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The Homeridae

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THE HOMERIDAE.

THE Homeridae bear the name of Homer, and should point a path by which we may climb to his personality. In antiquity they were known to be a *γένος*, a constituted family-corporation, though the accounts of the functions they fulfilled are scanty. Modern criticism, with its usual fluctuation, began by taking them at their apparent value; then adopted from a Roman grammarian a rationalistic explanation of them; invented other similar rationalistic explanations; and finally my lamented colleague Mr. Binning Monro robbed them of all significance by treating the word as an adjective, an equivalent of 'Ομηρικοί.¹ Men who are called Sons of Homer should not be lightly dismissed, and it may be worth while to go over the familiar evidence once more in the hope that this obvious avenue to Homer may not turn out a blind alley.

Their first appearance in literature is in Pindar, (1) *Nem.* ii. init. 'As the Sons of Homer, singers of stitched lays, begin for the most part from a preface (*προοιμίου*) to Zeus, so my client has won his first victory in the grove of Nemean Zeus.' Pindar equates the Rhapsodes and the Sons of Homer, and represents them as reciting Homer's verses with a prelude often, but not invariably, to Zeus.

The next mentions are in the fourth century philosophers Plato and Isocrates. (2) Plato *Rep.* 599 E. 'Does any state allow that Homer was its lawgiver? No,' says Glaucon, 'even the Sons of Homer do not say that.' The Sons of Homer then had some title to speak on his behalf, some authority to do their best for their parent, had perhaps the real tradition. (3) *Ion* 530 C. The rhapsode, Socrates says, should also interpret his poet. Yes, replies Ion, and this is my accomplishment: οἶμαι κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων λέγειν περὶ Ὅμηρον, ὥς οὔτε Μητρόδωρος ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς οὔτε Στησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος οὔτε Γλαύκων οὔτε ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν πώποτε γενομένων. So well do I adorn Homer ὥστε οἶμαι ὑπὸ Ὅμηριδῶν ἄξιός εἶναι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθῆναι. The Sons of Homer then have a position which authorises them to reward persons who honour their parents. They are not private individuals like Metrodorus, Stesimbrotus, Glaucon, or Ion himself. (3) *Phaedrus* 252 B. The Sons of Homer from their recondite verses recite two upon Love: λέγουσι δὲ οἶμαί τινες Ὅμηριδῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων ἐπῶν δύο ἔπη εἰς τὸν Ἑρωτα, ὧν τὸ ἕτερον ὑβριστικὸν πάνν καὶ οὐ σφόδρα τι ἔμμετρον ὑμνοῦσι δὲ ὧδε

τὸν δ' ἦτοι θνητοὶ μὲν Ἑρωτα καλοῦσι ποτηνόν,
ἀθάνατοι δὲ Πτέρωτα, διὰ πτερόφοιτον ἀνάγκην.

¹ D. B. Monro, *Homer's Odyssey*, xiii.-xxiv. (1901) pp. 398 sq.

The Sons of Homer then had a store of verses not accessible to all the world: ἀπόθετα must have this meaning. It nearly amounts to ἀπόρρητα.¹ The lines themselves have a hymnal ring; the earthly and the divine name of Love, and the etymology of the latter suggest the non-Homeric hymns.² Plato, it is true, elsewhere (*Sympos.* 177 B) says there was no hymn to Ἔρως; but as we know from Pausanias (ix. 27. 2) that both Pamphos and Orpheus wrote one, we must suppose Plato ignored them or forgot them, when he wrote *The Symposium*. Again the Sons of Homer are not the vulgar; they have arcana.³

