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HISTORY OF GREECE

VOLUME I.—SECTION I.

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WESTERN FAÇADE OF THE TEMPLE OF ATHENE, AT AIGINA

Restoration by Charles Garnier

HISTORY OF GREECE

By VICTOR DURUY

CROWNED BY THE FRENCH ACADEMY

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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WITH 2000 ENGRAVINGS, MAPS, PLANS, AND COLOURED PLATES

VOLUME I.—SECTION I.

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PREFACE.

MORE than half a century ago, while a student of the third year in the *École normale*, I had resolved—with the ambition characteristic of that age—to devote my life to the writing of a *History of France* in eight or ten volumes. On becoming a professor I began the work; but as I dug into the old Gallic soil I came upon Roman foundations, and that I might properly understand them I went to Rome. In Rome I became aware of the mighty influence that Greece had exercised upon Roman civilization; one must go farther back, and explore Athens.

Chroniclers tell us that whenever Godfrey de Bouillon entered a church splendid with painted glass and beautiful carvings, he would stand for hours gazing at the saintly figures and—however urgent his affairs might be—unmindful of the passage of time, while reading the sacred legends and causing the histories of the saints to be recounted to him. He looked, he listened, and he could not tear himself away. Such was my own case in the two cities, each of which in its turn was the metropolis of genius. I remained so long contemplating all their grandeur and all their beauty that the work which was to have been a preliminary study became the occupation of a lifetime. The two prefaces are two works,—the *History of Rome* and the *History of Greece*.

The latter was first published in 1851; since that time, however, many books have been written upon Greece, many explorations made in Hellenic soil, numberless inscriptions have been found, of which some throw a new light upon points formerly obscure: it is my duty to the French Academy, which crowned this work in 1861, to seek to render it less unworthy of the approbation bestowed upon it.

Greece has two histories,—that of political and social facts; that of ideas and art. I have carefully revised the former, and have greatly extended the latter, giving more space to poets, philosophers, and artists; and I have quoted largely, in order to show the influence of the great Greek authors in the transformations of the Hellenic religion and intellect.¹

¹ I offer my thanks to MM. Babelon, of the *Cabinet de France*, and Haussoullier, professor in the *École des Hautes Études*, who kindly aided me in the selection and explanation of coins and engravings. This book is, in a true sense of the word, *illustrated*, as was the *History of Rome*, by the reproduction of authentic monuments.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOLUME I.

	PAGE
AUTHOR'S PREFACE	v
A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION, BY THE REV. J. P. MAHAFFY	1

CHAPTER I.

THE LAND.

I. Geographical Position and General Configuration of Greece	121
II. Mountains and Rivers	124
III. Natural and Political Divisions	133
IV. Influence of Soil and Climate	141

FIRST PERIOD.

LEGENDARY HISTORY (2000-1104 B. C.); FORMATION OF THE GREEK PEOPLE.

CHAPTER II.

THE PELASGIANS AND THE IONIANS.

I. Prehistoric Greeks	147
II. The Pelasgians and the Ionians	157
III. Prehistoric Information supplied by Legends	164
IV. The Cyclopean Monuments	186

CHAPTER III.

THE AIOLIANS AND THE ACHAIANS.

I. Deukalion and the Aiolian Heroes	192
II. Achaian Heroes: Achilles, Bellerophon, Perseus, Herakles, Theseus, etc.	197
III. Theban Wars; the Argonauts	219
IV. The Trojan War (1193-1184?)	234

CHAPTER IV.

THE DORIANS.

I. Movements of Peoples in Greece after the Trojan War	269
II. Return of the Herakleids	273

CHAPTER V.

MANNERS OF THE HEROIC AGE.

	PAGE
I. Social Organization	282
II. The Family; Industry	296

CHAPTER VI.

RELIGION OF THE HEROIC AGE.

I. The Gods	314
II. Destiny	356
III. The Jealousy of the Gods	362
IV. Heroes and Genii	376
V. The Domestic Religion; the Dead; the Worship of the Hearth	385
VI. Religious Morals	404
VII. The Public Cult	415

SECOND PERIOD.

FROM THE DORIAN MIGRATION TO THE MEDIAN WARS (1104-490 B.C.). ISOLATION OF THE STATES. INTERIOR REVOLUTIONS. COLONIES.

