of purpose and style, that cannot fail to please the genuine English country gentleman, to whom indeed, in thought, action, and principle, Xenophon had a considerable resemblance.

Memorabilia. The *Memorabilia*, the philosophical doctrines of which we have before noticed, is a work consisting of four books, in which Xenophon defends the memory of the Athenian sage, against the charges of corrupting the youth of Athens, and of irreligion. Xenophon enters into a specific examination of these two charges,[1] and then demonstrates the actual life of Socrates. It is plain, practical, and strikingly contradistinguished from the work of Plato, by a total absence of that deep-toned research and abstract train of demonstration in which that great philosopher attempted to amplify the doctrines of Socrates; yet while apparently distinct from the profounder doctrines of Socrates, as represented by Plato, it is gratifying to reflect that the simplicity of the practical Xenophon has given to us such a portrait of the great Athenian sage, as could never have been drawn by the somewhat ideal pencil of Plato.

The Hiero. *The Hiero* is a dialogue held between king Hiero and Simonides. The dangers and difficulties attendant on exalted station are pointed out by the king, in contradistinction to the happiness of a private individual. In reply, Simonides enumerates the advantages conferred by the possession of power, particularly the means it bestows of doing good; he likewise suggests the best means of using power, especially for the public advantage.

Symposium. In another of Xenophon's works, styled the *Symposium, or Banquet of the Philosophers*, we have some life-like sketches of

[1] C. 1. 2.

Socrates, giving us a good idea of the general manner of his address, and the process by which he extracted the ignorance of the self-sufficient. There is a goodly fund of humour, and a somewhat Asiatic turn of imagery, arising perhaps from the inspiration of the joyous occasion. The discussion turns on love and friendship. Socrates, Antisthenes, Charmides, and Cratibulus, are the chief speakers, who are supposed to meet at the house of Callias, a wealthy Athenian.

Editions of Xenophon's works.

These constitute the whole of Xenophon's works, of which, separately or wholly, numerous editions have been published. The Aldine version, printed at Venice, 1503, folio, contained the Hellenica only, under the name of Paralipomena, and supplementary to Thucydides. In A.D. 1516 was printed the first general edition folio, though without the "Apology," the "Agesilaus," and the "Revenue of Athens." A more complete edition by Adrea of Asola, including all Xenophon's works, with the exception of the "Apology," was printed by Aldus, at Venice, 1525, folio. The first edition, containing the Greek text and Latin translation, is that of Basle, 1545, folio. A greatly improved text is contained in Stephens, 1561, folio, while a still better is given by Weiske, 6 vols., Leipzig, 1798–1804. The most complete edition, aided by maps, plans, notices of MSS., and critical and literary remarks, is that of Gail, Paris, 7 vols., 4to., 1797–1804. It contains the Greek text, and Latin and French versions. There is, however, little either of originality or of vigorous criticism, in this extensive edition. The best is that of Schneider, Leipzig, 1798.

Translations.

Xenophon's works have been translated into English by various individuals, Ashley Cooper, Spelman, Smith, Fielding, and others, at very different periods, and are all collected together in Jones's edition of the Classics, London, 1832, 8vo. There is a French version edited by Buchon of Paris, and an Italian by Centofanti of Florence; a German translation also by different hands, published at Stuttgart, 1827–30.

REFLECTIONS

ON

THE GREEK HISTORIANS.

[Extracted from "ANCIENT GREECE, translated from the German of ARNOLD H. L. HEEREN by GEORGE BANCROFT," London, 1847; pp. 208–217.]

Origin of Greek history.

THE history of the Greeks emanated from tradition; and since this supplied poetry with its subjects, the poets remained for centuries the sole preservers of traditional accounts. But it does not follow that Grecian history was an invention, because it was originally poetical. Indeed, it never entirely lost that character. The subjects of history, as presented by tradition, were only interwoven with fictions. But it is obvious of itself, that the character of the Grecian traditions must have had a great or even a decisive influence on the character of their history.

By means of the original and continued division of the nation into many tribes the traditions were very much enriched. Each tribe had its heroes and its deeds of valour to employ the bard. To convince ourselves of this we need but cast a glance on the tales of the Grecian heroes. Individuals among them who were more distinguished than the rest, as Hercules and Jason, became the heroes of the nation, and therefore the favourites of the poets. And after the first great national enterprise, after Troy had fallen, need we be astonished that the historic Muse preferred this to all other subjects?

Historic poetry.

All is too well known to need any more copious exposition. But much as Homer and the Cyclic poets eclipsed the succeeding ones, historic poetry kept pace with the political culture of the nation. This union we must not leave unobserved.

That advancement in political culture was, as we observed above, connected with the rising prosperity of the cities in Greece and of the colonies. The founding of cities (κτίσεις) therefore formed an essential part of the earlier history. But cities were founded by heroes; and the traditions respecting these things were therefore intimately connected with the rest. Who does not see how wide a field was here opened for historic poetry? Such narrations had always a lasting interest for the inhabitants; they were, by their very nature, of a kind to be exaggerated till they became marvellous; and were connected with accounts of the most ancient voyages; stories of the wonders of foreign and distant countries; the island of the Cyclops, the garden

of the Hesperides, the rich Iberia, and others. What could afford more agreeable nourishment to the imagination of a youthful people? What could be more attractive to the poets?

Hence there arose among the Greeks a particular class of historic poems, which, though in subject and form most intimately connected with other poems, were yet specially commemorative of the founding of the several cities. The class embraced, it is true, cities of the mother-country, but chiefly related to the colonies; for their establishment, intimately interwoven with the history of heroes, offered the richest materials.

Deep impression of poetic history.

History continued to be treated in a poetical manner till near the time of the Persian wars. How deeply, therefore, must the poetic character have been imprinted upon Grecian history! Experience has taught that it was indelibly so. When the first writers appeared who made use of prose, this character was changed only with respect to the form, but by no means to the matter. They related in prose what the poets had told in verse. This is expressly stated by Strabo. "The earliest writers," says he, "Cadmus of Miletus, Pherecydes, Hecatæus, preserved the poetic character, though not the measure of verse. Those who came after them were the first to descend from that height to the present style of writing."

The opinion of Cicero seems, therefore, to have been ill founded, when he compares the oldest historians, and particularly Pherecydes, with the earliest annalists of the Romans, Fabius Pictor and Cato, whose style was certainly not poetical.

Ionians the chief contributors to early history.

The larger number and the earliest of the narrators of traditions, as Herodotus styles them, in distinction from the epic poets, were Ionians. Epic poetry was followed by narrations in prose, in the very countries where it had been cultivated most successfully. History has left us in uncertainty respecting the more immediate causes of this change; but has not the East always been the land of fables? Here, where the crowd of colonial cities was springing up, which were founded toward the end of the heroic age, that class of narrations which relate to these subjects found the most appropriate themes. In explaining, therefore, the origin of historic science among the Greeks, it may perhaps be proper to remember, that they participated in the character of the oriental nations; although they merit the glory of having subsequently given to that science its true and peculiar character.

The logographers.

But in the period in which the prose style of narration was thus forming, the improvement of historic science appears to have been promoted by several very natural causes. The larger number and the most celebrated of those mythological historians lived and flourished in the latter half of the sixth century before the Christian era; that is, not long before the commencement of the Persian wars. Of these the earliest are said to have been Cadmus of Miletus, and Hecatæus of the same place, Acusilaus of Argos, Pherecydes of Syros, Charon of

Lampsacus, and several others whom Dionysius of Halicarnassus enumerates.

Date and extent of subject treated by the logographers.

They belong to the age in which the nation was rising in youthful energy; when it was already extended to the west and the east, and its flourishing cities were engaged in various commerce; when it had become acquainted with many nations, and travelling had begun to be common. From the title of the works of these narrators of traditions, it is evident that they were not careful to limit themselves to the accounts which they found in the ancient epic poets; but that they took a wider range, embracing the history of cities and nations, and also the description of the coasts of the countries. A proof of this is found in the catalogue of the writings of Hellanicus the Lesbian, one of the latest of them.

These remarks, when considered in connection, will serve to show us the character of history before Herodotus. It was in its origin entirely Grecian; and even when the sphere of observation was extended to foreign countries, kept pace with the political advancement of the nation, it preserved its poetical character, and therefore did not become critical; but it was developed with perfect freedom, and was never held by the priests in bondage to religion. As poetry had for a long time been the means of its preservation, it became in some measure the play of fancy (although epic poetry was much more restricted than the subsequent lyric and tragic); but in return, as it was propagated by no hieroglyphics, it could never, as in Egypt, degenerate into mere symbolical narration. When it came to be transferred from poetry to prose, it was necessarily connected with improvements in the art of writing; and the deficiency of our accounts on this subject is one of the chief reasons why we are so little able to mark the progress of its particular branches. But whatever influences these causes may have exercised, the great reason which retarded historic science before Herodotus lay in the want of subjects.

Causes of historic neglect.

Before the Persian wars there was no subject capable of inspiring the historian. The Trojan war, the Argonautic expedition, all great undertakings, belonged to tradition, and hence belonged more than half to poetry. The narrations of the origin of the individual cities, accounts of distant nations and countries, might gratify curiosity, might afford amusement; but nothing more. There existed no great national subject of universal interest.

At length came the Persian wars. The victory at Marathon first awakened a spirit of valour: whether this was more inflamed by the defeat at Thermopylæ, or the victory at Salamis, it is difficult to say; with the battle of Platæa freedom was saved. What a subject for the historic muse!

Nature of the subject as treated by Herodotus.

The subject, from its very nature, belonged exclusively to history; and poetry had no share in it. It was no subject of hoary antiquity, nor yet of the present moment; but of a period which had but recently passed away. And yet it came so variously in contact with tradition,

that an historian in a critical age would often have been compelled to take his walks into the regions of mythology. How much more, then, at a time when the bounds between history and tradition had not yet been in the slightest degree marked out!

Herodotus employed himself on this subject, and managed it in a manner which surpassed all expectation. Many things, it is true, served to facilitate his labour. Many attempts had been made to explain the earliest history of cities and nations; travelling had been rendered easy by the extensive commerce of the Grecian cities, and several of his predecessors are known to have visited many countries; the mythological writers (λογογράφοι) had already formed the language for prosaic narration; and the nation for which he wrote was already awake to the beauties of historic composition. Still he was the first who undertook to treat of a purely historical subject, and thus to take the decisive step which gave to history its rank as an independent science. Yet he did not limit himself to his chief subject, but gave it such an extent, that his work, notwithstanding its epic unity, became in a certain sense a universal history.

Facilities given to Herodotus.

Is a sort of universal history.

Continuing the thread of his story from the times when controversies first arose between the Hellenes and the barbarians, till those when at Platæa the war was terminated so gloriously for the Greeks, Hellas, attacked but liberated, became the great subject of his narration; opportunities were constantly presenting themselves, or were introduced, of interweaving the description and history of the countries and nations which required to be mentioned, without ever losing sight of his chief object, to which he returns from every episode. He had himself visited the greater part of these countries and nations; had seen them with his own eyes; had collected information from the most credible sources. But when he enters upon the antiquities of the nations, especially of his own, he makes use of the means afforded him by his age; and here his work borders on those of the earlier historians (the λογογράφοι). It is no longer necessary to appear as his defender; posterity has not continued unjust towards him. No writer has received more frequent confirmation by the advances which, within the last thirty years, have been made in the knowledge of nations and countries than Herodotus, who was formerly so often the object of ridicule. But our sole purpose was to show in what manner the science of history had been elevated by his choice of a subject; and how this choice was intimately connected with the impulse given to the political character of his nation.

Distinctive characters of his work.

The first great step had thus been taken. A purely historical subject, relating to the past, but to no distant period, and no longer belonging to tradition, had been treated by a master, who had devoted the largest part of his life to a plan framed with deliberation and executed with enthusiasm. The nation possessed an historical work which first showed what history is, and which was particularly well fitted to awaken a taste for it. As Herodotus read his work to all

Greece assembled at Olympia, a youth, according to the tradition, was incited by it to become, not his imitator, but his successor.

History of Thucydides.

Thucydides appeared. His predecessor had written a history of the past. He became the historian of his own time. He was the first who seized on this idea, on which the whole character of his work depends; though others, especially the ancient cities, looked for it in his style, his eloquence, and other secondary matters. By this means he advanced the science of history in a higher degree than he himself was aware of. His subject made him necessarily a critic.

The storm of the Persian wars had been terrific, but transitory. During its continuance no historian could appear. It was not till after its fury had for some time abated, and men had regained their composure of mind, that Herodotus could find a place. Amidst the splendour of the victories which had been gained, under the shade of security won by valour, with what emotions did the Greek look back upon those years! Who could be more welcome to him than the historian, who painted for him this picture of his own glory, not only as a whole, but in its parts! The age of Thucydides, on the contrary, was full of grandeur, but of difficulties. In the long and obstinate war with one another, the Grecian states sought to overturn each other from their very foundations. It was not the age of wars only, but of revolutions with all their horrors.

Characteristic of the age of Thucydides.

Whether a man were an aristocrat or a democrat, a friend of Athens or of Sparta, was the question on which depended fortune, liberty, and life. A beneficent reverse rescued Thucydides from the whirlpool, and gave him that immortality which the capture of Amphipolis never could have conferred upon him. The fruit of his leisure was the history of his age; a work he himself proposed to write, and actually wrote, for eternity.

This is not the place to eulogise the man who remained calm amidst all the turbulence of the passions, the only exile who has written an impartial history. His acquaintance with states and business, his deep political acuteness, his style, nervous though occasionally uncouth, have all been illustrated by others. We will only allow ourselves to show, by a few remarks, how much historic science was advanced by the nature of his subject.

Political powers and style of Thucydides.

The undertaking of the man who was the first to form the idea of writing the history of his own times, and of events in which he himself had a share, must not be compared with that of the modern writer, who compiles it from many written documents. He was compelled to investigate everything by personal inquiry; and that, too, in a period when everything was misrepresented by passion and party spirit. But antiquity had not enwrapped his subject in the veil of tradition, nor had it in its nature any epic interest. The subject was thoroughly prosaic; setting before the writer no other aim than that of exhibiting the truth. In this lay the sole interest; and to ascertain and repeat the truth is all which we can fairly demand of the historian.

His object, truth.

We honour and respect him, because, penetrated with the consciousness of his dignity, he never for a moment becomes untrue to it. A sentiment of reverence accompanies us from the first to the last leaf of his work. Not the historian, History herself seems to address us.

But to what new views must he have been led, when, with the desire of arriving at truth, he turned his eyes to the form under which history had thus far appeared! It was his immediate aim to relate the events of his own times, but the preceding age could not remain wholly excluded from the sphere of his observation. It appeared to him clothed in the mantle of tradition, and he who scrutinised everything with care was not caught by its delusive splendour. He endeavoured to contemplate antiquity as it was, to take from it this false glare, leaving nothing but the light of truth; and thus was produced that invaluable introduction which precedes his work.

Thucydides the inventor of historical criticism.

By such means Thucydides was the inventor of an art, which before him had been almost unknown, the art of historic criticism, without being conscious of the infinite value of his invention. For he did not apply it to all branches of knowledge, but only to his subject, because it was a natural consequence of that subject. The historic Muse had made him acquainted with her most secret nature; no one before or after him has drawn the line more clearly between history and tradition. And what is this, but to draw the distinction between the historic culture of the east and west? and if we recognise how much depended on this historic culture, between the whole scientific culture of the east and west? For to repeat a remark which has already been cursorily made, the great difference between the two consists in this—in the west the free spirit of criticism was developed, and in the east never.

It is, therefore, just to say, that Thucydides advanced a giant's step. It is just to say, that he rose above his age; neither his own nor the following could reach him. Poetic tradition was too deeply interwoven with Grecian history to admit of an entire separation. A Theopompus and Ephorus, whenever the heroic age was to be discussed, drew their materials with as little concern from the writers of mythological fables and the poets, as if Thucydides never had written.

Xenophon's historical works.

A third step yet remained to be taken, and it was in some respects the most dangerous of all,—to become the historian of one's own exploits. This step was taken by Xenophon. For when we speak of his historic writings, his Anabasis so far surpasses the rest, that it alone deserves to be mentioned. But this new step may with propriety be called one of the most important. Would that he who ventured to take it had found many successors! By the mildness and modesty of his personal character, Xenophon was secured from the faults into which men are so apt to fall when they describe their own actions; although these virtues and the nature of his subject could not give his

work those superior qualities which the genius of Cæsar knew how to impart to his Commentaries.

Thus, in the period of their freedom, all the principal kinds of history were developed among the Greeks. What was done afterwards can hardly be called progress, although the subjects of history grew more various and more extensive with the enlarged sphere of politics in the Macedonian and Roman age, and the idea of a universal history was more distinctly entertained. But after the downfall of liberty, when rhetoric became prevalent and was applied to history, the higher kind of criticism ceased to be employed in it. The style, the manner in which a subject was treated, was regarded, not the subject itself. The essence was forgotten in disputes about the form. We have abundant proofs of this in the judgments of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who has nevertheless been usually mentioned as the first of these critics.

GREEK ORATORS.

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SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

GREEK ORATORS.

LYSIAS - - - - -	BORN B. C. 458	- - - -	DIED B. C. 378
ISOCRATES - - - -	BORN B. C. 436	- - - -	DIED B. C. 338
ISÆUS - - -	BORN PERHAPS B. C. 499,	DIED LATER THAN	B. C. 338
DEMOSTHENES - - -	BORN B. C. 382	- - - -	DIED B. C. 322
ÆSCHINES - -	BORN ABOUT B. C. 389	- -	DIED ABOUT B. C. 314
DEMADES - -	FLOURISHED B. C. 335	- - - -	DIED B. C. 318
HYPERIDES - -	FLOURISHED B. C. 335	- -	DIED ABOUT B. C. 322

GREEK ORATORS.

FROM A.M. 3546—B.C. 458, TO A.M. 3682—B.C. 322.

The palm of oratory conceded to the ancients.

If we take an extensive view of ancient and modern literature, and compare their several departments, in order to form an accurate estimate of their relative merit, the palm of oratory seems confessedly conceded to the former. In the prosecution of scientific researches, in developing the principles of political economy, in the cultivation of various arts which contribute by their utility to national greatness, or adorn by their elegance the social intercourse of domestic life, the moderns have a manifest superiority. The same pre-eminence may be found in our didactic and descriptive poetry; and even in those more lofty and sublime efforts where the grandeur of the subject is calculated to display the full strength and brilliancy of poetical talent, the competition has not been inglorious. The ancients may, perhaps with justice, claim the prize; but we, at least, have proved ourselves no unworthy rivals.

In eloquence the case is widely different: a review of modern history presents to our observation few who deserve the name of orators, even among those nations whose government would seem likely to facilitate the growth of eloquence, by admitting to a share in its legislature such assemblies as may be supposed to lie under the dominion of its influence. There have been men of information and talent who have assisted at the councils of princes, or shared in the deliberation of popular assemblies, but the authority which they exerted seems to have arisen more from an opinion of the extent of their experience, or the sagacity of their understanding, than from any peculiar power which they possessed of affecting the passions, or persuading the judgment of their audience. Hume, writing expressly on this subject, in 1742, says that none of them had "attained much beyond a mediocrity in their art."[1] Indeed the slightest acquaintance with the records of antiquity is sufficient to teach us that the style and character of their eloquence is materially different from our own: and before we proceed to give any account of the works of the Greek orators, or to introduce a sketch of their respective lives, it will not be amiss to make some preliminary observations on the causes of their vast and acknowledged superiority.

Without inquiring into the extent of that influence which climate

[1] Hume's Essays, vol. i. Essay 13.

Causes of the superiority of the Greeks.

may exercise over national character, it may be remarked, that the geographical situation of Greece was eminently favourable to the development of intellectual power, and to that peculiarly fine organization by which delicacy of feeling is refined, even to fastidiousness. That the Athenians did possess this exquisite susceptibility, we know as well by several historical anecdotes, as by the direct and explicit testimony of Cicero. Speaking of this extraordinary people he says, "Sincerum fuit sic eorum judicium ut nihil possent nisi incorruptum audire atque elegans."[1] Theophrastus was discovered to be a foreigner, by using the Attic dialect too correctly; Demosthenes was hissed in one of his earliest speeches for a false accent; and Euripides offended the ears of his audience by repeating too frequently the letter σ (sigma) in a single line. Longinus, in his *Treatise on the Sublime*, speaking of the proper collocation of words, brings a passage from Demosthenes, the harmony of which he says would be very much injured by adding or removing a single syllable: τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περισάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος.[2] Doubtless the observation of the critic was suggested by the delicacy of his own taste; and the audience whom Demosthenes addressed were also able to feel and appreciate the music of the sentence; but it is probable that no modern, though possessing the finest ear, would originally have made the remark; and we receive it from respect paid to the authority of Longinus, rather than from any very clear perception of its truth.

Their fastidious taste.

A tribunal then whose discrimination was so keen, whose taste was so fastidious, and from whose authority there was no appeal, would, by the very severity of its decisions, call forth productions of finished excellence, from those who were conscious of talents which deserved approbation, and stimulated by ambition to pursue it. Such a tribunal, though it might intimidate and abash minds of inferior calibre, would urge to active industry and unwearied perseverance, those more eminent abilities which no difficulty can alarm, and no disappointment effectually retard.

Profound study of eloquence.

Accordingly we find that among many of the ancients, the study of eloquence was the occupation of life, and the splendour of their success is only proportionate to the vigour of their exertions. The laborious diligence of Demosthenes, his careful correction of natural defects, his seclusion from society, and earnest zeal in preparing himself for the career of a public speaker, are familiar to every one. The moderns may have the same powers of genius, and the same indefatigable application as orators—both parties must have aimed at persuasion; but some of the means which one employed are either above or beneath

[1] So faultless was their judgment that they would listen to nothing but what was pure and elegant.

[2] "That decree caused to pass away as a cloud the danger which then had settled round the city." Longinus says the use of ὡς instead of ὥσπερ would lessen the harmony of the sentence. Chap. xxxix.

the other. In fact, our *scholastic* pursuits were an Athenian's leisure occupation (σχολή); his business was politics; literature was his recreation, and he found both in the speeches of the public orator.[1] These were allied to politics by their subject, to music by their rhythm, and by attitude, gesture, and action, to the drama. Hence some of their beauties, expected and admired by an Athenian audience, would be thrown away on a British House of Commons; they would be too visibly artificial to be persuasive. Cicero, speaking of the orations of Thucydides, says, "Eas ego laudare soleo; imitari neque possim si velim nec velim fortasse si possim."[2] In like manner, modern orators perhaps could not copy the vehement reasoning, the energy and earnest boldness of Demosthenes; on the other hand, there are beauties of style in the structure of his sentences which they would not copy if they could. Many of these, carefully composed for their first delivery, are repeated in the fourth Philippic, with signs of additional labour, to secure their closing with a more impressive word, or a more harmonious cadence. The further this process is carried, the more the composition passes into the nature of an essay; and in our times an orator who delivers essays is not an effective speaker. The British Parliament is too practical, too intent on business, to care much about the rhythmical structure of sentences. Dionysius of Halicarnassus praises the dignity and magnificence with which the funeral oration of Pericles opens; then he accounts for these excellencies by remarking that the first period contains three spondees, then an anapæst, then a spondee, then a cretic, "all dignified feet" (ἅπάντες ἀξιωμάτιχοι). Praise of this kind does not occur to any one who enjoys or recommends a speech of Burke or of Fox; yet, no doubt, these dignified feet were important beauties to the ears of the Athenian assembly, and the supply was adjusted to the demand.

Contrast between ancient and modern oratory.

Cicero, in his treatise *de Oratore*, has left us much valuable information respecting the Greek orators: from them he learnt the graces which eloquence is capable of assuming, and the deep and durable impression which it makes on the minds both of the learned and the illiterate: his estimate of what an orator ought to do, was formed by what the Greeks had actually done; and therefore from his precepts we may, in some measure, learn the nature and the extent of their exertions in the prosecution of their favourite pursuit. After enumerating some exercises, such as speaking extempore and from memory, or repeating in Latin orations which had been read in Greek —exercises, the habitual practice of which was necessary to the attainment of eloquence, he adds, "Legendi etiam poetæ, cognoscenda historia, omnium bonarum artium scriptores ac doctores et legendi, et pervolutandi, et, exercitationis causâ, laudandi, interpretandi, corri-

Cicero's account of Greek oratory.

[1] Cleon, who knew the people well, calls them διατάι τὼν λογῶν. Thucyd. iii. 38.

[2] Those I am accustomed to praise: imitate them I could not if I would, and perhaps I should not wish it if I could. Brut. 83.

Cicero on the attainment of eloquence.

gendi, vituperandi, refellendi; disputandumque de omni re in contrarias partes, et quicquid erit in quaque re quod probabile videri possit, eliciendum atque dicendum. Perdiscendum jus civile, cognoscendæ leges, percipienda omnis antiquitas, senatoria consuetudo, disciplina, reipublicæ jura, sociorum fœdera, pactiones, causa imperii cognoscenda est. Litandus etiam ex omni genere urbanitatis facetiarum quidam lepos, quo, tanquam sale, perspergatur omnis oratio."[1] "Besides these exercises, the poets must be studied, and an accurate knowledge of history obtained: the works of all those who understand and teach the liberal arts must be read repeatedly, and, by way of practice, their opinions should be either commended and explained, or corrected, refuted, and condemned. Opposite sides of the same subject should also be defended, and, whatever seems worthy of regard, should be extracted and enforced. Civil law must be thoroughly learnt, and an acquaintance formed with the records of antiquity, the customs and arrangements of the senate, with the rights of the republic, with the treaties and compacts of the allies, and the whole system of the government. The various kinds of elegant mirth must furnish wit and pleasantry, with which the whole speech must be seasoned, as it were, and interspersed."

If then such were the earnestness or zeal with which the ancients cultivated the art of eloquence, and so wide the range of learning which they brought to bear upon it; if the audience to whose judgment their speeches were submitted, were so alive to the perception of beauties, and so keen in discovering defects; we need not wonder that the superior excellence of the Greek orators is so vast and indisputable. As the prize for which these intellectual gladiators contended was valuable, so the weapon they employed combined the highest polish with the greatest strength. Those who are familiar with the Greek language need not be reminded of its unrivalled copiousness of expression, its majesty, elegance, and compactness, its unlimited range of compound words, and the flexible ductility with which it lends itself to convey every variety of meaning. The power of such an instrument was only to be surpassed by the skill of those who wielded it. The democratic government of Athens, its foreign wars and domestic discord, furnished the Greek orators with ample materials for the employment of their eloquence; and successful exertions were crowned, not only with the pleasing tribute of popular applause, but the more profitable reward of political power.