(4) Isocrates *Helena* § 64. Helen ἐνεδείξατο καὶ Στησιχόρῳ τῷ ποιητῇ τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν . . . (§ 65) λέγουσι δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν Ὀμηριδῶν ὡς ἐπιστάσα τῆς νυκτὸς Ὀμήρῳ προσέταξε ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν στρατευσαμένων ἐπὶ Τροίαν. As in (2) the Sons of Homer were entitled to speak for their parent and his qualities, here they vouch for the apparition of Helen to his successor, as late too as 611 B.C. From these fifth and fourth century mentions of the Homeridae, it is plain that they are not private persons, people interested in Homer, students like Theagenes, Stesimbrotus or Metrodorus—not Ὀμηρικοί. This term in Aristotle *Met.* 1093 a 26 (ὅμοιοι δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ὁμηρικοῖς, οἱ μικρὰς ὁμοιότητος ὀρώσι, μεγάλας δὲ παρορῶσι) means commentators, paraphrasers, philologers. In Strabo the same word means the scientific critic, Aristarchus, or Strabo himself (339 οἱ μὲν νεώτεροι . . . οἱ δ' Ὀμηρικώτεροι τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἀκολουθοῦντες; 3 βέλτιον δ' Ἡράκλειτος καὶ ὁμηρικώτερος, 'a sounder interpretation'); Seleucus, the grammarian, who derived Homer from ὁμηρος a hostage, ἐπεκλήθη Ὀμηρικός (Suidas): a synonym is οἱ περὶ Ὀμηρον δεινοί, exegetes (Plato *Cratylus* 407 A). The patronymic on the contrary appears always to imply a literal or figurative descendant, and in the latter sense one instinct with his spiritual father's nature, an artist not a commentator. Even in its widest extension (see Philostratus *infra*) it means an epic poet.

The Homeridae then in the earlier centuries were distinguished from laymen and critics such as Heraclitus and Theagenes by reciting Homer with preludes to Zeus and other gods, by preserving the correct tradition about Homer and his successors, by possessing a body of recondite verse, and by issuing rewards to benefactors of their parent. The last three of these qualities are the distinguishing marks of those corporations, united by blood or adoptive relation, which the Greeks called γένη.⁴ The function of ἐξηγηταί, expounders of sacred history and ritual, which (2) and (4) suggest, was performed at Athens by Eumolpidae, at Miletus by Sciridae; the 'hymn to Eros' in the Phaedrus reminds us of the hymns 'written for' the Lycomidae, the Apolline gens of Phlya (Paus. ix. 27. 2); rewards, whether

¹ Athenaeus 669 B repeats it from this place: Himerius *or.* iii. 2 (in Bergk, *P.L.G.* iii. p. 287) has ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων τῶν Ἀνακρέοντος, an affection for 'the less-known places of Anacreon': Plutarch, *v. Crassi* 16 ταύτας φασὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ἀρὰς ἀποθέτους καὶ παλαιὰς τοιαύτην ἔχειν δύναμιν, *J. Caes.* 35 ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων χρήματα λαμβάνειν: more in the *Lexx.*

² Orpheus *fr.* 39, 40, 44, 140, 164, 165 Abel.

³ The 'metrical irregularity' δὲ Πτέρωτα seems sufficient without an alteration of the text; the 'outrage,' I presume, is the deriving of Cupid, a liberty which his dam Aphrodite had endured before him.

⁴ My information on this subject comes from Dittenberger's article, *Hermes*, xx. pp. 1 sq.; and Toepffer's *Attische Genealogie*, 1889.

crowns, statues, or decrees, were the commonest sign of a guild's activity (Toepffer, p. 21; e.g. Eumolpidae, Dittenberger *Syll.* 605, 651; *C.I.A.* ii. 605; 'Εφ. ἀρχ. 1883, No. 82; Euthalidae in Rhodes, Ditt. 648; the Κήρυκες, *ib.* 450; the Σαλαμίνιοι, Toepffer, p. 288).

We may now continue our list of ancient mentions of the Homeridae. (5) Strabo 645. ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ Ὅμηρου Χῖοι, μαρτύριον μέγα τοὺς Ὀμηρίδας καλουμένους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνου γένους προχειριζόμενοι, ὧν καὶ Πίνδαρος μέμνηται (he then quotes *Nem.* ii. init. as above). Strabo interpreted the word as a patronymic, as meaning the rhapsodes with whom Pindar equated it, and as descendants of Homer. Homer was worshipped with ceremony, in the neighbouring and rival state of Smyrna (Strabo 646 ἔστι δὲ καὶ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ Ὀμήρειον, στοὰ τετράγωνος, ἔχουσα νεῶν Ὅμηρου καὶ ξόανον, καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμισμά τι χαλκοῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς Ὀμήρειον λέγεται¹), and at Argos (Aelian *V.H.* ix. 15). That no γένος of Homer is asserted to have existed at Smyrna or Argos (or anywhere else) tends to confirm the statement about Chios. Strabo's account is corroborated by the logographers and critics quoted by (6) Harpocration s.v. . . . Ὀμηρίδαι γένος ἐν Χίῳ ὅπερ Ἀκουσίλαος ἐν γ' [fr. 31] Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τῇ Ἀτλαντιάδι [fr. 55] ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ φησὶν ὠνομάσθαι. Σέλευκος δὲ ἐν β' βίων ἀμαρτάνειν φησὶ Κράτητα νομίζοντα ἐν ταῖς ἱεροποιαῖς Ὀμηρίδας ἀπογόνους εἶναι τοῦ ποιητοῦ ὠνομάσθησαν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμήρων. The opinion of antiquity, therefore, from the fifth century B.C. to the first A.D., was that the Homeridae were a Chian sacral family descended from the poet. The logographers, Acusilaus and Hellanicus, Crates, the head of the Pergamene school, the historian Strabo (himself the disciple of Tyrannio and of Aristodemus, the pupil of Aristarchus) affirmed this. The references in the fourth century Plato and Isocrates fall in with it. Only the first century A.D. grammarian innovated by reading ὁμηρος as a common noun.