CHAPTER VII.

SPARTA AND LYKOURGOS.

I. Lakonia; her First Kings	432
II. Lykourgos and his Laws	443

CHAPTER VIII.

CONQUESTS OF SPARTA BEFORE THE MEDIAN WARS (743-490 B.C.).

I. First Messenian War (743-723)	476
II. Second Messenian War (645-625)	487
III. Wars of Sparta against Tegea and Argos	498

CHAPTER IX.

ATHENS AND THE CONSTITUTION OF SOLON.

I. Attika and her Kings	504
II. Abolition of the Regal Power; the Archonship; the Laws of Drako	517
III. Kylon, Epimenides, and Solon	522

LIST OF FULL-PAGE ENGRAVINGS.

VOLUME I.

	PAGE
Homer, Bust of	<i>Facing</i> 1 ^{an}
Achilleus at Skyros (bas-relief)	247 ✓
Agora of Mykenai	291 ✓
Aias bearing the body of Achilleus (marble group)	257 ✓
Alkestis, Death of (bas-relief)	217 ✓
Amazons, Greek Warriors fighting with the (bas-relief)	175 ^{on m}
Apollo, Throne of, at Amyklai (statue)	471 ✓
Areiopagos	541 ✓
Athene, Birth of (vase-painting)	329 ✓
Banquet and Sacrifice (bas-relief)	417 ✓
Caryatid	489 ✓
Demeter, Triptolemos, and Kora (bas-relief)	567 ✓
Diadem, Gold, found at Mykenai	275 ✓
Dionysiac Scene (vase-painting)	381 ✓
Enrotas, Valley of the	433 ✓
Fragment of a Base	553 ✓
Funeral Procession (plaque of terra-cotta)	389 ✓
Gate of the Lions at Mykenai	179 ✓
Gods and Titans, War between (vase-painting)	339 ✓
Hades, the Kingdom of (vase-painting)	409 ✓
Hektor, the Ransom of (vase-painting)	253 ✓
Hermes, Orpheus, and Eurydike (bas-relief)	347 ✓
Iason and Herakles (vase-painting)	225 ✓
Kadmos fighting the Dragon (vase-painting)	165 ✓
Kallirrhoë, the Fountain of (vase-painting)	557 ✓
Lying in State (painted plaque)	307 ✓
Marriage of Thetis and Peleus (bas-relief)	199 ✓
Medeia, the Vengeance of (bas-relief)	229 ✓
Megara, View of	525 ✓
Mykenai, Agora of	291 ✓
“ Gate of the Lions at	179 ✓
“ Gold Diadem from	275 ✓

	PAGE
Niobe, the Children of (bas-relief)	239 <i>22</i>
“ “ “ “ (statues)	373 ✓
Nuptial Procession (vase-painting)	561 ✓
Offerings at a Tomb (painting on a lecyth)	401 ✓
Panathenaic Procession (bas-relief)	511 ✓
Paris, the Judgment of (vase-painting)	233 ✓
Priam, Death of (vase-painting)	405 ✓
Sparta and the Taygetos	441 ✓
Tainaron, Cape	125 ✓
Taygetos, Gorge of the	455 ✓
Theseus, the Temple of	573 ✓

LIST OF COLORED MAPS AND PLATES.

VOLUME I.

COLORED MAPS.

	FACING PAGE.
Greece, in the Centre of the Hellenic World	120
Physical Geography of Greece	124
Map of Attika	504
Modern and Ancient Athens	550

COLORED PLATES.

Western Façade of the Temple of Athene at Aigina (Restoration by Charles Garnier) <i>Frontispiece, Vol. I. Sect. 1</i>	
Corinthian Vase (Museum of the Louvre)	262
Cup of Arkesilaos (<i>Cabinet de France</i>) <i>Frontispiece, Vol. I. Sect. 2</i>	
Cræsus at the Stake (Museum of the Louvre)	480

ALPHABETICAL INDEX

TO

TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS, INCLUDING MAPS.

