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THE

# CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF BRITAIN;

TRANSLATED FROM THE WELSH COPY ATTRIBUTED TO TYSILIO;

COLLATED WITH SEVERAL OTHER COPIES,

AND ILLUSTRATED WITH COPIOUS NOTES;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

## ORIGINAL DISSERTATIONS

ON THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS, VIZ.

ON THE HISTORY AND EPISTLE  
ATTRIBUTED TO GILDAS.

ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE BRUT.

ON THE PRIMARY POPULATION OF  
BRITAIN.

ON THE LAWS OF DYFNWAL  
MOELMYD,

AND

ON THE ANTIENT BRITISH CHURCH.

BY THE REV. PETER ROBERTS, A. M.

AUTHOR OF AN HARMONY OF THE EPISTLES; LETTERS TO MR. VOLNEY, &c.

*"De Gentis Antiquitate et Origine magis creditur ipsi genti, atque vicinis, quam remotis  
et externis."*

MYRSILUS LESBIUS.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR E. WILLIAMS, 11, STRAND, BOOKSELLER TO THE DUKE  
AND DUCHESS OF YORK.

1811.



## P R E F A C E.

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**R**ESARCHES into the history of the origin and progress of nations are in general allowed to be interesting, even as gratifying that natural curiosity which is in some degree implanted in the mind of every human being, and affording at least an innocent amusement in the leisure which can be spared from the employments and cares of necessary occupation. Were this all, the time given to such researches cannot be said to have been unprofitably expended. Whether it might have been less so in any other manner is a question which it would be difficult, if not impossible, for any individual to answer, as it regards another; or perhaps even the individual, who is led by choice to it, for himself.

Such researches are however of much more utility than as the gratification of mere curiosity. If the history of nations in a state of civilisation be the lesson of prudence to human conduct, and too frequently a very humiliating one, that of the earlier ages of society is a lesson of information that not only explains the origin of customs, manners, and laws, and progress of nations; but, by tracing backwards the progress and the language, leads to that point from which they all first emanated and diverged, and so to the elucidation of that truth,



which we know from another authority, that the whole human race are of one original stock.

Whether we compare the population, the manners, the science, or the face of the countries of Europe, at the present day, with what they were in the time of Julius Cæsar, of Herodotus, or of Moses, as far as we know them, we shall find this great truth confirmed.

It is sufficient here to throw out the idea as one which might be pursued with advantage in the study of general history, the subject of the present consideration being confined to a very moderate portion of the history of one of those nations, the traces of whose progress, as well as its distinct existence, have been preserved to a very considerable degree.

In a nation so situated, as to have had little intercourse with others, it is generally found that oral tradition transmits its history with much accuracy of the outline, though it be partially obscured otherwise, until either written tradition supersedes the oral, or a state of continual activity, introduced by trade and commerce, deprives it of that leisure for hearing and telling the tale of former ages, which the life of the warrior and the shepherd abundantly afford. But the introduction of the use of writing, however it may supersede the necessity of oral tradition, will not destroy it whilst there is leisure for it. When therefore, during such a period, the history of such a nation, written in its own language, is received by that nation as authentic, it is very difficult to believe that it is not so far so, as to be conformable in general to the real history. I say the real history, because that, as to it, oral tradition has frequently the advantage, as to facts generally so recorded. It is observable that the memories of those who can neither write nor read, are in general much more tenacious, much more precise, not merely as to prominent facts, but as to all the minute concomitant circumstances, than those of others. Among persons of this description, any variation from accuracy will be pointed out, and

perhaps reprobated, with all the jealousy of self-consequence, and all the importance of superior knowledge. It has also another advantage in respect to such historic facts. It scarcely comes within the power of an individual to pervert them grossly. That which has been heard by numbers, cannot be varied without risque, as every one is equally concerned to make the discovery, and they who have heard it before are able to make it.

Considering therefore the state of the time, not only in Wales, but in England also, when the History of Wales, which goes by the name of Geoffrey of Monmouth, was published in Welsh and in Latin, both by him and <sup>1</sup> Walter the Archdeacon of Oxford; and the favorable reception it met with, which at first appears to have been very general; it seems scarcely possible to account for such a reception upon any other principle than that it was found to agree with received tradition in general, whether this tradition was oral or written.

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<sup>1</sup> Pitts calls him Walter Calenius, and says that he was a very different person from Walter Mapes, though others have considered Calenius, and Mapes, as denoting the same person. The following is the account which Pitts gives of the life of Walter Calenius.

“Walter. Calenius, a Welshman by descent, and archdeacon of Oxford, was in his latter years intimately acquainted with Henry of Huntingdon: He was eloquent, well read in history, and celebrated by his contemporaries as an accomplished scholar, and especially for his study of antient writers, and diligent researches in order to discover their works. Leland says, that whilst he was making diligent enquiries for such writings in Armorica, he found an antient book written in the Welsh language, and brought it

with him to Britain; where, at the request of many of the nobility, and by the aid of Geoffrey of Monmouth, it was translated into Latin, as appears from the preface. As this history met with some opposition, amongst others who were its advocates, Ponticus Virunnius, an Italian, gained it no small degree of credit by publishing an epitome of it. Higden asserts that Walter himself added to the history, that of the times immediately succeeding, and continued it down to his own time, through a period of more than four hundred years, and called this addition, *Auctuarium Annalium Britonum* (*The Continuation of the British Annals.*) Some affirm, that this Walter was at length made Bishop of Exeter. He flourished A. D. 1120, in the time of Henry 1st. King of England.”



Notwithstanding this, the fate of poor Geoffrey has been singularly unpropitious. Though the principal circumstances found in his publication have been referred to as historic facts by other writers, esteemed of reputation, and even asserted by royal authority; though he referred to one of the most celebrated men of the age, who occupied the distinguished station of archdeacon in the University of Oxford, as the donor of the manuscript which he translated; though he dedicated the translation to a prince of high and admired literary abilities, whose character must be involved in the censure, were he to patronise a forgery; though the dignified station of Geoffrey himself would not only exempt him from all common motives to imposition, and the very tendency of the history itself, as opposite to the interests and objects of the English court, would be to raise the most formidable enmity against him, and must have done so, had not his statement as to his manuscript been true, still has he been as illiberally, as unmercifully, stigmatised as guilty of the forgery of a fabulous history.

At length however the elegant pen of Mr. Ellis has been, with equal justice and success, employed in vindication of the truth of the statement given by Geoffrey of the Ms. which he translated, and of the fidelity with which he translated it, as far as his intention was concerned. For the vindication of Geoffrey's character from such aspersions, I will beg leave to refer the reader to Mr. Ellis's *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*.

Thus excused from entering any further on a vindication in these respects, it may still be allowable to notice the passage of Giraldus, which has been referred to by Mr. Ellis, and could not satisfactorily be accounted for, but by a collation of the Welsh Mss. with Geoffrey's translation.

Of the fidelity of Geoffrey's intention, I am free to acknowledge, that I have no reason to doubt: but of the competence of his abilities to the task he had undertaken, though they were very respectable

for the age he lived in, I am compelled to speak with some reserve. With the pedigrees of Wales he seems to have had but a very slender acquaintance, and hence has often fallen into errors as to proper names, that have much obscured the history; and, as errors of this kind, though probably owing to an ill-written, or injured Ms. were at once discoverable to a Welshman well skilled in genealogy, this very circumstance may, exclusive of his unhappy derivation of the word Wales, have been a motive to some of the Welsh to censure the translation, and to condemn it by the whimsical ordeal, the account of which is quoted from Giraldus by Mr. Ellis. A very remarkable passage to this purpose occurs in the Life of St. Guthlach, attributed by Gale to John of Wallingford. The words are these :

“ Ut Galfridus in translatione historiæ Britonum (licet ex *translatore* magis habeat auctoritatem quam ex *editore*) scribit.”

*As Geoffrey writes in his translation of the history of the Britons, who is however more respected as a TRANSLATOR than as an EDITOR.*

John of Wallingford died A. D. 1214. Whosoever was the author of the Life of Guthlach, had he written later than William of Newburgh, he would not probably have expressed his sentiments in this manner, for they seem to have been written soon after the publication of the history, when it was carefully read, and criticised with that kind of observation, which is very seldom exercised, but whilst the subject is novel. The observation, if I understand it right, marks that Geoffrey's *translation* was considered as elegant, but incorrect. That Geoffrey was anxious as to the elegance of his latinity, he has shewn in his letter to Robert of Gloucester, and the latinity may be considered as elegant for the times. But what is most important is, that the writer of the passage above quoted shews his opinion at least to have been, that what Geoffrey published was *a translation*.

As the mistakes of Geoffrey will be noticed in their proper places in the following translation, it is unnecessary to say more concerning



them at present, and we may therefore proceed to consider the objections which regard to the history itself.

To expect that a traditional history, relative to early or remote ages, should be perfectly free from any admixture of fabulous narrative would be to expect that which no such history, but the one of the Jews presents; and if this one does so, it must be remembered that it has been preserved pure by the intervention of the Divine Spirit. The objection therefore, if of any weight, ought to be extended to every similar instance, or withdrawn from this. And yet the other histories so obscured, are read with a discrimination, that admits them as sufficient vouchers for the series of ordinary facts received traditionally. This is all that can reasonably be desired; and this it is hoped may be granted.

Moreover, the progress of enquiry has shewn, that some circumstances related in antient history, which have long borne the appearance of improbability, or even of fable, to the historian himself, have eventually nevertheless proved to be true, either literally, or by implication; that is, as a fact disguised in a fabulous, or obscured, or allegorical representation. Herodotus did not believe that, beyond the Tropics, the sun appeared to pass the meridian to the north of the Zenith, and yet it is now the acknowledged fact. He tells us, he had heard that far to the north it rained *feathers*, and we who gave the epithet of *feathered* to *the snow*, can ascertain his interpretation of the expression to be correct. So also when this Chronicle tells us, that Bladud invented *balls*, which kept up a perpetual fire alive at Bath, we can understand that he discovered *the use of coal*, which abound in the neighbourhood of that place. The purport may be retained as valuable truth, though the mysterious covering, in which it was enveloped, be discarded.

As to the first part of the history, as far as it relates to Brutus, it is entitled fully to as much deference as the Roman tradition of Æneas,

and more will not, it is to be presumed, be much insisted upon. Some observations upon it will however be offered to the reader in the Appendix.

The objection to the account which this history gives of Arthur, may fairly be deemed to have originated in political considerations, and though made ostensibly to the whole of this part of the history, to have been intended more especially to discredit the prophecies of Merlin; the obvious tendency and real effect whereof, were to raise a most persevering and glorious resistance to the endeavours of the English kings to conquer Wales, a resistance to which it undoubtedly owes its present happiness. Had not this motive for decrying the history been so powerful, as it then was, Geoffrey would in all probability have been as loudly applauded, as he has been zealously calumniated; since that, notwithstanding every opposition, the history was eagerly read, the copies of it multiplied, and the subjects it afforded were decorated by the poet, sung by the minstrel, and studied as the lesson of chivalry by the warrior. In an age of legends, as in our age of novels, the wonderful was one of the most acceptable characteristics of narrative; though the readiness with which every thing extraordinary was then received as true, is more than compensated by the prompt incredulity of the moderns, as to whatever appears to be extraordinary beyond common experience.

It has been observed of the prophecy of Merlin, which Geoffrey has inserted in his translation, that it accords well with history down to the time of Henry the II. and then begins to be obscure, and hence I am inclined to think that, though part of it may be very antient, it was enlarged not very long before, and the whole attributed to Merlin, in order to give it credit. Some parts of it are quoted by Giraldus, being held authentic in his time. It merits no farther notice as to itself.



The last objection, and certainly the most important, if it were well founded, is the assertion of the supposed Gildas, that "if any Welsh writings ever existed, they were not to be found, they having either been burned, or carried away by the exiles." If this be a strong assertion, its full force has been assumed, and argued upon as true, by those who ought to have considered it more accurately before they ventured to avail themselves of it. If however, I shall be able to prove, and I trust that I shall be able to prove it satisfactorily, that the history and epistle attributed to Gildas, are *forgeries*; all the arguments founded on the assertion just quoted, will fall to the ground. For this proof I must refer to the Dissertation on the subject, as it requires more discussion than could conveniently be assigned to it within the limits of a prefatory introduction.

It remains to add a few words as to the history itself, and the translation now offered to the public.

In the letter to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, which Geoffrey of Monmouth has prefixed to his translation he states that his translation was made from a Ms. which Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, had brought from Brittany, and he states it with perfect simplicity; as one who did not imagine there could be a doubt as to the fact. He is at no pains to prove it, further than a reference to the donor then living. He is highly gratified with the acquisition, and happy in the toil of a translation; his only anxiety appears to be, that the language of the translation should do him credit. These are not the feelings, or the objects of imposture. It appears also from the Welsh copies, that Walter himself had translated this history twice. First, from his Ms. into Latin, and a second time from *his own Latin translation* into Welsh. Why he did the latter is not said, and it therefore seems to furnish one of those incidental proofs of truth, that are the more valuable as they are merely such. We know from Geoffrey that Walter had given the original to him, who had probably taken it to Monmouth,

and it would in that case, be more convenient to Walter, to translate from his own copy, than to require the use of the original.

As to such a manuscript being found in Brittany, it is very easy to account for it. About the middle of the sixth century, a dreadful plague broke out in Britain, and mortality increased so widely, that a great number of the British clergy sought to escape it by flying into Brittany. Of this number were Sampson, afterwards Archbishop of Dole, and other learned men, who would not assuredly on such an occasion leave their books, which were the sources of their knowledge, and consolation, behind them; when they must have considered themselves as leaving Britain, perhaps never to see it more. Hence then it was very possible that such a manuscript as that of this history should have been found in Brittany, and more probable than that such a history should be found in Britain; nor does it seem impossible that, if the proper pains were taken, manuscripts of value, as to the common history of the Welsh and Britons, might yet be found there.