If the sons of Homer were a γένος, what were their functions? The ancient view of this is given in the scholia on Pind. *Nem.* l.c. (7) Ὀμηρίδας ἔλεγον τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὅμηρου γένους, οἱ καὶ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἦδον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ οὐκέτι τὸ γένος εἰς Ὀμηρον ἀνάγοντες. ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον, οὓς φασι πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσαντας ἐπιβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὅμηρου ποίησιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Κύναιθος Χῖος, ὃς καὶ τῶν ἐπιγεγραφομένων Ὅμηρου ποιημάτων τὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα γεγραμμένον ὕμνον λέγεται πεποιηκέναι. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κύναιθος πρῶτος ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐραψώδησε τὰ Ὅμηρου ἔπη κατὰ τὴν ἐξηκοστὴν ἐννάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς Ἰππόστρατός φησιν (*F.H.G.* iv. 432; Susemihl *Litt. Alex.* ii. 390). The scholion continues with opinions on the etymology of ῥαψῳδός, taken from Dionysius of Argos (unknown), Philochorus (fr. 206), Nicocles (*F.H.G.* iv. 464, Susemihl ii. 393) and Menaechmus (unknown); and ends with a paraphrase of the first scholion, less the authority.—In so far as this account concerns the constitution of the Homeridae, the circumstances are normal: a

¹ This rests on good evidence. Mr. G. F. Hill is kind enough to inform me 'there are very common bronze coins of the second and first centuries B.C. which have always been identified as Homereia; on the obverse is a head of Apollo, on the reverse a

figure of Homer seated, his right hand raised to his chin, his left holding a roll on his knees.' Cf. Head, *B. M. Cat. of Greek Coins, Ionia*, pp. 244 ff. nos. 79-117.

gens, originally of blood-descendants, is continued by adoption of individuals without blood-relationship. Many parallels may be found for such a process, which was often necessary, and in fact inevitable, to secure the continuance of the gentile *sacra*. The scholion continues that the function of the guild (apart from the worship of its ancestor) was the right, acquired by apprenticeship (ἐκ διαδοχῆς) to recite the Homeric poems. This statement coincides with Pindar's words. The scholiast mentions as a conspicuous Homerid Cynaethus of Chios, the reputed author of the hymn to Apollo, who added lines to Homer, and first recited Homer at Syracuse. The last statement is given on the authority of the Sicilian antiquarian Hippostratus. The date (ol. 69 = B.C. 504) which Hippostratus is made to assign to Cynaethus has long been recognised to be wrong; not only from the internal evidence of the Hymn, but because it is incredible that the Syracusans should never have heard the *ἰωνικὸς ποιητὰς* until the days of Epicharmus and Pindar. An echo of the same tradition is found with Athenaeus (8) who ascribes the Apollo-hymn to Ὅμηρος ἢ τῶν Ὀμηριδῶν τις (22 B).

Learned antiquity therefore regarded the Homeridae as a gens, first hereditary and then adoptive, which possessed the exclusive right of reciting their parent's works. We may ask two questions: (1) Are there analogies to such a gens? (2) Is the statement true of the period during which we have information about rhapsodes?