Power of the Greek language.

Such, then, were some of the causes which promoted the growth and secured the celebrity of eloquence in Greece, or, to speak more properly, at Athens. Oratory, in fact, flourished only at Athens; and while other states arrest attention by occasional periods of military glory—while Sparta excites astonishment by the extreme austerity of its national manners, and the singularity of its political institutions—

Greek oratory flourished only at Athens.

[1] Cic. de Oratore, lib. i. 34.

history does not inform us that these republics produced any individual whose eloquence elevated him to importance during his life, or secured his posthumous renown.[1]

At Athens, where the favour of a wild and lawless democracy was the sure avenue to honour and to opulence, it is obvious that there would always be an abundant supply of men who would flatter the caprices of the people, with a view to their own aggrandisement: all those who were eager to rise to eminence as distinguished statesmen, or whose ambitious views tended only to make them the idols of a party, would naturally find in the cultivation of oratory the readiest means of success.[2] To attempt an account of all these characters is evidently inconsistent with the limits of this article; their rise and fall will find a more appropriate place in the more minute details of Grecian history: the greater part of their speeches were, probably, forgotten, when the circumstances from which they arose had ceased to excite interest, and even of those whose works have partially escaped the ravages of time, many are rather consulted for historical information, than studied as models of style: the attention of the general scholar is judiciously fixed on a few pre-eminent individuals, who have expressed in the language of the sublimest eloquence, the sentiments of the purest patriotism; whilst the rest are consigned to the industrious labours of the professed critic, or to him who has opportunity and inclination to acquaint himself familiarly with all the remains of Grecian literature. In fact, the comparative value of the Greek orators is very unequal; nor did this escape the learned commentator Reiske, the unwearied activity of whose research was only to be equalled by the acute sagacity of his discernment: six volumes of his great work are devoted to the orations of Æschines, Demosthenes, Isæus, and Lysias, while a part only of the last volume is sufficient to comprehend Antisthenes, Alcidamus, Gorgias of Leontium, and others, together with Latin versions of speeches by Antipho and Andocides. To Reiske we would refer those readers who are desirous of particular information respecting these minor orators: for us, it will have been sufficient to combine, with a sketch of their domestic lives, some observations on the style and peculiarities of those few, whom the judgment, both of contemporaries and posterity, has proposed to our imitation as models of oratorical excellence.

Reiske's commentary on the Greek oratory.

Before, however, we enter on this subject, something should be said about the speeches which are found in the history of Thucydides; for these represent the oratorical mind of Greece during one of its two most splendid and interesting literary periods, as Demosthenes and his contemporaries represent it a century later.[3] The age of Pericles may, with a little latitude of expression, be said to embrace the principal

Speeches contained in the history of Thucydides.

[1] Cic. Brut. 13. Velleius Paterculus, i. 18.

[2] Isocrates alone had a hundred scholars at one time. Boeckh, ii. 238.

[3] Quibus temporibus quod dicendi genus viguit ex Thucydidis scriptis, qui ipse tum fuit, intelligi maxime potest. Cic. Brutus, c. vii.

Speeches contained in the history of Thucydides.

orators who spoke on the politics of the Peloponnesian war. Of these, Pericles was the first in excellence, the first, too, who committed his speeches to writing:[1] in Cicero's time some fragments passed under his name (scripta quædam feruntur, Brutus, c. vii.). The first speech reported by Thucydides was delivered three years before his death, and the last of Alcibiades fifteen years after it.

That era was indeed remarkable in art, in philosophy, in poetry, and in eloquence. Then arose, under the mind and hand of Phidias, the almost imperishable beauty of the Parthenon: then Anaxagoras approached at least, if he did not discover, the doctrine of the unity of the Godhead. Then the odes of Pindar had encouraged and rewarded the exercises and accomplishments of the Palæstra.[2] Of the two branches of the dramatic art, one was in the hands of Sophocles and Euripides, while Eupolis and Aristophanes directed the other against the social and political follies and vices of their day. In oratory, Pericles was himself the chief ornament of the age which yet bears his name:—

> ——— Quem mirabantur Athenæ
> Torrentem et pleni moderantem frænа theatri.
>
> *Juv. Sat.* 10.

for assuredly he *first* wielded that sceptre of eloquence which Juvenal and our own Milton[3] attribute to Demosthenes. The memory of his supremacy is preserved in a line of Eupolis—

> Μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλιπε
> Τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.

In art, in philosophy, in poetry, in history, "there were giants" in that age. Its eloquence probably would have deserved and obtained the same praise if its specimens had come down to us in a less questionable form.

Their merits.

Still, such as Thucydides has left them for our own study and admiration, we must receive them gratefully: generally, they show the "form and pressure" of the style of public speaking at Athens, where alone it had become an art (Brutus, c. vii.). In their structure they are lofty in style, full of thought,[4] concise in the relation of facts, careless of grammatical rules, and, for these reasons, frequently very obscure.[5] Cicero praises them, but with this reservation, that they had never been sources from which any of the Greek rhetoricians had drawn their own materials:[6] "Laudatur est ab omnibus [Thucydides] fateor, sed ita ut rerum explicator prudens .... non ut in judiciis versaret causas .... itaque nunquam est numeratur orator." Perhaps not, but

[1] Suidas. Cicero seems to imply as much. Brut. c. vii.

[2] Pindar attained his eightieth year five years after Pericles began to have the sole administration of affairs, *i. e.* B. C. 439.

[3] Par. Reg. 270.

[4] Cic. de Orat. lib. ii. c. 56.

[5] ἡ λέξις ..... πολὺ τὸ ἀντίτυπον καὶ τραχὺ καὶ στρυφνὸν ἐμφαίνει—his style shows much that is repulsive, rough, and harsh.—Dion. Hal. s. 22, de Struct. Orat.

[6] Orator. c. ix.

Speeches contained in the history of Thucydides.

Thucydides was as superior to most of the Greek rhetoricians as Burke was to Sheridan: his speeches are the documents of a statesman; Lord Chatham recommended them; Demosthenes copied them manually, and that repeatedly: they are, and probably always have been, a chief instrument in the education of the classical mind of Europe: they are what the great historian intended his work should be, *κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί, an everlasting possession.*

Superior to those in Herodotus and Livy.

But whose composition are they, and how far do they resemble the speeches in Herodotus and in Livy?—they are better than the former, far better than the latter. Herodotus was a traveller and a historian, accurate in relating what he saw, credulous in receiving what was told him: his speeches often fail to give (the "*dicendi genus*") the character of the public speaking of the times and persons to whom they are ascribed. Probably a very small portion, if any, of traditionary truth is held in solution in the speech of Sardanes to Crœsus (Clio, c. lxxi.). Persian noblemen, in the time of Darius, did not compare the advantages of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy (Thalia, ch. lxxxi.). In Thucydides there is not so much pure invention, and no such mistakes: of course he is immensely superior to Livy, who, indeed, had no sense of the true value of history, but who wrote rhetorical declamations admirably. There is milk and honey in the land (lactea ubertas, Quinctil.), and it flows abundantly, but this is unwholesome diet for a mind employed on history.

Inferior to those of Demosthenes, Æschines, and Lysias.

On the other hand, the speeches of Thucydides are inferior to those of Demosthenes, Æschines, or Lysias: inferior in this sense, that we do not feel or believe that they are the words, the ipsissima verba, of those whose name they bear: there is a reality about the other writings which brings us in contact, as it were, with the mind of the individual. Reading the famous adjuration by the Manes of those who fell at Marathon, we feel for a moment as if we knew the orator. In like manner, we enter into the sarcastic severity with which he satirizes the Athenians for their love of news. "Is there any news? Why, what can be greater news than that a Macedonian man should conquer the Athenians, and give laws to Greece? Is Philip dead? no, but he is ill."

So also Lysias, pleading for just punishment on those who put his brother to death untried, is a reality, one of like feelings with ourselves; we are with him when he bargains for his own life with Pison,[1] and escapes by the back door from the money-loving Theognis. We share his indignation against those who executed the judicial murder on his brother Polemarchus.[2] At the close of the speech we seem to do what he bids us: *ἀκήκοατε· ἑώρακατε· πέπονθατε· ἔχετε· δικάζετε.*[3]

[1] *Θέογνις γὰρ καὶ Πείσων ἔλεγον, κ. τ. λ.* Lys. adv. Eratosth.

[2] We have seen the arsenals pulled down, the sanctuaries defiled, the city degraded; we have heard eloquence describing impiety and injustice; we sympathise and we condemn.

[3] Ye have heard, ye have seen, ye are fellow-sufferers. Ye have the case: pass sentence.

Speeches contained in the history of Thucydides.

In turning from these orators to the speeches in Thucydides, one feels a want of individuality, or if there is any, it is the historian not the speaker whom we become acquainted with. The compositions are grave, earnest, never deviating towards the jocose, and seldom having the spirit-stirring questions[1] of Demosthenes; they are repositories of the political wisdom of their own times, and much of that is of permanent value: but all bear the mark of the same mintage too largely and visibly on the surface of the coin.

Perhaps this metaphor may assist us in answering the previous question, whose compositions are they? They have a likeness to precious ore brought from different quarters and minted at the same place: the information which Thucydides gathered is the ore; his own mind and mode of writing are the mint. Hence arose a great degree of sameness in these parts of the history. Occasionally, as in the speech of Sthenelaidas, one of the Ephori,[2] he hits off the sententious brevity of a Spartan: the mildness of the character of Nicias appears in what he says; yet, on the whole, there is great sameness—antithesis the favourite feature, obscurity the frequent fault.

The author's account of the speeches.

In the preface, which appears to have been written later than the main body of the work, the author gives the following account of the speeches:—"As to what the several speakers said, either when they were preparing to make war, or actually engaged in it, it was difficult permanently to remember the exact account of the words that were used; difficult both to myself in respect of what I heard, and to those who brought me information from different quarters. According to my notion of what was most fitting for the several speakers to have spoken on each successive occasion, while I adhered as closely as possible to the sense of what they actually delivered, so have I recorded their speeches."[3] No speech then is genuine, in the sense in which a speech of Lysias or Demosthenes is genuine; but the approach of each to this standard varies with the opportunities which Thucydides had of hearing or reporting it: now this criterion enables us to extend most faith to that speech on which the oratorical reputation, and political power of the statesman whose name it bears, concentrate most interest—the funeral oration of Pericles. Thucydides was at Athens at the time it was delivered, and when Pericles was to speak over those who had just fallen in their country's cause, who would be absent from the assembly? It was an occasion on which eloquence of the highest order paid a testimonial of honour to the highest patriotic valour. Thucydides had at that time designed his history; of course he would not neglect such materials for its embellishment. And even if he were not present, the Athenians would not willingly let such a

Funeral oration of Pericles.

[1] See Longinus, c. xviii.

[2] Lib. i. c. lxxxvi.

[3] See Arnold's note on lib. i. c. xxii. Goeller, in his Life of Thucydides prefixed to the History, says (p. 24), "Itaque in factorum numero quodammodo orationes ponens Thucydides extremo proœmio curam refert quantam iis vel *verbotenus* servandis vel summæ saltem et argumento earum investigandis impenderit."

speech die: when books were few, and printing-presses there were none, men's memories were good; therefore Thucydides might have easily gathered, not only the general substance of what was said, but much of accuracy of expression. In his very apology for the occasional or frequent absence of one, he surely pledges himself to both, where both could be obtained: his design then and his veracity being taken into account, together with his opportunities of information, what should prevent our believing that we have in this famous oration an offshoot of the mind of Pericles himself?

Speeches contained in the history of Thucydides.

And truly a noble composition it is: he who would duly appreciate its worth must not only read but study, not only study but translate. Carefully compare it with the two similar works by Plato and Lysias (a far safer occupation than the judgment of Paris), is it not immeasurably the finest of the three? Is it not the most glorious specimen of the epideictic oratory (to use Aristotle's classification) which time has spared us? Could Thucydides have competed in eloquence with Plato and Lysias? if not, who is, at least their able rival, yea, even their conqueror? Who but Pericles himself.[1]

Epideictic orations.

Passing from the epideictic to the other two kinds of oratory mentioned by Aristotle, we find the best specimens of the judicial in the speeches of the Platæan and Theban advocates.[2] Under the deliberative will be ranged the remaining speeches of Pericles, and those of Alcibiades: those of Cleon and Diodotus belong to both, and are excellent illustrations of the third chapter of Aristotle's first book of Rhetoric. In a speech delivered at Sparta by a Corinthian legate, the fifth section is worthy of all praise, as a brief and masterly contrast of the policy and character of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.[3]

Judicial.

Deliberative.

In Hermocrates we find political wisdom enough to discern danger to a state from an enemy whose efforts are working apparently in a different direction: the speeches of other statesmen and ambassadors show a sense of the value of the balance of power. Such a system, however, could have no stability when there was little, if any, national good faith, and when almost every state contained the elements of angry faction in an aristocratic and a democratic party: nor could it have any extent among states which considered war as their natural condition, unless it was suspended by a specific agreement; whose only written law was the civic law of each state; who divided mankind into Greeks and barbarians, and thought the latter the natural and proper victims of violence and fraud.

As to the minor speeches, such, for example, as Demosthenes delivered to his forces at Pylos, or Phormio and Brasidas, in the gulf of Corinth, since Thucydides was not likely to have them reported with anything like verbal accuracy, we must take them as the "dicendi

[1] It is proper to add that Aristotle quotes a passage which is not found in our copies. Aristotle, however, was born forty-five years after Pericles was dead. See Fynes Clinton, Fast. Hellen. B. C. 384.

[2] Lib. iii. 53.

[3] Thuc. i. 70.

genus" of the times: thus and thus, with such encouragement and such topics, commanders were accustomed to address men on the eve of battle—men, it might be, on the brink of death; they speak as if patriotism was their religion, and their country their god. These subjects may well lead a thoughtful mind to compare its own religious hopes and knowledge with the mental darkness of the great, the eloquent, and the brave, of former days, and if it finds in this contrast matter of self-gratulation, let it also remember that "to whom much has been given, of him much will be required."

The birth of Thucydides preceded by thirteen years the birth of Lysias (Fasti Hellenici).

LYSIAS.

B. C. 458—378.

Lysias.

Among those of the Greek orators whose writings have been handed down to us, LYSIAS is the first in chronological order who arrests attention by the extent of his works, or the celebrity of his reputation. Others had existed in abundance, but the only knowledge of them which we possess, is their names, and the few scanty memorials of them which have been diligently recorded by Reiske. During the early manhood of Lysias, Athens found herself at liberty to seek in the cultivation of literature a distinction and delight which she had hitherto derived from military success. Sophocles and Euripides had touched the passions, and Aristophanes ridiculed the follies of the people; and philosophy, quitting the study of natural phenomena, had already applied itself to the investigation of moral truth. He was born at Athens, Ol. 80., his father, Cephalus, having migrated thither from Syracuse; others say the orator himself was a Syracusan by birth. At an early period of his life he accompanied a colony to Thurium, in Italy, nor did he return till the disasters of the Athenians in Sicily had alienated the attachment of the Thurians, who now dismissed with indignity the colonists whom they had sought with zeal. During the reign of the thirty tyrants, and the revolution which vested the management of the state in the council of four hundred, Lysias endured his full share of national suffering: when, however, Thrasybulus united those whom the cruelty of the thirty had expelled, and again restored the democracy, a bill was introduced to make Lysias a citizen. He died at the advanced age of eighty, having passed the latter years of his life in composing orations for the use of others, and in giving instructions in rhetoric. Quinctilian mentions this custom of the orator, and adds, that in framing these speeches, he had the art of adapting them with peculiar propriety to the circumstances of those for whom they were written. Socrates thought his style too effeminate, as we learn by an anecdote preserved in Cicero:—"Cum ei scriptam orationem disertissimus orator Lysias attulisset, quam, si ei videretur, edisceret, ut ea pro se in judicio uteretur, non invitus legit, et commode scriptam

esse dixit: sed inquit, ut, si mihi calceos Sicyonios attulisses, non uterer, quamvis essent habiles et apti ad pedem, quia non essent viriles, sic illam orationem disertam sibi et oratoriam videri, fortem et virilem non videri."[1] The circumstance of many of these speeches being composed on occasions of private rather than public interest, renders an enumeration and analysis of them less important: it had also a manifest effect on the style of the author, and hence he aims rather at neatness, elegance, and precision of language, than the more sublime beauties of oratorical excellence.[2] Lysias.

In some of his speeches there is much interesting information respecting Athenian finance, and the immense burthens which were laid by the state on the fortunes of the wealthy citizens. Vast sums of money were collected by forcible contribution, and laid out in ministering to the amusements of the people: the services called λειτουργίαι ἐγκύκλιαι provided games and spectacles, and theatrical entertainments, in which troops of singers and dancers displayed their musical skill, and performed their evolutions.[3] The writings of Lysias are conceived in the spirit of determined republicanism, a spirit which delighted in arbitrary confiscation, and which seized on the fortunes of the rich to replenish that exchequer, from which the amusements of the mob were to be supplied: hence arose, on one hand, the most anxious desire to conceal wealth, and, on the other, unwearied acuteness in detecting it. This introduced bribery and falsehood into the Athenian courts of justice: while those whose opulence was proved, and who were consequently plundered, endeavoured to indemnify their own losses by the corrupt administration of the city magistracies. In short, the speeches of this orator display such a system of public and private rapine as may diminish our admiration of Athenian government, and teach us to receive with caution the praises which are lavished on the advantages of Athenian liberty. Information afforded by his speeches.

The great merit of the style of Lysias is its purity. Puro tamen fonti quam magno flumeni propior.[4] In this, which may almost be esteemed the first excellence of an orator, Isocrates only equalled Lysias, and no one ever surpassed him. Secondly, he has a peculiar art of giving his subjects an air of dignity and importance, while, Purity of his style.

[1] De Orat. lib. i. 54. "When a very eloquent orator, Lysias, had brought him a written speech, which he might learn by heart if he pleased, in order to use it for himself on his trial, he read it willingly and said it was well written; but, he added, As, if you had brought me Sicyonian shoes I should not use them, because, though they might be elegant, and fit the foot, they would not be manly; so, that speech I think eloquent and oratorical, powerful and manly I do not think it."

[2] See the Preface to Taylor's edition of Lysias. Lysias subtilis atque elegans et quo nihil, si oratori satis sit docere, quæras perfectius. Quinctil. lib. x. c. 1. "Lysias is accurate and elegant; and if perspicuity in explanation is sufficient for an orator, one need seek nothing more complete."

[3] This subject will be treated more largely in connection with the social condition of the Greeks.

[4] Quinctil. lib. x. 1. "His was the purity of a fountain rather than the grandeur of a river."

Lysias.

at the same time, he uses none but the simplest and most unostentatious phraseology, alike free from the mixture of barbarous expressions, and the display of ambitious ornament. This most valuable art, Gorgias of Leontium entirely missed: he, when he wished to elevate and adorn his subject matter, found no other method than the use of metaphors without number, pompous words, and poetical figures, which both spoiled the value of his own composition, and vitiated the popular taste. The writings of Lysias are pure without feebleness, and perspicuous without prolixity: he combines, with the greatest knowledge of human character, the happiest skill in adapting his speeches to the several ages, pursuits, and stations of individuals: the arrangement of his words is always clear, and the language itself uniformly elegant. His power of inventing, and judgment in selecting, appropriate arguments, was eminent; but Dionysius of Halicarnassus thinks him defective in their arrangement. His exordia are singularly good; especially the opening of that speech in which Diogeiton is accused of having treacherously applied to his own use, property entrusted to his care: the same oration furnishes a fine model of narration. Lysias is not successful in attempting to excite the passions: he is not "a mighty master of the human mind:" he raises no intense feeling; he does not expand and amplify his subjects, but is content to state them with clearness, elegance, and brevity.

For further information, the reader may consult Dionysius Halicarnassensis. See also Quart. Review, vol. 29, No. 58, p. 327.

ISOCRATES.

B. C. 436—338.

Isocrates.

ISOCRATES was born at Athens, five years before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war: his father, Theodorus, was not wealthy; but he gave his son such a liberal education as awakened in his mind an early love of literature, and induced him to devote the efforts of maturer years to the careful and continued cultivation of philosophy. He attended the lectures of Gorgias of Leontium, and there imbibed a desire to combine the qualifications of a statesman and an orator; but his natural timidity and weakness of voice were impediments to public speaking too great to be overcome, and he therefore turned his attention to the more tranquil task of composition. Abandoning to the sophists of the day all subjects connected with private contracts of minor importance, his object was to teach moral virtue to individuals, and political wisdom to states. His own pure taste led him to reject the perplexing casuistry of Protagoras, and the ostentatious ornament of Gorgias: his school became the favourite resort of the studious, and spread through the various cities of Greece[1] men who were afterwards eminent in history, politics, and law.[2] He

[1] Cujus domus cunctæ Græciæ quasi ludus quidam patuit atque officina dicendi. Brut. c. viii.

[2] The idea of Horace, "Fungor vice cotis," &c. &c. (Ars Poet. 304) is either a

died in his ninety-eighth year, unable to survive the blow which the liberty of his country received at the fatal battle of Chæronea. The statue of a syren placed on his monument was a symbol to posterity of the sweetness of his composition. Isocrates.

The works of Isocrates are described by Wolf (see the Prolegomena of his edition) into four classes, the didactic, the suasive, the laudatory, and the forensic: to these are to be added certain letters, of which four were addressed to Philip of Macedon. Two years were spent in composing and polishing one of the orations, the Panegyrica; another, called the Areopagetica, is a bold attack on the political and private vices of the times, as compared with the institutes and character of the times of Solon and Cleisthenes; another, the Panathenaica, was written when the author was ninety-four years old. We have no record of a life so entirely literary from early manhood to extreme old age. It appears that, at first, Isocrates felt ashamed of exchanging his instruction for money; in fact, keeping school for rhetoricians (clarissima rhetoris officina).[1] The success, however, which was great and lucrative beyond all former comparison, reconciled him to this imaginary degradation. Cicero compares his pupils to the chieftains issuing from the Trojan horse: they must have been indeed a strong and numerous band, for at one time he had a hundred pupils, and his long life connects the two most splendid æras of Grecian eloquence. Isocrates, in his infancy, might have seen all Athens flocking to the Cerameicus to hear Pericles deliver the celebrated funeral oration, and Demosthenes would fain have profited by his rhetorical instructions. The terms being a thousand drachmæ, Demosthenes (as the story is gathered from Plutarch) offered him the fifth part of the sum for the fifth part of his science. To this the great teacher, who "saw money where it glittered and heard it when it chinked," replied that his art, like a good fish, must be sold entire. He received from Nicocles twenty talents for a single speech; but this sum must be taken as a kingly present, not an average valuation: still, as in the early stages of civilization the art of self-defence is necessary to every one who wishes to preserve his life, so the "gay rhetoric" and "dazzling fence" of the Greek orator, who furnished speeches to be delivered by the accused, was constantly in requisition in a city where crimes were easily found or fancied, and where informers and false witnesses were as plentiful as figs.[2] Indeed, the light which Lysias, Isæus, Isocrates, and Demosthenes shed on social life at Athens in their time makes their works highly interesting and full of amusing information, apart

His works.

His success as a teacher of rhetoric.

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happy coincidence of thought or borrowed exactly from Isocrates: *ἔιπεν ὅτι καὶ αἱ ἀκόναι αὐταὶ μὲν τιμῆν οὐ δυνάνται τὸν δὲ σίδηρον τιμητικὸν ποιοῦσιν.*

[1] A very celebrated manufactory of public speakers (Cic. de Or. ii. 13).

Cleon, speaking in the general assembly, says *μάλιστα μὲν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν ἕκαστος βουλομένους δύνασθαι.* Thucyd. iii. 38. "The first wish of *every man* is to be a good speaker."

[2] Diphilus fragment.

Isocrates.

from their connection with literature or politics: this subject lies beyond our present purpose, but will reappear after the history of the Peloponnesian wars. Isocrates being "palæstræ quam pugnæ aptior," a soldier, as it were, more fit for a field-day than a battle, reaped amply the tutorial profits of his day, and escaped its danger; but though he thus lived on the public, and amassed large sums of money, he wished that the public should live on him as little as might be; accordingly, on the plea of ill health, he twice begged off the office of Trierarch. It is fair to add that on the third occasion he accepted the post, laid out a considerable sum (*ἀνήλωσεν οὐκ ὀλίγα*), perhaps, according to Boekh's computation,[1] one talent; the twentieth part of what he received for one speech. In fact, from the times of the "old man eloquent" of Athens, down to the days of Rasselas, prince of Abyssinia, there has been great discrepancy between the writings of philosophers and their lives. Isocrates gives admirable advice to Demonicus on the regulation of life and character, and the proper pursuits of young men, and the company they ought to keep; but he was a great sensualist himself: having passed his life in making money, he informs his young friend, with great naïveté, that wealth is the minister of vice rather than of gentlemanlike conduct (*καλοκἀγαθια*). Probably Demonicus took the advice at his own value, admired the harmonious collocation of spondees, anapæsts and cretics, all dignified feet, and grew rich as fast as he could. Thus the history of human nature in one age vindicates the fictitious representation of it in another. "Young man, answered the philosopher, you speak like one that has never felt the pangs of separation. Have you then forgot the precepts, said Rasselas, which you so powerfully enforced? Has wisdom no strength to arm the heart against calamity? What comfort, said the mourner, can truth and reason afford me—of what effect are they now, but to tell me that my daughter will not be restored?"[2]

There is the same sort of variance between the life and writings of Isocrates: contradictions equally great may be found in the writings themselves; but at least he is entitled to this excuse, his profession as a rhetorician obliged him to find the possible persuasive on any given subject whatsoever (*το ενδεχομένον πιθάνον περὶ τὸν δοθέντος*, Ars Rhet.): this just suited his turn of mind, and it ought to be no matter of surprise if, amidst such exercitations, his mind became indifferent to truth and falsehood *as such*, so far, at least, as to supply readily whichsoever of the two was most in demand.

Compared with Lysias.

The style of Isocrates approaches that of Lysias in purity and correctness: we find there the same careful and judicious selection of appropriate words, the same habitual avoidance of obsolete ones, and the same consequent perspicuity. The periods, however, have not the same roundness or fulness, nor are they equally adapted to forensic disputation: at times they are too prolix, and deficient in natural

[1] Vol. ii. 365.