Who was the author of the history, can be only a matter of conjecture. That Geoffrey of Monmouth was not, is, I think, certain. In the dissertation on the history ascribed to Gildas, some arguments will be offered in favour of my opinion, that this history is the one which Gildas really wrote; and that the other was composed *in order to be substituted for this*. The reader of the dissertation will of course form his own opinion how far the arguments support the conjecture. Whosoever was the author, he appears to have recorded the received traditions of the Cymry with great simplicity of design, and of narration. To give as complete an enumeration of those who were deemed sovereigns of Britain, annexing to each name whatever was recorded of the person who bore it, is the object announced in the title; and it is seldom exceeded in the progress of his work. The model of his design was probably taken from the books of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Judah, and that of his style from



Dares Phrygius; and therefore more information, however desirable, could not well be expected, than what was consistent with such a plan. A mistaken zeal for religion seems also to have confined this plan within more narrow limits than its own nature required. The idea of the author, unless his work has been mutilated, must have been perfectly inconsistent with any studious investigation of the forms, ceremonies, or institutions of the Druids, for he appears to have known little or nothing of them. Yet, as far as his plan extended, and his collections supplied him with materials, he appears to have composed his Chronicle with a sincere fidelity as to what he found recorded. Had he wished to impose tales of his own invention as history, the long list of names, which he has simply registered, would have afforded abundant opportunities. The bare notice of so many names is therefore an argument that he did not; neither does the style of his narration indicate an inventive mind, or strong powers of imagination; but rather that of a sedulous compiler, satisfied with a connected and regular disposition of various documents in chronological order. If he any where quits the style of simple narration for a moment, and ventures on an ornamental expression, he instantly returns to his habitual mode, as if conscious of temerity. Yet, though this characteristic trait, and it is such, does in some degree lessen the pleasure in the perusal, it is a most advantageous one to the reputation of the writer, as to his sincerity in stating occurrences according to the authorities he was possessed of, and the traditions he had learned, which is the first point of real moment in history.

It is much to be lamented, that he had not extended his plan to a regular history, so far at least as to have included the transactions of the Romans in this country, which, from the title of the work, I am inclined to think he did not. Otherwise it might be suspected that, as it has certainly in some instances been interpolated by the Romish clergy, it had in this respect been mutilated by them.

Some observations on the discrepancies or coincidences, in relating the same events, between our author and other ancient writers, will be found in the notes on the passages.

The motives for publishing a new translation of this Chronicle, were not merely that the one by Thompson is become scarce, but more properly the hopes that one more correct might be acceptable, as from the publication of the Welsh copies in the *Archæology of Wales* it might be expected, and was certainly facilitated. In addition to these copies the translator was so fortunate as to be able to collate them with an ancient Ms. belonging to Sir W. W. Wynn, and to obtain the use of a very complete Ms. which once belonged to the Abbey of Basingwerke, with the use of which he was favored by the late Thomas Griffiths, Esq. of Pen y Nant, in Denbighshire. These advantages were too valuable to be neglected, and the following translation was in consequence undertaken and accomplished; and as a Welsh translation of the history of the Trojan War, attributed to Dares Phrygius, is, in several of the most ancient Mss. containing the Chronicle, prefixed to the Chronicle, a translation from the Welsh copy, it was thought, might not be uninteresting to the reader, it is therefore in a similar manner prefixed to the translation of the Chronicle, with such notes as seemed necessary.

In translating the Chronicle, that copy, which is entitled *Brut Tysilio*, has been made the text, as being probably the earliest of any of those, which the translator had before him. This copy is taken from the Red Book of Hergest, which formerly belonged to Margam Abbey, and is that of the library of Jesus College, Oxford. The style of this copy is more simple than that of the other printed copies, and a few attempts at interpolation, evidently forced into this copy, are so connected in the others, as not to be at once discernible. The style of the copy entitled *Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur*, that is *the Chronicle of Gruffydd, the son of Arthur (Geoffrey of Monmouth)* is



somewhat labored, and the narrative is more diffuse. This copy agrees very closely with Geoffrey's translation. The Archaology gives also the various readings of two more copies marked A and B. The first from a Ms. in the Welsh schools, and the second from a Ms. belonging to Mr. Jones of Havod.

The copy of the Abbey of Basingwerke is said, in a note in the handwriting of that learned Welsh antiquary Mr. Vaughan of Hengwrt, to be in the handwriting of Guttyn Owain, a celebrated Poet and Genealogist, who flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century. It is written in a good text hand, and contains Dares Phrygius, the Chronicle of the Kings of Britain, and the Chronicle of the Princes, better known as the history by Caradoc of Lancarfan, which is continued to the reign of Henry the VIth. It is from this copy, compared with two more at Wynnstay, and two Latin editions, that the translation of Dares is given. In this Ms. the former part of the Chronicle is more full than any other copy I have seen, and for this reason it has been thought better to subjoin the portion at length. The remainder agrees so very closely with the Welsh text copy to the translation, that it seems only to be another translation from the same original. It was therefore sufficient to note the variations as to the remainder.

Such a number of different copies is always of great benefit, and it is hoped it will be seen that it has been so to this translation; both as to correct readings, and supplying some things omitted in one copy from the others. Where any thing is supplied, it is included between inverted commas, and the authority noted at the bottom of the page, in which the above-mentioned copies are denoted respectively in order, by the letters B. T. B. G. A. B. and G. O.

Exclusive of the above copies of the Chronicle itself, the translator had also the use of a Ms. history of Wales, by the favor of J. Jones, Esq. of Coed y Glynn, in Denbighshire. This history is a compilation by Mr. Jones of Gelly Lyfdy, a gentleman who had

collected a great number of Welsh Mss. was well skilled in the Welsh language, and appears to have been a learned man in other respects. This Ms. is an extensive compilation from Welsh, English, and Latin authors; but as the authorities are sometimes omitted, references to it have been necessarily more reserved than they might otherwise have been. Such references to this Chronicle as occur in the notes to the translation, are distinguished by the letters J. G. L. and they are, unless otherwise specified, to be considered as on the authority of Mr. Jones himself, which is certainly that of one deeply read on the subject, and worthy of ample credit, for his sources of information, and faithful communication of it.

As the original is a plain and simple narrative, it was thought necessary that the translation should represent it as nearly as the abilities of the translator would enable him to make it do so. Of much ornament the subject was incapable, without departing from the simplicity of the original; and it is hoped that he has not been very liable to fall into the opposite extreme.

One advantage may perhaps be looked for from the present translation, viz. that the history will be regarded with more favor than it has been, when it is seen how much has been contended for and opposed, that had no real foundation in the history, but was the result of the mistakes or mistranslations of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Walter, or of the copyists. Those of Geoffrey were, I believe, not intentional, for when he calls a priest, a *Flamen*; a Roman general, an *Emperor*; and a Roman chieftain, a *Consul*; he probably made use of the most appropriate terms his nomenclature could furnish him with; and the same apology must be made for the use of the word *Earl* in its original signification of *Governor of a large District*, and of the word, *Knight*, as signifying a *Gentleman of some Military Rank*, in the translation.



The mistakes as to proper names have been of a much more injurious kind as to the credit of the history; since they have, in many instances, confused and perverted the chronology. These have been corrected in the present translation, and the chronology, as far as the collation of the copies, and other means within the reach of the translator permitted it, restored.

Whether it was owing to a peculiar pronunciation, rather limited as to variety of sounds, or to a superficial carelessness as to their mode of expressing words of foreign languages; the inaccuracy of Latin writers in this respect has been most injurious to Etymology. If a conjecture may be grounded on a few instances, though something be attributed to carelessness, more depended on a restricted power of expressing sounds, and hence the Romans were obliged, like the Chinese, sometimes to insert vowels, and sometimes to change the consonants. Hence Caswallon became Cassibelan, and Cynvelin, Cunobelin, to each of which the inflexional termination was added. The same misfortune to Etymology has also been continually increased by almost every writer who has thought it expedient to Latinize a name; and it must be confessed that Geoffrey of Monmouth has not been more successful than his predecessors. Some of his proper names are erroneous, by his own misconception, and the Welsh ones are in general so mangled, that without the aid of the Welsh copies, it would have been next to impossible, to have restored them. To obviate this evil as far as may be, as the names he has given are familiar to the generality of readers, the original names in their proper form are generally given in the text, with his expression, or a translation of them annexed in Italics, and in the Index the principal proper names will be found in both forms.

The division of the history into books is, in the present translation, such as appeared naturally to arise from the subjects of each. The Welsh copies in the Archæology have no divisions, and those

adopted by Geoffrey have nothing to recommend them to a preference.

The Notes were in a great measure the necessary consequence of undertaking the translation of a history so much injured, both in itself and in the public opinion, by not only the inaccuracies of Geoffrey and his faithful follower Thompson, but by obscurities induced by errors of copyists. To remove these errors as much as possible was an essential object, but it appeared also, that as the subject may, since the late revival of Welsh literature, be considered almost as a new one, something more might be allowed, whether as meeting objections, or adding to the information. In a Sketch of the Early History of the Britons, the author's wish was to lay something of the import of what had newly appeared in the Welsh language before the public, and the indulgence it has met with has his grateful acknowledgement. In the more advanced state of his acquaintance with the subject, having found much, that to his judgement appeared likely to contribute to historic knowledge, he has ventured to state it, partly in the notes he subjoined to the text, and more at length in the Appendix, in form of Dissertations.

On such subjects, the extent of what may be deemed necessary enquiry is so great, and particular authorities in the possession of one person, frequently so inaccessible to another, that it is very possible to be unable always to succeed in researches for them. In this respect if there be any deficiency it certainly is not owing to neglect.

In the first Dissertation, some part is necessarily conjectural, and the writer has thought himself justifiable in adopting such ideas, as upon his latest consideration have appeared preferable, wheresoever he may have varied from a former conjecture; and this he thinks it is due to the reader and to himself to state. How far he is justified in the conjectures he must leave to be decided by the arguments.



The extracts from the Law Triads will, it is presumed, be interesting, both by the internal proof of their antiquity, and the idea they afford of the original British Constitution.

It is also hoped that the Dissertation on the Antient British Church will be found to contain some new as well as useful information on the subject.

The additional notes were such as either were referred to the Appendix to avoid overloading the pages of the Text, or such as occurred after the former had been put to press.

After that a great part of this volume had been printed off, the translator finding that his materials for a continuation of his researches grew upon his hands, and that the subject of the antient Welsh Laws (notwithstanding what has been done by Wotton) the Welsh Romances, &c. still afford much curious information; he intends, God willing, to pursue these subjects in another volume; and therefore has, at the suggestion of a highly respected Friend, prefixed the title of *Collectanea Cambrica* to this volume, which from the variety of matter, it may properly bear.

The Translator begs leave here to acknowledge gratefully his obligations to those whose names have already been noticed as having favored him with the use of Mss. or Books, and particularly to Sir W. W. Wynne, for the liberal use of his valuable collection of Mss. and to Mr. C. W. Wynne, for much useful information. His acknowledgements are also due to The Rev. Dr. Myddleton, of Gwacnynog, for the use of some scarce books; and to Dr. Hamilton for access to the excellent library of St. Martin in Westminster.

How far the present publication may have attained the object, which has been rather to clear the way to truth, than as arrogating an opinion that it has in every instance been found, must now be left to the reader. Some important truths it is hoped are in a great



measure ascertained, and the probability of many disputed traditions established. Something will be allowed to the toil and difficulty of the undertaking, and the indulgence what he has already written has experienced, is once more earnestly solicited for his endeavours, by

THE TRANSLATOR.



## C O N T E N T S.

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Dares Phrygius.

Chronicle of the Kings of Britain.

Appendix—containing:

- I. Dissertation On the History and Epistle attributed to Gildas.
  - II. ——— On the Authority of the Brut.
  - III. ——— On the Primary Population of Britain.
  - IV. ——— On the Laws of Dyfuwal Moelmud.
  - V. ——— On the Antient British Church.
  - VI. Additions to the Notes on the Brut.
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### *Signification of the Abbreviations used as References in this Volume.*

- B. T. *Brut Tyssilio.* The Welsh copy of the Chronicle from which the Translation is given.
- B. G. The Welsh copy in the Archialogy, entitled Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur.
- A. & B. The collations to the Brut so marked in the Archialogy.
- G. M. The Translation of the Brut by Geoffrey of Monmouth.
- Ms. G. O. *The Ms. of Guttyn Owain*, viz. The Book of Basingwerke.
- W. Ms. The Wynnstay Ms.
- I. G. L. The Welsh Ms. Chronicle, by Mr. Jones of Gelly Lyfdy.

*Note.*—That the insertions in the Chronicle taken from other copies are included in inverted commas; and the explanatory ones in brackets. The latter are also printed in *italics*.

## PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

TO

### DARES PHRYGIUS.

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IT is generally allowed, upon the authority of Ælian and others, that there did once exist, (and Ælian says it did so in his time) a history of the Trojan War, written by Dares Phrygius. Of this history nothing now remains, except what may be collected from the following short narrative, if it may be considered as relating to it. To consider it as a history would be mistaking its intent. It is evidently no more than the *Argument*, or statement of the contents of some extensive work, and probably a poem on the War of Troy; and, if compared with the longer *Arguments* prefixed to the books of the Iliad, the resemblance will strongly appear. Such as this history is, however, it must be of considerable antiquity and estimation in its present form; though I do not say in the *language* of the Latin editions. The Welsh copy, from which it is translated, was written in the 15th century, and the accumulation of errors of the copyists, in the proper names especially, is such as indicates that the first translation into Welsh must long have preceded this copy. Joseph of Exeter, who appears to have understood the true nature of this tract, has made it the basis of his Poem *de Bello Trojano*; and it must therefore have been in some credit in the beginning of the 12th century. Farther back I am unable to trace it, except upon a supposition, founded upon some singular expressions in the latinity of the printed



editions, which induce me to believe their text, as we now have it, to be a retranslation into Latin, and from, I think, a Welsh copy, because the expressions are idiomatic in Welsh. In so short a tract many such cannot be expected: the following however are so, as found in the edition of Schmid: *Amsterdam*, 1702, viz. *architectum*, p. 148, for *a shipwright*, is a literal translation of the Welsh *Pensaer*, that is, *chief carpenter*. *Virosus* as an adjective from *vir*. Welsh *Gwrawl*, the same from *gwr*, *a man*. *Jurejurando astricto*, p. 175, Welsh *ymrhwymu arvolleu*, i. e. *to tie the obligations*.