(1) The Attic *γένη* do not seem to yield a parallel to this type of gens. Toepffer divides them into patronymic gentes, and gentes (like the *Κήρυκες*) named after their functions. The patronymic gentes, when they have specific duties, are entrusted with the worship of a public God; as the Eumolpidae, the Lycomidae. Among the gentes devoted to their ancestor solely I do not find one pursuing a profession derived from its ancestor and awarding the distinctions on behalf of its ancestor and preserving its traditions in the way which Plato hints at. A professional patronymic gens is the *Εὐνείδαι*, a *γένος μουσικόν* with the right of furnishing *ὄρχησται* and *κιθαρισται* at Athenian festivals (Toepffer, p. 187), but we have no information about Euneus.

So far as the peculiarity of the Homeridae consisted in the exercise of a profession which was not the worship of a particular God, parallels are to hand in the numerous extra-Attic guilds, so common a feature of Greek life, of which I may mention the *Μελαμποδίδαι*, with their branch the *Κλυτίδαι*, the *Ἰαμίδαι*—prophets; the *Νεβρίδαι*, to which Hippocrates belonged—doctors¹; the *Ταλθυβιάδαι*—heralds; *Θρακίδαι* at Delphi and *Κινυρίδαι* in Cyprus—priests; and what may be a nearer case, the *Παμφίδες*, daughters of the hymn-writer Pamphos, who it is assumed were singing-women at Athens.² There seems therefore no reason to disbelieve the statement that the Homeric Family started with the prescriptive right to recite their father's verses.

¹ Steph. Byz. in v. *Κῶς*; ἦν δὲ Ἰπποκράτης τῶν καλουμένων Νεβριδῶν. Νεβρὸς γὰρ ἐγένετο ὁ διασημώτατος τῶν Ἀσκληπιάδων, ᾧ καὶ ἡ Πυθία ἐμαρτύρησεν· οὗ Γνωσίδικος, Γνωσίδικος δὲ Ἰπποκράτης καὶ Αἰνείος

καὶ Ποδαλείριος. Ἰπποκράτους Ἡρακλείδης, οὗ Ἰπποκράτης ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος.

² Hesych. Παμφίδες· γυναῖκες Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Πάμφου τὸ γένος ἔχουσαι.

(2) Did they preserve this right through antiquity, or in other words were the historical rhapsodes members of the Chian gens, or taught or licensed by them? Plainly not. To say nothing of the rhapsodes of earlier centuries (*e.g.* at Smyrna and Sicyon) about whom we might conjecture with even probability in either sense, Ion, in Plato's dialogue quoted above, a practising rhapsode, clearly separates himself from the Homeridae: he suggests the gens might crown him. Such a remark might perhaps, à la rigueur, come from a *γεννητής*, but obviously it is most unnatural; and the epigraphic evidence is decisive. For the Panathenaea most unfortunately it is almost *nil* (*C.I.A.* ii. Pt. 1, 965-970), but the agonistic inscriptions relating to Boeotia and the neighbouring parts of Greece are very abundant from the fourth to the first century B.C. They are summarised to the date of his book by Reisch (*de musicis Graecorum certaminibus* 1885), but there have been large accretions. The rhapsode and the *ἐπῶν ποιητής* were constant performers at the Μουσεία at Thespieae, the *Χαριτεΐσια* at Orchomenus, the *Ἀμφιάρεια* at Oropus, the *Σωτήρια* at Delphi, the *Σαραπίεια* at Tanagra (see *C.I.G.* vii. *passim*), not to say at Thebes and Eretria (for the last v. *Ἐφ.* *Ἀρχ.* 1902, p. 99, a fourth cent. inscr.). In many of these inscr. the name and country of the rhapsode is given: it is difficult to believe that Θεόδωτος Πυθίωνος Ἀθηναῖος (1760), *ῥαψαφυδὸς Κράτων Κλίωνος* of Thebes (3195 and 2418), Μέντωρ Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἡρακλεώτης (3196), Νουμήμιος Νουμηίου Ἀθηναῖος (3197), Ἀρτέμων Ἰσοδότου Ἀθηναῖος (416), Εἰέρων Ἀριστοβούλου Θηβαῖος (419), Θεοφάνης Σωκράτου Θηβαῖος (420), Πολύμνηστος Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀρκάς, Κλειτόριος Ἀριστείδου Ἀρκάς (Delphi, B.C. 272; Collitz, 2563) Ἀγαθῖνος Κριτοδήμου Σικυνώνιος (*ib.* 2565), . . . ν Θρασωνίδου Σινωπεύς (*ib.* 2564), and many more, in the Macedonian and Roman period, stood in any relation at all to the distant island of Chios and the Homeric gens. Nor will anyone maintain that Dionysius' rhapsodes whom he sent to Olympia to recite his own poems (Diod. xiv. 109) were under Chian rules.