[2] Rasselas, c. ii. p. 18.

simplicity. Isocrates studies too much the harmony of his cadences, and his sentences are often comprehended in a rhythm which is almost poetical. The selection of his terms is admirable; their arrangement capricious and affected, and his figures make him liable to the imputation of frigidity, ψυχροτής. The sweetness of Lysias's style is natural, that of Isocrates affected: the latter, however, has a manifest superiority in dignified elevation and majestic sublimity. Lysias is neat and dexterous in the management of minute points; Isocrates excels in the management of great ones. In the invention of arguments he is a match for Lysias; in the arrangement and application of them, superior. Isocrates has also the advantage in the general management of his subjects, and the philosophical adjustment of their several parts, and also in the moral beauty and political truth of his sentiments, particularly in his famous *Panegyric*. In this speech he enumerates the merits of the ancient Greeks, their military prowess, their noble ambition, their disinterested patriotism, their attachment to their constitution and laws, their fidelity to oaths, their private integrity; and he dwells with energy on other topics, calculated to check the progress of depravity, and awaken the love of virtue. Isocrates.

If a military man might derive instruction from the orations which Isocrates addressed to Philip of Macedon, all the several states of Greece might have been benefited by that spirit of unanimity and concord which is taught by the *Oratio de Pace*: its object is to prove that honesty is the best policy; and to persuade the Athenians to curtail their ambitious schemes of naval dominion, and make peace with the Chians, Rhodians, and their allies. Some of the ancient critics have esteemed this the best of the speeches of Isocrates, yet is it not faultless: it is too concise, and at times not sufficiently elevated and dignified, neither are the rhetorical figures sufficiently bold; and there is a want of vehemence and ardour which might awaken corresponding sentiments in his audience.—See Dionysius Halicarnassensis. Quinctilian, speaking of Isocrates, says, "Omnes veneres sectatus est:" and Cicero begs permission to admire the orator, and supports his own judgment by the authority of Socrates and Plato: "Me autem qui Isocratem non diligunt una cum Socrate et Platone errare patiantur."[1]

ISÆUS.

FLOURISHED B. C. 360.[2]

Little is known of the private life of ISÆUS: one circumstance, however, has been recorded which is in itself a title to immortality,—Isæus was the instructor of Demosthenes. The model he proposed to copy was the style of Lysias, and his imitation is so close that it requires accurate knowledge to discriminate the two. In Isæus there is the pure, perspicuous, and concise diction; but perhaps his Isæus.

[1] Cic. Orat. s. 13.

[2] He flourished after the Peloponnesian war and lived till the reign of Philip. Fynes Clinton, Fast. Hellen. B. C. 364.

Isæus. figures are more artificial and his expressions less natural. If his style is inferior to Lysias in eloquence, it surpasses him in majesty. The use of interrogatory sentences gives to his speeches an animation and vehemence like that which delights the reader of Demosthenes; and many indications of the sublimity which under that orator acquired maturity and vigour, may be traced in the writings of Isæus. The narrations of Lysias are made with so much simplicity and candour, so much apparent love of truth, that they invariably engage the reader's assent. In Isæus, on the contrary, there is so much visible art, and such appearances of preparation and design, that even when the facts communicated are true, we feel inclined to deny him credit.

The speeches of Isæus which are preserved relate chiefly to private causes; and the minuteness of the subjects discussed may render them uninteresting to the general reader. Nevertheless, he gives us insight into many points of ancient jurisprudence, which, but for him, posterity would have wholly missed. On the important subject of hereditary and testamentary bequests; on the laws of heirship by proximity of blood, and on heirship by appointment; on desolate heritages; on the Athenian customs relative to the adoption of children; the forms under which such adoption took place; the manner in which the fortune of the person adopted was affected, both as to the house from which he was emancipated and that into which he was received; on all these, and other similar points, Isæus supplies many interesting particulars which no other writer of antiquity affords. From him also may be collected all the Athenian laws relative to the rights of women, and more particularly of heiresses: many of them curious in themselves, and most of them evincing that the chains which society laid on the females of Athens were not at all lightened by the institution of law. Isæus has been translated by Sir William Jones, and the speeches are accompanied by a valuable commentary. In that the reader will find much information on ancient jurisprudence.[1]

DEMOSTHENES.

B.C. 382—322.

Demosthenes We have thus concisely explained some of those causes which in the early period of Grecian history might have facilitated the progress of eloquence; and we have subsequently combined together, with a few biographical notices, some remarks on the peculiar style of those under whose hands it gradually acquired the maturity of elegance and force. We are now arrived at the history of one, whom the voice of general opinion has designated as the most complete model of an orator; of one whose compositions were sufficiently perfect to satisfy even the fastidious delicacy of Cicero himself. That writer, the wisdom of whose opinions on the ancient orators is proved by his own extra-

[1] See also Quarterly Review, No. 51, on Dalzel's Lecture on the ancient Greeks.

ordinary success, never speaks of Demosthenes but in terms of the highest commendation. "In Græcis vero oratoribus quidem admirabile est, quantum inter omnes unus excellat."[1] Again he observes, "Plane quidem perfectum et cui nihil admodum desit, Demosthenem facile dixeris."[2] Again, "Video profecto illum multa perficere, nos multa conari; illum posse nos velle quocunque modo causa postulat, dicere. Recordor me longe omnibus unum anteferre Demosthenem, qui vim accommodarat ad eam quam *sentiam* eloquentiam non ad eam quam in aliquo *esse* agnoscerem."[3] Nothing can be conceived more noble and disinterested than the spirit which dictated this panegyric; nothing more decisive than the language in which it is expressed. Cicero here represents his great predecessor as having not only surpassed all the actual and existing models of eloquence, but effected all that taste can desire and imagination fancy, and as having embodied and expressed the beau ideal of oratorical excellence. Demosthenes was equally eminent as an orator and a statesman, and in the latter capacity he was concerned in most of the public transactions of his own eventful times: it is obvious, however, that any detailed account of his political career would both exceed the proper limits of this article, and repeat unnecessarily those circumstances, which are introduced with more propriety in the regular history of the affairs of Greece. Demosthenes

The father of Demosthenes was a citizen of rank and opulence: he died when his son had completed only his seventh year, and left in the hands of guardians the administration of considerable property. The orator's early studies were impeded, partly by the over-anxious fears of maternal tenderness, and partly by infirmity of health. When he was about sixteen, his curiosity was attracted by a trial in which Callistratus pleaded, and won a cause of importance. The eloquence which procured, and the acclamations which followed his success, so inflamed the ambition of Demosthenes, that he determined to devote himself thenceforward to the assiduous study of oratory. He chose Isæus as his master rather than Isocrates, either because this plan was least expensive, or because the style of the latter was not sufficiently nervous and energetic: from Plato also he imbibed much of the richness and grandeur which characterise the writings of that mighty master. His first attempts at oratory were made to vindicate his own claims, and recover property which his guardians had appropriated to themselves. In this he succeeded; but his early endeavours to obtain distinction as a public speaker entirely failed on account of the weakness of his voice, and indistinctness of his utterance.[4] These impedi- His early studies. First attempt at oratory.

[1] "Of the Greek orators it is wonderful how far he is pre-eminent among all." Cic. de Orat.

[2] "In fact you may well call Demosthenes perfect and wanting nothing." Ibid.

[3] "I see truly that he effects much. I attempt much; he has the power—I have the will to speak in whatever way the case requires. I far prefer Demosthenes to all, since he has successfully directed his powers towards that eloquence which I feel—not that which I can recognize as existing in any one." Ibid.

[4] According to Mitford, chap. xxxviii., sec. 3, Demosthenes had a weak habit

Demosthenes

ments, however, served only to animate his zeal;[1] and by studious seclusion, and the habitual exertion of declaiming on the sea-shore, he in time overcame them all. The energy and force of his action were admitted to be pre-eminent, even by his rivals.[2] When the Rhodians expressed their admiration of the oration "For the Crown," Æschines said to them, what if you had heard the monster himself, *τί δὲ εἰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θηρίου ακηκόειτε.*

His indefatigable industry.

The indefatigable industry of Demosthenes gave his enemies an opportunity of denying his natural talents: this malicious opinion would easily find credit; and in fact a similar mistake is very frequently made; for since it is acknowledged on all hands, that all successful men who are naturally dull must be industrious, the converse of the proposition grows into repute, and it is inferred that men who are industrious must necessarily be dull. The accusation against Demosthenes seems to have rested chiefly on his known reluctance to speak without preparation: the fact is, that though he could exert the talent of extempore speaking, he avoided rather than sought such occasions, partly from deference to his audience, and partly from apprehending the possibility of a failure. Plutarch, who mentions this reluctance of the orator, mentions at the same time the great merit of his extempore speeches.

Three styles of eloquence existing before his time.

Before the time of Demosthenes, there existed three distinct styles of eloquence: that of Thucydides, bold and animated, awakened the feelings, and powerfully forced conviction on the mind; that of Lysias, mild and persuasive, quietly engaged the attention and won the assent of an audience; while that of Isocrates was, as it were, a combination of the two former. Demosthenes can scarcely be said to have proposed any individual as a model: he rather culled all that was valuable from the various styles of his great predecessors, working them up, and blending them into one harmonious whole; not, however, that there is such an uniformity or mannerism in his works, as prevents him from applying himself with versatility to a variety of subjects; on the contrary, he seems to have had the power of carrying each individual style to perfection, and of adapting himself with equal excellence to each successive topic. In the general structure of many of his sentences, he very much resembles Thucydides; but is more simple and perspicuous, and better calculated to be quickly comprehended by an audience. His clearness in narration; his elegance and purity of diction; and (to borrow a metaphor from a sister art) his correct keeping, remind the reader of Lysias. A particular instance of this similarity is selected by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, from the speech against Conon. He considers the resemblance so complete,

The style of Demosthenes compared with that of Lysias:

of body and an embarrassed manner; a defective utterance, a sour irritable temper, and an extraordinary deficiency, not only of personal courage, but of all that constitutes dignity of soul: but Mitford was "not favourable to Demosthenes." See Fynes Clinton, Fast. Hellen. p. 315, 1st edition.

[1] Cic. de Orat. lib. i. 61. [2] Cic. de Orat. lib. iii. 56.

that a critic might be at a loss to determine, from internal evidence alone, to which orator to ascribe the composition. But the argumentative parts of the speeches of Lysias are often deficient in vigour, while earnestness, power, zeal, rapidity, and passion, all exemplified in plain unornamented language, and a train of close business-like reasoning, are the distinctive characteristics of Demosthenes. The general tone of his oratory was admirably adapted to an Athenian audience, constituted as it was of those whose habits of life were mechanical, and of those whom ambition or taste had led to the cultivation of literature. The former were captivated by sheer sense, urged with masculine force and inextinguishable spirit, and by the forcible application of plain truths; and yet there was enough of grace and variety to please more learned and fastidious auditors. "His style" (as Hume well observes) "is rapid harmony, exactly adjusted to the sense: it is vehement reasoning, without any appearance of art: it is disdain, anger, boldness, freedom, involved in a continued stream of argument; and, of all human productions, the orations of Demosthenes present to us the models which approach the nearest to perfection."[1] Demosthenes

The perusal of Isocrates produces a calm, easy, and agreeable tranquillity of mind: Demosthenes agitates the feelings with various and conflicting emotions; fear, hatred, pity, benevolence, chase each other in rapid succession. If a comparison be instituted between the famous oration of Isocrates, *de Pace*, and that part of the third Olynthiac, where Demosthenes contrasts his own times with preceding periods, the advantage is manifestly in favour of the latter: it has more majesty, more energy, and, above all, more power in affecting the feelings. His style compared with that of Isocrates:

Something similar may be said respecting Plato: if we contrast his funeral oration with a part of Demosthenes's speech "For the Crown," where he awakens in his countrymen the love of virtue by commemorating their former renown. This latter has all the vivid distinctness of reality, as opposed to fiction; the glow of robust and vigorous health, as opposed to the delicate flush of sickness. The one is a beautiful parterre, where the eye is delighted by abundance of cultivated flowers; the other a tract, where everything, both for use and ornament, springs up spontaneously and plentifully. With that of Plato.

Another very remarkable excellence of Demosthenes is, the collocation of his words: the arrangement of sentences in such a manner that their cadences should be harmonious, and to a certain degree rhythmical, was a study much in use among the great masters of Grecian composition. Plato passed the latter years of his life in correcting his dialogues: and that very simplicity, remarkable in the structure of the periods of Demosthenes, is itself the result of art. In the course of this article, the reader has often been referred to the works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, an author who is less studied than his powers of original composition and his critical sagacity deserve. We here translate a passage in which he concisely sketches the character

[1] Hume's Essays, vol. i., Essay 13.

Demosthenes

of Demosthenes, and we earnestly recommend to general perusal the treatise from which it is extracted:—"Demosthenes, then, finding the system of public speaking so artfully arranged, and succeeding as he did to such eminent orators, did not deign to copy any single model, deeming all his predecessors half artists, as it were, and imperfect. But having selected from these all their respective excellencies, he blended them together, and combined from many sources a style of composition magnificent yet polished; full, without overflowing; refined, yet unaffected; adapted to popular assemblies, yet natural; severe, yet animated; concise, yet flowing; gentle, yet keen; moderate, yet passionate: like Proteus, celebrated by the ancient poets, who could easily assume in succession every variety of form. Whether he was some deity or genius deluding the eyes of men, or, what is the more probable conjecture, some mortal prodigy of eloquence and wisdom seducing the senses of his audience; some such opinion I entertain respecting the style of Demosthenes; and this is the character I give of it, that it is made up of every kind."

His style compared with that of Cicero.

Although the writings of Cicero do not fall within the scope of the present subject, yet a comparison between the two greatest orators of antiquity will scarcely be deemed irrelevant. The following passages, translated from Longinus and Quinctilian, are introduced by Young in his *History of Athens*:—

"Demosthenes is more lofty and compressed in style; Cicero more diffuse: the former, with strength, brightness, and velocity, so inflames whatever he touches on, that he should be compared to the tempest, which hurries all before it, or to the lightning, which strikes at the moment. Cicero's oratory shoots not forth so impetuously, but as a lambent flame plays round its subject, and with the copious matter feeds itself as it winds over the soil, till its fuel is exhausted, and its force is spent. But I must further observe, the reason of the Demosthenic style soaring bold and impassioned, is when the hearer is to be carried away, and hurried into the sentiments of the speaker; and that the proper occasions of diffusive rhetoric is when it is necessary to calm and soften the feelings of the audience."[1]

"I allow," says Quinctilian, "that the works of Demosthenes should first be read, or rather gotten by heart: the excellencies of either are equal, as to political knowledge, strength of argument, method of arrangement, and as to all other points that come under the head of invention. In eloquence they differ: that of the one is more compressed, that of the other more copious; the one is more pointedly, the other more fully conclusive; the one is more keen and forcible, the other sometimes keen, yet always with dignity; from the one nothing could be taken, to the other nothing could be added; more art is in the one, more nature in the other. In the witty and the tender, which most affect the taste and feelings of men, we have the better of the comparison; perhaps the usages of the Greek common-

[1] Longinus, ch. 12.

wealth precluded such sort of appeals; and, on the other hand, much that the Athenians admired might not have been admissible by a Roman audience."[1] Demosthenes

The political character of Demosthenes must be gathered from the history of his own times, and from the careful study of his own speeches: these display in glowing colours his devoted attachment to his country; his zeal and perseverance in opposing the designs of Philip; his bold defence of the rights of Athens—a defence which neither flattery nor fear could induce him to relinquish; and they form the sources from which the historian collects his most valuable and authentic memoirs. Indeed, we may say with Young, "Is there a fact in the history of his own times which escapes him? or is there a deduction from those facts which does not denote his knowledge of business and political acuteness? Does not each speech teem with reference to the laws of his country, to public letters, to embassies, and documents of state? Does not every oration stand an example against the frivolous pretensions of those who seek to be public speakers, without a knowledge of public business?" Political character of Demosthenes

The courage, however, of Demosthenes was political rather than military. At Chæronea he fled from the field of battle, though in the Athenian assembly no private apprehension could check his eloquence, or influence his conduct. Another stain was cast on his character, by the imputation of having accepted a bribe from Harpalus. This man having embezzled some public money, fled from the court of Macedon: he sought refuge at Athens, and by a present of a gold cup, prevailed on Demosthenes not to oppose his admission. When Alexander the Great demanded that the orator should be given up, Demosthenes was compelled to save himself by flight: he was subsequently recalled from exile, and received with honour; but when Antipater came into power, and enforced the demand which Alexander had made, Demosthenes avoided captivity by a voluntary death—the usual refuge of Pagan fortitude, when resistance to surrounding evils was useless, and escape appeared impossible.[2] His death.

ÆSCHINES.

BORN ABOUT 389, DIED ABOUT 314, B.C.

ÆSCHINES was not a man of rank or fortune, and the early part of his life was devoted to the assistance of his father, who kept a school: from this occupation he betook himself to act plays, and afterwards began to take a share in politics.[3] Here he soon distinguished himself; Æschines.

[1] Inst. Orat. lib. x. ch. i.

[2] There are some excellent papers on Demosthenes in the Edinburgh Review for Jan. 1820 and Feb. 1822.

[3] Mitford, chap. xxxviii. sec. 3. At the age of twenty he joined the army and fought at Mantinea; then he became clerk to the Council of Five Hundred: his person was fine, his voice melodious, his private character without stain, his manners generally acceptable.

Æschines. and the violence with which he opposed the party of Demosthenes created a suspicion that he had been bribed to support the interests of Philip. This prince and the Athenians becoming mutually tired of war, an embassy was sent from Athens to propose conditions of peace. After the preliminaries were adjusted, and terms stated, the same set of men, among whom were Demosthenes and Æschines, were again sent to exact of Philip the necessary oaths. Demosthenes accused Æschines of betraying his trust in this important embassy; of having been suborned to forward the king's interests; and of circulating at Athens false reports, in consequence of which no exertion was made to prevent Phocis from falling into the power of Philip. The accusation and the reply are both preserved, and rank among the best specimens of Grecian oratory: yet some obscurity hangs over their history. Some say they were never delivered; others that Æschines escaped by thirty votes only, and that he owed his acquittal to the interest of his patron Eubulus, rather than to his own innocence. After the death of Philip, Æschines made his celebrated speech against Ctesiphon. The charges in the indictment were three: the first, that Ctesiphon had proposed a bill unlawfully decreeing a crown to Demosthenes; the second, that Ctesiphon had acted illegally in proposing that Demosthenes should be crowned in the theatre; the third, that the character of Demosthenes himself was such as to render him unworthy of any public honour. This trial produced from Demosthenes the most elaborate, and one of the finest of his speeches. He gained his cause triumphantly; and Æschines, not having a fifth part of the votes, was banished from Athens, and retired to Rhodes.

Cicero, in his treatise *de Oratore*, does not make very frequent mention of the works of Æschines; but his name, whenever it appears, is enumerated among the first masters of Grecian oratory, and the testimony to his merit is distinct and decisive:—"Aspicite nunc eos homines atque intuemini quorum de facultate quæsimus, quid intersit inter oratorum studia atque naturas. Suavitatem Isocrates, subtilitatem Lysias, acumen Hyperides, sonitum Æschines, vim Demosthenes habuit: quis eorum non egregius? tamen quis cujusquam nisi sui similis?"—"Examine now and observe those men whose oratorical abilities we are discussing, what variety there is in their acquirements and powers. Isocrates was distinguished for his sweetness; Lysias for elegance; Hyperides for keenness; Æschines for a sonorous style; and Demosthenes for force. All these are great orators, yet each has his peculiar merits."[1] And again: "Si qui se ad causas contulerunt, ut Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Æschines, Dinarchus aliique complures, etsi inter se pares non fuerunt tamen sunt omnes in eodem virtutis imitandæ genere versati: quorum quamdiu mansit imitatio tamdiu genus illud dicendi studiumque vixit."—"Those who applied themselves to forensic oratory, as Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Æschines, Dinarchus, and several others, though they are not all

[1] Cic. de Orat. lib. iii. c. vii.

equal, yet all were occupied in imitating excellence of the same kind: that kind and style of eloquence flourished as long as their imitation continued."[1] In these two extracts mention is made of Hyperides: Longinus speaks highly of his powers, and Leland thus expresses himself with respect to this orator and Demades:— Æschines.

DEMADES.

DIED B. C. 318.

"DEMADES, by his birth and education, seemed destined to obscurity; but as the Athenian assembly admitted persons[2] of all ranks and occupations to speak their sentiments, his powers soon recommended him to his countrymen, and raised him from the low condition of a common mariner to the direction of public affairs. His conduct as a leader was not actuated by the principles of delicate honour and integrity; and his eloquence seems to have received a tincture from his original condition. He appears to have been a strong bold speaker, whose manner, rude and daring, had often a greater effect than the more polished style of others." Demades.

HYPERIDES.

DIED B. C. 322.

"HYPERIDES, on the contrary, was blessed with all the graces of refinement; harmonious, elegant, and polite, with a well-bred festivity, and delicate irony; excellent in panegyric, and naturally powerful in affecting the passions. Yet his eloquence seems rather to have been pleasing than persuasive: he is said not to have been so well fitted for a popular assembly and political debates, as for private causes and addressing a few select judges."[3] Hyperides.

We have thus directed the reader's attention to a few of the most distinguished of the Greek orators, and endeavoured to point out and discriminate some of their respective excellencies. The name of many others are recorded by Cicero, whose admirable treatise on *Oratory* cannot be too much commended: time, however, has totally destroyed the works of several, and the fragments of others which survive are, comparatively, few and unimportant. But he who studies with interest all the remains of the Greek orators, however scanty or however mutilated, will find in Reiske's learned work information collected with industry and arranged with skill. He may also consult a later and better work, Bekker's Oratores Attici, which includes the speeches of Antiphon, Andocides, Dinarchus, and Lycurgus; besides those of the writers mentioned in this article.

1 Cic. de Orat. lib. ii. c. 23.

2 Citizens would have been a more accurate expression: Demades was a sailor.

3 Leland's Preface.

EDITIONS OF THE GREEK ORATORS.

Editions of the Greek Orators.

ÆSCHINES.—The earliest edition of Æschines is that of Aldus Minutius: Collectio Rhetorum Græcorum, Venice, 1513, folio. Taylor's Æschines, containing the notes of Markland, Wolf, and Taylor, was published at Cambridge in 1748–56. Reiske's Attic Orators appeared at Leipsig, 1771, 3 vols., 8vo. The best editions are Bekker's Oratores Attici, Oxford, 3 vols., 8vo, 1822; and that of F. H. Bremi, 2 vols., 8vo, Zurich, 1823. The former edition had the advantage of a collation of thirteen new MSS.

DEMOSTHENES.—Good editions of Demosthenes were published by Schaefer, Leipsig and London, 1822, (9 vols., 8vo); and by W. Dindorf, Leipsig, 1825, 3 vols., 8vo; besides the Attici Oratores before noticed. For an extended and valuable list of literature on Attic Oratory, see Dr. Smith's Dict. of Antiq., vol. i., p. 988.

DEMADES.—For the scanty relics of this great orator, the rival of Demosthenes, see the editions of Æschines, and L'Hardy's "Dissertatio de Demade Oratore Atheniensi," Berlin, 1834, 8vo.

HYPERIDES.—For the editions of Hyperides, see those of Æschines. Consult also G. Keeseling, de Hyperide Orat. Att. Hildburghausen, 1837, 4to. A speech supposed to be by Hyperides has been lately discovered: it has been edited by the Rev. Churchill Babington.

ISÆUS.—In addition to the collection above noticed, the most valuable separate edition of Isæus is by G. F. Schöman, with an excellent commentary and critical notes. Grietswald, 8vo, 1831. See also "Geschichte der Griech. Beredsamkeit," by Westermann, p. 293.

ISOCRATES.—The best modern editions of Isocrates are by W. Lange, Halle, 8vo, 1803. G. S. Dobson, London, 1828, (2 vols., 8vo,) with notes, Scholia and Latin version; and again, in 1839, by Baiter and Sauppe, Zurich, 2 vols., 12mo.

LYSIAS.—The best separate editions of Lysias, are those of Taylor, London, 1739, 4to, with an apparatus criticus by Markland; by Foertsch, Leipsig, 1829, 8vo; and that of Franz, Munich, 1831, 8vo. In the latter the Orations are chronologically arranged.

GREEK PASTORAL POETRY.

BY

E. POCOCKE, Esq.

GREEK PASTORAL POETS.

THEOCRITUS BION MOSCHUS	FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 284—280.

GREEK PASTORAL POETRY.

Quinetiam ritus pastorum, et Pana sonantem
In calamos, Siculâ memorat tellure creatus
Nec sylvis sylvestre canit; perque horrida motus
Rura serit dulces; Musamque inducit in auras.

Manilius.

Sprung from Sicilia's land, on oaten reed
The shepherd's life and rural Pan he sings;
Nor woods in woodlands chants; behold him lead
The dance through rugged lands, high soaring as he sings.

FEW there are who could recognize in the rude primeval efforts of Greek statuary the visions of breathing life which have been moulded by the hand of a Phidias or a Praxiteles; how transcendently surpassing the inert masses of early caricature are the glorious creations of their consummate skill! Even the trained mind is dazzled by such astonishing results, while the undisciplined mind receives them as convictions of inspiration. Men are willingly captivated by the wonderful; less so by the realities of laborious study. They find it fatiguing to accompany the steps by which eminence is attained; unpleasant to destroy the charm of spontaneous creation. The splendid fiction by which Minerva is said to have sprung, in the full panoply of martial vigour, from the brain of Jove, may have furnished to the Greeks a fair type of omniscient might, but it never can be the symbol of that patient process of perfection which has preceded and accompanied the noblest achievements of man. If, in the triumphs of the plastic art, the Greeks were indebted to a vast fund of original power to perceive and of skill to amend inaccuracies—pure taste to select and ability to execute the beautiful—still beyond these natural and acquired gifts they owed much to the influence of time, and to the experience afforded by the very failures of their predecessors. Thus the exquisite symmetry of their later intellectual offspring bore little resemblance to the unformed progeny of early mind. The misshapen Anaximandrian outline claimed but a faint similitude to the manly beauty of the Platonic model, and the rugged features of the early swain were unheeded beside the finished beauty of the pastoral Muse, created by the living touch of Theocritus.

Effects of industry.

Coeval with the dawn of invention and the flow of peaceful feeling, was the practice of an art whose soothing simplicity transformed the still forest and the silent dell into living companions for man, bidding

Early origin of pastoral poetry.