These traces of idiom, few as they are, though I do not say they are decidedly from the Welsh, as it is possibly the old French might afford them, mark it as strongly as our daily translations from the French and German do, that they are so in almost every page. Upon the supposition I have made, it is no way surprising, that the latinity is so different from what might have been expected from the pen of Cornelius Nepos, and the objection, on that principle, is done away.

It is no way improbable that, attached as the Welsh nation was to the Trojan History, this outline of it should have been found among the Welsh writings carried off by the Monks, retranslated into Latin, and preserved, partly as not very favourable to the character of Æneas or the Trojans; and partly as connected with the <sup>1</sup> poem

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<sup>1</sup> This poem, though but little known, has many beautiful passages in it, and displays a genius which had it enjoyed the benefit of better models for imitation, might have produced a composition of much greater merit. Ovid, Statius, and Claudian he appears to have been acquainted with, but not with Virgil: hence his verse and expressions are frequently harsh, and it was probably never carefully revised by the author. Still it is a work of great merit for the age in which it was written.

The following lines which are found near the beginning of the poem have frequently been a subject of commendation, and they exhibit a lively portrait of a noble poetic ardour in a youthful mind.

Si nostris nil dulce novum, nil utile visum,  
Quod teneri pariunt anni; si secula tantum  
Aurea Saturni memorant, et nulla recentis  
Gratia virtutis; aude tamen ardua, pubes:  
Mento canescant alii, nos mente; capillo,  
Nos animo; facie, nos pectore. Tempora certe  
Virtutem non prima negant, non ultima donant.



of Joseph of Exeter. In character it agrees with that given of it in the letter of Cornelius Nepos. It tells a plain tale, and one which might be true; but it differs in many circumstances both from Homer and Dictys's Cretensis, the most material of which are the times of the deaths of Patroclus and Hector. It might be urged that Homer assumed these to suit his purpose, and Dictys copied Homer; but it would be idle to enter into any argumentation on the subject. I will therefore only add, that I hope Dares, in this translation, will appear less liable to objection than in the other editions hitherto published.



of Joseph of Exeter. In character it agrees with that given of it by the letter of Constantine Nipser. It tells a plain tale, and one which might be true; but it differs in many circumstances both from Homer and Virgil's accounts, the most material of which are the time of the death of Patroclus and Hector. It might be urged that Homer assumed these to suit his purpose, and Virgil copied Homer; but I would be idle to enter into any argumentation on the subject. I will therefore only add, that I hope I have, in this translation, will appear less liable to objection than in the other editions hitherto published.



## DARES PHRYGIUS.

*Translated from the Welsh Copy in the Book of Basingwerke.*

INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF DARES, WHICH IS A FAITHFUL NARRATIVE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF TROY, AND OF THE ENGAGEMENTS BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND TROJANS.

<sup>1</sup>CORNELIUS, to Sallust the Curly-headed, greeting. During the time when I was laboriously pursuing my studies at Athens, I met with a history of the transactions of the Greeks and Trojans, by Dares, a Greek, <sup>2</sup>in his own hand writing; and conceiving that it gives an accurate account of the causes and circumstances of the events, without addition or diminution as to the truth, in order they might be found in his book, I have translated it into Latin, word for word, for the information of the reader, and also (as Dares is supposed to have written with the greatest regard to truth) for the purpose of recording the battles between the Greeks and Trojans. Dares himself lived at the time, was a person of rank, and concerned in the engagements from the first battle, until the Greeks subdued the Trojans and took Troy. He is therefore more worthy of credit than Homer, who was not born for many years after that time, and who, <sup>3</sup>on his trial at Athens for having imagined and taught that the Gods engaged in battle with men, was adjudged to be insane. Here follows the history, according to my promise.

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<sup>1</sup> Cornelius Nepos. *Latin copy.*

<sup>2</sup> The Latin copy, adds *ut titubus indicat*. But as the title might be copied as well as the book, nothing can be inferred from it.

<sup>3</sup> Mad. Dacier thinks that the writer alluded merely to opinions entertained at

Athens, and particularly that of Plato. The Welsh translator understood it as of a real trial. Perizonius exclaims, *whoever heard of Homer's being tried?* To answer the question in its own stile, *who can prove he was not?*



## DARES PHRYGIUS.

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<sup>1</sup>PELIAS, <sup>2</sup>King of the Peloponnesians, had a brother called Æson, and this Æson had a son called Jason, a young man of celebrity, who considered his subjects as though they had been his guests, and was in return greatly beloved by them. This general partiality to Jason, excited the fears of Pelias, that it might eventually prove injurious to himself, even to the loss of his kingdom; he therefore told Jason, that there was at Colchos, a golden fleece worthy of his seeking, and promised him every assistance for the enterprize. Jason therefore, being a man of courage, desirous of seeing various countries, and observing their manners and laws, and also conceiving that if he could obtain the golden fleece, it would render his fame the most conspicuous, determined to leave his uncle and go on the enterprize as soon as he should be provided with the means, and could collect associates.

Hereupon Pelias sent for Argo, his chief shipwright, and directed him to build as complete a ship as possible, according to the wish of Jason. Meantime the report was spread over all Greece, that a ship was building in order to fetch the golden fleece from Colchos, in consequence whereof friends and strangers came to Jason, and promised to accompany him; and when the ship was ready they set sail, Jason being their chief. The name of this ship was Argo.

Pelias commanded that the ship should be provided with every thing necessary, and also recommended it strongly to Jason and his associates to accomplish their purpose, as it was foreseen that it would be for the honor of Greece.

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<sup>1</sup> The Welsh copy erroneously reads *Peleus*.

<sup>2</sup> Pelias was grandson to Salmoneus, King of Elis, but at this time King of

Thessaly. Perhaps therefore we should read, *Pelias, the Peloponnesian, King of Thessaly*.

<sup>1</sup> It is unnecessary for me to recapitulate the names of those who went with Jason, as they may be found in the book called *Argo*.

When Jason reached Phrygia, and had come to anchor in the port of Simois, they went all on shore; but Laomedon, the King of Troy, when he was informed that a ship of amazing size, full of young men had arrived in the port of Simois, being alarmed by the intelligence, because of the danger that might result from the Greeks, should their ships frequent his harbour, sent to the Greeks to enjoin them to leave his territories, and to inform them that if they did not, he was prepared to expel them by force. This severity of Laomedon irritated Jason very much, because that he and his companions had neither done, nor intended to do, an injury. But as he was apprehensive that a refusal to depart would draw upon them a force which they might not be able to withstand, and they might be taken as captives; and also because his crew were not prepared for war, they weighed anchor and left the coast, and arrived at Colchos, from whence they brought home the golden fleece.

Hercules, who still cherished in his heart a violent resentment against Laomedon for the disgraceful reception which Jason and his friends had met with, now went to <sup>2</sup> Sparta in Greece, to Castor and Pollux, in order to engage them, to go and avenge the insult and inhospitality of Laomedon, promising that he would be their leader if they would assent to his proposal, which they did in every respect.

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<sup>1</sup> Another Welsh Ms. follows the Latin copy here, and adds, "Jason's friends promised to accompany him when the ship should be ready, and when it was so, Jason wrote to inform them of it."

<sup>2</sup> Through the ignorance of transcribers, the names, both proper and local, are in the Welsh copies so very difficult to decypher, that without the aid of the Latin history, they would be in many cases inexplicable.

Thus *Sparta* has been transformed into *Spiradi*; *Salamis* into *Lamina*; *Phthia* into *Ffiscia*; and *Bæotia* into *Pœm* and *Boemia*, &c. The last of these is probably the origin of the mistake in our old writers, who have made Bohemia a maritime country, and from whom Shakespeare has, in the *Winter's Tale*, taken the mistake with the story.



From thence he went to the Isle of Salamis, to Telamon, to request his personal aid to avenge the insult; which Telamon promised, and that he would be ready when Hercules should summon him. From Salamis he went to Phthia, to Peleus, who consented in like manner to join in the enterprise. From thence he went to Pylos, to Nestor, and solicited him also to accompany him. And when Hercules had declared with indignant emotion that he would land his army in Phrygia, Nestor commended his intention, and promised to go. Hercules, thus assured that they were all disposed to his wish, prepared fifteen ships on his own part and engaged troops.

When the time appointed for the expedition was come, Hercules sent letters to the Kings who had promised to assist him, and when they were assembled, they sailed for Phrygia, and arrived at Sigeum by night, whereupon Hercules, Telamon, and Peleus landed their own troops, leaving Castor, Pollux, and Nestor, as a reserve at their ships. Laomedon sallying out at the head of a large number of men, directed his attack against those who were left behind, and in the mean time Hercules and his party attacked the town and citadel of Troy fiercely and valiantly. Intelligence was soon brought to Laomedon that the citadel was won, he therefore left Castor, Pollux and Nestor, and retreated towards Troy, and being met by Hercules was slain by him. As Telamon was the first, who entered the citadel, Hercules rewarded his valour by giving him <sup>1</sup> Hesione, daughter of Laomedon; but all the sons of Laomedon, who were with their father, Hercules put to death. Priam however, the son of Laomedon, was at that time in Phrygia, whither his father had sent him at the head of an army. As to Hercules and his auxiliaries, they having collected a rich booty, disposed of it in their ships, and returned home, Telamon carrying Hesione with him.

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<sup>1</sup> *Esonia*, the Ms.

Priam deeply afflicted when he heard of the destruction of his father, brethren, and other relatives, the plundering of the city, and the captivity of Hesione by the Greeks, in so disgraceful a manner, returned with Hecuba, his wife, and his sons and daughters to Troy.

The names of his sons were Hector, Alexander, Paris, Deiphobus, Helenus, Troilus and <sup>1</sup>Amphimachus. He had also three daughters, viz. Andromache, Cassandra, and Polixena. Priam had also other sons by his concubines, but none of his sons were princes, except those whom he had by wives of royal blood.

Priam soon after his return, caused the Walls of Troy to be rebuilt, and new ones to be raised, so as to be every way much stronger, and more extensive than before, and garrisoned it with the best troops amply, lest, as in Laomedon's case, it should be again surprised. He also built a temple, and consecrated an altar in it to Jupiter. His son Hector he sent to <sup>2</sup>Pæonia, to engage warriors of note. The names of the gates of Troy were, <sup>3</sup>the Antenorian, Dardanian, Iliac, Thymbrian, and Trojan. When he saw that the city and citadel were well fortified, and had awhile considered in what manner he could best avenge the death of his father, and the insult to himself; he sent for Antenor, and informed him, that he would send him on an embassy to Greece to those, who had commanded the expedition so injurious by plunder and slaughter, and the capture of his sister Hesione, to demand the restoration of Hesione. Antenor therefore by Priam's order set sail, and went to Magnesia, in Greece, to Peleus, who received him hospitably, and entertained him for three days, and on the fourth, Antenor declared the instructions given him

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<sup>1</sup> Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>2</sup> In the Ms. *Eppenia*, in another *Poema*.

<sup>3</sup> These names are given thus in the Ms. Antenoridas, Dardanides, Iliacides, Thym-

brians, and Troianas. The Ms. is here the most correct, for the Latin incorrectly adds, the *Scæan*, which was the same as the Dardanian.



by Priam to claim Hesione. Hereby Peleus was so far offended, as the claim implicated himself, that he commanded Antenor to leave his territories. Antenor did not delay his departure, but set sail and went to Salamis in Bæotia, to Telamon; to whom he again urged the claim, and represented the injustice of detaining a princess so long in captivity. Telamon's answer was, that he had not acted unjustly towards Priam; that his booty was his allotted share, which he would not give up; and concluded by desiring Antenor to leave his territories. Antenor then sailed to Achaia, and went to Castor and Pollux; and having stated the claim, they replied, that what they had done was not an injury, but in return for the injurious treatment they had received from Laomedon, and desired him to leave their territories. From thence Antenor sailed to Pylos, where having declared to Nestor the occasion of his coming, Nestor replied by a remonstrance, saying, How is it that you have the temerity of coming to the Greeks, who have been the first injured, with such a message? Antenor now considering the failure of the purpose of his voyage, and the insults he had received, returned home; and having informed Priam fully of both, and of the several answers he had received, urged him to follow up his claim by force of arms. Hereupon Priam immediately called in his sons and relatives to a conference, viz. Æneas, Antenor, Anchises, Ucalegon, <sup>1</sup> Bucolion, Panthous, Lampus, and <sup>2</sup> Polydamas, and all his sons by his concubines; and informed them of his having sent Antenor to the Greeks, to demand satisfaction for the death of his father, and the restoration of his sister, Hesione, and that they had slighted his embassy, and treated it with contumely. Their conduct said he is so shameful, that I think it just to send a force against the Greeks, to punish their arrogance, lest they should insult and despise us. To

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<sup>1</sup> *Pignaleo*, the Ms. The name in the text is from the Latin.

<sup>2</sup> The name is added from another Ms.

this they all assented, and Priam advised his sons to take the command of the forces, and Hector, in particular, the chief command, which in propriety was due to him, he being the eldest, and the most conspicuous for courage and personal strength. Hector then declared his readiness to act according to the will of his father, and avenge the death of his grandfather, Laomedon; and that, for the injuries they had done to Troy, the Greeks should not escape his vengeance.