They must therefore at some period have lost their copyright, their acting rights, in Homer, and have retained their sacral and esoteric functions. At what time their original rights passed from their hands there is no evidence; but probability would put it at an early date. In Pindar (1) I am ready to agree with Mr. Monro that the word Ὀμηρίδαι has already acquired its later use of epic artists in general; as Ἀσκληπιάδαι is a synonym for doctors, and Δαιδαλίδαι for sculptors. Later indeed 'Sons of Homer' meant merely writers of hexameters, as when Philostratus (9) recounting the exploits of Scopelianus at Smyrna says οὕτω τι μεγαλοφωνίας ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἤλασεν ὥς καὶ Γιγαντίαν ξυνθεῖναι, παραδοῦναι τε Ὀμηρίδαις ἀφορμὰς ἐς τὸν λόγον. (*Vit. Soph.* p. 221 = c. v.) The data seem reconcileable with the usual legend that the poems after coming into existence as epics in Ionia, eventually passed to Europe (in the hands of Lycurgus): the Chian family must have found a compensation in the spreading name of their father, now a national possession, for the loss of their monopoly.

A historical analogy to the Homeridae as they were when their prescription was taken from them is fortunately to hand. The Master of the other Epic

school, the Boeotian, was commemorated by an association, which if it did not bear his patronymic, expressed the relation by a circumlocution. The *συνθύται Μουσῶν* 'Ἡσιοδείων possessed land at Thespieae (*I.G. Sept.* 1785 *ορος τας γας τας* [ιε]ρας *τωη σ[υν]θυτα[ων] τ[αμ] μωσα[ων] εισιοδειων*). Another inscription (4240), imperfect, contains (a) a dedication to these Muses, *ιν αειως | και γεν[ε]ος το τέλος [κει]νω κα[ι] του νομα σωιζοι*, (b) an oracle delivered by one Aristopho[on?], *οὐκ ἀ[δαης] Ελικων μ[ουσαω]ν, viz. πειθομενοι[σι] βροτοις υποθηκαις ησιοδοιο | εννομια χωρα τ' ε[σ]τ[αι] καρποισι βρυνουσα*. (c) Hesiod himself speaks: *ησιοδος διου μουσας ελικωνα τε θειον | καλ[λ]ιστοις υμνοις*¹ When Pausanias came to Thespieae, he was shown the sacred sights (ix. 29. 5) and was informed (31. 4) of the tradition (*παρειλημμένα δόξη*) that the *Works and Days* are Hesiod's only genuine works, and even of these the first verses (1-10) were a *προοίμιον*; and was shown the official copy at Aganippe, on lead. The early poets rhapsodised their own works or those of their Master, and wrote hymns or *προοίμια* such as OD. 1-10 (on their own showing), and the hymn to Apollo which won the prize at Delos (fr. 265, quoted by Philochorus, perhaps from the *Κατάλογοι*). In later times doubtless they lost their privilege.

These *συνθύται* are a fair parallel to the Homeridae, and substantiate the statement that the latter was a sacral corporation.

What organisation the Homeridae and Hesiodeans originally had, whether they taught, gave licences, and so forth, is matter for the imagination.² They were credited in antiquity with reciting the poems and composing *προοίμια* or hymns; and we have seen that there is nothing to contradict this. They will have possessed, as Mr. Lang in his *Homer and his Age* makes probable, 'books' of their authors, which they handed on with the right to recite.

It is to be noticed on the other hand that the members of the Homeric guild are not conceived of as composing independent epics of their own. It seemed, at one period of criticism, a symmetrical way of regarding the question to suppose that the Sons of Homer were the School of Homer, and like the Hippocratean, Platonic, and Aristotelian disciples, completed the Master's work. The Cycle however is "Ὅμηρος and not his sons. Not one of the authors of the Cycle is called 'Ὅμηρίδης. In the Boeotian inscriptions *ραψωιδος* and *επων ποιητης* are distinct categories, not convertible terms. Still no universal negative can be proved: if no cyclic poet is known to have declaimed Homer, rhapsodes did compose. One of the latter, Magnes of Smyrna, a peripatetic rhapsode (it is true we are not told in so many words he was an Homeric rhapsode), in the reign of Gyges, wrote the exploits of the Lycians against the Amazons.³ The key to

¹ The Thespian festival, the *Μουσεία*, is mentioned *I. G. Sept.* 1735, 1760, 1763 (s. iii.-i. B.C.).