Echo multiply the offspring of his joy. The antiquity of pastoral music was identical with the earliest germs of civilized life; it was attendant on primeval industry, and it antedated every form of artificial representation. However much it was afterwards modified by climate or by custom, it took its origin at the birthplace of the human race. To wake the voice of music amid the slumbers of the sylvan glade, to catch inspiration from its vocal inhabitants or from the breezy murmurs of the grove,[1] to beguile the listlessness of rural life —these were the objects of the first outpourings of the pastoral muse. With the increase of flocks and their attendants the pastoral dialogue arose; still, whatever charms such early efforts might possess for the untaught denizen of the country, they could present few attractions for those of cultivated intellect. The very placidity of pastoral life, and the monotony of its duties, presented few inducements for the appearance of a true poet among the body of men whose manners were to be the subject of celebration. The theme would be too ordinary to excite the enthusiasm of a rustic, and it was too rugged to be polished by anything but an energetic and refined judgment. Materials in abundance were provided, but the power of combination was wanting.

By whom most successfully treated.

But a new era arose: to the imagination which had luxuriated among the elegancies of civilization, the splendours of a court, and the living communion of exalted intellect, how welcome was the verdant freshness of the woodland glade, how sweet was nature in her simple charms! How grateful was the contrast to artificial forms of life presented by the still serenity of the pastoral landscape! It is now that we behold poetic genius evoked. With fresh vigour poured on every faculty of the soul, the charm of song thrills through each new-born sense, and rural life awakes those feelings that artificial life had lulled to slumber. A difficult task was now achieved. A new pleasure was invented; rural scenery—the minuteness of still life portrayed in the language of rustic simplicity—became the medium of gratification to the refined mind. This object was attained by an artistic treatment, in which all the parts were subordinate to a general design directed by correct taste. Hence with the successful delineator, the faithfulness and exquisite finish of these Idyllia, or pictorial effects, became a substitute for splendid colouring or magnificent originality.

Immediate germ of the Greek pastorals.

We might here trace the art of rustic song to the most venerable nations of antiquity, did we not prefer at once to notice the immediate germ of this delightful species of composition among the Grecian race. The Laconian and Sicilian Dorians had from an early period cheered the festivals of Artemis by pastoral melodies, exercised in amicable rivalry by their respective shepherds or herdsmen; Sicily and the adjacent districts of Italy were the animated scenes of the poetic contest, which became at length so renowned as to confer a distinct name upon the class of individuals who exercised the art; they were called

[1] See Lucretius, lib. v.

Lydiastæ or Bucolistæ. The pangs of unrequited love, the beauty and melancholy fate of Daphnis,[1] the ideal shepherd, rural life and mythic tradition: such were the objects of the primitive pastoral. These early tales had not lost their popularity even in the time of Diodorus, though the only fragments which have reached us are two lines prefixed to the work of Theocritus. Lydiastæ and Bucolistæ.

The time for the perfect development of the Idyllium had now arrived; the scenery stood ready for the vigorous pencil of the accomplished artist, and his standing point was no less favourable. The Alexandrian school had explored almost every department of literature, and added something to each. Heroic and didactic poetry, occidental and oriental philosophy, mythology, oratory, rhetorical exercises, and the elaborate classification of centuries of literature, had all been investigated and amended with patient industry by the writers of that school. But a dull cloud of mediocrity still overhung the verdant originality of Nature, and concealed her cheerful aspect. Theocritus now arose, a native of a fertile island—of Sicily, the physical riches of which were but typical of that mental wealth with which he was to endow his country. Here, surrounded by every product of nature that could connect Europe with the tropical climes, his imagery was enriched by such abundant fulness as conferred the advantage of drawing from Asiatic as well as European sources. In the luxuriant landscape, thus mirrored in the placid bosom of Theocritus, we discern all that can give a welcome to poetic enjoyment. The undulating vale, the grotto and the murmuring fountain, the wild precipice and the peaceful lake, the glowing sunset, the vast variety of tree and shrub in rich and noble contrast, the living pastures and the sweet serenity of an Italian sky,—what inspirations do not these breathe into the soul of the true pastoral poet! Alexandrian school. Pastoral of Theocritus.

But it was not alone from the beauties of Nature that the true pastoral drew its life and spirit; the Sicilian landscape, however beautiful, the mead, however verdant, would be as nothing unanimated by the shepherd. He was the impersonation of that copious fund of broad humour which was a powerful feature in the Doric race, so fully evidenced by the early vigour of the old comedy. In this the peculiar genius of that people was as consistent with itself, as its more polished dialect became under the masterly treatment of Theocritus. The ancient comic dialogue, abounding with rugged forms both of dialect and sentiment, was gracefully recast in the true pastoral mould; the genuine Doric spirit, however, still remained, to animate the vivacity and to sway the universal suffrages of the race. Genius of the Doric race.

In attempting to trace the origin of invention, it is not necessary to attribute servility of copyism as the source; a hint is sometimes sufficient to give birth to a complete art, whose component parts are not copies, but independent ideas. When we consider the few representa-

[1] Stesichorus has thus named his shepherd (see Δάφνις), whom, however, Epicharmus typifies under the title of Dioneus. See Athen. xiv. p. 619.

tives of the genuine Greek pastoral who have survived, we shall be struck with surprise on remarking how in these rare productions their treatment varies, being amplified far beyond what we could anticipate from their titular claim. Amongst other distinctive marks of this style of poetry, we find it diverge into the mimetic, thus maintaining a species of ancient alliance with comedy.

The mimetic source.

Here it is not necessary that we should consider this as a direct copy; it is sufficient that the leading influence, both of comic and mimetic art, took its source in the habits and perceptions of the Doro-Syracusian mind. The early and marked representative of the mimetic was the Syracusian Sophron, the son of Agathocles, who is sometimes styled a comic poet. He, like Theocritus, reduced to a literary form the merriment and rival jests of the Sicilian Greeks, when assembled at Syracuse at their festivals of the Orchestai or Theamata.[1] The mimes of Sophron were stamped with the characteristics of their Doric origin; sententious and vigorous, preserving the old Doric forms, but marked by Sicilian peculiarities and provincialisms, they were, as the name implied, imitative, though not pantomimic. Their objects were to portray popular customs, strong peculiarities, and ordinary life, whilst the very language stamped the truth of the original, and ensured the entertainment of the spectators. Some of them were adapted for amusement at the banquet, and others for public representation.[2]

The mimes of Sophron.

Their objects.

There can be no doubt that a strong bias was thus given to the mimetic portion of pastoral poetry, of which we have only to consult the second Idyl to be convinced.[3]

Among a people like the Dorians, whose deeds spoke more than their words, we might naturally expect great sententiousness. Accordingly, the pastoral poets freely adopt proverbs as a compressive form of language, doubtless to retain those powerful qualities which so strongly recommended the mimes of Sophron to Plato, namely, a condensation of the essence of philosophy. That great philosopher[4] was the very first to make known to the polished Athenians the mimes of Sophron; how largely he himself copied from them we know not; one thing, however, is certain, that he so deeply admired them, they became his constant companions, and at the hour of death his head reclined upon them, for he used always to sleep with them under his pillow.[5] If we contemplate the Syracuso-pastoral song, we

Proverbial influence.

Plato's partiality to the works of Sophron.

[1] The Δεικηλισταί of the Spartans were of a similar nature.

[2] Plut. Quæst. Conviv. vii. 8, 4. See also Xenoph. Sympos.

[3] Vide Arg. ad Theoc. Id. ii. xv.

[4] "Nicht nur die Kräftige Zeichnung der Individuen sondern auch die Lebhaftigkeit und volksthümliche Grazie der konversazion, welche diese Genrebilder zu abgerundeten kleinen Dramen erhob, begrundeten den allgemeinen Ruf des Künstlers. Plato verpflanzte seine Dichtungen nach Athen und benutzte sie sorgfältig fur die Mimesche Färbung des Dialogs." Bernhardy, Grundriss der Griech. Lit. vol. ii. p. 908.

[5] Suidas, s. v., Sophron.

shall find that a great proportion will fall under the denomination of the mimetic; in some cases it is more direct, in others more divergent, yet nearly in every instance is it entitled to that appellation.

Having thus briefly glanced at some of the leading influences of pastoral poetry amongst the Greeks, we shall now survey the actual objects embodied in this style of composition; but, as we shall shortly have occasion to remark on the individual merits of our model, Theocritus, we can only touch at present upon their chief peculiarities. And here the forms of composition are sufficiently varied to keep alive attention, and to charm by novelty of situation. At one time we are presented with the rivalry of two swains in melodious dialogue. On some occasions their challenges for superiority are thrown out to be decided by the first rustic who arrives. The prize of conquest is a kid or a curiously-carved bowl: in the latter case we are presented with a beautiful picture of still life, in the former with a description of the most valuable qualifications that can recommend the contested object.

Varieties of the pastoral.

In these Amœbœic or responsive strains of the rustic rivals, we sometimes observe a total unconnectedness; on other occasions, no sooner does the leading swain throw out an idea, than the respondent follows it up by a well-chosen attempt to improve upon the beauty of the image. The one has "a gentle ringdove for his fair," the other "soft raiment of violet-coloured fleece;" the rivalry grows fast and hot, and the fugue is wrought out in animated flow. The leading disputant has "an elaborately carved bowl and cypress pail," the other keeps in reserve for "his sweet shepherdess a dog to guard the sheep from the prowling wolves;" then ensues the critical moment, when the umpire decides on the merit of the two poetic candidates: his decision is final, and the victorious son of the Nomian Apollo indulges in farewell self-gratulation and parting gibes. Of these Amœbœic songs, as existing a century before the time of Theocritus, Livy has left a remarkable notice, in which he shows that they were produced extemporaneously by the respective candidates, the art evidently being of Tuscan origin.[1]

Amœbœic verse.

Not unfrequently the rustic votary of love unburdens the weight of disappointed affection to his friend, or utters his solitary complaint to woods and dales; occasionally he volunteers a recitation of some choice verses which he has prepared by previous meditation. Sometimes the varying theme changes to an invocation of the Pierian Muses, or the Dryads; sometimes rustic superstition breaks in upon the songs, suddenly "the right eye itches," a token of forthcoming good fortune, and not unfrequently the associate idea of magic is the prevailing characteristic of the pastoral. The object of the dire art is generally to reclaim lost affection, which is to be effected by philtres or by love-charms. The sacred salt, the cake, the laurel, the waxen image of the

The magic pastoral.

[1] Imitari deinde eos juventus simul inconditis inter se jocularia fundentes versibus cæpêre. Incompositum temerè ac rudem alternis jaciebant. Livy, lib. vii. 401.

perjured swain, the invocation of Hecate by the pale moon, the libation to her silver orb, the magic herb cut with brazen shears,—these, with the terrible earnestness of the infatuated lover, form the burden of the maddened strain. One common source furnished these to the poetry of every age and clime. They may be seen in the Pharmaceutria of Theocritus and Virgil, the magic of Apollonius Rhodius and Lucan, the Canidia of Horace, the writings of Tasso, and more mightily in the Macbeth of Shakspeare. From these terrible influences the regal state itself was considered insecure. And who shall say how far the line of real terrific power is to be drawn from that of superstition? The mighty magical opponents of Moses in the court of Pharaoh, the sorceress of Endor and the power of Elymas, the spirit of divination expelled by St. Paul—these facts, blending with the Demonology of every age, down to that of the royal pedant James, have influenced the human mind no less than the superstitions of the vulgar. Undoubtedly another source of fictitious religion took its rise in perilous positions beyond the control of man, or in dangerous modes of life; hence the superstitions of miners and the peculiar ideas of seamen, so strongly tinctured with mysterious horrors connected with objects peculiar to their vocations, while the shepherd, as we have before shown, was calmed by the rural medicament, the laurel and the magic herb.

Its original sources.

Improvisation of pastoral and other poetry.

Another peculiar feature of pastoral poetry, both in its ruder and more polished state, in its European and Oriental development,[1] was the Improvisation of its melody and dialogue. Even in the most finished performances of Theocritus, this air of nature, this spontaneous flow of thought and word, is carefully preserved, nor was it confined exclusively to the pastoral. Undoubtedly the earliest specimens we possess are those contained in the sacred text, in which are recorded the sublime effusions of Moses, Miriam, Baruch, and Deborah, and in all probability many compositions of the Royal Shepherd. Ages subsequent, however, to these distinguished individuals this art was cultivated in Arabia, where it was carried to the highest pitch of perfection. Even in some districts of Spain it is not unusual, at an evening's entertainment, for one of the most gifted of the intellectual coterie there assembled to rise up, and extemporaneously give a poetic challenge to some individual in the company, in what measure he may please; from this the person challenged does not shrink, but, on the contrary, generally comes off with honour. This species of composition is styled the "Bola," because the challenger at the close of his short poem exclaims Bola.[2] During the splendid era of the Mahommedan conquests, when the crescent extended its influence over a great part of the habitable globe, the appearance of improvisation was by no means uncommon at the courts of those magnificent patrons of literature, the

The Bola.

Improvisation in the East.

[1] *Vide* the author's Oriental Poetry and Music, pp. 29–32.

[2] It is probable that this is a remnant of a Morisco custom. *Bola* is an Indian vocable signifying *speak*.

sooltans of Bagdad, and indeed in the capital of every eastern monarch who made any pretensions to refinement or civilization. During the khalifate of Al Motuwakeel the names of Musdood, Rakeek, and Rais were deservedly celebrated as great professors in this art. In the sooltanate of Carawash, the improvisator, Ebn Alramacran, was justly renowned as a great proficient in this elegant art; and the poet is thus introduced to our notice.[1]

Ebn Alramacran.

"Carawash, sooltan of Mousel, being one evening at a party of pleasure along with Barkaeedi, Ebn Fahdi, Aboo Jaber, and the poet Ebn Alramacran, resolved to divert himself at the expense of his companions. He therefore ordered the poet to give a specimen of his talents, which at the same time should convey a satire upon the three courtiers, and a compliment to himself. Ebn Alramacran took his subject from the stormy appearance of the night, and immediately produced these verses:—

Improvisation of Ebn Alramacran.

"Lowering as Barkaeedi's face
The wintry night came in,
Cold as the music of his bass,
And lengthened as his chin!

"Sleep from my aching eyes had fled,
And kept as far apart
As sense from Ebn Fahdi's head,
Or virtue from his heart.

"The devious paths my footsteps balked,
I slipped along the sod
As though on Jaber's faith I'd walked,
Or on his truth had trod!

"At length the rising sun of day
Burst on the gloomy wood,
Like Carawash's eye, whose ray
Dispenses every good!"

Origin of Greek and Italian improvisation.

That the Greeks of antiquity and the modern Italians have been indebted to the East for the improvisatori, who have successively adorned their respective countries, is evident; for to that region we trace the source whence flowed the stream of civilization and the elegant arts of life. At the same time, it must be conceded that the Italian improvisatori claim a superiority, inasmuch as they have occasionally ascended from the lighter style of the lyric and pastoral to the dignity of the epic. As a proof of this we need only consider the exquisite poems of Gianni and some of his contemporaries. To trace the origin, progress, and perfection of so admirable an art; to develop its effects upon the passions of our race, as connected with the achievements of antiquity; to ascertain its influence on traditionary evidence, and above all on the history of man, would form an interesting object of investigation. In the practice of such an art (which has survived in Italy to modern times, being aided by the melody of the language and the vocalic ease of its combina-

[1] See Carlyle's Specimens of Arabian Poetry.

tions,) what a rich treasury of song must have existed among the literary men of Alexandria, the nurse of talent and the museum of ancient literature! How little can we know by mere books of that class of poetry which maintained an elegant position in the graces of home life! Non-representative beyond the literary coterie then assembled, its excellencies are now unknown; with the Idyllium we are more conversant, for external improvisation, as practised in Sicilian rural life, has been presented to us by the ingenious pencil of Theocritus.

Sources of pastoral imagery.

But the imagery of pastoral poetry is not merely drawn from living objects—from things as they are. The past furnishes its fund, and mythical faith supplies machinery for fresh characters. Polyphemus, though a Cyclops, though a monster-giant, though cruel, is still a shepherd.[1] Even his vast bulk and gigantic power cannot shield him from the pangs of love. His passion is brought into vivid contradistinction with his hideous aspect. The heart of the savage is wounded while his huge frame is untouched. The minuteness and the native grace of the monster's sylvan offering contrast forcibly with his rugged nature; and the despairing submission of his tone shows the silken bands of love to be stronger than the chains of the conqueror.

Scope of the mythologic pastoral.

However coldly tales of the bulky denizen of the Ætnæan groves —or of the might of Alcides—may fall upon our ears, they formed the faith of antiquity, and during the age of the genuine pastoral they had not been disenchanted of their glowing colours. Nor, in fact, are such tales inconsistent with its scope, since it gives ample opportunity of introducing savage scenery, and opening wild glimpses of the vastness of nature, commensurate with the gigantic proportions of heroic life. Nor do the daring achievements of might, backed by skill, refuse their illustrated variety.

The close connexion of rural life with the scientific development of natural force are exemplified in the mythologic Castor and Pollux. And here again the most luxuriant landscape is brought out in strong relief, by the blood-stained soil and the horrors of a deadly contest; and we behold the living figures upreared against the sky, with a massive power that the sweeping fury of the conflict cannot lessen. Nor does the recast of mythology present us with a less powerful picture of hospitality, whose rights, upheld against lawless power, were peculiarly sacred to rural life, and one of the prime ingredients in the nobler pastoral. Those rights Theocritus has portrayed in lively colours.

The encomiastic pastoral.

Pastoral poetry, however, is not confined within the narrow circle prescribed by its ordinary definitions. It sometimes assumes the appearance of panegyric, or encomiastic song. It is obvious that the object of the poet-shepherd's record may be the woodland grove, the lover, or the prince. In speaking of courtly personages, his language, though in the pastoral mode, may be pure and polished, and gain additional charms by the welcome contrast of nature and of art.

[1] *Vide* Theocritus, Idyl. xi.

This species of composition has occupied a remarkable position in the poetry of every nation. The prince has ever had his laureate, and the chief his senachy;[1] and as we retrace our steps towards the heroic ages we find the harmonious swain, the guardian both of his prince's flocks and fame. Here we have the encomiastic pastoral in juxtaposition with regal power; the very name of shepherd was dignified in the heroic ages. The Ποιμήν λαῶν, or *shepherd of the people*, was no unmeaning phrase in Homer or in Sacred writ; and it is unnecessary to quote the numerous instances in which princely care is found bestowed upon flocks and herds.[2] The encomiasts of royalty have included poets of the greatest powers, though powers not always well applied. Chærilus was the panegyrist of Alexander the Great, Varius and Virgil of Augustus, and Ptolemy Philadelphus had his Theocritus, while Pindar immortalized Hiero of Syracuse. In Persia, where the art and metres of poetry are subject to the most minute division, the Quseeduh or Idyllium is so highly cultivated, that there is even a poetic nomenclature expressive of the nicest distinctions. Thus the "Dua tà Beed," "*as long as it endures may you exist*," is appropriated to the conclusion of the encomiastic Quseeduh or Idyllium.[3] From this rapid review we observe a peculiar propriety in the connexion of the pastoral with panegyric.

Encomiasts of royalty.

But if the pastoral be adapted to laudatory strains, much more is it suited to the epithalamium. The point of view in which humanity approximates most closely to primæval innocence, unhampered by social intricacy, presents to *us* a tame unity of subject; but let us not forget that here we ourselves are not the best judges. Our standard of opinion has been reared by centuries of artificial training, and we are called upon, thus biassed, to give a decision to which we are incompetent; we are guided by the precedents of civilization, and we pronounce a judgment of doubtful propriety upon the peculiarities of a state of simplicity. A whole life spent with nature or in nature's bowers, with her roses glowing around, or the deep twilight of her groves inviting to repose, harmonized with a faith in happier climes and purer spirits than our own; but for us, artificial existence has levelled the fragrant bowers of rustic life. How fondly Antiquity treasured up her golden age, with its rivers of milk, is well known. These and other mythologic forces swayed the inmost faith of the pastoral muse. Hence the imagery of the epithalamium is redolent of the loveliest bloom of nature; and if aught of human art is visible, it is just so much as might accompany the earliest inventions that form the reflex of the highest joy:—"The lovely locks of the attendant virgins are wreathed with hyacinths; the bride looks forth

The pastoral epithalamium.

Sources of the pastoral in the faith of antiquity.

[1] It is highly probable that Homer was much indebted for many of his episodes to the bards retained by those chieftains, who had descended from the warriors of Greece and Lycia.

[2] See Il. vi. 424; xi. 104; xiii. 185. Argonaut., ii. 502.

[3] *Vide* Gladwin, Rhet. of the Persians.

like the eyelids of the morning, she towers like a cypress in the garden, her eyes are full of love and the voice of her harp is unequalled. With the dawn the bridal chorus will arise to cull the fragrant wreath; the lotus garland shall be woven to wave from the palm-tree."[1] But our limits will not here permit us to enlarge upon this division of our subject. We shall have occasion shortly to refer to the real sources whence the Greek pastoral epithalamium took its brilliant colouring.

The remaining classifications of the pastoral are the erotic, elegiac, and epigrammatic, notices of which we shall introduce in their respective places when treating of the works of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus.

Imitators of the pastoral.

We might discourse largely upon the rank and number of European poets who have, as imitators, followed at unequal distances the footsteps of their great Grecian master. Few of them were deficient in the mechanical requisites of a poet; all had to struggle against an insuperable difficulty; invention was to supply the place of reality. Here the representatives of the European muse throughout her wide domain vainly essayed their powers. Among the Romans, Virgil; in the country of the illustrious Mantuan, Tasso, Bonarelli, Guarini, and Marino; in our own land, amid a host of breathless swains, Spenser, Dryden, Gay, and Phillips; Fontenelle in France; in Portugal and Spain, Camoens, Lope de Vega, and Garcilasso. All these distant copyists clearly evince that mannerism may subsist when the spirit of the artist has departed. A portrait of Nature, of a general cast, may be drawn by imagination; but a portrait of men and manners, adapted to special scenery, clime and genius, can never be faithful unless taken on the spot, with reality for its model, and truth for its limner. He who shall depute to fiction the work of fact may gratify taste, but will not convince the understanding; he may please the ear, but will not affect the heart. Doric elegance may still subsist to model forth the shepherd; but Doric life and blood can never thrill through the cold marble of the statue: it cannot at once be stone and living flesh; the Doric reed may sound, but it is to statuary deafness that it is addressed.

Requirements of the pastoral.

THEOCRITUS.

FLOURISHED B. C. 284.—280.

Admirabilis in suo gene Theocritus.

Theocritus, admirable in his style of poetry. *Quinct.*

Expansive power of Greek intellect.

The expansive power of the Greek intellect has never been more fully evinced than by the variety of its aims and the vastness of its achievements. The highest triumphs of mind, so far from exhausting invention, formed the basis of fresh combinations as beautiful as novel. Has the Homeric sun sunk below the horizon, and the majestic genius of history departed from Hellas? The simple figure of the

[1] *Vide* Theoc. Id. xviii.

shepherd, with rustic pipe in hand, and his flocks grouped around him, enlivens the rural landscape. Formed by the plastic skill of the sylvan god, he pours forth his artless lay, and the measure of his successful enchantment is witnessed by the reproduction of nature in her fairest form.

Analogical development of music and poetry.

There is an analogy between the external products of music and poetry justly consistent with their common source; simplicity and combination—the outline and the perfect whole. Simple melody, the counterpart of the pastoral or epic, whose theme is man in quietude or war, tells its single tale, while in the rich harmonies of music we discern the reflex of tragedy or comedy fully developed. In both the proportions are just, the parts various; but all are in unison, all tend to render the effect perfect as a whole: they are emanations just such as we might anticipate from corresponding phases of society, simple or refined; and if Theocritus voluntarily seceded from the fulness of the choral mode and the harmonies of social refinement, he was doubly happy in reproducing on his simple reed the breathings of early melody.

Favourable position of Theocritus.

But favourable conjunctures must arise for the display of art: the man and the time—the mind and the spark to kindle its light. In this point of view, Theocritus was peculiarly fortunate. He lived at a period when the magnificent patronage of Ptolemy Philadelphus had assembled at his court a brilliant galaxy of talent. In addition to Philetas and other poets of considerable merit, appear the illustrious names of Euclid the mathematician, the astronomers Timocharis, Aratus, and Aristarchus of Samos, and the philosophers Hegesias and Theodorus. Important treatises on natural history, architectural works of a splendid order, the museum, the lighthouse on the island of Pharos, and the royal sepulchre, all attest the genius and the fine taste of the Egyptian monarch. The honours which he bestowed upon the learned men whom he attracted to his court, and the friendly terms upon which he associated with them, prove the value of his patronage, rising principally from the excellent education which he himself had received. To him we are indebted for the septuagint version of the Old Testament;[1] and of this sublime fountain of poetic feeling and expression, Theocritus largely availed himself. In the noble library of Alexandria were collected the glorious works of ancient genius of every description, whose perusal, if it could not inspire originality, kindled an earnest desire for purity of style.

Theocritus, the son of Praxagoras, was a native of Syracuse.[2] The

[1] Joseph. xii. 2.

[2] Suidas states that he was the son of Simichius or Simichidas; that he was one of the Metæci or foreign settlers at Syracuse, but a native of Cos. See the Scholia on Idyl the Eighth, and the Θεοκρίτου γένος, which says that he was the disciple of Philetas the Coan and of Asclepiades the Samian. *Vide* Idyl, vii. 40:—

. . . . . οὔτε τὸν ἐσθλὸν
Σικελίδαν νίκημι τὸν ἐκ Σάμω, οὔτε Φιλητᾶν.