Notwithstanding all this, the Trojans were <sup>1</sup> apprehensive, that the design could not be accomplished, as the Greeks had so many auxiliaries, and if the Europeans who were the most warlike nation then in the world, should encounter them, the Asiatics had neither spirit nor perseverance in war, and would therefore find it difficult to provide a fleet that should overpower them. But Alexander, Priam's son, arose and urged them to prepare a fleet against Greece, adding that he himself would, with his father's permission, take the command, relying upon an intimation from the Gods, that they should overcome their enemies, and return from Greece with glory. For on a certain day, when he was hunting on Mount Ida, the God <sup>2</sup> Mercury brought the three goddesses, Juno, Minerva, and Venus to him, to judge of their beauty; and Venus promised, if he would decide that she was the fairest, and most beautiful, to give him the most beautiful woman in Greece, and thus induced, he had declared her the fairest.

This suggested a hope to Priam, that Venus would assist Alexander; and Deiphobus supported the plan by expressing his persuasion that they should rescue Hesione from the Greeks, if such a fleet as was proposed was sent. Helenus on the contrary prophesied, that the Greeks would come and subvert Troy, and that his father and brothers should fall by the hands of their enemies, if

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<sup>1</sup> The Latin inconsistently attributes these fears to Hector

<sup>2</sup> *He saw the God Mercury in a dream,*  
W. Ms. So also the Latin.



Alexander should bring with him a woman from Greece. Troilus, Priam's youngest son, and not inferior in valour to Hector, advised the preparation of the fleet, and that they should pay no attention to the predictions of Helenus; and it was generally agreed upon to send a fleet against Greece. Priam therefore gave orders to Alexander and Deiphobus to go to Pæonia to collect troops, with an injunction to be ready for the expedition, and concluded by exhorting his younger sons to obey the elder. Then <sup>1</sup> "having called an assembly of the people" he descanted at length upon the manner in which the Greeks had insulted Troy; his having sent Antenor to Greece to demand Hesione, and reparation for the injury; their evil treatment of Antenor and sending him back with a direct refusal; wherefore added he, we will send Alexander to avenge it. He then commanded Antenor to relate the circumstances of his travels, and the insults he had received in Greece. Antenor therefore encouraged the people and his own friends to the war, by relating <sup>2</sup> concisely what had happened to him in Greece.

Priam then asked if there were any one who disapproved of his intention. Whereupon Panthous privately told Priam, and hinted to those that were near him, what he had heard from his father, Euphorbus; which was, that if Alexander should bring with him a woman from Greece, it would be the ruin of Troy, and that it would be more their interest to abide in peace, than by an hazardous experiment to endanger the nation. But the advice of Panthous was rejected,

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<sup>1</sup> Supplied from the Latin, as necessary to the sense. The Latin copy reads here, *Populum ad concionem venire jubet. Commonefacit filios ut majores natu minoribus imperarent. Monstravit quas injurias Græci Trojanis fecissent.* Here it is evident that the first sentence should follow the second, and that the recapitu-

lation of circumstances was made in an oration to the people. This slight change obviates the censure of Madame Dacier.

<sup>2</sup> The Latin copy has *Pancis demonstravit*, which has erroneously been in the Welsh translation made to signify *to a few*, &c.

and Priam was requested to declare his final determination, which he did by requiring the preparation of a fleet to go to Greece, and a force to go with it. The people also on their part declared, that all who were capable of service were to obey their king; whereupon Priam thanked them, broke up the assembly, and ordered the levies to be made.

When Cassandra, Priam's daughter, heard of her father's determination, she began to declare what would be the consequence of his sending a fleet to Greece. Nevertheless at the appointed time the ships having on board the <sup>1</sup> noblemen and approved warriors, whom Alexander and Deiphobus had collected in Pæonia, and being ready to put to sea, Priam gave orders to do so without delay, and gave the command to Alexander. He also ordered Æneas, Deiphobus, and Polydamas, to accompany him; and that they should <sup>2</sup> bring back Hesione, and exact a reparation for the injury done to the Trojans. If however they could not obtain this, they were to send him information of it, to the end that he might send a sufficient force to avenge himself upon the Greeks.

The ships now sailed, Alexander taking with him Antenor, who was well skilled in navigation; and as they drew near to the Isle Cythera, Menelaus, who was on a voyage to Pylos, to visit Nestor, passed by them, wondering whither so noble a fleet could be bound; and whilst they were in sight of each other, each party endeavoured to form conjectures as to the destination of the other, of which they were mutually ignorant. Castor and Pollux also had at this time gone to see Clytemnestra, and had taken with them their niece Hermione. Alex-

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<sup>1</sup> The Welsh translator here seems to have given the idea of an army, according to his own observation. The Latin has simply *Milites*.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Latin copy they were first to address themselves to Castor and Pollux.



ander landed at Cythera on the day of the festival of Venus, and sacrificed to <sup>1</sup> her in a temple there dedicated to her, as Dione.

When the ceremony was ended, the islanders, astonished, demanded who, and whence they were? they answered, that they were going on an embassy from Priam, King of Troy, to Castor and Pollux.

In the sequel, after Alexander's arrival at Cythera, Helen, the wife of Menelans, consented to go with him to Troy; and with this intention took a walk on the shore, under the pretext of performing sacred rites at a temple, dedicated to Apollo and Dione, having given Alexander notice to come thither by sea, to meet her, which her beauty induced him to do. From thence she introduced him to the castle, wherein she dwelt, and their conversation increased their mutual passion. In the mean time Paris gave a signal to a party of his crew, whom he had stationed near the temple, to advance and carry off Helen, which they did, and not against her will, and also carried off other women with her. When therefore they, who were in the castle, saw their Lady Helen borne away, they arose in arms to rescue her, but were overpowered by the numbers of the party of Alexander, which being victorious plundered the temple and brought many captives to the ships. They then sailed back and came to Tenedos, where Alexander soothed by his conversation the regret which Helen pretended to feel for what had passed, and this the more easily, as she wished to remain with him.

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<sup>1</sup> Madame Dacier is surprised, as well she might be, that Paris should sacrifice to *Diana*. It shews that she took little pains as an editor, when so small an alteration would have made the passage consistent, and even a reference to Joseph of Exeter would have saved her the trouble

of a conjecture. The Welsh copy says nothing of Argos, but attributes the temple and festival to *Juno*; the Latin attributes the temple to *Venus*. As Juno is in one instance read for Venus, there can be no doubt but that it is so in both, and I have therefore ventured to do so.

When Menelans and Nestor heard of what had happened, they sent to Agamemnon to meet them at Sparta, and also to the Greeks to come and advise them as to the insult they had received.

In the mean time, Alexander went to Priam, and related what had been done, whereat Priam rejoiced, hoping thereby to recover Hesione, and reparation for the losses of the Trojans. Moreover he caressed Helen, and gave her in marriage to Alexander. But when Cassandra heard it, she began to prophecy, and to recal to their minds her former predictions, and was therefore imprisoned by her father.

Menelaus, after his return to Sparta in conjunction with Agamemnon, who had come thither to console him, sent all over Greece to call upon every one to revenge the insult they had received from the Trojans; and these are the names of the chiefs who came to them, viz. Achilles, Patroclus, Euryalus, Tlepolemus, and Diomedes. And when they were assembled at Sparta, they resolved to take vengeance upon the Trojans, and sent to them a denunciation of war. They also sent to collect forces throughout Greece, and appointed the rendezvous at the port of Athens, from whence they were to sail for Troy, and avenge their injuries, and then elected Agamemnon to be chief in the command of the expedition. Whilst these proceedings were going on, Castor and Pollux, who had learned that their sister had been carried off, sailed in pursuit of her. But as they cleared the coast of Lesbos, a great storm arose, and they were seen no more. However, after this it was said, that they were made immortal. Ships were indeed sent to Lesbos to enquire for them, but nothing could be heard concerning them. Dares Phrygius, who wrote this history, says, that he was in the cavalry in all the engagements between the Greeks and Trojans from first to last, and affirms that some persons, afterwards slain in those engagements, and also he himself had seen them during the



truces; for he knew them by sight, as to their persons and features. Both Castor and Pollux had auburn hair, and resembled one another. Their eyes were large, their countenances fair and regular, and in person they were slender; and Helen resembled them. She was fair and <sup>1</sup> delicate in form, of an elegant make; had a mole between her eye brows, and a small mouth.

Priam the king of Troy was tall and robust; of a fair complexion, and mild in speech.

Hector had a <sup>2</sup> lisp in his speech, curly hair, fair complexion, a turn in his eyes, long limbs, a dignified presence, and handsome beard. His disposition was warlike, affectionate to his countrymen, and generally benevolent; he was beloved, and worthy of being so.

Deiphobus and Helenus resembled their father in person; but in disposition they were unlike, for Deiphobus was rash, whereas, Helenus was mild, and a man of wisdom, and a prophet.

Troilus was large and well featured; in the strength of his age, resolute and active.

Alexander was fair, tall, and resolute; had good eyes, fine auburn hair, and a handsome mouth; spoke readily and well, and was ambitious of power.

<sup>1</sup> Literally *like a woman* Shakespeare who seems to have read some very literal translation of Dares, probably took Slender's discriminating observation on Anne Page, that *she spoke small like a woman*, from this passage.

<sup>2</sup> Was it from hence that Shakespeare took the idea of making Hotspur *thick in speech*? Perhaps it will be allowed me here to point out the original of Fluellin's remark that, "there is a river in Macedon, and a river in Monmouth, and there are salmons in both." The classical reader

will be amused to find it in an author of no less reputation than Xenophon, who describing the site on which he had built a temple to Diana, and comparing it with that of her temple at Ephesus, says,

Και εν Εφεσω, δε παρα του της Εφεσιας Αρτεμιδος των, Σελληνους ποταμος παραρει και ιχθυες η εν αμφοτεροις εστι, και κογχαί. *Anabasis*, Lib. 5.

*At Ephesus also, near the temple of the Ephesian Diana, there is a river SELLENUS running by it; and THERE ARE SHELL-FISH, AND OTHER FISH IN BOTH.*

Æneas was red haired, and square set, a good speaker, resolute and prudent, and had black and large eyes.

Antenor was tall, slender, and hairy, and had keen penetrating eyes.

Hecuba was large and tall in person. She was comely, just, and benevolent.

Andromache, Priam's daughter, was tall, fair and comely, had bright eyes, and was discreet and modest.

Cassandra, Priam's daughter, was of middle size, had a round face, fair complexion, sparkling eyes, and was a prophetess.

Polixena, Priam's daughter, was fair and stately. Her neck was long, her eyes handsome, and she had thick flaxen hair. Her figure was elegant, her fingers long and sniall; her limbs delicate, and her feet agreed with the rest of her figure. In temper she was liberal and beneficent.

Agamemnon was fair complexioned, large, compact, and majestic in person. He was also <sup>1</sup> (eloquent, prudent and) powerful.

Menelaus was of the middle size, red haired, of good countenance, and comely in person.

Achilles was deep chested, had a well formed mouth, large manly limbs, a curly head, and fair skin; was ardent in battle, of a presence animated and liberal, and had bushy and long hair.

Patroclus was of a fair complexion, had large blue eyes, and was correct, modest, and liberal.

Ajax (*Oileus*) was rather of a square make, strong limbed, tall, and resolute, and was fond of a jest.

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<sup>1</sup> Supplied from the Latin.



(*Ajax*) Telamonius was compact in person, an intelligent speaker, had a curly head, and was stern and severe towards his enemies.

Ulysses was fair spoken, but crafty, and had a smile on his lips; he was of the middle size, and was insinuating and sagacious.

Diomedes was a comely, resolute, square-set man; spirited in battle; talkative, hot headed, ill-disposed and crafty.

Nestor was a large man, had an aquiline nose, was tall and broad shouldered; had a clear complexion; and was a sage and safe adviser.

Neoptolemus had a tall, martial figure, and had a lisp in his speech, also a large face, and broad round shoulders; eyes moderately large, and large limbs.

Protesilaus was fair complexioned, had a mild countenance, was firm-fleshed, courageous, and swift-footed.

Palamedes was very slender and tall, had a healthy look, was slow, large, strong, and of a reserved temper.

Machaon was of a large make, and resolute. He was of serious, correct, and benevolent manners.

<sup>2</sup> Meriones was red-haired, of the middle size, strong limbed and manly; but ill disposed, cruel, and passionate.

<sup>3</sup> Briseis was a fair little woman; with flaxen hair, eye-brows meeting, fine interesting eyes, well spoken and modest.

When the Greeks had made every necessary preparation for their fleet, they made Athens the place of rendezvous.

<sup>1</sup> The original words do not mean a simper, or the natural smile of benevolence, but that of artifice, or malignity.

<sup>2</sup> *Medion*, the Ms. The correction is from the Latin.

<sup>3</sup> *Criseis*, Ditto. The Latin copy says she was tall.

The <sup>1</sup> names of the chiefs, and the number of ships each brought were these:

Agamemnon, from Mycene	—	—	300
Menelaus, from Sparta	—	—	60
<sup>2</sup> Arcesilaus and Prothenor, from Bœotia	—	—	50
<sup>3</sup> Ascalaphus and Jalmenus, from Orchomenos	—	—	30
<sup>4</sup> Epistrophus and Schedius, from Phocis	—	—	40
Nestor from Pylos	—	—	80
Thoas, from Ætolia	—	—	40
<sup>5</sup> Pencus, from Ham	—	—	53
Ajax Oileus, from Locri	—	—	37
Antiphylus, Phidippus and <sup>6</sup> Thoas, from Calydne	—	—	30
Idomeneus and Meriones from Crete	—	—	80
Ulysses from Ithaca	—	—	40
<sup>7</sup> Eumelus from Pheræ	—	—	10
Protesilaus and Podarces, from Phylaca	—	—	40
Podalirius and <sup>8</sup> Machaon, from Œchalia	—	—	32
Achilles and Patroclus, from <sup>9</sup> Phthia	—	—	50
<sup>10</sup> Tlepolemus, from Rhodes	—	—	10
Euripylus, from <sup>11</sup> Ormenium	—	—	40
Antiphylus and Amphimachus, from <sup>12</sup> Elis	—	—	12
Polybetes and Leontes, from Larissa	—	—	60
Diomedes, Euryalus, and Sthenelus, from Argos	—	—	80
<sup>13</sup> Philoctetes, from Melibœa	—	—	12
<sup>14</sup> Gouneus from Cyphos	—	—	21

<sup>1</sup> The proper names in this list, except those in Italics, have all been corrected by the aid of the readings of Madam Dacier, and references to Homer, and Pindar/Thebanus. But as it may amuse the reader to see how names may be mangled by copyists, and as the very errors are much too gross to have been the effect of less than many transcripts, they are here subjoined.