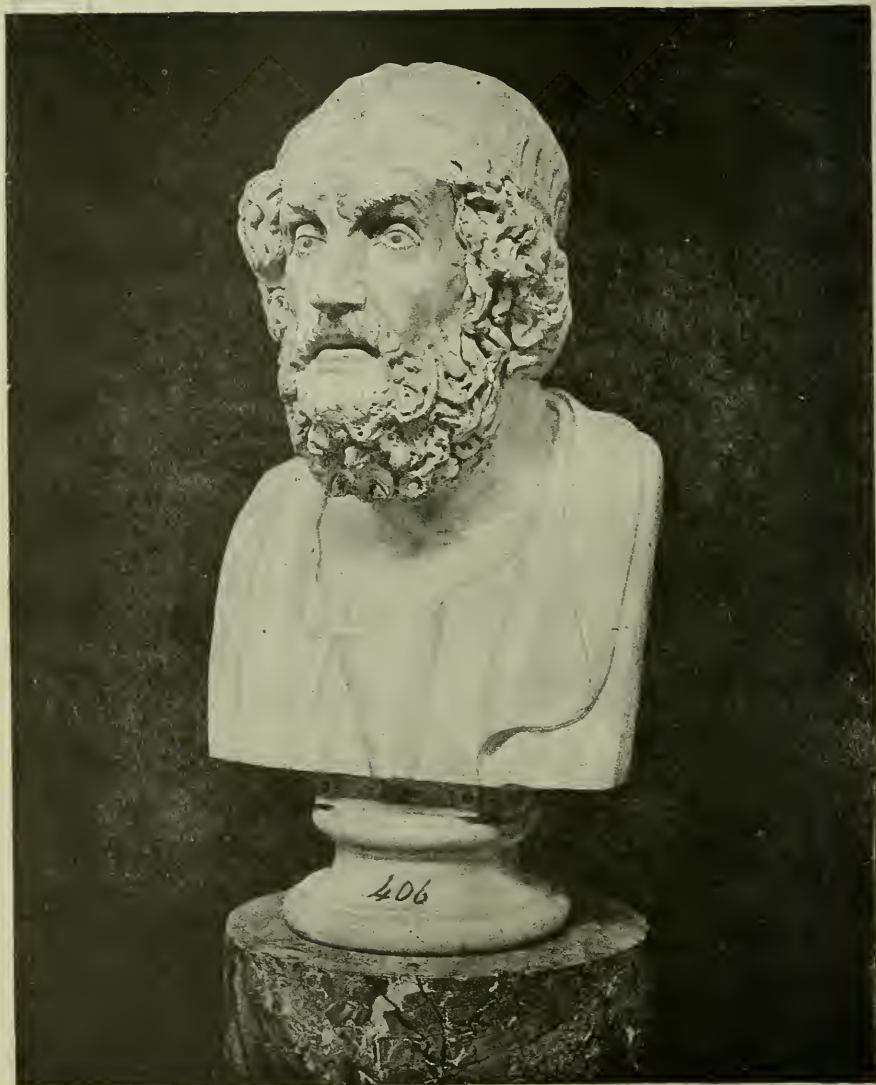
VOLUME I.