An old epigram styles Theocritus a Syracusian, the son of Praxagoras and Philinna.

period of his youth may probably be placed during the disturbed times succeeding the death of Agathocles, B.C. 290. This very probably induced his father to repair to Grecia Magna, especially since we may gather from the poet that he had lived in the neighbourhood of Croton and Sybaris. He afterwards repaired to Cos, where he became a disciple of Philetas: it is not improbable that he also visited Samos to avail himself of the instructions of Asclepiades. As a monument of his stay in Cos, he wrote, probably not long after B.C. 284, the "Thalysia," in which he thanks his friends Phrasidamus and Antigines for their honourable treatment of him at the festival of Cybele, as well as makes favourable mention of other acquaintances in the island. He himself proceeds with his narrative under the assumed name of Simichidas. In company with Eucritus and Amyntas, his two friends, he proceeds from the city towards Haleus, where Phrasidamus and Antigines, sons of the countryman Lycopeus, were celebrating the Thalysia. On the road they meet with the goatherd Lycidas, a native of Cydon, who had attained to considerable celebrity under the protection of the Muses. At Cos it is probable that Theocritus became acquainted with Nicias of Miletus, a distinguished physician and friend of the Muses. The life of Nicias was unhappy, and abandoning all his duties, he appears to have been pining away in the sufferings of unrequited love. To him Theocritus dedicated two of his most beautiful poems, in one of which he points out powerful sources of consolation. The arguments made use of by Theocritus seem not to have been without their effect, judging by the poem which was addressed to him in reply by the sufferer, who subsequently married a lady called Theugenis: to her Theocritus sent an ivory spinning-wheel,[1] accompanied by a charming poem, in which he presents to her the gift of the blue-eyed Minerva, as one most appropriate to an industrious housewife.

Theocritus in Grecia Magna.

His stay at Cos.

The Thalysia.

Dedication of two poems to Nicias.

From Cos, Theocritus repaired to Alexandria, where he had been invited by Ptolemæus Philadelphus, probably soon after B.C. 284. Here he celebrated the king in an encomiastic Idyl.[2] His expectations in Egypt, however, were not answered, and he was doomed to add one to the list of disappointed laureates. He returned to Sicily B.C. 275, where he appears to have been in troubled circumstances, and probably wrote between the years B.C. 273–270 the 16th Idyl, in order to recommend himself to the notice of Hiero of Syracuse, who was just then preparing for a war against the Carthaginians and Mamertines, after the fortunate termination of which he took the title of king. In Sicily it is probable that Theocritus recalled to life the national style of poetry in the varying forms of the Coic school; he united all the formative materials of Sicilian poetry, and collected the more valuable riches of bucolic song.[3] There are numerous traces to be found of the advantageous treatment of this subject by his predecessors, particularly Epicharmus, and above all Sophron. Of the life

Theocritus at Alexandria.

Return to Sicily.

Bucolic song by the predecessors of Theocritus.

[1] Idyl, xxviii. [2] Ibid. xvii. [3] Munk, Gesch. der Griech. Lit.

of Theocritus nothing more has been gleaned by the industry of his commentators.

The collection of poetry that we possess under the name of Theocritus,[1] consists of thirty Idyls and twenty-two epigrams, which it is said were first collected by the grammarian Artemidorus B. C. 180. Of other poems ascribed to him, we can only say that it is doubtful whether they are the products of his genius or the efforts of his imitators. The eighteen first Idyls are considered undoubtedly genuine, with the exception of the twelfth. With respect to the rest, commentators have demonstrated their authenticity with more or less probability. The whole collection may be divided into mimetic, bucolic, lyric, epic, and epigrammatic. The two first, whose scene is laid in Sicily, are written in the new Doric dialect, as spoken in the time of Theocritus.[2] Others, which approximate more to the Epic model, or are not immediately connected with Sicilian life, are in the Doric, mixed with Epic forms.[3] In the Epic class, Epic language prevails with some Doric forms;[4] both of the Lyric poems are Æolic.[5] The thirtieth Idyl is undoubtedly a later work. The versification of all may be styled a special modification of the Hexameter. In the epigrams, besides the elegiac measures, he has employed the Epodic verse.[6]

The collection of Theocritus.

Classification of his poems.

We must pause here to make a few remarks upon the Alexandrian school and its influences. It could not presume to raise itself to the grand originality of its great models; it was too deeply impressed with their perfection; it was, therefore, content to maintain itself within the bounds of good taste, and to compensate by polished style and purity of language for the absence of originality. Novelty of idea was replaced by rich and varied information, and to these enlarged sources of refinement, the tasteful poets of the Augustan age, were deeply indebted. A noble opportunity was presented to the poet of Nature by the rich contrast offered to rural life by the magnificent courts of Ptolemy and Hiero, of which he was not slow to avail himself; and so signal was his success, that the wreath with which the great pastoral poet adorned his brows has ever retained its pristine bloom and freshness.

Alexandrian school.

The theories advanced to account for the origin of bucolic poetry are sufficiently various—some referring its source to comedy, others maintaining comedy to be the immediate offspring of pastoral poetry;[7] but if we would investigate the real sources of so beautiful a species of

Real source of the true pastoral of Theocritus.

[1] See Munk, Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur, Berl. 1849, p. 374, and Bernhardy, Aeussere Geschichte d. Gr. Lit. vol. ii. p. 926.

[2] Idyl, 1–11, 13–15. [3] Ibid. 18–21, 23, 24, 26, 27.

[4] Ibid. 16, 17, 22, 25. [5] Ibid. 28, 29. [6] Ibid. 4, 5.

[7] Warton's opinion seems to leave too little to the poetic vigour of the Grecian mind. A celebrated Italian translator of Theocritus has some excellent remarks upon this subject, in which we entirely concur. "Il Warton nella sur dissertazione sopra la Poesià Bucolica ripete la origine di questa sorte di Poesià dall' antica Commedia de' Greci quando era tuttavia, semplice e rozza. . . . . Questo opinione va incontro a' gravissime eccezione indicate da' dotti e giudiziosi Autori de Giornale

Theocritus. composition, we must seek for it in that marvellous aptitude of the Greek mind, for seizing on the graceful in Nature and transferring it for perpetuity to the power of Art. What new career lay open to the intellect of Hellas in the age of Theocritus? The strains of Homer, the speculations of the Ionic philosophy, the records of tradition in poetry or prose, the glorious fictions of tragedy, the grace and pointed vigour of comedy, and the stern realities of history, had been exhausted. In all these, from the battle scenes of Homer down to the fresh æra of mind, *man* had been the prominent object. His physical energies,—his passions,—his misfortunes,—his glory,—his craft and his success,—his patient hardihood and his oratorical power; —all these had been treated with a completeness that bade the poetic mind refer for a new model to the refreshing beauty of *nature*, whose fame was also to be eternized by Greek genius.

Characteristics of Theocritus. Theocritus possessed qualifications as a pastoral poet rarely found among his fellows. His writings embody that innate soundness of judgment, nice discrimination of character, poetic grace, and appropriateness of phraseology, that constitute him the master of this new style of song. Faithfulness to nature and dramatic simplicity are pre-eminently his; they form characteristic Idyllia, or pictures of sylvan life; whilst superfluous imagery and misplaced pathos are deservedly neglected as being beyond the pale of good taste. An elegant vein of natural comedy pervades many of his compositions, admirably suited to ordinary Sicilian life;[1] and they are thus totally different from the pastoral romances of modern art, in which the affectation of sentiment and of primitive innocence occupy so prominent a position. Episodes and allegorical colouring, though rarely introduced by Theocritus, appear with powerful effect when he does employ them. His dialogue is lively in its transitions, true to nature and to rural life; whilst the forms of ordinary Sicilian speech, pleasingly inwoven with the graceful structure of the epic verse, seem like the verdant ivy, clothing with its living freshness some noble building.

Example of the bucolic style. The following extract from Polwhele's version of the Idyls of Theocritus may serve to give some faint idea of the beauty of the original:—

THE FIRST IDYLLIUM.

Thyrsis.

Yon breezy pine, whose foliage shades the springs,
In many a vocal whisper sweetly sings;

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de' Literati di Pisa (t. vi. p. 178). Io son anzi portato a credere, che la poesià pastorale, a cui tutti assignano un principio antichissimo, abbia operta la strada alla invenzione della Commedia." Giuseppe Maria Pagnini, Parma, 1780.

[1] Ma nella Sicilia, l'idea della primitiva semplicità pastorale si conserva storicamente pura, sicche la poesià, che questo rozzo e beato vivere rappresenta, dovesse naturalmente e principalmente appartenere a quell' isola. Dafni all quale se ne reca la prima invenzione, è anche un metico personaggio, simbolo dell' idea poeticamente espressa nell' Idillio. Silvestro Centofani. Firenze, 1841.

[2] See Bergk, Rhein. Mus. 1838–9, vol. vi. *sub init.*

Sweet too the murmurings of thy breathing reed:
Thine, Goatherd, next to Pan, is music's meed.

Goatherd.

Sweeter thy warblings than the streams that glide
Down the smooth rock, so musical a tide,
If one white ewe reward the Muse's strain,
A stall-fed lamb awaits the shepherd swain;
But if the gentler lambkin please the Nine,
Then, tuneful Thyrsis, shall the ewe be thine.

Thyrsis.

Say wilt thou rest thee on this shelving bed,
By the cool tamarisk's shady bower o'erspread;
Come, wilt thou charm the wood-nymphs with thy lay?
I'll feed thy goats, if thou consent to play.

Goatherd.

I dare not, shepherd, at the hour of noon,
My pipe to rustic melodies attune.
'Tis Pan we fear, from hunting he returns
As all in silence hushed the noon-day burns,
And tired, reposes 'mid the woodland scene,
Whilst on his nostrils sits a bitter spleen.
But come (since Daphnis' woes to thee are known,
And well we deem the rural muse thy own)
Let us at ease beneath that elm recline,
Where sculptured Naiads o'er their fount recline,
While gay Priapus guards the sweet retreat,
And oak's wide branches shade yon pastoral seat;
And Thyrsis, if thou sing so soft a strain
As erst contending with the Libyan swain,
Thrice shalt thou milk that goat for such a lay;
Two kids she rears, yet fills two pails a day.
With this I'll stake (o'erlaid with wax it stands,
And smells just recent from the graver's hands)
My large two-handled cup, rich wrought and deep,
Around whose rim pale ivy seems to creep,
With helycruse entwined; small tendrils hold
Its saffron fruit in many a clasping fold;
Within, high touched, a female figure shines,
Her cawl, her vest—how soft the waving lines!
And near, two youths, bright ringlets grace their brows,
Breathe in alternate strife their amorous vows.
On each by turns the faithless fair one smiles,
And views the rival pair with wanton wiles;
Brimful, through passion, swell their twinkling eyes,
And their full bosoms heave with fruitless sighs!
Amidst the scene, a fisher, grey in years,
On the rough summit of a rock appears,
And labouring with one effort as he stands
To throw his large net, drags it with both hands.
So muscular his limbs attract the sight,
You'd swear the fisher strained with all his might;
Round his hoar neck each swelling vein displays
A vigour worthy youth's robuster days.
Next, red ripe grapes in bending clusters grow;

Theocritus.

A boy to watch the vineyard sits below;
Two foxes round him skulk—this slyly gapes
To catch a luscious morsel of the grapes,
Whilst that in ambush, aiming at the scrip,
Thinks it too sweet a moment to let slip,
And cries "It suits my tooth; the little dunce,
I'll send him dinnerless away for once."
He, idly busy with his rush-bound reeds,
Weaves locust-traps, nor scrip nor vineyard heeds.
Flexile around its side the acanthus twined,
Strikes as a miracle of art the mind.
This cup (from Calydon it crossed the seas)
I bought for a she goat and new-made cheese.
As yet unsoiled, nor touched by lip of mine,
My friend! this masterpiece of wood be thine!
For thy loved hymn so sweet, a willing meed,
Sure sweeter flows not from the pastoral reed!

Thyrsis.

Begin, dear Muse! the strain of pastoral woe,
Lo Ætna's swain, 'tis Thyrsis' notes that flow.
Where strayed, ye nymphs, when Daphnis pined with love,
Through Peneus' vale, or Pindus' sleepy grove?
For not Anapus' flood your steps delayed,
Or Acis' sacred wave, or Ætna's shade.

Lydiastæ, or Bucolistæ.

The Lydiastæ and Bucolistæ, a class of performers prevalent in Sicily and southern Sicily, whose subjects embraced popular tales, the charms of rural life, the beauty, ill-requited love, and hard fate of Daphnis the pastoral ideal, undoubtedly preceded Theocritus in the strain of rustic melody; but neither to these nor to the Dorians of Laconia was he indebted for that inventive grace which made Bucolic poetry peculiarly his own. The former, whatever may have been their merits, speedily sank into oblivion. They possessed at most but a limited local fame, and resembled in many points of view the improvisatori of modern Italy. Their auditors were few, and no recording pen perpetuated their success. Their strains were not only *incondita*, or "artless," as Virgil styles them,—for that individually considered would have constituted one of their chief merits,—but they themselves were without that correct taste and simple elegance necessary to ensure the transmission of their poems to posterity. Over these rustic improvisatori, Theocritus possessed many advantages, arising from his acquaintance with individuals of high literary attainments in Alexandria,[1] particularly the poet Aratus, to whom he dedicates the sixth Idyl.[2]

Advantages of Theocritus.

By the happy use of the dialogue, Theocritus breathed a lyrico-dramatic life into the narrative form of composition, while the new Doric dialect retained a colouring of the peculiar popular humour of

[1] The internal evidence of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and seventeenth Idyls clearly intimates that they were written at Alexandria.

[2] Vv. 98, 102, 122. The commentators never doubted this Aratus to be identical with the author of the Phænomena.

the age. Theocritus is a master of the tender affections, and a powerful delineator of pure and uncorrupted nature in humble life, such as is evinced by simple herdsmen, peasants, and fishermen, the burden of whose song often forms a distinctive peculiarity. In his Mimes, Theocritus often interweaves a moral, which is displayed partly in the application of the whole poem,—partly in the proverbs with which it is interspersed. As an instance of his faithful portraiture of rustic disputation, characteristic of the goatherd and shepherd, the reader is here presented with a part of the fifth Idyl, a dialogue between Comates and Lacon.

Theocritus.

Moral tendency of the Mimes.

Comates.

Fly, fly, my goats! that wicked Sybarite—
The rogue! he stole my goatskin but last night.

Lacon.

Lambs, from the brook, my tender lambkins fly.
For he who stole my flute stands skulking by!

Comates.

Thy flute! what song can servile Lacon play?
Indeed, with Brother Corydon, thy lay
Drew many a laughing lout, who heard and saw
Thy squeaking scrannel reed, of wretched straw!

Lacon.

No—Lycon gave me a melodious flute!
But could I steal a goatskin from a brute?
Thy master's limbs on no soft skin recline,
Sure such a luxury was never thine.

Comates.

Yes! 'twas the speckled one of special note,
My neighbour gave me, when he killed the goat.
Thou know'st the time; for then thy envious eyes
Glanced theft, and now thy hands have stolen the prize.

To settle the vehement dispute of precedence in song, which grows fast and furious, the woodman Morson is called in, who after hearing the sharp debate, in quality of umpire, decides in favour of Comates. In doing so, however, the rural arbiter is not altogether forgetful of his own interest, if we may judge by his final request to the conqueror:—

Cease, shepherd, cease; Comates wins the prize;
Nor thou forget me at thy sacrifice!

But if Theocritus is happy in drawing with truth and vigour the broad outlines of rustic character, he is not less successful in delineating its characteristic shades. There is a variable degree of native polish to be found in every class,—art cannot impart it to the educated,—toil does not deny it to the peasant; its springs are in the soul and the feelings; it softens the heart and guides the tongue. Hence, the

Distinct portraiture of Theocritus.

Theocritus. shepherds of Theocritus range from the coarsest moulds of their order to the living representatives of inborn grace. To these Nature has spoken, and their hearts are eloquent on her beauty. Their language is purified and their taste is chastened. How great a difference is there between the tones of the disputatious rugged Comates, and those of the melodious Lycidas! yet both are goatherds,—both clad in the same rude attire. The "Thalysia" gives to the latter at once voice and pictorial effect, though we could never have imagined so fair a soul within so poor a shrine:—

His outline of Lycidas.

His wide wove girdle braced around his breast,
A cloak whose tattered shreds its age confest—
His right hand held a rough wild olive crook,
And as we joined, he cast a leering look
From his arch hazle eye—while laughter hung
Upon his lips, and pleasure moved his tongue.

But Simichidas, who had overtaken him on his road to the festival of Demeter, was not guided in his judgment of Lycidas by externals. He knew the melodious voice that slumbered beneath; and the reader cannot but be charmed with the spontaneous grace developed by the goatherd. These strains had, it is true, been meditated; but that circumstance does not lessen our wonder nor our delight:—

Oh may my fair one reach the quiet bay,
And every blessing spread her destined way!
Then with white violets shall my brows be crowned,
With anise wreaths, or rosy garlands bound.
* * * * *
Then to my Daphne's health I'll drink at ease
The sparkling juice, and drain it to the lees!

Poem of Simichidas.

Simichidas is a kindred soul, and nothing can be more delightful than the sweet and easy rhythm of his narrative. He has listened to the rival of his fame, and his own melody has been heard in return. The peaceful flow of feeling that pervades the mind, when nature is in harmony with the heart, is admirably portrayed in the beautiful narrative of Simichidas:—

I sung, and (as presenting me his crook
He smiled) the hospitable token took!
Then, parting, to the left, for Pyxa's towers
He turn'd; while we to Phrasidamus' bowers
Slop'd o'er the right-hand path our speedy way,
And hail'd the pleasures of the festal day.
There, in kind courtesy, our host had spread
Of vine and lentisk the refreshing bed!
Their breezy coolness elms and poplars gave,
And rills their murmurs from the Naiad's cave!
Cicadas now retiring from the sun,
Amid the shady shrubs their song begun.
From the thick copse we heard, far off, and lone,
The mellow'd shrillness of the woodlark's tone!

Warbled the linnet and the finch more near, Theocritus.
And the soft-sighing turtle sooth'd the ear!
The yellow bees humm'd sweetly in the shade,
And round the fountain's flowery margin play'd;
All summer's redolence effus'd delight!
All autumn, in luxuriant fruitage bright—
The pears, the thick-strown apples' vermeil glow,
And bending plums, that kissed the turf below.
* * * * *
Oh! may I fix the purging fan again,
Delightful task! mid Ceres' heaps of grain,
And in each hand, the laughing goddess hold
The poppy's vivid red—the ears of gold!

The Alexandrian school, whose general characteristic may be styled the Eclectic, attempted, amongst the variety of its aims, the reproduction of works similar to those that had been bequeathed by antiquity; and its tendency was decidedly epic, for even lyric and dramatic poetry take that colouring.[1] Throughout the writings of Theocritus we discern more or less of this bias; while it redounds greatly to his merit that he has beautifully harmonized all its varieties in one symmetrical whole, whether the treatment be mimetic, bucolic, or lyric. This completeness it is that becomes a touchstone to demonstrate the genuineness of those writings which we have received under his name. The strong tendency of the Alexandrian period to the production of literary imitations, naturally leads us to suspect many passages and poems as spurious introductions, especially when we consider the inequality of merit and the incongruities of style that meet us in the works of Theocritus. How far the grammarians—men of practised talent and ample means—had the power of repressing such irregularities, we do not know; but certainly a sufficient period elapsed for spurious introductions between the first appearance of the works of Theocritus and the earliest acknowledged collection of them, B.C. 200; and whether inaccuracies of compilation are to be attributed to early and indiscriminate classification, or to subsequent imitations, it is impossible to decide. Still, doubtful as some poems of Theocritus may be considered, there are others whose freshness, vigour, and spirited rhythmus are so remarkable, that their authenticity is at once apparent, and no second glance is required to recognise the easy hand of the master. Amongst such we may class the Adoniazusæ, an admirable sketch of the female gossip of the times, at once mimetic and skilfully ancillary to the praises of Arsinoë and Berenice. The dramatic cast of this piece is well maintained, and the eulogy most delicately introduced. Its musical construction and the exquisite transitions of the dialogue are lost by translation; but with a view to give some idea of its excellencies, the reader is presented with a considerable extract from this lively piece, for which, as before, we avail ourselves of the version of Polwhele:—

Characteristics of the Alexandrian school.

Dubious poems of Theocritus.

Undoubted genuineness of others.

[1] *Vide* Munk, Gesch. d. Gr. Lit. p. 372.

The Adoniazusæ.

ACT THE FIRST.

Scene—*Praxinoë's House, in the suburbs of Alexandria.*

GORGO, PRAXINOË, EUNOË.

Gorgo.

My dear little girl, is Praxinoë at home?

Eunoë.

She is—but how late, Mrs. Gorgo, you come!

Praxinoë.

Indeed! I thought Madam her head would ne'er push in;
But, Eunoe, see for a chair and a cushion.

Eunoë.

I have—

Praxinoë.

Pray sit down.

Gorgo.

What a terrible din!
What a pother! 'tis well I escap'd in whole skin.
What a brave heart have I! to pass so many folks,
That clatter'd in sandals and jostled in cloaks!
And coaches—you cannot imagine the throng!
I'm quite out of breath—and the way is so long.

Praxinoë.

Too true.—'Tis the fault of my plaguey old soul!
And here must we live, and put up with a hole.
What a desert! To vex me he tries all he can;
He was ever a strange unaccountable man!
He knew I could almost have died for the loss
Of your chat—but my schemes 'tis his pleasure to cross.

Gorgo (pointing to the Child.)

Hush, madam—observe him—how earnest his eye—
Don't talk of your husband when Zopy is by.

Praxinoë.

I don't mean your papa, my sweet little jewel!

Gorgo.

But he understands? No—papa's not so cruel.

Praxinoë.

This fellow then (we may disguise it you know,
And talk of the thing as if some time ago)
This block of a fellow once happen'd to stop
To buy me some nitre and paint at a shop;
When, for nitre, he purchas'd bay-salt; and for rouge,
The long lubber gawky bought yellow gambouge.

Gorgo.

Lord! mine is as bad! You could hardly have thought,
For five fleeces like dog's hair, and dear at a groat,
That he squander'd away seven drachms! the sweet honey!
Well might it be said, he was *fleeced* of his money!

Exeunt.

A continuation of the gossip introduces us to—

ACT THE SECOND. The Adoniazusæ.

Scene—*the Street at Alexandria.*

PRAXINOË, GORGO, OLD WOMAN, MAN, &c.

Praxinoë.

Good heavens! what a tide! how or when shall we stem it?
The street is as full as the bank of an emmet!
O Ptolemy, great are the deeds thou hast done,
Since thy father hath left, for Olympus, the throne!
A thief or a robber how seldom we meet;
Though pickpockets formerly crowded the street!
Heavens! what shall we do? The war horses advance!
Friend! do not ride over me! See how they prance!
That terrible bay how he rears! let's be gone—
Come, Eunoë—the rider, I'm sure, will be thrown.
Thank heaven that my boy is at home—let us haste.

Gorgo.

Cheer up, dear Praxinoë, the danger is past.

Praxinoë.

Well—now I begin to recover my fright—
From a child I've been ready to faint at the sight
Of a horse or an adder.—But let's keep our ground—
The mob from all quarters is thronging around.

* * * * *

Gorgo.

Hush—hush—my dear life! She's preparing the song.
The sweet little Grecian! How still is the throng!

* * * * *

The Greek Girl sings.

Sweet-smiling arbitress of Love,
Queen of the soft Idalian grove;
Whom Golgos and the Erycian height—
And thy fanes of gold, delight!

* * * *

Hail, daughter of Dione, hail,
Whose power from dark Avernus' vale
Caught Berenice to the blest,
And with ambrosia fill'd her breast!
For thee, bright goddess of the skies,
To whom a thousand temples rise,
The child of Berenice comes—
Arsinoë (Helen-like she blooms),
With nature's luxuries to adorn
Thy lov'd Adonis' festal morn!

* * * *

Gorgo.

How sweetly she sings! Lord! how much she must know!
Happy minstrel!—but, bless me, 'tis high time to go.—
Should my husband return before dinner is ready,
With his blustering vagaries my head would be giddy.
Adieu, then, at present, my sweetest Adonis!
And again may you meet such a crowd of your cronies!

The nineteenth Idyllium is a pleasing example of graceful versification, showing at the same time the wide interpretation that must be Nineteenth Idyllium.

Theocritus.

given to the general title of "Pastoral Poetry" as handled by Theocritus; more strictly defined, it must necessarily be named Anacreontic; it is entitled "The Honey Stealer."[1] It is a complete reproduction of Anacreon's turn of thought, though the theme does not harmonize with the new Doric as sweetly as the rich melody of the Ionic muse. The Teian lyre was an instrument far superior to the Dorian reed in the transcript of erotic feeling:—

The Honey Stealer.

THE HONEY STEALER.

As Cupid, once, the errant's rogue alive,
Robbed the sweet treasures of the fragrant hive,
A bee the frolic urchin's finger stung.
With many a loud complaint his hands he wrung;
Stamped wild the ground, his rosy finger blew,
And straight in anguish to his mother flew:
"Mother," he cried, in tears all frantic drowned,
"'Twas but a little bee, and what a wound!"
But she, with smiles, her hapless boy surveyed,
And thus, in chiding accents, sweetly said:
"Of thee a truer type is nowhere found,
Who, though so little, giv'st so great a wound."

In our treatise on Pastoral Poetry we have noticed the subject of the epithalamium;[2] and our observations will particularly apply to the poem under that name written by Theocritus: its imagery is largely borrowed from the sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament, to which he had undoubted access.

We shall conclude our remarks upon this poet by observing that the latter part of the collection we have under his name contains those short pieces classed under the name of Epigrams—a term strictly applied to inscriptions, and, in its extended sense, by no means to be considered as conveying the idea of the terse and pointed vigour of the writings of Martial. They are most of them deficient in that sting which is so truly distinctive of the Roman poet; and the same observation may be made with respect to nearly the whole of the large collection in the Anthologia. With one example, which in the latter work would be classed with the ἐπιτύμβια, or Inscriptions upon Tombs, we will conclude; it embodies exquisite tenderness of contrast, and claims for the heritage of feebleness the protection of the strong:—

Epigrams of Theocritus.

Epitaph on Eurymedon.

EPITAPH ON EURYMEDON.

Here, doomed in early life to die,
Eurymedon, thy relics lie!
Thy little wandering son we see,
While the cold earth encloses thee:
Yet is thy spirit with the blest,
Enthroned amid the realms of rest!
And all shall watch with duteous care,
For thy dear sake, the infant heir.

[1] Κηριοκλέπτης.

[2] The songs of Jayveda, and the Ritusanhara of Calidasa, are beautiful Idyllia of the East, whose imagery is in the style of the Epithalamium of Theocritus.

The following is a list of the epigrams of Theocritus:—1. Offerings to the Muses and Apollo. 2. Offering to Pan. 3. To Daphnis sleeping. 4. A Vow to Priapus. 5. The Concert. 6. The Kid of Thyrsis. 7. The Statue of Æsculapius. 8. Epitaph on Orthon. 9. Death of Cleonicus. 10. On a Monument to the Muses. 11. On Eusthenes the Physiognomist. 12. On a Tripod of Bacchus. 13. On the Image of the heavenly Venus. 14. Epitaph upon Eurymedon. 15. Idem. 16. Anacreon's Statue. 17. On Epicharmus. 18. Epitaph on the Nurse of Medeus. 19. On Archilochus. 20. On the Statue of Pisander. 21. On the Poet Hipponax. 22. Theocritus on his Works. 23. On Caicus, a money changer. 24. On Glauce. 25. Epitaph upon Peristeris.