² The Ionic singing-guild, of which the regulations were published by v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, was unfortunately melic. (*Satzungen einer milesischen Sängergilde. Sitzungsberichte d. preuss. Akad.* 1904, xix.)

³ Nic. Damasc. fr. 62 (*F.H.G.* iii. p. 395). *ὅτι*

Μάγνης ἦν ἀνὴρ Σμυρναῖος, καλὸς τὴν ἰδέαν εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος, ποιήσει τε μουσικῇ δόκιμος . . . περιφέρει τε τὰς πόλεις ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴνποίησιν. τούτου δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι ἦσαν, Γύγης δὲ μᾶλλον τι ἐφλέγετο καὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε παιδικά. γυναικάς γε μὴν πάσας ἐξέμηνεν, ξυθα ἐγένετο ὁ Μάγνης, μάλιστα δὲ τὰς Μαγνήτων, καὶ συνῆν αὐταῖς. οἱ δὲ τούτων συγγενεῖς, ἀχθόμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ αἰσχύνῃ, πρόφασιν ποιησάμενοι ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν

the Homeric question lies in the early history of Ionia, did we only possess it. This anecdote, first used I believe by Bergk, shows us the rhapsode of the age of Arctinus, Lesches, and Cynaethus (750-700) in all his glory ; perambulating the Greek cities, reviving the heroic age at the court of a half-Greek monarch, and enjoying the same *bonnes fortunes* as the traditional troubadour or the prophet in Isocr. xix. 5. § Was Aristeas of Proconnesus a rhapsode, and did he celebrate the Arimaspians round the towns of Hellas? Thucydides too recognised the work of the rhapsode Cynaethus as Homeric. Moreover according to tradition (Lesches ap. Plut. *Conv. Sept. Sap.* 153 F; Hesiod *fr.* 265) 'Homer' and 'Hesiod' met at Chalcis and Delos, and contended at the latter place with 'new hymns' to Apollo. In the absence of either context it is difficult to appreciate the meaning of these statements.

The Hesiodic passage (which may have come from the *Κατάλογοι*, and does not deserve Rzach's stigma of *ἀμφισβητήσιμον*) is in the first person ; Lesches (the poet, there is no need to invent another individual of the same name) *may* have alluded to Homer in the third (as Hesiod is referred to Theog. 22), but it would be an unique procedure so far as we know in the Homeric school. If the first person were used, then Lesches is speaking of himself, and the contest took place in his period. I may further observe that if members of the Homeric and Hesiodean schools could compose and recite hymns to Apollo at Delos in the 8th century, there is no need to refuse the whole of the Homeric hymn to Cynaethus of Chios. The harmonisation of Delos and Delphi took place some centuries earlier than we generally suppose.

If then the sons of Homer were a Chian guild, worshipping their ancestor, performing his poems, possessing private verses of their own, the true account of their parent and the authority to recompense those who honoured him ; may we infer from the Sons to the Father? In antiquity Seleucus, who lived at Rome under Tiberius, cut the ground from this argument by interpreting *δμηρος* to mean 'hostage.' He committed the fallacy of the illicit common noun ; the Greeks often did so, usually for a gibe—and there were other etymologies for *δμηρίζειν*. The moderns also have indulged in the fallacy, but with a difference. The ancients would have all names significant, and therefore took *Αἰνείας* from *αἶνος*, *Ὀδυσσεύς* from *ὁδός*¹ or *ὁδύσσεσθαι*²; the moderns will not allow a significant word (in the heroic age) to be a name: *εἰς Ἐχέτον βασιλῆα* in defiance of the laws of speech is an allegory. Seleucus lived in, or on the verge of, the period when the ancient brain gave way, and mythology and allegory reigned. Too much poring over the great dead produces the same results, and the ancients had their Donnelly's and Gallops. Well for Shakespeare that he was born in an age of parish registers ; had he been a Greek how much would be left of *Ἐγχερσπάλος*? However Seleucus'

ἦσεν δὲ Μάγνης Ἀνδῶν ἀριστεῖαν ἐν ἵππομαχίᾳ πρὸς Ἀμάζοντας, αὐτῶν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐμνήσθη, ἐπαίζαντες περι-
κατέρρηξάν τε τὴν ἐσθῆτα . . . ἐφ' οἷς ἤλγησε μάλιστα
δὲ Γόγης . . . ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Σάρδεϊς πανηγύρει

ἐποίησατο μεγαλοπρεπεῖς.