<sup>2</sup> Archelaus and Phrytenor. <sup>3</sup> Ascalopus, and Alan from Darden. <sup>4</sup> Epiprophus Ascedius, from Voadem. <sup>5</sup> Of this I can only say that the name of Phineus occurs in the catalogue of Pin. Theb. <sup>6</sup> Hoas from Chalcedonia. <sup>7</sup> Emalius from Pyscis. <sup>8</sup> Magidon from Colaphis. <sup>9</sup> Picia. <sup>10</sup> Tlepoteus from Rodo. <sup>11</sup> Gormelon. <sup>12</sup> Inden. <sup>13</sup> Pilotetes of Libia. <sup>14</sup> Dimeus



<sup>15</sup> Prothous, from Magnesia	—	—	—	40
Agapenor, from Arcadia	—	—	—	40
<sup>16</sup> Eirentus, from Pylos	—	—	—	22
Mnestheus, from Athens	—	—	—	50
<sup>17</sup> The number of the Greek chiefs was 47, and that of ships in all 1394.				

As soon as they had all arrived at Athens, Agamemnon assembled the chiefs in council, where he applauded their zeal, and urged them to hasten to avenge their wrongs. He then advised and pressed them in the first place to send to Delphos, in order to consult Apollo, and supplicate his favor. This was assented to, and Achilles and Patroclus were chosen to command the party destined to go thither.

Priam also, on his part, having being informed that the enemy was ready to sail, sent even to the extremities of Phrygia to collect forces, and at length assembled them to his wish.

When Achilles and Patroclus arrived at Delphos, Achilles went to the temple, and from the <sup>1</sup> door of the temple he received the answer, that he should live <sup>2</sup> . . . . years, and that in the <sup>3</sup> . . . . year, Troy should be taken.

Achilles then offered sacrifices to the Gods, as he had been desired to do, and whilst he was thus engaged, Calchas, the son of

of Cyprys. <sup>15</sup> *Pretelius*. <sup>16</sup> An old edition of Dares (Basle A. D. 1537) reads here *Creneus* from *Pylos*.

<sup>17</sup> Ajax Telamonius with his 40 ships, are omitted in the Welsh Ms. and evidently others, as the number of chiefs mentioned is only 40, and that of the ships 1319. The Latin editions make the latter number only 1140. Dictys Cretensis makes it 1253, and Homer 1186.

<sup>1</sup> The Latin copy here more properly reads "ex adytis" from the sanctuary, and I am inclined to believe that the original meaning of the Welsh word *drws*,

a door, was that of an obstacle to passage from *di*, a negative particle, and *rhws* an open place. Hence it will properly signify the inclosed part of the temple here, though I have given its usual signification.

<sup>2</sup>. <sup>3</sup>. The Ms. has been erased in both these places, and the spaces left vacant. In another Ms. the former part of this answer is omitted, and that latter deficiency supplied by the word *ten*. The Latin reads "Græcos victores, decimoque anno Trojam capturos." *That the Greeks should be victorious, and take Troy in the tenth year.*

<sup>1</sup>Thestor, came with offerings to Delphos in favor of the Phrygians. This man at the temple turned against the Trojans, and <sup>2</sup>of his own foreknowledge advised them (*the Greeks*) not to leave the country of Troy until they should have conquered it. In consequence hereof, Achilles and Calchas departed from the temple, and consulted together, and encouraging their party returned to Athens, where Achilles informed the council of the Greeks of the result of his voyage.

This account gave great joy to the Greeks; Calchas was received with congratulations, and now, after having been hitherto prevented by a storm, they put to sea.

Calchas hereupon, according to the <sup>3</sup>omens, advised them to go first to Aulis, and there sacrifice to Diana, which being done, he desired them to put to sea again, and appoint Philoctetes to superintend their course and navigation, as he had already been at Troy in the ship Argo.

The fleet made the land near a <sup>4</sup>castle belonging to the aged king Priam, which the Greeks took and plundered; and then attacked that of Tenedos, where they put all to the sword, and Agamemnon divided the spoils.

After this a council of the chiefs was held, in which it was determined to send an embassy to Priam, in order to demand a restoration

<sup>1</sup> Nestor, Ms. This account of Calchas, if it be admitted, gives an additional reason for the displeasure of Agamemnon against Calchas, and for the favor of Achilles. For here it appears that Achilles had taken Calchas under his protection.

<sup>2</sup> The original word signifies *any thing used in divination*.

<sup>3</sup> The Latin copies attribute the conduct of Calchas to an injunction of the

oracle. That of Madam Dacier has only the injunction to *return* to Aulis, where they had not yet been. The older copy of Basle represents the Greeks after they were baffled by the storm, as commanded "*ut revertantur, & in Aulidem proficiscantur*," to *return and go to Aulis*.

<sup>4</sup> The Castle of Leibius (Lesbos) Ms. Al. Vide Iliad I. v. 129.



of the noble Helen, and of the plunder which Alexander Paris had carried off, and Diomedes and Ulysses, being appointed chiefs of the embassy, set out to go to Priam.

Achilles meanwhile taking Telephus with him, went to plunder <sup>1</sup> Mysia, the king of which was Teuthras. And whilst they were ravaging the country, Teuthras came out with his power to oppose them, but his forces were routed, and he himself was wounded by Achilles. As he fell <sup>2</sup> Telephus held his shield over him, and prevented Achilles from killing him outright, because he recollected that when he himself was young, and had been left by his father, Hercules, in that country, Teuthras had been as a friend and a foster-father to him, and also that Hercules had slain King Diomedes, who was

<sup>1</sup> *Mœsia*. J. Iscanus. This part of the history is differently related by Dictys Cretensis, and others.

<sup>2</sup> *Heu parce exclamat: procul hæc, fortissime gentis Myrmidonum, avertant Superi probra. Tunc bis illum*

*Percuties hostem? Quisquis vel sensit Achillem, Sufficiat cecidisse semel: tua fulmina passus, Alterius non mortis eget. Cur torva minaris? Nos tegimus, meruitque tamen.* - - - - -

- - - - - Sed dicere longum,  
Quæ mecum gessit, patris memor: hinc mihi lapsus

*Erigere, & gladios tutari cura timentem,  
Et tardum venisse pudet.*

J. Iscanus. Lib. 4.

The following description of the sculptured ornaments on a monument, raised by Telephus to the memory of Teuthras, probably was the original from whence Shakespeare's description of the seven ages was taken.

*Prima ducis facies nascenti vagit in ære,  
Sidoniis variata togis, cunaliis in altum  
Surgit honos, trepidæ circum nutrixque,  
parensque*

*Alternò teneros demulcent ubere fletus.*

*Proxima lascivis inhians discursibus ætas,  
Nunc labente pilâ, nunc se volvente, fatigat  
Buxo, nunc arcu: credas curvata coire.*

*Cornua, & excussam nervo stridere sagittam.*

*Tertia magnanimi loquitur primordia regis  
Accingens pictura virum; regale verendas  
Accendit diadema comas; sublimis sedentem  
Fulcit ebur, sceptroque manum radiante super-  
bit.*

*Ipsè novâ vultum pictus lanugine regni,  
Maturum dispensat opus; belloque, togâque  
Alternus, rerum vario poscente meatu,  
Commodat aut fremitus armis, aut otia paci.*

*In serum perducta senem, pars ultima canos  
Colligit, and raris sulcantur tempora rugis,  
Progressos testata dies. Procul exitus avi  
Mars longè et Lachesi stamen vitale ministrat.  
Nondum fessa soror; at fato major Erÿnnis  
Præcipitat festina ducem. Tres ære propinquo  
Hærent, iratâ Peleides fronte, precanti  
Telephus, exanimi Teuthras. Pallere videres  
Ora, genas; aurumque mori.*

J. Iscanus, Lib. 4.

at war with Teuthras, and had granted the peaceable possession of the kingdom to Teuthras; and therefore entrusted Telephus to his care. Teuthras however perceived that his wound was mortal, and therefore bequeathed his kingdom to Telephus, and made him king; and when Teuthras was dead, Telephus buried him honourably.

Achilles then desired Telephus to remain in his newly acquired kingdom, and to guard and maintain it; and observed, that it would be of no less advantage to the Greeks, that he should from thence send them supplies of wine and wheat, than if he should go against Troy in person.

From thence Achilles departed with rich booty, and went to the castle of Tenedos, where having informed Agamemnon of his progress, he was highly praised by him for it.

The embassy had in the mean time gone to Priam, to whom Ulysses delivered the terms proposed by Agamemnon, which was, that he should restore Helen and the spoils, and indemnify the Greeks, if he wished for peace. This Priam refused to do, alledging the injuries he had received by the destruction of his castles, and the death of his father; the carrying off Hesione, the ravaging of his territory, and the slaughter of his dependants. He also complained that when he had sent Antenor to endeavour to obtain compensation for the insult and injury, he was sent back contemptuously by the Greeks, peaceable terms were refused, and war declared. In consequence the embassy was ordered to leave his territories, and it accordingly returned with the answer to Tenedos.

Here follow the <sup>1</sup> names of the auxiliaries of Priam in his war against the Greeks, and these were the chiefs who brought their forces with them.

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<sup>1</sup> The names in this catalogue are still more corrupted than in the preceding, but the same authorities as before, I subjoin the whole list as it stands in the Ms.



<sup>1</sup> From Zeleia, Pandarus, Amphion, and Adrastus; from Colophon, Mopsus; from Caria, Nastes and Amphimachus; from Lycia, Sarpedon and Glaucus; from Ciconia, Euphemus; from Larissa, Hippothous and Copesus; from Zizonia, Remus; from Thrace, Peirus and Acamas; from Pæonia, Pyræchmes and *Therapes*; from Phrygia, Ascanius, Xanthippus and Meseres; from *Boeith*, *Samas*, *Simaris*, *Efortennus*; from *Locria*, Epistrophilus, and Boetius; from Paphlagonia, Pylæmenes; from Ethiopia, Perses and Memnon; from Thrace Rhesus and Archilochus; from Adrastia, Adrastus and Amphius; from Alizonia, Epistrophus.

These were the auxiliaries, and Priam appointed Hector to command in chief, under whom were, as seconds in command, Alexander, Deiphobus, Troilus, Eneas, and Memnon.

Now whilst Agamemnon was considering and arranging the plan of war, Palamedes the son of Nauplius, came from <sup>2</sup> Gozenus, with thirty sail carrying auxiliaries for Agamemnon, to whom he made it his apology for not having been at the rendezvous at Athens, that he had been prevented by sickness, and had come as soon as he was able. Having expressed their obligation to him, the council requested

<sup>1</sup> "From *Zaila*, *Andarus*, *Pandrasus*,  
" *Ampon*, and *Drastus*; from *Colophonia*,  
" *Melius*, *Caius*, *Amphimachus*, and *Nes-*  
" *tes*; from *Licia*, *Sarpedon*, and *Glauc-*  
" *cus*; from *Eliconia*, *Cuperenius*; from  
" *Larissa*, *Ipatus* and *Tuphesus*; from  
" *Saxonia*, *Remus*; from *Thrace*, *Pilrus*  
" and *Alcamus*; from *Boemia*, *Proteme-*  
" *sus* and *Therapes*; from *Phrygia*,  
" *Ascanius*, *Exantibus* and *Meseres*;  
" from *Boeith*, *Samas*, *Simaris*, and  
" *Efortenus*; from *Locrin*, *Epistrophilus*  
" and *Boetius*; from *Baclama*, *Phille-*  
" *menes*; from *Ethiopia*, *Perses* and  
" *Memnon*; from *Thrace*, *Esaus* and  
" *Artilochus*; from *Agræscia*, *Adrastus*

" and *Amphibus*; from *Lazonia*, *Epis-*  
" *trophus*."

Though this catalogue is of little consequence in itself, yet it furnishes some useful inferences, viz. that as Mss. were copied from the sounds of the words, by the reading of a second person, hence the sound may frequently lead to the true reading; and that as the more familiar words were frequently substituted for others less so, the less familiar is generally the truest reading.

<sup>2</sup> *Gosima*, Ms. al. *Cormus*, the Latin copies. What place is intended by any of these I know not. Palamedes came from Eubœa.

him to join them, and not to make a distinct attack upon the enemy. Palamedes therefore advised them to make the attack by night, conceiving that thus an impression might with more ease be made upon the enemy, to which the whole council agreed, and at the suggestion of Agamemnon, they sent to Mysia, and to <sup>1</sup> every confederate place to collect their ships.

When these were assembled <sup>2</sup> under Ida, orders were given that they should be ready to obey any signal, notice, or summons that should be given, and the signal being given, they all sailed and beset the coast off Troy. Protesilaus led to the attack, and was slaying or putting to flight all opposers, when Hector came out against him, slew many, and threw the rest into confusion. The battle now raged furiously on both sides, and Achilles advancing made so great a slaughter, that Hector retreated, and the Trojans fled; and Achilles pursued them till the darkness put an end to the contest.