List of the Epigrams of Theocritus.

The earliest edition of Theocritus, without date or place—but supposed to have been printed at Milan, in 1481—is in folio; this is the Editio Princeps. The Aldine edition appeared at Venice, fol., 1495; in this is incorporated a variety of other matter. The chief modern editions are, Reiske, Vienna, 1765, 2 vols., 4to. Warton, Oxford, 4to, 1770. Brunck, 4to, 1772. Valckenaer, 8vo, 1779–81. Schaefer, fol., 1810. Heindorf, 8vo, 1810. Gaisford (Poetæ Minores), 8vo, Oxford, 1816—1820—1823. Kiesseling, 8vo, Lips., 1819. Jacobs, Halle, 8vo, 1824 (one volume only published). Meineke, 12mo, Lips., 1825. Weiskemann, 1830, 8vo (Jacobs and Rort's "Bibliotheca Græca," Gotha).

Editions of Theocritus.

The English translations are by Creech, Lond., 1681, 1684, 1713, 1721. Fawkes, 8vo, 1767. Polwhele, Bath, 1792. Chapman, 8vo, 1844. The most beautiful European versions are decidedly the Italian by Guiseppe Maria Pagnini, Parma, 1780, 4to, and that of Gaetani, Syracuse, 1776, of whom Pagnini thus writes:—"Count Cæsar Gaetani, of Syracuse, printed in 1776 his most beautiful and unique translation of Anacreon in Ottava Rima, to which he subjoined that of the Greek Bucolics in rhyme; and he has demonstrated how an exact and faithful version of foreign poets may be effected by those who know how to handle Italian measures."

Translations.

BION.

Bion.

FLOURISHED B. C. 280.

He sang the darling of the Idalian Queen,
Fallen in his prime on sad Cythera's green;
Where weeping Graces left the faded plains
And tuned their strings to elegiac strains,
While mourning Loves, the tender burden bore—
"Adonis, fair Adonis, charms no more!"

Sir W. Jones.

To raise up a host of imitators is a homage peculiar to successful art. That latent vanity which is ever busy when the season of display arrives, unfurls its pennon to rival the ample banner of genius, and enlist the feeble throng of admiring weakness. All cannot be equally great; and the struggle to emerge from the crowd of mediocrity often

Bion.

has the effect of placing upon an unwonted elevation the candidate for eminence—a position where his stature is diminished, and his voice enfeebled. In this category Bion is included; yet if it be not an invidious observation, we may truly affirm that the imitative intellect of antiquity displayed more delicacy and completeness in its comprehension of the great models of art and literature than are usually found in the modern world. But the Hellenic was a gifted race, and our wonder ceases.

The excellency of imitative antiquity.

We have seen, in the general appellation of Theocritus' poems, a tribute of admiration paid to a particular class of writing, into which whatever else was swept was styled Pastoral or Bucolic, and in this implied concession to excellence, Bion and Moschus have had the good fortune to participate. They are denominated Pastoral Poets. We have already seen that not only the strict bucolic, but also the mythologic, tale was treated from an erotic point of view. The general characteristics of both Bion and Moschus are beautifully embodied in the "Arcadia" of Sir W. Jones:—

> First in the midst a graceful youth arose,
> Born in those fields where crystal Mele flows:
> His air was courtly, his complexion fair,
> And rich perfumes shed sweetness from his hair,
> That o'er his shoulder waved in flowing curls,
> With roses braided and inwreathed with pearls.
> A wand of cedar for his crook he bore,
> His slender foot the Arcadian sandal wore,
> Yet that so rich it seemed to fear the ground,
> With beaming gems and silken ribands bound.
> The plumage of an ostrich graced his head,
> And with embroidered flowers his mantle was o'erspread.

Birthplace of Bion.

Bion was a native of Phlossa, on the river Meles, not far from Smyrna. We have little or no harvest to glean for a biography of this poet, save what is to be found in the poems of Moschus. Bion seems to have left his native land, and to have spent the latter years of his life in Sicily: it is not improbable also that he may have visited Thrace and Macedonia,[1] though it is by no means certain. A melancholy fate awaited the poet of Phlossa, who perished from poison administered to him by several individuals: they did not, however, escape the punishment due to their horrid crime. Moschus is said to have been a disciple of Bion; but whether by this we are to understand anything further than that he imitated the style of the latter, we have not the means of ascertaining.

Bion in Sicily.

Is poisoned.

From the comparatively mere fragments of the poetry of Bion which have reached us, it is impossible to form more than a partial judgment of his powers; nor can we speak with decision on his style, except as to its general tendencies. His most finished performances, however, evince refinement and an elegant versification for a true pastoral poet. But he is too sentimental, and shows too decided an inclination to

Style of Bion.

[1] Mosch. iii. 82.

indulge in those contrasted prettinesses, which the Italians have not unaptly termed "Concetti." If it be a failing, however, in European poetry, we must not forget the Oriental tendencies of his position, and the fact that the powerful contrasts of sound and sense have ever possessed irresistible charms for the eastern nations; nor are they unfrequently met with even in Shakspeare and Milton.[1] In the principal poem of Bion, the first Idyllium, this is particularly prominent; the *white teeth* of the boar wound the *white skin* of Adonis; and the *purple* blood stains his *snowy* flesh.[2] In the translation of the former passage, Polwhele has not ventured to encounter the conceit, which, however, as well as the whole poem, is very successfully handled by Pagnini.[3] We subjoin part of Polwhele's version:— Bion. Concetti.

EPITAPH ON ADONIS.

"Perished Adonis!" my full sorrows sigh;
"Perished!" the Loves, the weeping Loves reply.
Rise, hapless Queen, thy purple robes forego,
Leave thy gay couch, and snatch the weeds of woe.
Beat,—beat thy breast, and tell, "though fair he shone,
Alas! Adonis, though so fair, is gone!"
"Perished Adonis!" my full sorrows sigh;
"Perished!" the Loves, the weeping Loves reply.
I see his thigh, in weltering horror bare,
The wound all open to the mountain air.
He breathes! yet, yet his eyes a pale mist dims
As the black crimson stains his snowy limbs.
Lo! from his lips the rosy colour flies,
And e'en thy soothing kiss, O Venus, dies:
That kiss—I view thine anguished image near—
That last fond kiss to thee so doubly dear.
But the vain ardours of thy love give o'er:
Cold—cold he lies, and feels thy breath no more!

The versification of the original is exquisitely melodious; but no

[1] Not on thy sole, but on thy soul, harsh Jew,
Thou mak'st thy knife keen.

See also throughout the speech of Satan in the battle scene of Milton. The Persians consider this one of the beauties of composition. Sady says—

Khak shū, pesh az ān kih khak shuve.
Be dust (humble) before thou art dust.

Again, compare the alliterative form—

Oh, may my *heart* in tune be found,
Like David's *harp* of solemn sound.

Comp. Theocritus, Ἐξ ὄρεος πίνθημα καὶ οὐ Πενθῆα φέρουσαι. xv. 26.

[2] See, on this subject, Polwhele's Dissertation.

[3] Io piango Adone, il vago Adone è spento,
E spento il vago Adon: Gli Amor fanecco
Non dormir piu Ciprigna, in rosei manti
Sorgi tapina in bruna vesta, il seno
Percoti e grida, Il vago Adone e spento.
Io vo piangendo Adon: Gli Amor fanecco
Sui monti giace il vago Adon da un dente
Candido dente, il suo candido fianco
Trafitto, e un respir languido morendo. *Pagnini.*

Bion.

rhythmus, however musical, can compensate for the want of that true soul of poetry which shines forth independent of harmonious numbers. Where there is a vague generality, the heart is untouched, and we are called not to see but to hear. This generality is too often the defect of Bion. He wants that fixedness of purpose and distinctness of imagery that so favourably distinguish Theocritus.

His language is usually the Doric, interspersed with the Attic and Ionic, though rare Doric forms occur less frequently than in Theocritus, with whose poems those of Bion are mixed in the earliest editions.[1] The second Idyl is written in a far more objective and unaffected style than the death of Adonis. We refer the reader to Polwhele's version of it, as our limits will not permit an extract. Bion and Moschus are names generally found associated, and their similarity of style has doubtless induced this classification.

MOSCHUS.

Moschus.

Moschus, who flourished contemporaneously with Bion, was born at Syracuse: he styles himself a pupil of Bion, but probably meant nothing further than that he copied his style. Of his individual history, in common with that of Bion, we know nothing. Of his compositions we have only four Idyllia, the last written principally in the Ionic dialect: to these may be added an epigram and three small fragments. The same excess of ornament and polish which characterised Bion affected the style of Moschus; and though the short pieces extant prove that he could write with life and grace, he must be considered unequal to Bion, and still more inferior to Theocritus. As a lively specimen of the Anacreontic pastoral, we shall conclude our notice of these poets by an extract from Moschus:—

The Stray Cupid.

THE STRAY CUPID.

As Cupid from his mother Venus strayed,
Thus, crying him aloud, the goddess said,
"If any one a wandering Cupid see,
The little fugitive belongs to me:
And if he tell what path the rogue pursues,
My kisses shall reward him for the news.
So plain, so numerous his marks, you'll own
That e'en among a score he may be known.

"Bright clustering locks his lovely forehead grace,
But insolent expression marks his face;
Though little are his hands, those hands can fling
Darts e'en to Acheron, the infernal king;
Though bare his body, yet no art can find
A clue to trace the motions of his mind.
If you secure the wanderer, bring him bound,
Nor heed him, though he cry and stamp the ground."

Editions.

The works of Bion and Moschus are usually published with those of Theocritus, to the editions of which author the reader is referred.

[1] They were first separated by Mekerch, Bruges, 1655, 4to.

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

I. ON THE GREEK ARTICLE.

By CHARLES JAMES BLOMFIELD, D.D.,
BISHOP OF LONDON.

II. DIGAMMA.

III. DITHYRAMBUS.

By the Rev. HENRY THOMPSON, M.A.,
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PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

I. THE GREEK ARTICLE.

BY CHARLES JAMES BLOMFIELD, D.D., BISHOP OF LONDON.

ARTICLE (Lat. *Articulus.* Gr. ἄρθρον, "a joint.") A part of speech which has been the subject of much discussion amongst those who have written on the construction of the Greek language, of which alone we shall here treat. The Stoics defined the article to be "a part of speech, distinguishing the genders and numbers of nouns;" the futility of which definition is exposed by Apollonius Dyscolus, who has written the first of his four books περὶ συντάξεως on the nature and use of the article. The definition which Aristotle has given[1] is not very intelligible, even with Mr. Hermann's explanation. The most philosophical and probable account is that which has been so ably illustrated by the learned Bishop Middleton, viz., that the Greek article is neither more nor less than the *demonstrative* or *relative pronoun*, for both were originally the same. The article, together with its adjunct, forms, in fact, a proposition in which the participle of existence is either expressed or understood, and which involves a relation to something before said by the speaker, or which is supposed to pass in the mind of the speaker. Thus, γέρων signifies generally "old man;" but ὁ γερων' is equivalent to ὅ, γέρων ὤν, where the pronoun ὅ, "this," implies that the old man now spoken of has been mentioned before, or that he is in some way or other known to the hearer or the speaker.

The identity of the article with the pronoun is very conspicuous in the language of Homer; as in the expressions Ὁ γὰρ βασιλῆϊ χολωθείς, Ὁ δ' ἤϊε, &c. And in almost every instance, where it occurs in his poems, it may be explained as a pronoun. In the words ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν, it is acknowledged that ὁ is a pronoun. Why then should it be supposed to change its nature upon the addition of γέρων in the phrase ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε γέρων? It is plain that in the first case the pronoun is used by itself, with reference to the word γέρων understood; and in the second, that word is added to make the reference more clear. The pronominal use of the article, or rather the use of the pronoun, without an adjunct was common in the Ionic dialect long after the age of Homer.

The principal difficulty concerning the Greek article relates to its

[1] A. P. 20.

usage with proper names, and with the names of abstract ideas. The only way in which we can account for its being used with proper names is to suppose that the speaker first uses the pronominal article as a designation of the person of whom he is speaking, and then subjoins the name itself by way of explanation to his hearers; thus in Homer, when the poet says *οὕνεκα τὸν—ἠτίμησε*, he knows of whom he is speaking; but because his reader does not know, he recollects himself, as it were, and adds *Χρύσην—Οὕνεκα τὸν Χρύσην ἠτίμησε*, "him, that is to say, Chryses." For, in fact, the *name* is added to define the article, and not the article to define the name.

It appears, then, that, generally speaking, the name is necessary to the article, but not the article to the name, except in cases of particular reference. The poets, therefore, frequently omitted the article, in the case of proper names, where a prose writer would have used it; but did not insert it, where correctness of language required its omission. The general rule is, that with proper names the article is used, where the same person has been recently mentioned, or is of such notoriety that the article may be supposed to suggest his name to the hearer. The particular limitations of this rule are ably stated and illustrated by Bishop Middleton in his work on the Greek article.

With regard to its usage with the names of attributes, the same learned writer observes, that in the very few instances where Homer employs abstract terms he employs them without the article; and that it is inserted in later writers, 1. When the noun is used in its most abstract sense; 2. When the attribute, &c., is personified; 3. When the article is employed in the sense of a possessive pronoun; 4. When there is any reference.

It is obvious, from this brief statement of the nature and use of the Greek article, that it was not employed or neglected at random, without any alteration of, or influence upon, the meaning of a sentence; and that, consequently, a proper attention should be paid to it by those who interpret any Greek author. In fact, as the article involves in all cases a reference, it is plain that it may oftentimes limit the sense of a passage, and preclude all interpretations but one. For a full view of the manner in which the doctrine of the Greek article is to be applied to the criticism of the New Testament, we refer the reader to the work before mentioned.

It may be proper to observe, that in every language which possesses an article there is an evident connexion between the article and the simplest form of the pronoun. In Greek, *ὁ, ὅς, οὗτος*. In English, *the, this, that*. In French, *le, il, le* (him); and so in the other European languages, and also in the Arabic.

II. DIGAMMA.

BY THE REV. HENRY THOMPSON, M.A.,

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DIGAMMA, Gr. δις γάμμα, *a figurâ*. The Double Gamma, so named from its form, *F*. One gamma set upon another.

> While tow'ring o'er your alphabet, like Saul,
> Stands our *digamma*, and o'ertops them all.
>
> *Pope, The Dunciad*, book iv.

From the same root we have a word for the wild goat of the mountains, from its climbing upwards; also for the leaf of a tree, from its superior situation; whence, from the f or *digamma* prefixed, we have the Latin *folium*. Horne, Works, vol. i. p. 436, Letter on the Use of the Hebrew Language.

The Digamma, Digammos, or Digammon was the sixth letter of the ancient Pelasgic or Grecian alphabet. Its form and power have given rise to great discussion among scholars. The Phœnician or Samaritan letters appear to have been originally exactly the same with those of the Pelasgians in form, order, power, and name. Aleph or Alpha, Beth or Beta, Gimel or Gamma, Daleth or Delta, He, VAU. That this last name was given to the Digamma by the Greeks we know from Priscian (de Litt.); and that it occupied the sixth place in the alphabet we may also conclude from the fact that it is still found in ancient documents for the number 6. In the Codex Bezæ, we find the character ς used for this number, to denote the Ammonian section in the margin. This explains the paradoxical introduction of the character ϛ, by which this number is usually expressed in MSS., and which is, in reality, only a corruption of the more ancient form. As the subject is one on which conjectures have been almost boundless, we think we shall best consult the interests of knowledge by setting down such information on this point as antiquity has left us.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[1] speaking of the aboriginal inhabitants of Italy, says, "To the Pelasgians they gave lands in the neighbourhood of the sacred lake, the greater part of which were marshy (ἑλώδη), which are still called *Velia* (Οὐέλια), after the ancient form of the language; for it was the general custom of the ancient Greeks to prefix to words beginning with a vowel the syllable *οὐ* written in a single letter. This letter resembled a Γ, with two cross lines joining one straight one, as *Fελένη*, *Fάναξ*, *Foῖκος*, *Fανὴρ*, and many similar." Mr. Payne Knight is of opinion that the Digamma fell into general disuse about the time of the Persian war. But long after this

[1] Antiq. Rom. lib. i. cap. 20.

letter had become obsolete with the other nations of Greece, it was retained among the Æolians, and therefore we frequently find it mentioned in ancient writers under the title of "The Æolian Digamma." It had, however, long since ceased to be used even among them in the time of Dionysius; and Priscian mentions, as a curiosity, an inscription on a tripod at Constantinople which he had himself seen, and which ran thus:—

ΔΗΜΟΦΟϜΩΝ ΛΑϜΟΚΟϜΩΝ.

It became, therefore, an object of interest with antiquaries to discover some inscription, or ancient document, wherein the Digamma should appear; and in the sixteenth century, Goltz published several coins, supposed of the *Falisci*, with the inscription ϜΑΛΕΙΩΝ. This testimony, although well authenticated, was little regarded, as, the word being written in Latin with an F, it was supposed that it had been adopted into the Greek to express a sound which that language did not possess. But it is probable that these coins belonged to the Eleans, as that nation is termed ϜΑΛΕΙΟΙ on the Elean inscription. In 1708, however, Montfaucon[1] published a fac-simile of an inscription on the pedestal of a statue of Apollo in the island of Delos, which was given him by Tournefort, and runs thus:—



This, Montfaucon reads .... *οα ἐν τῷ λίθῳ εἰμὶ ἀνδριὰς καὶ τὸ σφέλας*; mistaking the third letter for a mutilated E. Chishull, in his *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, has clearly shown that this letter is really no other than the Digamma, and thus the passage will stand:—

Ο ΑϜΤΤΟ ΛΙΩΟ ΕΜΙ ΑΝΔΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΣΦΕΛΑΣ;

in more modern Greek—

τοῦ αὐτοῦ λίθου εἰμὶ ἀνδριὰς καὶ τὸ σφέλας.

The next discovery of the Digamma was in 1783, when a brazen tablet was found at *Petilia*, in the country of the *Bruttii*, which contains the word ϜΟΙΚΙΑΝ. And, in 1795, Mr. Morritt discovered, near Olympia, a brazen helmet with an inscription, of which a copy is given in the Classical Journal, vol. i. p. 328, and of which Bishop Marsh has offered a most satisfactory account in his *Horæ Pelasgicæ*, (part i. ch. iii.) The inscription is—

ΤΑΦΓ . . . . ΟΙ ΑΝΕΘΕΝΤΟΙΔΙϜΙΤΟΝΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΘΕΝ.

That is *τἀργειοι* (fort. *ταργειϜοι*) *ἀνεθεν τοι ΔιϜι τον Κορινθοθεν*,—*οἱ Αργέιοι ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Δΐι τῶν Κορινθόθεν*. Beside these, the Orchomenian marble, in the collection of Lord Elgin, contains the words *Ϝικατι*, *Ϝετια*, and *Ϝελατιη*, for *εἴκοσι*, *ἔτεα*, and *Ἐλατεία*· and

[1] Palæographia Græca, lib. ii. 1.

an inscription copied by Gropius from a marble near the site of the ancient Crissa, on the Corinthian bay, exhibits FOMA, probably for ὁμῆ.

In all these inscriptions the Digamma resembles more or less the Roman F, the only difference existing in the inclination of the cross lines to the stem. There is, however, another form under which it sometimes appears, resembling an upright and inverted gamma united, Ⅎ. This form was supposed to be confined to Italy; but coins have been found inscribed ⅎΑΞΙΩΝ as well as FΑΞΙΩΝ, and the latter are generally referred to Axus in Crete. The Ⅎ is used on the Heraclean Tables, which exhibit ⅎΕΙΚΑΤΙ for εἴκοσι, ⅎΕΞ for ἕξ, ⅎΕΤΟΣ for ἔτος, ⅎΕ for ἓ, ⅎΕΙΚΑΤΙΔΕΙΩ for εἰκατιδέω, ⅎΕΚΤΑ for ἕκτη, ⅎΙΚΑΤΙ also for εἴκοσι. Beside these words, the Digamma is found in all others derived from them.

The most important inscription, however, for illustrating the use of the Digamma is one which was brought from Elis by Sir William Gell, in 1813. It is a brazen tablet, and relates to a treaty between the Eleans and Evæans, entered into, as Mr. Payne Knight conjectures, about the fortieth Olympiad. It has the advantage of being the most ancient inscription ever copied in Greece, or brought to this country; it contains FRATPA for ῥήτρα, FΑΛΕΙΟΙΣ for Ἠλείοις, ΕΥFΑΟΙΟΙΣ for Εὐαοίοις, FΕΤΕΑ for ἔτεα, FΕΠΟΣ for ἔπος, FΑΡΓΟΝ apparently for ἔργον, and FΕΤΑΣ for ἔτης.

From all this unexceptionable testimony we derive a very fair notion of the several forms of the Digamma, and of the manner in which it was formerly employed. We will now proceed to collect from ancient authority the mode of its pronunciation.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, as we have already seen, attributes to the Digamma the force of the Greek οὐ: and that the Greek οὐ corresponds nearly, though not entirely, with the Roman V, whether vowel or consonant, is obvious from the manner in which the two nations respectively wrote the names of each other. Thus the Romans rendered ἈριστόβΟΥλος by *AristobVlus;* and the Greeks, *Virgilius* and *Varro* by ΟΥιργίλιος and ΟΥαῤῥων: yet that the Greeks had no letter precisely corresponding to the Latin V, may be inferred from the words Νόμας, Σύλλα, Βιργίλιος, Βαῤῥων, by which they also expressed the Roman names, *NVma, SVlla, Virgilius, Varro.* Οὐ, therefore, is rather to be considered an approximation to the Latin V than the sound itself, and the nearest which Dionysius could employ to express the sound in question. Knowing, therefore, that the sound of the Roman V did not exist in the Greek language in the time of Dionysius; that the Digamma was also lost; that the place which he calls Ουελία was actually written in Latin *Velia,* and that this name originally had the Digamma, we can scarcely come to any other conclusion than that the Digamma was no other in power than the Latin V. We shall see how far this opinion is supported by ancient

testimony. The authority of the learned and laborious Varro, far more important than that of Dionysius, comes first to be noticed, who observes,[1] "*Tempus Secundum* Ver, *quod tum* virere *incipiunt* virgulta, *et vertere se tempus anni;* nisi quod Iones dicunt BHP." That the Ionians did not *write* BHP, we know from their works; and, indeed, Varro's statement only implies that this was the Ionian *pronunciation.* B, therefore, appears to be used by Varro as an approximation to the Æolic Digamma, as it is used by the Greeks themselves as an approximation to the Latin V. Suetonius[2] and Tacitus[3] inform us, that the emperor Claudius added three letters to the Roman alphabet, and wrote a treatise on their necessity. Such an authority as Claudius would be of little value, had we not the opinion of Quinctilian that the Æolic Digamma, which was one of these, was by no means an useless addition.[4] In the inscriptions of that emperor the Digamma makes its appearance inverted, as in the words AMPLIAⅎIT, TERMINAⅎITQ, and uniformly for V. The advantage of this introduction appears to have been the distinction of the consonant and vowel V, which hitherto had been expressed by the same letter. The Digamma of Claudius was discontinued after his death. Marius Victorinus (de Litteris) expressly declares that the Æolian Digamma was pronounced similarly to the Latin V; and Priscian is very copious on the subject.[5] "V consonant in Latin (says the latter author) had always the force of the Æolic *F*, and therefore it takes the same name Vau, formed from its sound, as Varro and Didymus testify, who show that this was its appellation." "So true is it that the Æolic Digamma is represented by our V, that we find Astyages writing—

Οἰόμενος Fίλιναν ἐλικώπιδα·

and we also say—

At Venus haud animo nequicquam exterrita mater."[6]

To the same purpose, Terentianus—

——— si prior sit V, sequatur illa (littera *I*)
Quum dico *Vide*, contulit I sonum priori,
Ast ipsa manet tempore quo sonabat ante;
Vocalibus hoc ea reliquis prædita servat,
Ut *Vade*, *Veni*, *vota* refer, teneto *vultum*,
Crevisse sonum perspicis, et coïsse crassum.
Unde Æoliis littera fingitur Digammos,
Quæ de numero sit magis una consonantûm
Vocalis in istum mage quàm versa sit usum.

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[1] De Ling. Lat. [2] Claud. xlv. [3] Annal. xi. xiv.

[4] Æolicæ quoque litteræ, quà *servum cervumque* dicimus, etiamsi forma à nobis repudiata est, vis tamen nos ipsa persequitur. Quinct. xii. 10.

[5] Cap. de Litteris, lib. i.

[6] The parallel of these lines appears to consist in this, that the short syllable *ɛ* is lengthened before *F*, as the short syllable *at* is before V. The Greek line does not prove that the Digamma sounded like V, but only that it was present; that the sound was that of V is assumed by the grammarian as undisputed.

In addition to this evidence, Papirian and Adamantius Martyrius, as cited by Cassiodorus,[1] and Donatus, and Sergius his commentator, all ascribe to the digamma the power of the Roman V. The digammated words, moreover, which were transferred to the Latin language, substituted V for the digamma; as ὂϝις, *ovis*, ϝοῖνος, *vinum*, νάϝος (gen.), *navis*, βόϝος (gen.), *bovis*, &c. &c. The Christian Latin writers, moreover, expressed the Hebrew ו, which corresponded in place and power with the Digamma, by V; as דָּוִד, David; where the Greeks, as in the instances already cited, approximated by *υ* or *β*; Δαυὶδ, Δαβὶδ.

Strong as appears to be this body of testimony, Bishop Marsh, in his *Horæ Pelasgicæ*, contends that the Digamma was not pronounced like the V, but like the F of the Roman alphabet. For this hypothesis the learned prelate is unable to allege any ancient evidence except a passage of Priscian, who, as has been already seen, has himself vindicated the contrary opinion. In the beginning of the chapter *De Numero Litterarum apud Veteres*, the grammarian observes, "The Æolic Digamma, among the early Latins, had the power of the Greek Φ. P with the aspirate expresses nearly the same sound which F now has, as we find even among the early Greeks ΠΗ for Φ. In writing Greek words we retain the ancient orthography, as *Orpheus*, *Phaëthon;* but in Latin words F was afterwards employed for P and H, as *Fama*, *Filius*, *Facio;* but instead of the Digamma, V consonant, because that letter appeared to bear an affinity of sound to the Digamma." This testimony is certainly explicit and positive; but even this admits that the Latin V, although not the same with the Digamma, was used as its substitute, and will bear no comparison with the early evidence of Varro.