¹ Silenus Chius ap. Eust. 1871, 20.

² The Elysian fields from *ἰλός* (Apio ap. Eust. 563.)

madness, and the other ancient idea according to which *ὄμηρος* = *τυφλός*,¹ are mild before the inventiveness of the moderns, who have turned the *sommo poeta* into a carpenter and joiner. It is safe to say that if *ὄμηρος* meant anything, that is existed as a common noun in the heroic age, it meant a companion (*π* 468 *ὁμήρησε δέ μοι παρ' ἐταίρων ἄγγελος ὤκύς*, Hes. *Theog.* 39 *φωνῇ ὁμηρεῦσαι*); but that whether it existed or not, Homer and Eumolpus designated individuals as much as Terpander, Pisistratus, Pisander and Polycrates, Beaumont and Fletcher, La Fontaine and La Jeunesse. Geddes, years ago, with the security which only comes of ignorance, said 'there appears to be no trace of "Ὅμηρος" (*Problem of the Homeric poems* p. 317); and therefore Homer comes from *ὁμοῦ*, as *Thamyris'* bowels contain *θαμά* (*ib.* p. 26).² Well, I know that there were *Πολλοὶ Ὅμηροι*, as Proclus says (*vit. Hesiodi*, c. 3 West.) *ζήλω τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῇν κλήσιν λαμβάνοντες*, and Suidas and the inscriptions offer several; but when we leave out poets we have the following ordinary persons, at least, called Homer:

Collitz *Dialektinschrift*. 2138 *στραταγεοντος των θεσσαλων ομηρου λαρισαιου.*

ib. 2520 (= Dittenb. *Syll.* 248) *ιερομνημονουντων αιτωλων—ομαρου*

the same 2522 (= Ditt. 249), 2523.

Dittenberger *Syll.* 670. 3 (at Larisa) *επιγενης ομηρου παιδας παγκρατιον*

ib. 671.28 (*ibid.*) *εμπειδιον ομηρου παιδας πυκτας*

I. G. Sept. I. 1558 (Tanagra) *ομηρος ευαρχιδου*

I. G. xii. fasc. 3 (Melos) 1669 *αυρηλιον ομηρον*

I. G. Sicil. et Ital. (Rome) 1891 *μνημης χαριν προσεθηκα ομηρος γυναικει βασιλικη.*

It is unreasonable to suppose that all these people were god-children of the poet; but even if they were, it is nothing against the reality of the name. Dante is a common Christian name in Italy to-day. The name *Ὅμηρος* was perhaps a North-Greek name, not common, but as common as Hesiod (with a significant derivation of which I am not familiar), Arctinus, Stasinus, and the other old poets' names. Wilamowitz' sensible remarks on this subject (*Hom. Untersuchungen* 370) have received less attention than other parts of his treatise.

The moderns however have done better than this. By a sort of inverted metaphysic which must hail from the land of Hegel,³ and commended itself to the Anglo-German mind of Grote, the Homeridae are not the sons of Homer, but

¹ Ephorus fr. 164. Even Proclus knew better than that: *vit. Hom.* v. 43 (p. 26 West.) *τυφλὸν δ' ὅσοι τοῦτον ἀπεφῆγαντο, αὐτοὶ μοι δοκοῦσι τὴν διάνοιαν πεπηρῶσθαι. τοσαῦτα γὰρ κατείδεν ἄνθρωπος ὅσ' οὐδεὶς πώποτε.* He repeats the repartee which may be traced as far back as Velleius i. 5. 1 ('quem si quis caecum genitum putat, omnibus sensibus orbus est') and which the language (*τοὺς τὰς ὕψεις πεπηρωμένους* Ephorus, *τὴν διάνοιαν πεπ.* Proclus) shows to hail from an enemy of Ephorus.—The real blind man was Cynaethus, who, forbidden by Homeric tradition to name himself, furnishes his identification as narrowly as he can. He succeeded in his intention: the hymn to Apollo is the only one where a tradition

of authorship has survived.