Agamemnon therefore landed his forces, that they might pitch their tents, and form an encampment; and on the next day Hector drew out his forces to encamp without the city, and Agamemnon led his forces against them, and with a loud shout called to them to fight fiercely, and the bravest men were the first that fell.

Hector slew Patroclus, and as he was preparing to despoil him of his armour, Meriones and his forces came up, and in their contest for it, Hector attacked and killed Meriones, and whilst he was stripping off his armour, Mnestheus with an <sup>3</sup> additional force

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<sup>1</sup> The Latin copies say that Agamemnon sent to collect supplies for the ships, whereas the Welsh seems to intimate, that the Greeks had formed alliances in the neighbourhood of the Troad, and that their fleet was at this time dispersed in divisions on, or near the Trojan coast.

The Ms. reads *to Esida*, which I presume is by mistake for *is Ida*, i. e. below Ida, and have therefore so translated it. The Latin omits it entirely.

<sup>2</sup> The word in the Ms. here translated *an additional force*, is *suppetias*, whether the Welsh translator has mistaken it for



came up and wounded Hector in the thigh; who, wounded as he was, slew great numbers. Nor would he have ceased till he had completely put the Greeks to flight, had he not encountered Ajax the son of Telamon. For, when they met, Hector recognized their relationship, the mother of Ajax being Hesione, the sister of Priam, for which reason Hector forbid the ships to be set on fire. Both entered into a friendly communication, and separated as friends and kinsmen.

On the following day the Greeks sent to Priam to beg a <sup>1</sup> truce, to bury their dead, which was granted. Achilles sorely bewailed Patroclus, and the Trojans bewailed their friends. Agamemnon buried Protesilaus, and those of his followers, who were slain, honourably; and Achilles made a pompous funeral for Patroclus.

Whilst the truce lasted, Palamedes could not desist from plots and treachery. He represented it, as what he felt a disgrace, that one of so little capacity as Agamemnon should lord it in chief over the forces, and declaimed publicly on sieges and fortifications; encampments at night, making signals, <sup>2</sup> accurate measures, and exercising the troops. Having thus unjustly raised a general belief, that the charges were true, the opinion became general, that Agamemnon was unworthy of the command in chief; especially considering how few they were who had appointed him to it when at Athens; whereas they

a proper name, or the word was in use in its proper signification when this translation was made, I know not. It may have been the latter; for *pedestrie* was used to signify *the infantry* long after the Romans left Britain, and other military terms of theirs may have been retained. That many common Latin words were so is certain.

<sup>1</sup> It appears in the sequel that this truce lasted two years, and another afterwards for three. Madame Dacier is very much displeased that Dares should have mentioned them, and complains that, *Nihil*

*intentatum reliquit Dares, ut expeditionis Trojanæ decennium expleat.* But surely this was suffering her partiality to Homer to carry her too far, when it induces her to blame Dares for increasing the probability of the war of Troy, even upon her own statement, and that by circumstances which must probably have occurred, and are necessary to probability.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of *difa* which is the reading of the Ms. and is certainly wrong, as it makes no sense. I read *difai*, that is accurate.

ought to have waited till a full council of all, who were chiefs and leaders of strength and importance, should have been assembled.

At length after two years, during which these contentions for priority had repeatedly occurred, the war began again. Agamemnon, Diomed, Achilles, and Menelaus led out their forces; and against them came Hector, Troilus, and Æneas. A great battle was fought, and some of the most valiant, fell on both sides. In this conflict Hector killed Boetes, Artilocus, (*l. Archilocus*) and Prothenor, and many other warriors who were not chiefs. At length night put an end to the contest.

Agamemnon assembled a council of the chiefs during that night, and directed them to set their forces in array on the morrow, and above all to make it their principal object to kill Hector, who had slain so many of their chiefs.

On the morrow, Hector, Æneas, and Alexander, brought out their forces from the city, and thereupon the Greeks advanced in regular order against them. A great battle was fought and many fell on each side. Hector slew these chiefs, <sup>1</sup> Archelaus, Leopennor and Leopodemus. Menelaus now attacked Alexander, and when Alexander perceived that Menelaus <sup>2</sup> was pressing upon him, he let fly an arrow at him, and hit him in the thigh, the pain whereof excited him to press on the more keenly, his troops keeping pace with him. Hector therefore seeing his brother pressed, came up, and Æneas with him, and both protecting him with their shields, brought him into the town, and soon after night put an end to the battle.

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<sup>1</sup> The other Ms. reads *Archilocus* and *Protenor*. The Latin copy assigns the deaths of Boetes, Archilocus and Prothenor to this battle instead of the preceding.

<sup>2</sup> *Menelans* and *Ajax*, Ms. al. and the Latin copy.



The following day Achilles and Diomed headed the Greeks; and Hector and Æneas came against them, and it was a severe battle on both sides. Hector on this day killed the following chiefs, Orcho-  
 menus, Palamon, Epistrophus, Schedius, Elpenor, Dorius, <sup>1</sup> Poliennus. Æneas killed Amphimachus and <sup>2</sup> Metus. Achilles also on his part, slew Euphemus, <sup>3</sup> Appotus, Pileus, and <sup>4</sup> Osterius. Diomedes killed Xanthippus and <sup>5</sup> Menestres; so the night separated them.

When therefore Agamemnon perceived that he was losing the bravest of his chiefs, he consulted anxiously with his friends, by what means they might rid themselves of Hector, who was their destruction. He also exhorted the army to fight keenly and bravely, as he was in daily expectation of reinforcements. <sup>6</sup>

The following day he ordered out the whole of the forces to battle, and Hector and the Trojans came against them. The battle was with great loss on both sides, and continued for four-score days successively; and Agamemnon seeing that so great a number of his men were falling daily, sent Diomed and Ulysses to Priam to beg a truce of three years, in order to bury their dead, take care of the wounded, and repair the ships. And as the ambassadors, who were armed, were going by night to Priam, one Dolon, a Trojan, met them, and demanded who they were, and where they were going armed in the night towards the citadel? His first intent was to have them secured and to apprise Hector, but when they told him that they were the

<sup>1</sup> *Polixenus*, Ms. al. and the Latin copy.

<sup>2</sup> *Nerus*, Ms. al. Ditto.

<sup>3</sup> *Hippotes*, Ditto.

<sup>4</sup> *Asterius*, Ditto.

<sup>5</sup> *Mestes*, Ditto.

<sup>6</sup> *From Mysia*. The Latin copies.

J. Iscanus closes the relation of this day's battle with the following beautifully poetic description.

*Ipsæ nec hybernæ nivibus, nec grandine verna,  
 Nec riguo pastus, Simois, Thaumantidos arcu,  
 Majores miratur aquas; & sanguine raptis,  
 Dissimilis redit in pelagus. Venientia Triton  
 Funera & expallens horret Thetis; omnia lustrat  
 Omnibus incumbit, centenaque millia volvit,  
 Et non inventum toties lucratur Achillem.*

Lib. 5.

bearers of a message from Agamemnon to Priam, he suffered them to proceed.

When they came before Priam, and had declared their message, he called a council of his chiefs, and having informed them that Agamemnon requested a truce of three years, Hector said the term was too long. Priam however required their several opinions, and all advised him to grant the three years truce, with the exception of Hector, who much preferred war to a truce.

During this interval (*of the truce*) the Trojans strengthened the fortifications of the city, and each party buried their dead honorably.

At length the three years expiring, the truce ended. Hector, Troilus, Æneas, and Memnon led their forces out; and against them came Agamemnon, Menelans, Achilles and Diomed, and the battle was a severe one on both sides. Hector in the first onset killed all who opposed him, and of the chiefs he slew Philippus, Antiphus and Meriones. On the other part Achilles slew<sup>1</sup> Lycaon and Euphorbus, and multitudes fell on either part, the conflict being continued for thirty days.

Priam therefore, seeing that so many of his men had fallen, sent to Agamemnon to ask a truce for six months, which Agamemnon, with the consent of his council, granted.

At the end of the truce the two armies came into the field and fought, making a great slaughter, for<sup>1</sup> ten days. Many of the bravest chiefs fell, and many died of their wounds. Agamemnon therefore sent to Priam to ask a truce for thirty days, in order to bury their dead, which Priam granted.

At the end of this term, Andromache the wife of Hector learned, by a dream, that Hector ought not go out to the war on that day,

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<sup>1</sup> Twelve days, Ms. al. and the Latin copy.



and therefore informed her husband of what she had seen in her dream. To which he answered, that they were the idle fears of a woman, that induced her to think or speak in such a manner, and that they should not deter him from the field. Andromache then sent to intreat Priam to prevent Hector from entering into the battle that day. Priam therefore ordered Troilus, Æneas, Helenus, Alexander, and Memnon, to draw up the forces for the field.

As soon as Hector knew this, he remonstrated with his wife, reproved her severely, and commanded his armour to be brought, and put on. Perceiving that he could not be restrained, Andromache with her hair dishevelled, fell on her knees to oppose him, and laid her only son in his way at his feet. Notwithstanding this, he burst from them to go to the field. She then commanded the gates to be shut, and went to the tower where Priam was, told him her dream, and the efforts she had in vain made to prevent his going to battle, though she had been on her knees before him, and had laid her son in his way at his feet. Priam instantly went to seek Hector, and prevailed with him to remain at home that day, much against his inclination.

As soon as Agamemnon, Diomed, Achilles, Ajax, and Locrinus, (*l. Ajax Locrius*) perceived that Hector was not in the field, they were daring and fearless, and encouraged their troops to fight more boldly, for as Hector was not engaged, they might gain the advantage. The Greeks therefore fought with more spirit, many of the Trojan chiefs were slain, and the Trojans were routed. Hereupon when Hector heard the confused clamour of the battle, and the distress of the Trojans, he rushed out to the battle, in defiance of all obstruction.

The moment he appeared, he inspired the Trojans with vigour, and turned them upon the Greeks, himself killing all that opposed

him. Of the chiefs before he paused, he slew<sup>1</sup> Diomenes, wounded<sup>2</sup> Hiphilus, and slew also<sup>3</sup> Leontheus, so that by the valour of Hector the Greeks were worsted.

Achilles now seeing the number of chiefs and privates that fell by the hand of Hector, resolved if possible, to come upon him by surprize, as well knowing that, if Hector were not slain, the Greeks must suffer still more severely; for though great numbers fell on each side, the greater part did so through the valour of Hector. About this time Hector slew Polibetes, one of the bravest of the Greeks, and whilst he was stripping off his armour, Achilles advanced with his troops against Hector. The battle was now hotter than ever, war-shouts arose from both sides, and Hector wounded Achilles in the thigh; though it was said by some, that the skin of Achilles was so hard, that no weapon would have more effect on it than on the hardest defensive armour. Achilles, though in pain, watched and followed Hector. It so happened that Hector during the battle espied a helmet of great value lying among the dead bodies, and as he stooped to take it up, Achilles from behind wounded him through an opening in his armour, and so killed him. When Hector was slain, the Trojans fell back and fled, and many were slain e'er they could reach the gate; but still Memnon, on the part of Troy, made a vigorous stand against the Greeks, and both parties renewed the battle fiercely till the night separated them. During the night the Trojans bewailed Hector.

On the next day Memnon led out the Trojans, and Agamemnon his forces, but proposed and advised a truce for two months to bury

<sup>1</sup> *Idomedes*, Ms. al. *Idumeus*, the Latin Ed. Basle. *Ejoneus*, Dacier. *Hydomenes*, J. Iscanus.

Basle. *Iphinous*, Lat. Dacier. *Hyfidus*, J. Iscanus.

<sup>2</sup> *Ipotus*, Ms. al. *Hiphilus*, Lat. Ed. Lat. Dacier. *Leontius*, J. Iscanus.



the dead. Messengers were sent into the city, and the truce of two months was granted. Priam then ordered that Hector should be buried with due honours, before the gate; and that the solemnities should be magnificent.

During the truce, Palamedes was incessant in his endeavours to obtain the chief command for himself, so that Agamemnon determined to refer it to the council of the Greeks, and declared that he would with pleasure abide by its decision, whomsoever it should think proper to appoint; that he had never been ambitious of the command; that he would be equally content if it were transferred to another, as if it were vested in himself; and that he could well dispense with the advantage whilst he retained his own kingdom of Mycene. He concluded by requesting whosoever was desirous of it to take it.

Palamedes, in reply, said he was willing to accept of it, and through the folly of some of the chiefs it was given to him, for which he expressed his gratitude. Achilles however ridiculed the change of commanders.

When the truce expired, Palamedes put on his armour, and arranged and harangued the army. On the other part, Deiphobus, the son of Priam came out and did the like. The battle was well fought on both sides. Sarpedon, a Lycian, broke in upon the Greeks, put many to flight, and killed others; and encountering <sup>1</sup> Tlepolemus, a Greek, after a long contest, in which both were wounded severely, Tlepolemus was slain. Sarpedon then attacked <sup>2</sup> Perses, the son of Admestes, and after a long contest slew him; after which he retired from the battle, being severely wounded.

The engagement was continued for many days, and many chiefs fell, especially of the Greeks. However the Trojans sent to beg a

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<sup>1</sup> *Neoptolon*, the Ms. The correction is from the Latin copies.

<sup>2</sup> This is evidently a different person, from the Perses already mentioned.

truce, that they might bury the dead, and attend to the wounded, which Palamedes agreed to for a year. Accordingly each party buried their dead, and took care of the wounded, and an intercourse on both sides was free to either camp.

Palamedes now sent Agamemnon to <sup>1</sup> Desidas, and with him Amcanus (*l. Athamas*) and Demophoon (who were chosen by Agamemnon to accompany him) to procure supplies granted by Telephus, from Mysia. When there, they informed Telephus (who was much displeased to hear it) of the restless temper of Palamedes, and the change of commanders. Agamemnon however declared himself satisfied, and that he had given his consent to the change.