The argument of Bishop Marsh will not admit of abridgment, nor have we the means of stating it at length: from what has been said, however, it will be evident that, although highly learned and ingenious, it is purely conjectural and analogical, and has no positive support, except what is afforded it by the single, equivocal, and even self-contradictory testimony of Priscian.

More fortunate, however, is the learned Prelate when contending against Dawes and *τοὺς αμφὶ Δαύσιον*, who would express the Digamma by the English W. There is no evidence whatever that either the Digamma or the Latin V was thus pronounced. It is quite enough to picture to our minds the honey-tongued Nestor beginning an oration:—

ὦ πόποι, ἦ δὴ παῖσι ϝιϝοίκοσις ἀγορέϝισθε.

Mr. Payne Knight, however, has defended the theory of Dawes with great ingenuity, in his *Prolegomena in Homerum*, wherein he contends, from the testimony of Terentianus concerning the Latin V, that the Æolic Digamma was not remarkably melodious.

[1] De Orthographiâ, iv. 5.

We will now endeavour to ascertain somewhat of the purposes which the Digamma served in the early language of Greece. The Phœnician characters which were first used in Greece, ended with the letter T. The Greeks, however, possessed a sound in their language, inexpressible by the Phœnician character, concerning which it is in vain now to conjecture. To express this sound, the character V, afterwards Υ, was invented at a very early period in the history of the language; but before this invention, when the rules of pronunciation were less definite, the language less settled, and practice less restricted, it appears that they sometimes employed the Digamma as the best approximation. The Delian inscription appears to have been written when the use of the V was scarcely determined, for there we find **ΑϜΥΤΟ** for **ΑϜΤΟ** or **ΑVΤΟ**. The modern Greeks have now two pronunciations of the Υ; when it occurs in a diphthong, they pronounce it like a V; but otherwise like their own I or the English E. That the Romans also gave the V the consonant sound in what we call diphthongs, appears from the circumstance of the word *cauneas* being mistaken by the soldiers of Crassus for *cave ne eas.*[1] In the Sigean inscription, there can be little doubt that V stands for the Digamma in the word **ΣΙΓΕVΕVΣΙ**, "where, if we consider each *ευ* as a diphthong, the word is very uncouth, both in pronunciation and in grammatical form. But if we divide the word thus, **ΣΙΓΕ-VEV-ΣΙ**, and consider [the first] V as a *consonant*, substituted for *Ϝ* at a time when *Ϝ* was fallen into disuse, the inconvenience is at once removed. We may thus also account for the two forms which appear in this inscription, **ΣΙΓΕΙΕΣ** and **ΣΙΓΕΥΕΥΣΙ**, which Dawes[2] considered as irreconcilable. If **ΣΙ-ΓΕ-ϜΕϜΣ** was the original nominative, **ΣΙ-ΓΕ-ϜΕϜ-ΣΙ**, and (when V was substituted for *Ϝ*) **ΣΙ-ΓΕ-VEV-ΣΙ** would, of course, be the dative plural. Again, if at a period when orthography was subjected to little or no rule, we suppose that the termination was indifferently written **ϜΕϜΣ** or **ϜΙϜΣ**, (**ϜΕΤΙΑ** is for **ϜΕΤΕΑ** on the Orchomenian marble) the nominative plural of **ΣΙΓ-Ε-ϜΙϜΣ** would be **ΣΙ-ΓΕ-ϜΙϜΕΣ**, or, without the Digamma, which was not then used at Sigeum, **ΣΙ-ΓΕ-Ι-ΕΣ**. We see, therefore, in what manner **ΣΙΓ-ΕΙΕΣ** might become the nominative plural of a word which had produced **ΣΙΓΕVΕVΣΙ** for the dative plural."[3] In the Elean inscription we have **ΕϜΑΟΙΟΙΣ** for *Εὐαοίοις*; and *αὔαταν*, in Pindar, occurs for *ἄαταν*,[4] i. e., *ἄϜαταν*. Hence, doubtless, *κάω*, *κάϜω*, *καύω*, *καΰσω· πλέω*, *πλέϜω*, *πλεύω*, *πλεύσω*, and other grammatical anomalies, may be accounted for, and reduced to system. And thus also *δάϜιον* for *δαΰϊον* in Alcman cited by Priscian; but we shall endeavour, by and by, to show that the grammarian was mistaken in this part of the subject.

We have seen that Dionysius observes that it was usual with the

[1] Cic. de Div. lib. ii. cap. xl.
[2] Miscellanea Critica, p. 122.
[3] Marsh's Horæ Pelasgicæ, part i. ch. iv. note.
[4] Pyth. ii. 52.

very ancient Greeks to prefix this letter to words beginning with a vowel; but we are not to understand by this that they did so in every instance. The ancient inscriptions which contain the Digamma sufficiently disprove such a supposition; and Terentianus contents himself with observing:

> Nominum *multa* inchoata litteris vocalibus
> Usus Æolicus reformat, et Digammon præficit.

In the extremely unsettled state of the ancient language of Greece, it is probable that this letter was prefixed or omitted, not according to any very minute grammatical regulations, but still with some regard to euphony. The facility with which the Digamma might be employed or neglected, is probably the most satisfactory explanation of its disuse at a period when the language became more cultivated and regular. One of its most usual purposes was to supply the office of the aspirate, to which the Æolians seem to have had considerable aversion. *Sciendum tamen quòd hoc ipsum Æoles quidem* ubique *loco aspirationis ponebant, effugientes spiritûs asperitatem.* So says Priscian; but his *ubique* would be incorrect, if carried farther than the practice of the Æolians. On the Heraclean tablets, and on many other monuments of antiquity, we find the aspirate ϝ as well as the Digamma Ϝ or Ϲ. In the tablets we have Ϲεξ for ἕξ and its compounds; but always ϝεπτα for ἕπτα and its compounds; and we find Ϝέτος, but πενταϝέτηρις. As the Æolians inverted the sound of Z (δσ) by making it σδ, and writing σδεύγλα for ζεύγλη, so they appear to have inverted the initial ῥ (ρϝ); only, from their aversion to the aspirate, they would not write ϝρ, but wrote Ϝρ instead; so Ϝράτρα occurs on the Elean inscription; and this occasional insertion of the Digamma before the initial ῥ, may account for the power which that letter sometimes possesses of elongating a short vowel. That the Roman V, which all ancient testimony identifies with the Digamma, had the force of an aspirate, appears from Quinctilian, if the passage be rightly punctuated by Dawes, which it seems not to be.[1] Certain it is, however, that many words aspirated in Greek begin in Latin with V.

A very common use of the Digamma appears to have been to lengthen a short syllable in poetry. This will appear from the examples in Priscian, although they are most unaccountably arranged and applied. "*Est tamen quando Æoles idem* Ϝ *inveniuntur pro duplici consonante posuisse, ut*

> Νέστορα δὲ Ϝου παίδος·

and he adds: *nos quoque videmur hoc sequi in præterito perfecto et plusquam perfecto tertiæ et quartæ conjugationis, in quibus* I *ante* V *consonantem posita producitur, eâdemque subtractâ corripitur, ut* cupivi, cupii; cupiveram, cupieram; audivi, audii; audiveram, audieram." So far is very intelligible and analogical. But our sensations must somewhat resemble those of the honest Satyr in the fable, when we

[1] See Dawes, Miscell. Crit. iv.; Quinct. lib. i. cap. iv.

learn from the same oracular authority that this identical letter, which sometimes had even the force of a double consonant, was occasionally employed as a *short* vowel, and to *shorten* a syllable! Yet such is the conclusion of Priscian. "*Inveniuntur etiam pro vocali correptâ illi usi, ut Alcman* :—

καὶ χεῖμα πύῤ τι δάϜιον·

Est enim dimetrum iambicum; et sic est proferendum Ϝ, *ut faciat brevem syllabam.*" This passage must be understood to signify that the hemistich cited was to be scanned thus,—

καὶ χῑ | μᾰ πῡῤ ‖ τῐ δᾰϜ | ῐον ‖

where Ϝ is used like u, or some vowel. But what prevents that the line should be scanned as a pure iambic—

καὶ χῑ | μᾰ πῡῤ ‖ τῐ δᾰ | Ϝῐον ‖ ?

In this case the use of the Digamma is ordinary and natural; in the other, forced and unexampled; for although Υ was sometimes used as a *consonant* for the Digamma, we do not find that the Digamma was ever employed for the *vowel* Υ. Beside which, if Priscian's resolution be true, the Digamma must have had, as we have already observed, the power of shortening no less than lengthening the preceding syllable; for Priscian should have known that the first syllable in δᾶϊος is long; and even were it not so, it might have been lengthened by the Digamma. His Latin analogies, therefore, of *sylüæ* and *solüit* are nothing to the purpose. We shall have an opportunity of returning to this inconsistency presently.

The grammarian proceeds: "Ϝ *Æoles est quando in metris* pro nihilo *accipiebant, ut*

ἄμμες δ' Ϝιῤάναν τὸ δὶ τ' ἄῤ' ἔῐτο μῶσα λιγαία.

Est enim hexametrum heroicum." *Pro nihilo!* If the line as here cited be not a corruption (which is very supposable) there is no reason why it could not have been pronounced

ἄμμες δ' ϝιῤάναν, &c.

which, although not so perfectly euphonous as the ordinary tenor of the language, is much less offensive to the ear than the *dwell* of the English; and Dawes has proved that in some instances the Digamma was actually used after δ. But as the Digamma, apparently, might arbitrarily be inserted or neglected, there is every reason to suppose that it is here indebted to the grammarian for its disadvantageous collocation. The example from Terence is nothing to the purpose. It is very possible that the line

Sine invidiâ laudem invenias et amicos pares,

might be scanned, *sĭn' ĭnĭ*, &c.; but the licentious prosody of Latin Comedy is quite inapplicable to the Greek heroic metre.

One object of using the Digamma appears to have been the removal of the hiatus between two vowels, which, as it seems, was particularly

repulsive to the genius of the Æolian dialect. *Hiatûs quoque causâ* (says Priscian) *solebant illi interponere Digamma; quod ostendunt etiam Poetæ Æolicè usi, Alcman,* καὶ χεῖμα πύρ τε δάϜιον, *et epigrammata, &c.* This is, no doubt, the true account of Alcman's intention in inserting the Digamma into the word δάϊον, and utterly contradicts the supposition which the grammarian makes above, that the Digamma had the force of a vowel; for if this had been the case, the only effect of such an interpolation would have been to widen the hiatus. When the Digamma fell into desuetude, the Æolians appear to have left a space for it between two vowels. In the Sigean inscription, as we have already seen, V appears to have been substituted for the Digamma; and in the word ΜΕΛΕΔΑ INEIN (μελεδαίνειν), a space appears which is considered by most critics not to be the effect of chance.

From this epitome of the history of the Digamma, its prevalence and its power, we have a strong *à priori* argument that its effects could not but have been greatly perceptible in the poems of Homer; which, whensoever they might have been composed, must, undoubtedly, have had their origin in a period when the influence of the Digamma was considerable. It seems, therefore, a very natural *à priori* supposition, that the writings of Homer should exhibit anomalies in metre and rhythm, which an attention to the force of the Digamma would rectify and explain. This supposition first presented itself to the critical mind of Bentley; and although the virulence of party spirit, and the spleen of the witty but unlearned, were abundantly called into exercise by the promulgation of this discovery, in this, as in all contests of a similar nature, the gigantic scholar came off victorious, and successfully and steadily indicated the path which has since been trodden by Dawes, Heyne, and more especially by that most eminent archaic Grecian, the late Mr. Payne Knight. Whatever may be the varieties of opinion with respect to this gentleman's universal success in the Herculean task of remodelling the Homeric Poems by the scanty light of very remote antiquity, no doubt can be entertained that he has in a very great number of instances explained, naturally and beautifully, difficulties which it had before cost volumes of unfounded sophistry to reconcile.

The critical ground on which Bentley proceeded was immovable. He did not supply the Digamma wherever there occurred an unpleasant hiatus; but he observed carefully whether there were not some words beginning with a vowel, which were *never* immediately preceded by a consonant. The general principles of language appeared to suggest that, although the collision of two vowels, as in δῶρᾰ ἄνᾰκτι, might be allowed in poetry, it could never be harmonious or desirable; and that therefore it would be probable that the oblique cases of ἄναξ, for instance, would, most generally, be preceded by a consonant. But when, on examination, he found that these cases were almost in every instance preceded by a vowel; and

that, in the few instances where this did not take place, the corruption was easily perceptible and corrigible; there was evidently some cause for so remarkable a phenomenon; and this, in all probability, was, that the word ἄναξ had formerly possessed an initial consonant which would have lengthened any syllable preceding it terminated with a consonant. Now, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus expressly asserts, that Ϝάναξ was the ancient pronunciation of this word; and as this account of the matter is an adequate explanation of the whole phenomenon, the chain of critical evidence is complete, and the conclusion irresistible. This principle has been pursued; and the consequence has been the discovery of a very considerable number of words of which the Digamma appears, at least in the Poems of Homer, to have formed a constituent part. For although the evidence of ancient inscriptions favours the belief that the Digamma could be added or omitted at pleasure, such does not appear *generally* to be the case in the writings of Homer.

Dawes, who acquired from Bentley both the discovery itself and the means of its prosecution, appears to have thought cavilling at the discoverer the surest proof of originality. Accordingly, he strenuously contends against Bentley, that although the *power* of the Digamma certainly prevailed in the poems of Homer, its *form* never appeared there. The point itself is not of the slightest consequence; there is some difficulty, however, in admitting the belief that Homer employed the power of a letter which was a regular component part of his alphabet, without once writing it. Indeed, there can be no doubt that, since every writer in the age of Homer would have used the Digamma, Homer also would himself have used it: so that it is easy to give an answer to Dawes's quaint bit of patchwork Latinity: *Quâ tandem virgâ plusquam Circœa Homeri scripta tam inauditam metamorphosin subire potuissent; quæ tandem esset singularis illa virgæ ἀντιδιγάμμου qualitas, quæ luis Ægyptiacæ ad instar in unius hujus l ementi internecionem grassaretur.* When the Digamma was disused in Greece generally, it was disused in the copies of Homer, which only underwent a change similar to that which Shakspeare has experienced among ourselves, whose orthography is no longer that of the first editions, but that in ordinary use among us at the present day. Indeed, it is the opinion of many critics, and one adopted by Mr. Payne Knight, that the poems of Homer were never committed to writing before the age of Pisistratus.

After this ungracious cavil, as groundless as it is unimportant, Dawes proceeds to exemplify Bentley's theory in the examination of the words ἄναξ and ἔπος, and their inflexions and derivatives. This has been done most convincingly; and although this great scholar seems occasionally to have taken unwarrantable liberties with some of the very few examples which oppose him, no doubt can remain on the general truth of his position. Some of his corrections are evidently true; but in those wherein his alterations are less justifiable, it is very

possible that there are corruptions, or that Homer himself omitted the Digamma, which we know the state of the language then allowed. Heyne has followed up the work of Dawes, in three excursions on the 19th Book of the Iliad, in the second of which he has given a very elaborate and very valuable critical catalogue of the digammated words in the works of Homer; from which it appears that the Digamma was sometimes omitted even by him, as in the word *ἀπῴκισε* from *ἀποϜοικίζω*, which regularly would give *ἀπεϜοίκισε*. The theory of Dawes differs, however, in many respects from that of Mr. Payne Knight.

The use of the Digamma in Homer will explain the effect which the liquids sometimes appear to have of lengthening a short syllable, as *πόλλᾱ λισσομένη (Ϝλισσομένη,) μάλᾱ μέγα (Ϝμέγα,) δε̄ νέφος (Ϝνέφος) παρᾱ ῥηγμῖνι (Ϝρηγμῖνι.)*

The Digamma is to be found in literature much later than the time of Homer. We have already seen that it existed in the writings of Pindar; and the following verses seem to require it; at least they cannot be scanned without recourse to something of the kind, and no solution appears so simple as the insertion of the Digamma.

Ὁρῶν ἐμαυτὸν ὧδε προσιλούμενον. (προσϜιλούμενον).
Æsch. Prom. Vinct. 438.

προσιλοῦμεν· (προσϜιλοῦμεν) ταῖς δὲ χαλκοῖς, καὶ ξένοις, καὶ πυῤῥιάις.
Arist. Ran. 730 (Brunck.)

But the Alexandrian writers appear to have been totally ignorant of its use and power.

III. DITHYRAMBUS.

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DITHYRAMBUS, in Greek literature, signified a kind of hymn to Bacchus; also a name of Bacchus himself. The etymology is uncertain: the Greeks, who never carried philological criticism beyond the precincts of their own language, derive it variously. According to the scholiasts on Pindar and Lycophron, its origin is δὶς θύρας ἀμείβων, a reference to the double nativity of Bacchus. Proclus derives it from διθυρίτη, the double-entranced cave, wherein this god was brought up; or from λῦθι ῥάμμα, "cut the thread," the exclamation used by Jupiter during the parturition of his thigh: while Phurnutus explains it by στόμα δίθυρον, a double mouth, a figurative allusion to the effects of wine. These etymologies are so forced, unnatural, and inadequate, that the Abbe de Vátry, in his Essay on the Greek Tragedy in the *Mémoires de l'Académie*, rejects them all, and sends us to Egypt for something more satisfactory. Dr. Donaldson, in his "Theatre of the Greeks," repudiates the last conjecture along with the rest, and suggests Διὶ and θυς, the radical portion of the word θύρσος. Θυς and θρι he considers as one root; hence θύραμβος and θρίαμβος would mean the same. This conjecture seems to us quite as obscure as any of the others. There is little doubt that the true etymology is not Greek.

The whole range of antiquity, perhaps, does not furnish a subject on which our real and ostensible information are so disproportionate as this of the Dithyrambus. That this poem, together with the Nome, was the most ancient existing among the Greeks, appears certain; and our confusion on the subject is, in part, attributable to the circumstance that the word διθύραμβος, like *Satura* among the Romans, was applied at different periods to a different kind of poem. Aristotle observes,[1] that the Dithyrambi were formerly antistrophical, but that they lost that form when they became mimetic; that is, when they were employed in scenic representations. And he accounts for this circumstance by telling us that they were formerly sung by the gentry (ἐλεύθεροι), who, not possessing a very artificial knowledge of music, required the repetition of the air; but, when they were executed by professional persons, their intricacy was no objection. They were poems of the most regular and systematic construction; and, except in the subject, which was always the praise of Bacchus,

[1] Problem. 19.

were probably precisely the same as the choruses in the Greek tragedies now extant. The manner of singing them was not unlike; fifty men or boys chanted them, dancing round a blazing altar; whence this chorus was called *Cyclian*. We know, indeed, that tragedy, in its infancy, was nothing more than a simple chorus; and Aristotle[1] informs us that it arose from the Dithyrambus; and we may, therefore, be tolerably certain that the ancient Dithyrambus was really no other than the antistrophic ode or chorus. The principal differences between the Nome and the Dithyrambus were these: the former was a song in honour of Apollo, and usually sung to the lyre, while the Dithyrambus was always accompanied on the flute. The Nome, according to the Arundelian marbles, was invented by Hyagnis of Phrygia, cir. A. C. 1500; consequently the Dithyrambus was probably of very remote antiquity: and, indeed, this conclusion is established by the various inventors and periods assigned to it. Arion, Terpander, Lasus of Hermione, Philoxenus of Cythera, are, by different authors, dignified with this honour; but, as we shall see presently, it is mentioned by Archilochus, an earlier authority than any. It is probable that these persons introduced alterations into Dithyrambic poetry. Arion appears to have reduced the extemporaneous Dithyrambus to the antistrophic form, and to have given it the Cyclian chorus; this was the poem originally called *Tragedy*, and confounded by some with the drama. Lasus seems to have abrogated the antistrophic form, and, beside, to have made the Dithyrambus agonistic. Philoxenus appears to have given it a more distinct dramatic character. Indeed, as it produced tragedy, so it had always something of a dramatic complexion. These alterations are sufficiently important to have obtained for those who introduced them the reputation of inventors. Many of the changes made by these and other dithyrambic poets were, doubtless, musical; and their nature is, consequently, even more obscure than that of such as were simply metrical or poetical.

The fact that the new Dithyrambus was invented to exhibit the science of the singer, sufficiently shows that this poem must have been intricate; especially when it is considered that, among the Greeks, the prosody of the words unalterably fixed the time of the melody. It is most probable that the only law by which the Dithyrambus was restrained was, that it must be verse; but, provided this was the case, dactylic, iambic, anapæstic, or any other measures might be admitted, without regard either to the *metres* which they constituted, to their succession in the poem, or to their correspondence with each other. It is not easy to give any other interpretation of the phrase "*numeri lege soluti*," which Horace applies to the Dithyrambics of Pindar.[2] For verse without law would be no verse at all; and the

[1] Poët. iv. 14.

[2] Keine festbestimmten strophenweise wiederkehrenden Metra hatten (die Dithyrambi). Obbar. in Horat. iv. Od. 2.

very term *numeri* implies a regular combination of words. In the *Œdipus* of Seneca there is a choral ode in praise of Bacchus, which has every appearance of being a Dithyrambus; and this precisely accords with the above description, as do also two lines of Archilochus,[1] preserved by Athenæus[2]:—

Ὡς Διονύσοι ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος
Οἶδα διθύραμβον, οἴνῳ συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας.

The poem of Philoxenus, called Δεῖπνον, is also not unworthy of consideration. It is not a Dithyrambus, as its subject is ludicrous; but it probably bears the same analogy to that species of poetry which comedy does to tragedy. At least it is the work of a dithyrambic writer. As edited by Schmidt from the fragments in Athenæus, it exhibits a lawless confusion of dactylic and trochaic verses.

The whole language of the Dithyrambus resembled its metre; it consisted of wild and audacious metaphors and unexpected combinations, such as seemed most attributable to the inspiration of the god in whose service they were employed. So that Epicharmus observed[3]:—

Οὔκ ἐστι διθύραμβος, ὄκχ' ὕδωρ πίῃς.

And it became a proverbial expression,

διθυραμβοποίων νοῦν ἔχεις ἐλάττονα.

The "*nova verba*," mentioned by Horace in his panegyric on Pindar, were also characteristic of the Dithyrambus. As this poem delighted in the juxtaposition of anomalous ideas, so it was considered most perfect when it united them in the same word. Abundance of these dithyrambic words may be found in Aristophanes; one line may suffice as a specimen:—

Θουριομάντεις, ἰατροτέχνας, σφραγιδονυχαργοκομήτας.
Nubes, 331.

The musical mode in which the Dithyrambus was set was the Phrygian. Aristotle informs us that this mode is so indispensably essential to dithyrambic poetry, that when Philoxenus endeavoured to adapt his poems to the Doric, he found the experiment impossible, and was carried by the force of his subject into the natural melody.[4] Formerly, however, the Dorian and Lydian might be employed.[5]

Pindar[6] terms the Dithyrambus βοηλάτης, which the Scholiast interprets of the ox which was given as a prize to the dithyrambic conqueror at the Olympic games.

The principal Greek dithyrambic poets, besides those already mentioned, were Anaxandrides, Lamprocles, Pericletus, Melanippides (elder and younger), Phrynnis of Mitylene, Timotheus of Miletus, Polyidus, Cleomenes of Rhegium, Licymnius and Ion of Chios, Telestes

[1] Schmidt's emendation *Antilochus* is purely conjectural.
[2] Lib. xiv. ch. vi.
[3] In Philoctete, apud Athenæum, *ubi supra*.
[4] Polit. viii. 7.
[5] Dionys. Hal. περὶ ῥημάτων συνθέσ. xix.
[6] Olymp. xiii.

of Selinus, and Theodorides of Syracuse. The paucity and want of connection of the dithyrambic fragments which have reached us do not allow us to form any opinion of the nature of this poem beyond what we can obtain from external sources. The longest is from Pindar, and preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[1] As it stands in the ordinary copies, it reads only like rhythmical prose. Barnes has attempted to restore it; but his restoration is sufficiently wild.

It might be readily supposed that the Dithyrambus would find few votaries in Latium. Roman sentiment was as far removed from excessive enthusiasm, as the Roman language was from flexibility and facility of synthetical composition. Nevertheless, the copies of Cicero's Treatise *de Optimo Genere Oratorum* tell us that the Dithyrambus was most particularly cultivated by Latin poets (*circa init.*) That this is an error, however, there can be no doubt, as it is contradicted no less by facts than by probabilities. The Galliambic story of Atys in Catullus, perhaps, approaches nearer to the Dithyrambus than any other poem in the Latin language, with the exception of the chorus in the *Œdipus*, before referred to.

Plutarch, *περὶ μουσικῆς*; Scaliger, *Poet.* lib. i. ch. xliv.; Vossius, *Institut. Poeticæ*, iii. 16; Schmidii *Diatribe in Dithyrambum*; Donaldson, *Theatre of the Greeks;* Bernhardy, *Geschichte der Gr. Lit.*

[1] Περὶ ῥημάτων συνθέσ. xxii.

GREEK LITERARY CHRONOLOGY.

FROM BERNHARDY'S

GRUNDRISS DER GRIECHISCHEN LITTERATUR.

Halle, 1836.

GREEK LITERARY CHRONOLOGY.

FIRST OR ELEMENTARY PERIOD OF GREEK LITERATURE.[1]

Derivation and Connection of the Greek Nation with the East.—Ancestors, viz., the Pelasgi and Thracians, Æoli, Ellenes, Achæi.—Heroic Times.—Tribes.—Amphictyons.—Solemnities and Myths.—The Dance and Metre.

B.C.	Olymp.	
(1184)	. .	*Capture of Troy.*
1104	. .	*Immigration of the Dorians.*

SECOND PERIOD OF LITERATURE.

From Homer to the Persian War, or Literature of the Tribes.—Productiveness of the Ionians.—The Epic.—Homeric song.—Doric Religious Sentiment.—Hesiodic Poem.—Priestly Hymns and Music.—Commencement of the Lyric through Terpander.—Development of Doric Science and Music conjointly with the Epic.—Archilocus the Ionic Epic Poet.—Elegies.—The Strains and Lyric of the Dorians.—Short Lyric compositions amongst the Æolians and Ionians.—Age of Prose formation.—Commencement of Prose.—Elements of the Drama.