² On etymology Strabo's remarks are still in place: 784 *περὶ τῶν Ἑρεμβῶν ἢ ζήτησις, εἴτε τοὺς Τρωγλοδύτας ὑπονοητέον λέγεσθαι, καθάπερ οἱ τὴν ἐτυμολογίαν βιαζόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς τὴν ἕραν ἐμβαίνειν—607 ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τότε Σκῆψις, εἴτ' ἄλλως εἴτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ περισκεπτον εἶναι τὸν τόπον, εἰ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐν τῇ τότε ὀνόματα ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ἐτυμολογεῖσθαι φωναῖς.* We should never forget how a distinguished archaeologist once derived Lesches the cyclic poet from *λέσχη* (*Bild und Lied*, p. 227).

³ Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* i. 126, appears to deserve the credit.

Homer is a consequence or abstraction of the Homeridae. It is I imagine a sign of the acquiescent nature of philologists that such a paradox has been accepted and finds its place in the latest books on Homer. What is the evidence for the too frequent phrase about *γένη* in general, 'the mythical eponymous'? The Eumolpidae, I suppose: they were a kind of Sons of Harmony, and could not do without an harmonious ancestor. But the Eumolpidae *did not sing*; they were hierophants. Music and dancing were provided by the *Εὐνείδαι*; Euneus does not mean dancer or musician. If Eumolpus is an allegory, are Dysaules, Metaneira, and Triptolemus allegories too?—Or perhaps the Daedalidae, Talthybiadae, and Asclepiadae are transparent examples of the mythopoeic spirit? The Asclepiadae I waive, as I do not know enough about Greek religion to say who Asclepius was. *Ἀσκληπιοῦ υἱός* however has a definite sound in Homer, and to Pindar Asclepius was as real as Achilles or Chiron; moreover it was the Greek opinion that many minor deities were deified men (Diodorus vi. 1. 2 gives Heracles, Dionysus, Aristaeus, Paus. viii. 2. 4 Aristaeus, Britomartis, Heracles, Amphiaraus, Pollux, and Castor). The individuals Daedalus and Talthybius are the most natural means of accounting for their *γένη*. I shall be told that *δαίδαλα* was an old word for *ξόανα* (Paus. ix. 3. 2), and reminded of *δαιδάλλειν*. Well, is Dahl derived from dahlia, and Volta from volt? Do Boule and Chippendale illustrate the mythopoeic tendencies of the eighteenth century?

Let us realise what this hypothesis involves. A set of minstrels called themselves or found themselves called *Ὀμηρίδαι*, a patronymic without a meaning. At some point they awoke to their situation: 'tenez' they said, 'on est des fils d'Homère; il nous faut un père.' Is this likely? Why should we shut our eyes to the universal two-fold phenomenon—a single individual highly gifted, starting a movement, a line of human activity, and his successors describing their relation to him as filial? Consider the largest mediaeval instances of the principle, the religious orders. The *figli di san Benedetto* know where their father was born and died, they have his rule; Dominic is no abstraction from the Dominicans, nor Francis an inverted resultant of his children. The Greek heroic age is no longer a desert of Brocken spectres and natural forces: it is peopled by positive individuals. The further we go back in history the greater appears to be the rôle of the individual. Miss Harrison has made out Orpheus as definite a missionary as St. Paul, and as ploughing the same waters. The construction of two ageless Epics out of saga or metrical chronicle emphatically demands an individual, a man above his peers. What is there to prevent this genius from leaving his name with his writings first to the excellent Creophylus,¹ who makes Plato and Callimachus laugh, and then to a society which appeased his ghost²?

T. W. ALLEN.

¹ Plato, *Rep.* 600B δ Κρεώφυλος δ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἑταῖρος, τοῦ ὀνόματος γελοιότερος ἦτι. Callimachus ap. Strab. 638. Ridiculous or not, he existed, and Mr. Lang (*Homer and his Age*, p. 300) has a French parallel to the story that the Cypria was left either to him or to Stasinus.

² Lycurgus' friends deserve a mention: Plut. *Lycurg.* 31, he died childless, οἱ δ' ἑταῖροι καὶ οἰκείαι διαδοχὴν τινα καὶ σύνοδον ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους διαμείναντες κατέστησαν, καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν αἷς συνήρχοντο Λυκούργιδας προσηγύρευσαν.