Palamedes in the mean time, repaired the shipping, strengthened his castles (*f. towers*) and inclosed them by walls. The Trojans also, repaired the losses of their troops, and strengthened their fortifications by ditches and additional walls.

When a year had elapsed after the death of Hector, and upon the same day of the year, on which he was slain, Priam and Hecuba, with their daughter Polyxena, and all the Trojans, assembled at the tomb of Hector to perform obsequies, and at this time Achilles saw Polyxena bewailing her brother, and set his affections so strongly upon her that he wholly devoted himself to his passion for her. On this account he became the more uneasy that the command had been transferred from Agamemnon to Palamedes, and sent a confidential <sup>2</sup> servant of his own to Troy, to Hecuba, to request her daughter Polyxena in marriage,

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<sup>1</sup> To the *Teclusi* of Lesbos, whom Agamemnon had before engaged to bring wheat and other supplies granted by Telephus from Mysia, Ms. Al. This is certainly more satisfactory than to read *Thecidas* with Madame Dacier. Of the *Teclusi*,

if the name be properly written, I know nothing. From the sequel the place appears to have been a port of Mysia, unless Telephus be supposed to have come to Lesbos.

<sup>2</sup> *Phrygius*. The Latin copies.



adding, that if this were granted, he would engage to withdraw himself and friends from the war, and that, should he do so, the rest of the chiefs would also withdraw themselves.

This message being delivered, Hecuba replied, that she consented to the proposal if Priam would admit of it; and desired the messenger to return, till she should have consulted him. The messenger therefore returned with this answer, which was very pleasing to Achilles, and in the mean time Agamemnon also returned with abundant supplies.

When Hecuba had told Priam of the message from Achilles, he replied that it could not be: Not, said he, that the alliance is not a favorable one, but that though we should give her to him, and he should depart, the rest will carry on the war, and I do not therefore approve of giving my daughter to my enemy. Also he added that if Achilles wished it, he should make a lasting peace between them, and that their forces might be withdrawn. If therefore he would make such a peace, he would willingly give him his daughter.

Accordingly, when the messenger from Achilles came again to Hecuba, she disclosed to him what Priam had said; and Achilles being informed of it, went among the troops and complained that all Greece and Europe were enslaved to a war of so long a duration; that for the sake of a single woman, Helen, so many thousands had fallen, such dangers had been encountered, and their liberty lost; and that it was time to make peace, and return home with the forces.

At this time, as the year had closed and the truce ended, Palamedes arranged his forces for battle, and Deiphobus, on the opposite part, his. Achilles therefore was enraged, and did not go out to the battle.

Palamedes however encountering Deiphobus, slew him, and cut off his head, and the battle was so severe on both sides, that multitudes

fell; Palamedes still leading on the van, and encouraging his troops. Sarpedon, <sup>1</sup> *a man of whom Priam* — then met him, and was killed by him, and Palamedes retired to the main body with joy. But whilst he was exulting, Alexander Paris wounded him mortally with an arrow. The Greeks were now much disheartened by the loss of their commander. The Trojans rushed upon them, and the Greeks suddenly turned their backs and fled to their castles, whither the Trojans pursued them, and set fire to their ships, which Achilles suffered them to do, pretending ignorance of it. But Ajax, the son of Telamon defended the Greeks ably, and rallied them to fight, till night put an end to the battle.

When the Greeks returned to their camp, they lamented the loss of Palamedes, because he was wise, just, merciful, and benevolent. The Trojans also bewailed Sarpedon, and Deiphobus.

Then Nestor, who was the oldest of the Greeks, arose, and called the chiefs to a council by night, and advised them to elect, a commander in chief, whom they would, though he presumed there would be little disagreement as to Agamemnon. He reminded them that whilst Agamemnon had the command <sup>1</sup> all had been free from difficulty, and the events prosperous with the army. Yet if any more eligible proposal were made, it should have his ready concurrence. All however concurred with Nestor, and Agamemnon was chosen.

The next day the Trojans having sallied forth in high spirits, Agamemnon led his army against them. And after the battle had lasted for a great part of the day, the armies separated; and again when

<sup>1</sup> The sentence beginning with the words *has any reference to them appears in the* in Italics is incomplete in the Mss. and other copies.

<sup>2</sup> All acquisition of supplies, Ms. al.



the day was near its close, <sup>1</sup> Troilus attacked the Greeks, and after a great slaughter drove them to their encampments.

On the following day the Trojan army came out, and Agamemnon led his against it. The battle was severe on both sides, and when it was over it appeared, that Troilus had slain many of the Greek chiefs. Thus the battle was continued for seven days, and then Agamemnon begged a truce for two months.

This being granted, Agamemnon buried Palamedes with funeral honours; he also buried the other chiefs and warriors. During the truce he sent Nestor, Ulysses and Diomed, to intreat Achilles to come into the field of battle. But this Achilles refused to do, having promised to Hecuba, as his exculpation, that from thence forward, he would no more appear in the battle; such was his passion for Polyxena. He therefore gave the messengers a harsh reception, and remonstrated that it was necessary to make a durable peace; that it was not just so many evils should be incurred for the sake of one woman, that for too long a time they had been sacrificing their liberty, and leaving their kingdoms exposed to disorder; and that for his part he wished for peace, and would not go to battle.

When this answer had been communicated to Agamemnon, and he found that those who had gone to Achilles could no way prevail with him, he assembled all the chiefs to council, that they might consider what was to be done; and all were requested to give their opinions.

Menelaus first spoke, and advised his brother to head the troops, and to have no apprehension though Achilles had refused his assistance;

<sup>1</sup> Jam magis ardentem tenues consumere  
pugnâs,  
In populum tœdet; \* vulgari tela cruore  
Immensus violare pudor; nec paupere fraudat  
Plebem animâ: furit in jugulos regumque  
ducumque, &c. J. Isanus, lib. 6.

"I cannot strike at wretched Kernes,  
Whose arms are hired to bear their staves."  
Shakespeare.

\* Troilum.

that he would rouse Achilles to the battle, and also that there was no reason for fear, though he did not come. He also reminded them that the Trojans had no one who resembled Hector in force and valour, and were enfeebled by his death.

But Diomed and Ulysses replied, that Troilus was not inferior to Hector; so that the opinion of Menelaus was rejected, and the war would have been prevented for the future, had not Calchas declared that, according to the oracle, they must go to battle, and intreated the Greeks not to fear though the Trojans had been successful.

When the truce ended, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Ulysses, and Diomed led the forces to the field, and the Trojans came out against them; the battle was bravely fought, each party exerting itself to the utmost. Troilus wounded Menelaus, slew many, and drove the Greeks to their camp; and night ended the battle.

The next day Troilus and Alexander led out their forces, and the Greeks came out against them. Both the armies fought fiercely, Troilus wounded Agamemnon and Diomed, and the Greeks were worsted.

The battle lasted many days, with great slaughter, and Agamemnon perceiving that he was daily unsuccessful in battle, sent to Priam to beg a truce for seven months; but when Troilus and the Trojans heard it, they opposed so long a truce, and insisted upon being suffered to attack the Greeks and burn their ships. Priam however granted a truce of six months. Agamemnon therefore ordered, that the dead should be honorably interred, and remedies be applied to the wounds of Menelaus and Diomed. The Trojans also did the like as to their friends.

During this truce, Agamemnon and Nestor, by the advice of the council, went to request Achilles to appear in battle. This he at first refused to do, insisting upon the necessity of a peace, though he acknowledged that he found it difficult to refuse a request made by Agamemnon. He therefore promised, that when the truce should



end, he would send his troops, but must be excused going in person, as he had, for his own part, determined wholly to keep out of the field. For this concession Agamemnon expressed his acknowledgements.

The truce being ended, the Trojans brought their forces out of the city, and the Greeks led theirs against them. Achilles also marshalled his cavalry, and sent it in good order to Agamemnon, and a severe and furious battle ensued. Troilus in the van slew many of the Greeks, routed the troops of Achilles, and broke into the main body of the Greeks with great slaughter. Ajax, the son of Telamon, made able resistance, but at length night ended the battle, and the Trojans returned to the city.

The next day Agamemnon led the Greeks and the troops of Achilles to the field; and Troilus the Trojans, who were in high spirits. The armies fought, and great numbers were slain on both sides. Troilus slew many of the troops of Achilles, and routed the remainder. Agamemnon therefore seeing so many of his troops slain, sent to Priam to ask a truce for thirty days, which being granted, both sides buried their dead.

This truce ending, Troilus led out the Trojans, and Agamemnon, with his chiefs, the Greeks against them, and the contest was great on both sides. On the second day Troilus made an attack with great slaughter, and put the Greeks to flight. And when Achilles heard that Troilus was slaughtering his troops, and bearing hard on the Greeks, he put on his armour, and went to the battle; and being encountered by Troilus was wounded severely by him, and left the field. This was on the sixth day, upon which also they fought until night put an end to the battle.

On the seventh day Achilles afflicted as he was, that he could not go to the field, marshalled his troops, and directed them to make a violent assault, and if possible to kill Troilus. And when a great

part of the day was over, Troilus appeared, fighting with great bravery, on horseback, and the Greeks with a great cry flying before him were met by the troops of Achilles, who reproached them loudly, and called on them to join in the attack upon Troilus. Troilus here-upon slew many of them; but in the heat of action, his horse, being sorely wounded, fell. At this time Achilles having perceived the rout of the Greeks, and the slaughter Troilus was making of them, had, notwithstanding his wound, armed himself and come into the battle, and renewed the attack, and thus Achilles slew Troilus. But as he was about to despoil him of his armour, Memnon came up and rescued the body, and also wounded Achilles severely, so that he endeavoured to withdraw from the battle. But Memnon pursued him, slaying many in the pursuit, and Achilles therefore finding himself hard pressed, stood and opposed him bravely. As the former wounds of Achilles had been healed, there was soon a severe contest between him and Memnon, but Achilles having been wounded severely by him, roused himself, and by many wounds killed <sup>1</sup> Memnon, the Prince of Persia, and then withdrew wounded from the field. This was the second time that Memnon had wounded Achilles.

<sup>1</sup> The first part of the following description of the funeral obsequies of Memnon is as poetical as the second is whimsical.

Crastina luctificos mæsto temone jugales  
Vix aurora movet; nunquam tam prodiga roris,  
Tam largè satiavit agros; stupet ebria tellus  
Hos imbres non passa prius; sic ubere fletu  
Natum questa parens. Huic adgemit axis  
uterque,  
Lux pallens, laceræ nubes, et saucia cœli  
Forma, nec Idalio spirat decor integer astro.  
Tithonum superesse piget, poscensque sepul-  
chrum,  
Odit victuram per sæcula longa cicadam.

Legerat in tumulos Nabathææ messis odores  
Ambitiosa parens, natoque suprema parabat  
Funera, mox volucrum famulantibus astitit alis  
Exequias factura phalanx. Avis unica Phœnix  
Et Progne non una venit. Cavat\* ardea rostro  
Marmoreum fossore solum, lusciniæ planat,  
Psittacus inscribit âpices. Philomela precatur,  
Plangit Olor, Turtur tinnit, Junonius ales  
Lustrales sparsurus aquas properabat; at, omni  
Dura Phrygi, revocat motas Saturnia pennas.  
Forte Jovi referens Telchinum tela redibat  
Rex avium; at viso cunctatur funere, fulmen  
Deponens, aliasque faces, incensaque thura,  
Corripit, & sacris solatur odoribus aras.

Lib. 6.

\* Who shall dig his grave? I says the owl, &c.



Memnon being thus slain by Achilles, the Trojans, thrown into confusion, fled into the city, and shut the gates; and night put an end to the contest.

The following day Priam sent to Agamemnon to beg a truce of thirty days, which was granted, and during this interval Priam buried Troilus with great pomp. Other chiefs also on either side were buried honourably.

During this period, Hecuba formed a rash plan to destroy Achilles by treachery, in order to alleviate her own grief for the slaughter of her sons Hector and Troilus, and of Memnon, Prince of Persia. She therefore sent for her son Alexander; and intreated him to avenge his brothers, and his fellow soldiers, on Achilles; for which, said she, I will give you the opportunity, by inviting him hither, as it were to marry Polyxena, and to bring on a peace, as it was before proposed. The place of meeting shall be in the Temple of Apollo<sup>1</sup> which stands before the gate, and there the plot shall take effect. To this she added, that, could she live to see Achilles dead, her wish would be fulfilled.

Paris therefore undertook the business, and appointed men of strength and courage to lie in ambush in the temple, giving them a signal.

Hecuba also went to inform Achilles, that Priam had consented to allow him an interview with Polyxena; whereat he was greatly rejoiced, as he was much enamoured; and promised to be in the temple the next day. Accordingly the next day, Achilles accompanied by Antilochus, the son of Nestor, came in the evening to the temple; and when they were in a place convenient for the purpose, they who were in the ambush shot their arrows at them, and then fell upon them with the sword, Alexander calling upon them to kill them. Achilles and

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<sup>1</sup> The Thymbrian Apollo. The Latin at Thymbre the Temple, &c.

Antilochus therefore, wrapping their cloaks around their left arms, fought desperately sword in hand, and slew many of the Trojans. But Alexander gave them severe wounds, nor did he cease till both Achilles and Antilochus were slain by a treachery devoid equally of valour, and military conduct.

The wish of Alexander was to have thrown the bodies out to the birds of prey; but Helenus on the contrary, suggested to Priam that they ought to be restored to their friends, which was done. Agamemnon therefore ordered them to be buried with great honour and magnificent ceremonies, and when they were to be buried, Agamemnon requested Priam to allow them time for celebrating the funeral games.

These being performed, Agamemnon called a council of the chiefs, and recommended it to them to deliberate as to the best measures to be pursued, and that they should also intreat the counsel and favour of the Gods. The Greeks having instantly sent to consult them, the answer was, that after the death of Achilles, the accomplishment of their intent depended upon his offspring.