(950)	. .	Homer.
		Creophylus, Stasinus.
(850)	. .	Hesiod.
		Cercops.
776	1	Arctinus.
765	3, 4	Cinæthon.
761	4, 4 (9)	Eumelus.
756—750	6—7, 3	*Colonies of the Milesians.*
		Chersiphron and Rhœcus.
743—723	9, 2—14, 2	*First Messenian War.*
735, 734	11, 2, 3	*Naxus and Syracuse* (*al.* 5, 3).
730	12, 3	*Leontium and Catana.*
710	17, 3	*Croton.*
		Callinus?
708	18	*Tarentum and Corcyra.*
		Archilochus of Thasus.
		Bularchus.
693	21, 4	Simonides of Amorgus.
691 (677)	22, 2 (25, 4)	*Glaucus of Chios.*
690	22, 3	*Gela.*
		Interval between the first and second Messenian wars. Singers and priests of the Delphic worship. Terpander.
685—668	23, 4—28, 1	*Second Messenian War.*
		Tyrtæus.

[1] Several of the dates, which show a discrepancy between the author and the standard work of Fynes Clinton (*Fasti Hellenici*), are notwithstanding inserted to maintain uniformity with the rest of Bernhardy's system.

B.C.	Olymp.	
676	26	Thaletas.
674	26, 3	*Calchedon.*
672	27	Alcman, Polymnastus.
		Lesbian naval supremacy.
662	29, 3	Aristoxenus of Selinus.
		Asius and Xanthus?
660	30	Zaleucus.
657	30, 4	Lesches.
		Byzantium.
655	31, 2	*Cypselus Tyrannus.*
648	33	*Himera.*
		Pisander.
631	37, 2	*Cyrene.*
		Milesians in Egypt: Naucratis.
629	37, 4	*Sinope.*
		Mimnermus.
628	38	*Selinus.*
625—585	38, 4—48, 4	Periander.
		Arion; Chersias of Orchomenus?
620	39	Draco.
611	42, 2	Pittacus in Mitylene (651—569).
		Sappho, Alcæus, Stesichorus.
600	45	*Massilia.*
596	46	Epimenides in Athens.
		Chilon, Erinna.
594	46, 3	Solon, Lawgiver.
586	48, 3	Sacadas.
582	49, 3	*Agrigentum.*
578	50, 3	Susarion.
		Thales, and the other sages, Anacharsis.
		Dipœnus and Scyllis.
572	52	Æsopus.
566	53, 3	Eugammon.
560	51, 1	*Peisistratus.*
559	55, 2	*Heraclea in Pontus.*
		Anacreon.
		Prodicus of Phocæa, Diodorus of Erythræ.
		Agias, Hegesinus.
		Aristias.
548	58	Anaximenes, Anaximander.
		Hipponax.
		Tectæus and Angelion.
		Bupalus and Athenis.
541	59, 4	*Dependence of the Asiatic Greeks.*
		Pherecydes the Syrian.
		Theognis. Phocylides.
540	60, 1	Pythagoras in Croton.
		Ibycus.
		Xenophanes.
535	61, 2	Thespis.
532—522	62, 1—64, 3	*Polycrates of Samos.*
		Theagenes.
527—510	63, 2—67, 3	*Peisistratidæ.*
523	64, 2	Chœrilus.
		(Cadmus.)
520	65, 1	Hecatæus. Dionysius.
		Melanippides the Elder.

B.C.	Olymp.	
520	65, 1	Onomacritus.
		Ageladas.
514	66, 3	Antiochus of Syracuse and Hippys?
		Callon, Eutelidas, Gitiadas.
511	67, 2	Phrynicus the Tragedian.
510	67, 3	Telesilla.
504	69, 1	Heraclitus. Parmenides.
		Lasus.
		Cynæthus.
		Charon.
		Melesagoras and Herodorus?
		Acusilaus and Eugeon?
500	70, 1	Epicharmus.
499	70, 2	*Revolt of the Ionians.*
		Æschylus, Pratinus.
		Scylax and Hanno?
		Canachus, Aglaophon.

THIRD PERIOD OF LITERATURE.

From the Persian War to Alexander the Great, or Attic Literature.—Exterior Elements.—Interior, arising from Political Elements, displaying the Genius and Popular Character of the Attics.—End of Literature in connection with the Tribes.—Tragedy and Comedy.—Atticism and Democracy.—The Sophists and Attic prose.—Eloquence, Historic Writing, and Philosophy.

490	72, 3	*Battle of Marathon.*
		Panyasis, Pindar, Simonides, Corinna, Myrtis.
		Leucippus, Ocellus.
487	73, 2	Chionides, Magnes, Pigres.?
		Pythagoras of Rhegium.
480	75, 1	*Second Persian War.*
480—428	75, 1—88, 1	Anaxagoras.
		Pherecydes the Logographer.
477	75, 4	Xenophanes.
471	77, 2	Timocreon, Ecphantides.
		Hippodamus.
469—429	77, 4—87, 4	*Administration of Pericles.*
468—405	78, 1—93, 4	Tragedies of Sophocles.
466	78, 3	Diagoras the Melian.
		Onatas, Calamis.
464	79, 1	Charon, Xanthus the Logographer.
		Zeno the Eleatic.
460	80, 1	Archilaus, Gorgias.
458	80, 3	The Orestes of Æschylus.
		Polygnotus, Aristophon, Dionysius of Colophon.
456	81, 1	Herodotus, Hellanicus.
		Empedocles.
455—406	81, 2—95, 3	Tragedies of Euripides.
454	81, 3	Cratinus.
		Aristarchus the Tegean.
451	82, 2	Ion of Chios.
450	82, 3	Crates, Bacchylides, Praxilla.
447	83, 2	*Phidias, Alcamenes, Agoracritus, Panænus.*
		Achæus.
444	84, 1	Protagoras.
		Damastes, Herodicus.

B.C.	Olymp.	
440	85, 1	Melissus.
438, 437	85, 3. 4	*Propylæa in Athens, and Olympian Jove, Iktinus.*
435	86, 2	Democritus, Prodicus, Hippias.
432	87, 1	Meton.
		Hermippus, Teleclides, Phrynicus, and other Comic Poets; Callias, author of γραμματικὴ τραγῳδία.
		Myron, Polycletus.
431—405	87, 2—93, 4	*Peloponnesian War.*
		Euphorion, the Tragic Poet.
		Hippocrates.
429	87, 4	Eupolis, Sophron.
		Sway of Cleon.
427	88, 2	Aristophanes.
423	89, 2	Thucydides, Antiochus of Syracuse.
420	90, 1	Pherecrates.
416	91, 1	Agathon.
		Socrates.
415	91, 2	*Sicilian Expedition.*
		Hegemon of Thasus.
412	92, 1	Antiphon the Orator.
		Evenus the Sophist.
406	93, 3	Philistus.
		Chœrilus of Samos, Antimachus.
		Cratippus the Historian.
		Plato and Theopompus, the Comic Poets.
404	94, 1	*The Thirty Tyrants.*
		Lysias, Andocides.
		Antisthenes, Aristippus, Euclides, Æschines, and other Socratic philosophers.
		Archytas and Timæus?
401	94, 2	*Euclides the Archon.*
		Archinus, Cephalus, Aristophon.
401	94, 4	Xenophon in Asia, Ctesias.
399	95, 2	Death of Socrates.
		Plato.
		Timotheus, Philoxenus, Telestes.
396	96, 1	Sophocles the Younger.
		Meletus, Astydamas, with other Tragic Poets.
		Strattis.
		Xeuxis, Parrhasius, Timanthes, Pauson.
390	97, 3	*Scopas.*
388	98, 1	Aristophanes' Plutus, the second time; Antiphanes.
385	98, 4	Androtion the Orator.
		Alexis, Araros, Eubulus, Anaxandrides, Dinon.
373	101, 4	Callistratus the Orator; Leodamas.
368	103, 1	Eudoxus, Theodectes.
367	103, 2	Death of Dionysius the Elder.
		Lysippus, Euphranor, Nicias, Praxiteles.
364	104, 1	Isæus, Anaximenes, Rise of Demosthenes.
		Polyzelus.
360	105, 1	Theopompus the Historian.
359—336	105, 2—111, 1	*Reign of Philip.*
356	106	Aphareus.
		Apelles, Aristeides, Leochares.
354—330	106, 3—112, 3	Public oratory of Demosthenes.
347	108, 2	Death of Plato, Speusippus.

B.C.	Olymp.	
345	108, 4	Æschines.
342	109, 3	Aristotle.
340	110, 1	Ephorus, Diyllus, Anaxarchus.
		Xenocrates.
338	110, 3	*Battle of Chæroneia.*
		Death of Isocrates. Lycurgus, Dinarchus, Demades, Hyperides, Amphis, Philippides, Cercidas.

FOURTH PERIOD OF LITERATURE.

From Alexander the Great to the Roman Imperial rule, or Erudition and Corporate Science.—Spread of the Greek Language; Macedonian, Egyptian, Alexandrian Dialects.—Hellenicised People.—Literature at Royal Courts, chiefly at Pergamus, and above all at Alexandria.—Polymathy and Polygraphy.—Science and Knowledge, Rhetoric and Poetry, of the Age.

336—323	111, 1—114, 2	*Alexander the Great.*
		Menander, Philemon, Diphilus, Apollodorus, Timocles.
		Diogenes and Crates, Cynics; Pyrrhon.
336—323	111, 1—114, 2	Anaximenes, Hecatæus the Abderite, Marsyas, Callisthenes.
		Pyrgoteles, Apollodorus, Silanion.
		Pythias of Massilia?
332	112, 1	*Foundation of Alexandria.*
330	112, 3	Callipus.
326	113, 3	Nearchus.
325	113, 4	Demetrius Phalereus.
323	114, 2	Epicurus.
322	114, 3	Death of Aristotle. Theophrastus, Dicæarchus, Aristoxenus, Eudemus, Heracleides Ponticus.
320—285	115, 1—123, 4	*Ptolemæus I., Soter.*
306	118, 3	*The regal Diadoche.*
		Philochorus.
302	119, 3	Demochares.
300	120, 1	Arcesilaus, Xeno, Metrodorus, Stilpon, Menedemus, Hegesias, Theodorus the Atheist, Euhemerus, Diodorus Cronus.
		Philetas, Simmias, Dosiadas.
		Rhinthon, Anyte.
		Megasthenes, Hieronymus of Cardia, Clitarchus, Herophilus.
		Euclides.
		Protogenes.
296	121, 1	Demetrius Phalereus in Egypt.
289	122, 4	Possidippus.
		Crates, the Academic.
285—247	123, 4—133, 2	*Ptolemæus II., Philadelphus.*
283—239	124, 2—135, 2	*Antigonus Gonatas.*
		Polemon Crantor.
		Chares.
280	125, 1	Aristarchus of Samos, Conon, Berosus.
		Metrodorus, Colotes, Idomeneus, Lynceus, Duris, Straton of Lampsacus.
280	125, 1	Timon of Phlius, Sotades, Sopater.

B.C.	Olymp.	
280	125, 1	Tragic Pleias. Sositheus, Philiscus.
		Zoïlus.
272	127, 1	Aratus, Alexander Ætolus, Theocritus.
		Bion and Moschus? Menippus and Meleager of Gadara.
		Xenodotus.
270	127, 3	*Hiero of Syracuse.*
		Death of Epicurus, Hermarchus, Polystratus, Dionysius, Basilides, Lycon, Antagoras of Rhodes, Leonidas of Tarentum, Archelaus?
		Manetho.
264	129, 1	Parian Marble, Timæus.
263—241	129, 2—134, 4	*Eumenes I. of Pergamus.*
		Cleanthes, Dionysius, Heracleotes
		Lysanias, Persæus, Aristo Chius.
262	129, 3	Timosthenes.
260	130, 1	Lycophron, Callimachus.
		Erasistratus, Aratus of Sicyon.
250	132, 3	Hieronymus Rhodius, Sosibius Laco.
		Praxiphanes, Heraclitus of Halicarnassus, Philostephanus.
		Nymphis Heracleotes, Euphantus Olynthius.
		Ctesibius?
247—222	133, 2—139, 3	*Ptolemæus III. Euergetes, Monumentum Adulitanum.*
241—197	134, 4—146, 2	*Attalus I. of Pergamus.*
		Apollonius of Perga, Conon, Biton.
		Chrysippus, Lacydes.
		Lysimachus, Neanthes, Daphidas, Ister Callimachius.
230	137, 3	Aristo Ceus, Critolaus, Teles?
		Eratosthenes, Euphorion, Rhianus.
230	137, 3	Machon, Nicænetus, Theodoridas, Mnasalcas.
		Antigonus Carystius.
223—187	139, 2—148, 2	*Antiochus Magnus.*
		Ptolemæus Megalopolites, Phylarchus.
		Mnesiptolemus, Seleucus, Agesianax.
		Sphærus.
		Samius the Poet, Epinicus.
		Archimedes.
222—205	139, 3—143, 4	*Ptolemæus IV., Philopator.*
213	141, 4	Death of Aratus, Polybius.
212	142, 1	Death of Archimedes.
207	143, 2	Death of Chrysippus, Zeno of Tarsus, Sotion.
205—181	143, 4—149, 4	*Ptolemæus V., Epiphanes.*
200	145, 1	Aristophanes Byzantius.
		Polemo Periegetes, Hermippus, Silenus, Sosilus, Menodotus, Dionysius Iambus, Zeno the Historian.
		Asclepiades the Elder, Hellanicus the Grammarian.
		Apollodorus Carystius, Alcæus Messenius.
197—159	145, 4—155, 2	*Eumenes II. of Pergamus.*
196	146, 1	*Rosetta Inscription.*
194	146, 3	Death of Eratosthenes. Apollonius Rhodius.
181—146	149, 4—158, 3	*Ptolemæus VI., Philometor.*
		Nicander, Aristobulus Judæus.

B.C.	Olymp.	
160	155, 1	Hipparchus.
		Demetrius Scepsius, Satyrus.
159—138	155, 2—160, 3	*Attalus II. of Pergamus.*
		Aristarchus the Grammarian, Ammonius.
		Crates at Pergamus, Musæus the Ephesian?
155	156, 2	*Embassy of Carneades.* Diogenes Critolaus.
		Kalistratus, Moschus?
150	157, 3	Heraclides Lembus.
146—117	158, 3—165, 4	*Ptolemæus VII., Euergetes (Physcon).*
		Achaia, a Roman Province.
		Panætius, Clitomachus, Apollodorus of Athens, Antipater of Tarsus.
		Ctesibius the Mechanician.
138—133	160, 3—161, 4	*Attalus III. of Pergamus.*
		Antipater of Sidon.
117— 80	. .	*Ptolemæus VIII., Soter II.*
110		Agatharchides, Charmadas, Diodorus Tyrius.
		Dionysius Thrax, Mnaseas, Ptolemæus Pindarion.
100		Artemidorus and Meleager the Younger, Archias, Artemidorus, Artemitanus, Dionysius the Cyclographer?
90		Philo the Academician, Metrodorus the Sceptic, Scymnus.
		Apollonius Molo, Posidonius, Antiochus, Hecaton.
		Hero the Mechanician, Asclepiades the Pathologist.
84		*Apellicon's Library at Rome.*
		Tyrannion the Elder, Alexander Polyhistor.
80—51		*Ptolemæus IX., Dionysius (Auletes).*
		Xeno Epicureus, Diotimus Stoicus.
60		Parthenius, Philodemus.
		Hermagoras, Castor, Geminus.
		Themison the Physician.
		Apollodorus Pergamenus, Athenæus the Mechanician.
55		Demetrius Magnes, Timagenes, Nicolaus of Damascus, Theophanes of Lesbos.
51—30		*Cleopatra.*
		Didymus, Asclepiades the Younger, Apollonius Tyrius.
40		Sosigenes.
		Hybreas, Conon.
		Cratippus, Phædrus, Antipater Tyrius, Diodorus Siculus.
		Boethius Sidonius, Andronicus Rhodius, Xenarchus.

The exact date in this Period uncertain.

Apollonides Geographus, Andron, Anticlides, Ariæthus, Baton, Cephalon, Demetrius Calatianus, Dionysius Chalcedensis, Menander Ephesius, Hegesippus, Myrsilus, Phileas the oldest of all, Sosicrates, Xenagoras.

Ænesidemus the Sceptic.

Hermesianax and Phanocles, Alexander Ephesius, Babrius, Matris, Menelaus—Poets.

FIFTH PERIOD OF LITERATURE.

From Augustus to Justinian, or Sophistic Literature.—Religion philosophized.—Greeks in Rome.—Productiveness of the First Century.—Superstition and Demonology.—Interior and exterior Sophistic results.—Their Apparatus and Authorship in the Second and Third Centuries, up to the appearance of the New Platonists.—Recognition of Christianity.—Studies of the Fourth Century.

B.C.	
30	*Egypt a Roman Province.*
	Strabo, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cæcilius, Aristonicus.
	The two Athenodori, Nestor of Tarsus, Athenæus the Peripatetic, Chæremon, Cleomedes.
10	Theodorus Gadarenus, Hermagoras, Theon.
	Asinius Pollio of Tralles, Demetrius Ixion, Isidorus of Charax, Memnon.
A.D.	
1	Juba, Thrasyllus, Philistion, Sotion.
14	*Tiberius.* Apion, Archibius, Tryphon, Habron, Apollonidas of Nicæa, Antipater Thessalonicensis.
	Pamphilus, Soteridas, Apollonius Sophistes, Lesbonax.
	Philo Judæus, Potamon.
40—70	Demetrius, Musonius Rufus, Cornutus Apollonius Tyaneus.
	Leonidas Alexandrinus Lollius Bassus, Lucilius, Bianor.
	Damocrates, Xenocrates, Dioscorides, Andronicus, Erotianus.
	Isæus, Nicetes.
	Onosander, Pamphila.
70—100	Josephus.
	Athenæus the Physician, Archigenes, Rufus Ephesius, Soranus, Aretæus?
	Antiphilus, Automedon, Philippus Thessalonicus.
	Epictetus Scopelianus.
100—117	Plutarchus, Dio Chrysostomus, Adrastus.
	Theodosius of Tripolis, Menelaus, Aristides, Quintilianus the Musician, Moschion?
	Draco of Stratonice.
117—135	*Hadrian.* Arrianus, Favorinus, Phlegon, Cephalion, Antonius Polemon, Numenius Rhetor, Hadrianus, and Paulus of Tyrus, Philo Byblius, Telephus, Zenobius, Diogenianus, Pollion, Parthenius Phocaus, Ptolemæus Chennus.
	Apollonius Dyscolus, Ælius Dionysius, Irenæus, Vestinus, Pausanias Atticistes? Hermippus Berytius.
	Taurus, Atticus, Œnomaus, Secundus, Ælius Harpocration.
	Apollodorus the Architect, Ælianus Tacticus, Ammianus.
138—161	*Pius.* Herodes Atticus, Hephæstion, Fronto, Pausanias, Appianus.
	Marcellus Sidetes, Nicomachus of Gerasa, Nicostratus, Mesomedes.
161—180	*Marcus.* Herodianus the Grammarian, Hermogenes.
	Aristides, Lucian, Celsus, Cebes.
	Ptolemæus, Hypsicles.
	Galenus.
	Iamblicus the Erotic writer, Amyntianus. Probably Artemidorus, Polyænus, Straton, Antoninus Liberalis? Agathemerus?
	The Apologists of Christianity.
180—200	Maximus Tyrius.
	Phrynicus Pollux.
	Sextus Empiricus, Diogenes Laertius, Alexander Aphrodisiensis
	Oppianus, Nestor, Pisander.
	Philostratus the Elder, Athenæus, Ælianus.
	Clemens of Alexandria.

A.D.	
222	*Alexander Severus.* Dio Cassius, Herodianus.
	Ammonius Saccas, Plotinus, Herennius, Origines.
	Origines, Doctor of the Church; Julius Africanus.
	Philostratus the Younger.
250—270	Longinus, Apsines, Nicagoras, Callinicus, Lupercus, Minucian.
	Asinius Quadratus, Dexippus.
	Porphyrius.
	In the beginning of the Fourth Century.
	Iamblichus, Helladius the Chrestomathist, Dionysius Periegetes.
330	*Inauguration of Constantinople.* Eusebius, Vettius Valens, Œdesius, Praxagoras.
	Antyllus, Apsyrtus, Onasimus, Ulpianus.
350	Bemarchius, Apollonarius the Poet, Zeno the Physician.
360—363	Cæsar Julianus, Sallustius, Oribasius, Maximus.
	Libanius, Proæresius, Himerius, Aristænetus.
	Gregorius Nazianzenus, Basilius.
370—400	Ammonius of Alexandria.
	Theon Alexandrinus, Pappus, Hypatia, Heliodorus Larissæus, Diophantus?
	Themistius.
	Synesius, Meletius, Heliodorus the Erotic Poet?
400—430	Eunapius, Olympiodorus of Thebes, Panodorus, Zosimus the Historian.
	Io, Chrysostomus, Theodoretus.
	Palladas, Cyrus, Claudian, Eusebius the Poet.
	Hyperechius, Troïlus, Phæbammon, Orus, Orion, Stephanus Byzantius?
	Syrianus.
450—480	Jacobus Psychrestus.
	Priscus, Lachares.
	Hierocles, Proclus, Marinus.
480—500	Ammonius Hermeæ, Æneas Gazæus, David the Armenian.
	Malchus, Candidus.
	Indeterminate Time: Nonnus with his imitators, Eutocius, Hesychius, Stobæus, Sopator the Rhetorician, Marcellinus.
491—518	*Anastasius. Before the Burning of the Public Library.*
	Procopius, Zosimus, Timotheus of Gaza, Choricus, Eugenius.
	Nicolaus, Priscian the Grammarian.
	Marianus Macedonius, Julianus Ægyptius, Rufinus, Leontius, Arabius, Christodorus.
529	Simplicius, Damascius, Priscian the Lydian, Isidorus, Joannes Laurentius Lydus.

SIXTH PERIOD OF LITERATURE.

From Justinian to the Capture of Constantinople, or Christo-Byzantine Literature.—Science, Genius, Studies, and Poetic Representations of the Byzantines.—The Iconoclastic Emperors.—The Arabians, and the Translations of the Ancients through their instrumentality.—The House of Basilius-Macedo.—Collectanea and Abridgements.—Age of the Comneni.—Frankish Conquest of Constantinople, and Latin Empire.—Rule of the Paleologi, up to the cessation of Greek National Literature.—Greek Refugees, teachers in Italy.

A.D.	
527—566	*Emperor Justinian I.*
532	*Church of St. Sophia.* Anthemius.
	Tribonianus, Theophilus, Thalelæus, Dorotheus.
550	Procopius, Petrus Magister, Agathias, Hesychius Illustrius, Theophanes, Nonnosus.
	Paulus Silentiarius, Johannes of Gaza.
	Agapetus, Cosmos.
	Aëtius, Alexander Trallianus.
582—602	*Mauricius.* Menander Protector.
	Johannes Philoponus and Olympiodorus, Philosophers.
610—642	*Heraclius.* Theophylactus Simocattes.
	Georgius Pisides, Theophilus Protospatharius.
	Palladius, Stephanus, Paulus of Ægina.
638	*Arabians in Alexandria.*
	Uncertain: Maximus and Antonius Melissa.
718—741	*Leo Isaurus.* Johannes Damascenus.
	Georgius Syncellus, Nicephorus.
	Caliphs: Alraschid, 786—808: *Almamoun,* 811—833.
	Honain the Syrian, Achmet.
829—842	*Theophilus.* Theodorus Studites, Theophanes Confessor.
	Johannes Grammaticus, Ikasia.
860	Leo the Philosopher, Photius, Michael Psellus the Elder.
867—886	*Basilius I. the Macedonian.*
886—911	*Leo the Wise.*
	Uncertain: Johannes Malalas.
911—959	*Constantine VII., Porphyrogenitus.*
	Simeon Logothetes, Genesius, Leo Grammaticus, Georgius Monachus, Theophanes Nonnus, Constantine Cephalas, Cassianus Bassus, Pollux?
963—969	*Nicephorus Phocas.* Theodosius the Poet.
976—1025	*Basilius II.* Leo Diaconus.
1050	Simeon, Seth, and Nicetas.
	Uncertain in the 11th Century: Georgius Cedrenus, Chronicon Paschale, John Xiphilinus, Suidas. Etymologicum Magnum, John Mauropus.
1059—1067	*Constantine IX., Ducas and Eudocia.*
	Theophylactus, Bishop of Bulgaria.
1081—1118	*Alexius I. Comnenus.* Anna, Nicephorus Bryenius, John Scilitzes, John Zonarias.
	Michael Psellus the Younger, John Italus, Eustratius, Nicephorus Basilakes, John Doxopater, Siceliotes?
1143—1180	*Manuel Comnenus.* Isaac Porphyrogenitus.
	Theodorus Prodromus, Constantine Manasses, the two Tzetzes, John Cinnamus.
1183	*Andronicus I., Comnenus.* Eustathius.
	Uncertain: Michael Glycas, Gregorius Corinthius, Eugenian and Eustathius. Erotic writers.

A.D.	
1204—1261	*Latin Empire.*
	Nicetas.
1250	Georgius Acropolites, Senacherim Scholiast.
1261—1282	*Michael VIII., Palæologus.* Nicephorus Blemmydes, Gregorius Cyprius, Nicephorus Chumnus, Theodorus Hyrtacenus, Demetrius Pepagomenus, John Actuarius.
1283—1332	*Andronicus II.* Georgius Pachymeres.
	Thomas Magister, Theodorus Metochites, Manuel Philes, Manuel Holobolus.
1330	Maximus Planudes, Manuel Bryennius.
1344—1355	*Johan. Cantacuzenius.* Nicephorus Gregoras, Georgius Lekapenius, Constantine Harmenopolus, Georgius Lapethes.
1373—1425	*Manuel Palæologus.*
1397	Manuel Chrysoloras, Manuel Moschopulus, Demetrius Triclinius.
1440	Theodorus Gaza, Gemisthus Pletho, Bessarion, Georgius Trapezuntius, Matthæus Camariota.
1453	*Capture of Constantinople.*
	John Ducas, Georgius Phrantzes, Georgius Codinus, Laonicus Chalcondyles.
	John Argyropulus, Michael Apostolius, Andronicus Callistus, the Lascari, Demetrius Chalcondyles, Musurus, Arsenius.

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