This being declared, Ajax the son of Telamon observed, that Neoptolemus being the son of Achilles, ought of right succeed to his dominions, and that it would be best to invite him to the army, to avenge his father's death, and be a second Achilles to them. This advice was adopted by Agamemnon and all the rest; and Menelaus was sent to Scyros, to Lycomedes, the grandfather of Neoptolemus to request that he would send troops, and Neoptolemus at their head, which he consented to do.

When the truce was at an end, Agamemnon drew out his forces and encouraged them to the battle, the Trojans also came out against them, and the contest began. Ajax the son of Telamon was in the van, but without armour.



Many violent attacks were made on both sides, many were slain; many fell by pressure and fatigue; and Alexander after having slain many others with his bow, wounded Ajax with an arrow, in his side, which was exposed by his being unarmed. When Ajax felt that he was wounded by his cousin Alexander, he assailed and pursued him till he killed him, and then returned to the camp, where, the arrow being extracted, he died. The body of Alexander was taken to Troy.

Alexander being slain, Diomed fell furiously on the enemy; the Trojans first gave way, then fled into the city, and closed the gates, Diomed having pursued them quite to the walls. Agamemnon afterwards by night brought his forces up to the citadel, stationed them round the city, and laid close siege to it.

On the following day, Priam buried Alexander within the city, and Helen made the most affecting lamentations over him, to whom she had been so truly attached, so that even Priam and Hecuba pitied her, and embraced her as tenderly as though she had been their own daughter, considering also that she had given up her own kindred because of her affection for their son.

The next day Agamemnon drew up his forces before the gate, and ordered them to attack the city. Priam kept his forces within the city, and commanded them not to go out, but to fortify the city, and await the arrival of Penthesilea, Queen of Amazonia, who was bringing troops to assist them.

It was not long till Penthesilea arrived, and she then led out her troops against Agamemnon, and a severe battle ensued; which continued<sup>1</sup> so, till the Greeks were driven within their lines. Here a powerful resistance was made by Diomed; and this alone prevented

<sup>1</sup> Several days. The Latin copies.

Penthesilea from destroying their towers, and burning their ships, the consequence whereof would have been the dispersion of the army.

When the engagements ceased, Agamemnon kept his forces within their fortifications, and Penthesilea who went daily into the field insulted the Greeks, and challenged them to the field. But Agamemnon thought it best to restrain them, and not appear in the field till his brother Menelaus and Neoptolemus should bring reinforcements.

When Neoptolemus arrived, which he soon did, he put on his father's armour, and went to his grave; where he gave a great cry of lamentation for him. Penthesilea in the mean time armed, came into the field. Neoptolemus led the Greeks out against her, and the battle bore hard upon her. Penthesilea conducted the engagements with great bravery, and the armies fought front to front with great slaughter for many days. During this time Penthesilea wounded Neoptolemus, and he enraged by the wound attacked her furiously and cut off her head. The Trojans seeing this, fled into the city, and the Greeks surrounded it so as to prevent their coming out.

Affairs being in this situation, Antenor, Polydamas, and Æneas, went and besought Priam to take speedy measures for peace. Priam therefore called a council, and when they who were of it requested to know his determination, he desired their several opinions on this subject.

Antenor hereupon reminded them, that by the death of the valiant Hector, Troilus, and other sons of Priam, and of the other valiant chieftains, their affairs were desperate; whereas the Greeks had many chieftains, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Neoptolemus (who was not inferior to his father Achilles.) Diomed, Ajax of Locris, Nestor and Ulysses; men of gravity, wisdom, and skill, surviving to act against Troy. Antenor's advice therefore was to restore Helen, and moreover make



a compensation for what Alexander had taken as spoils, that so there might be a durable peace.

Much having, in like manner, been urged in favor of peace, at length Amphimachus, a son of Priam, a valiant youth, began to chide Antenor, and those who proposed peace; and told them that it would be far more becoming to give a manly support to the continuation of the war, till one of the parties engaged should have a decided superiority, than to look to a peace, which could only be their shame.

When Amphimachus had done speaking, Æneas arose, and exerted all his powers in favor of peace. Polydamas did the same, and when he ceased, Priam arose; and looking sternly at Antenor and Æneas, upbraided them, inasmuch as they two had been the authors of the war between Greece and Troy; for Antenor, after that Priam had sent him to Greece, and he had returned disgraced, had advised a war with Greece: and Æneas afterwards had been the principal encourager of Alexander to go to Greece, and had himself gone with him, and joined in carrying off Helen, and plundering that country. Priam therefore said, "Be assured that I will not join in their wish for a peace."<sup>1</sup> Having so said, he left the council, and took Amphimachus with him into his chamber, where he told him that he feared those who were so earnest for peace, would betray the citadel, and also that many of the troops might join them; and therefore they ought to be put to death. Were this done they might be able to protect themselves, and overcome the Greeks. He therefore commanded Amphimachus to have armed men in readiness, but so as not to give suspicion; for that on the morrow he would make a pretext of a

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<sup>1</sup> He then commanded them to be all ready instantly, upon a signal, to sally out at the gates, saying that he was resolved to conquer or die. Having, &c. The Latin copy.

sacrifice to the Gods to be performed in the highest tower, and invite them thither, when Amphimacus with a number of men might fall on and kill them. To this plan Amphimacus advised a stedfast adherence, and promised to act accordingly.

Upon the same day, Antenor, Polydamas, Ucalegon, Amphidamas, and Dolon assembled secretly, and mutually expressed their astonishment at the folly and obstinacy of the king, when he and his chiefs were blockaded, in preferring death to a peace. Antenor then declared that he had formed a plan, which, if agreeable to them, would be for their advantage, and that provided they would not discover it, he would lay it before them, and then, if they approved of it, they might follow it. This being promised, and the plan agreed to, Antenor sent a message to Æneas, to let him know that <sup>1</sup>as their country was going to ruin, and the king betraying them, they and their friends ought to take care of themselves. He then added, we must send to Agamemnon, one of our party, who may not be suspected, and to Priam we must not appear to have noted the displeasure in which he left the council.

This council then immediately dispatched Polydamas (as least liable to suspicion) in secrecy to Agamemnon, to inform him, that though they had advised their king to peace, he had taken a resolution to the contrary. The bearer of the message went accordingly to the station of the Greeks, where he soon found Agamemnon and delivered the message which he had in charge from his friends. Agamemnon hereupon assembled his chiefs to a secret council by night, laid before them what Polydamas had said, and asked their advice how to act. The general opinion was that the traitor Polydamas should find credit with them. But Ulysses and Nestor said it was difficult to place

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<sup>1</sup> That they ought to betray their country, and take care of themselves. The

Latin copies.



such confidence in him, and Neoptolemus said he would by no means agree to it without such a token from Polydamas, as would admit Sinon, a person in Neoptolemus's confidence, to Æneas, Anchises, and Antenor. Sinon then, with such token went to the city. At this time <sup>1</sup> Amphimachus had not yet received the keys of the city gates, neither was it meant he should have them from those in whose possession they were, until a signal, not by words, should have been agreed on by Æneas, Anchises, and Antenor, to be communicated to the Greeks.

Their answer having been brought to Agamemnon, the Greeks unanimously assented to the plot, and pledges were mutually given; that is to say, that Æneas, Ucalegon, Polydamas, and Dolon, should execute the treachery, and that the Greeks should preserve the lives and properties of their relations and dependants. The pledges being confirmed, and the whole business arranged and determined, Polydamas directed the Greeks to bring their troops to the Scæan gate, where there was the image of <sup>2</sup> a horse's head, for that Æneas and Antenor would be stationed there to assist them, and open the gates, and shew a light as the signal to direct them to the king's palace and the citadel, by the readiest way.

When this execrable plan was arranged, Polydamas returned to the city, acquainted his accomplices Antenor, Æneas, and all others concerned in it, with the particulars, and directed them to admit the Greeks by the Scæan gate, and hold out a light to direct them.

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<sup>1</sup> *Amphimachus had not given the keys to the keepers, and Sinon therefore having given the token, and received a satisfactory answer from Æneas and Anchises, brought it to Agamemnon.* The Latin copy.

<sup>2</sup> The Welsh copy has here *Peon* marching. Though the word *Peon* may have been written for *Pen*. i. e. head, in which case

the above translation agrees with the other copies, I still suspect it to be intended to convey a different signification now lost. Perhaps the Horse Peon, or that the words should be written *Peuawon-farch*, that is, a prancing horse, such as are represented on old British Coins.

At night accordingly, Antenor and Æneas opened the gate, displayed the light, and prepared the means of flight for themselves and their friends; and by the time they had so done, the Greeks arrived. Neoptolemus rushed to the King's chamber, slew the Trojans he found there, and pursued Priam himself to an altar of <sup>1</sup> Jupiter, and there cut off his head. Hecuba and Polyxena fled to Æneas, who took them to his father, and Anchises concealed them with Andromache and Cassandra, in a temple of the goddess Minerva.

The Greeks ravaged and plundered the towers, and the city, during the night, and when it was day, Agamemnon summoned the chiefs to the Temple of Minerva, to return thanksgivings to the goddess, and to applaud the troops. He then ordered the plunder to be brought into the midst and divided, and asked whether it pleased them that the faith they had pledged should be kept with Æneas, and the rest who had betrayed the city. To this the whole army assented, and to the restoration of all that belonged to them.

Antenor then having obtained the permission of Agamemnon to address a few words to the Greeks, acknowledged his own obligations to all present, and put them in mind that Helenus and Cassandra had constantly been averse to the war; that it was in consequence of

<sup>1</sup> *Jupiter Herceus.* The Latin copy, Ed. Basle.

The description of the death of Priam, by Joseph of Exeter, gives a dignity to Priam, and a savage nobleness of mind to Pyrrhus, not to be found in Virgil's description of it.

Fugerat amplexus aras, et templa Tonantis  
Infelix Priamus, nec enim fiducia dextræ.  
Cesserat ira metu; magno tamen arduus ore

*Non prece, non lachrymis, non vultu supplice,  
rogem*

*Dedecorat.* Cui Pyrrhus atrox, reddisne Pelasgis,  
Spartanas reddisne nurus? Au prælia mavis,  
Et nondum bellare times? Cur stringis eburnos,  
Diis invise, deos? Læsisti numina sponte;  
Cogor in exemplum. Cecidit pater, hostia  
Phæbo,

Tuque Jovi, dixit; *indignatusque jacentis  
Cæde frui, trepidum, prensis a vertice canis,  
Erigit in vulnus, gladiumque in viscera condit.*

Lib. 6.



the advice of Helenus that the body of Achilles had been restored for burial, and that he was a prophet.

Hercupon, by the advice of his council, Agamemnon set Helenus and Cassandra free; and Helenus having obtained his own liberty, petitioned for that of his mother Hecuba, and his sister Andromache, alledging that he had ever found them affectionate to him.

Agamemnon having with the consent of his council, granted this also, it was agreed by all to make a league with them and theirs.

He then divided the spoils equally, and to the general satisfaction; made due sacrifices and oblations to the gods; and appointed a set time for the return of the Greeks homeward.

But, when they were to sail, a violent storm arose, which prevented them for some days, and Calchas, by divination, declared the cause to be, that the infernal deity was not propitiated. Whereupon Neoptolemus recollected, that Polyxena had not been found in the city, and that it was for her sake his father had lost his life. Of this he complained to Agamemnon, and besought the army that Antenor should be required to produce her. Antenor therefore went to Æneas to make a strict search, in order to hasten the departure of the Greeks. Polyxena was found concealed, brought to Agamemnon, and by him delivered to Neoptolemus, who led her to her father's grave, and there beheaded her.

Agamemnon, now enraged at Æneas for the concealment of Polyxena, compelled him and his friends to leave the country. Æneas therefore departed for Italy in those very ships, in which Alexander Paris had gone to Greece, to carry off Helen. The number of ships was <sup>1</sup>twenty-eight,\* and the number of persons, including old and young, and the women married and unmarried was 88,000.†

\*22  
+3800

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\* If the proper names have suffered much, the numbers have suffered still more, from the copyists. Those in the

margin are from the edition of Madame Dacier, excepting those from the W. Ms.



Shortly after the departure of Agamemnon, Helen was brought home to her husband and sovereign Menelaus.

Helenus the son of Priam, his mother Hecuba, and his two sisters, Cassandra and Andromache, went from Troy to another kingdom; and with them 2,300\* of their followers.

The number of those who remained with Antenor was 3,200.†

\* 3,200 W.Ms.  
1,200 W.Ms.  
† 2,500

Thus far is what Dares the Phrygian has written; and he remained with Antenor.

The war between Greece and Troy lasted <sup>1</sup> ten years, seven months, and twelve days.

The number of the Greeks who fell, was according to Dares, 600,076;‡ that of the Trojans, at the time when they were betrayed †80,600 W.Ms. 300,027,§ and in the town and citadel 7,270. §278,000

Here endeth the History by Dares.

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<sup>1</sup> Ten years, eight months, twelve days. Latin copy.



Shortly after the departure of Agamemnon, Helen was brought home to her husband and sovereign Menelaus. Hector the son of Priam, his mother Hecuba, and all the other Trojans and Andromache, went down Troy to another landing; and with them 2,300 of their followers. The number of those who remained with Agamemnon was 2,300. Thus far is what Homer the Poet has written; and he remained with Agamemnon.

The war between Greece and Troy lasted ten years, seven months, and twelve days. The number of the Greeks who fell was according to Homer 600,000; that of the Trojans 300,000; and in the end the Greeks were victorious.

\* 2,300 W. M.  
1,500 W. M.  
+ 2,300  
600,000 W. M.  
300,000



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<sup>1</sup> The dates of the commencement of the reigns of the Kings before Cassibelan, are taken from the Book of Basingwerke. The remainder of the dates are given as, after a careful examination, they seemed to be nearest to the truth.



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