	PAGE		PAGE
Acheloös, the river, personified (coin)	132	Aphrodite (statuettes)	429, 430
“ the river, personified, and Hera- kles (vase-painting)	205	“ birth of (plaque)	328
Achilleus, departure of (vase-painting)	198	“ persuading Helen (bas-relief)	243
“ grief of (cameo)	251	“ Anadyomene (engraved amc- thyst)	502
“ wrath of (vase-painting)	250	Apollo (coins)	333, 334, 464
“ putting on his armor (bas-relief)	255	“ (statuette)	446
“ Kithareidos (engraved stone)	310	“ the diviner (coin)	420
“ and Aias (engraved stone)	214	“ “ Hyperborean (vase-painting)	159
“ “ Briseis (vase-painting)	299	“ Ptoös (statuette)	332
“ “ Cheiron “ “	197	“ of Thera (statue)	334
“ “ Hektor “ “	255	“ and Poseidon (Pompeian painting)	342
“ “ Thetis (engraving on Etrus- can mirror)	351	Arehemoros lying in state (vase-painting)	306
Agamemnon and Briseis (vase-painting)	246	Ares and Minas (cameo)	368
“ Epeios and Talthybos (bas- relief)	319	Argo, the ship (coin)	223
“ received by Helen (engraving on Etruscan mirror)	284	Ariadne (coin)	182
Agathodaimon (coin)	384	“ and Dionysos (cameo)	350
Agricultural scenes (vase-paintings)	448, 519	Artemis (statues)	335, 336
Aias (coin)	259	Asklepios (coin)	420
“ Achilleus and (engraved stone)	214	“ sacrifice to (bas-relief)	421
Aineias escaping from Troy (coin)	262	Astarte, the Phœnician (terra-cotta)	326
Aitolia, coin of	135	“ and her temple (plaques of <i>re- poussé</i>)	183
Akropolis of Athens (coin)	143	Atalanta (coin)	215
“ “ “ (map)	138	Athene (bas-relief)	543
“ “ Sparta	454	“ (cameo)	345
“ “ Tiryns	186	“ (coins) 331, 499, 513, 530, 531, 532, 537	
Aktaion (metope)	168	“ at her altar (vase-painting)	523
Amphiaros, Tydeus, and Adrastus (engrav- ing on Etruscan mirror)	294	“ receiving Herakles (vase-painting)	208
Amphion and Zethos (bas-relief)	286	“ Chalkioikos (coin)	487
Amphitrite and Poseidon (vase-painting)	346	“ and Athens (bas-relief)	549
Aphrodite (cameo)	364	“ “ Poseidon (cameo)	508
		Athene. <i>See also</i> Pallas.	
		Atheus, coins of, 143, 331, 507, 510, 513, 530, 531, 532, 536, 537, 564, 570	

	PAGE		PAGE
Athens personified, Athene and (bas-relief)	549	Eumenides, the (coin)	360
Athletes (coin)	564	Enripes, the (map)	134
Atlas and Herakles (metope)	207	Europa (coin)	443
Aurora pouring dew upon the earth (vase-painting)	569	“ (vase-painting)	353
		Eurotas, valley of the	435
Banquet of the gods (coin)	419	Figurines of Tanagra (terra-cotta)	311, 320,
Bellerophon and Pegasos (coins)	203		465
“ “ “ “ (vase-painting)	202	Fortune (engraved stone)	360
Bema, Phyx and	545	Gaza, coins of	150, 177
Bone, human, with gold ribbon	500	Girl, dancing (statue)	491
Boreas, Oreithya and (vase-painting)	215	“ offering libation (bas-relief)	462
Bouzyges driving an ox (coin)	570	“ victorious in the Games (statue)	460
Boys wrestling (engraved stone)	563	Graces, the (cameo)	333
Briseis and Agamemnon (vase-painting)	246	Greece (personified) between Zeus and Athene (bas-relief)	123
Bronzes from Dodona	270	Greek warrior (statuette)	454
		Harvester (coin)	283
Chariot (vase-painting)	287	Hektor (coins)	245, 251
Charon, Hermes and (painting on a lecyth)	305	Helen, abduction of (vase-painting)	242
Chimaira, the (coin)	203	“ persuaded by Aphrodite (bas-relief)	243
Combat, scene of (bas-relief in terra-cotta)	468	“ toilet of (vase-painting)	556
“ “ “ (intaglio)	281	Heliaets, tablets of	547
Cook before his oven (figurine)	465	Helios (coin)	322
Coriuth, Isthmus of (map)	139	“ (metope)	145
Cuirass, bronze	289	Helle, Phrixios and (vase-painting)	224
Cyclopean walls	188	Hephaistos (coin)	324
		“ and Epeios (engraving on Etruscan mirror)	261
Daidalos, flight of (vase-painting)	184	Herakles (coins)	205, 213, 449, 469
Danaides (bas-relief)	170	“ (bas-reliefs)	270, 327
Demeter (coins)	322, 478, 488	“ (engraved stone)	206
Decarius, Roman	143	“ (vase-painting)	208
Deukalion and Pyrrha (coin)	192	“ and the Acheloös (vase-painting)	315
Dionysos (coin)	424	“ “ Apollo (bas-relief)	316
“ and Ariadne (cameo)	350	“ “ Atlas (metope)	207
“ “ Semele (engraving on an Etruscan mirror)	169	Here (coins)	190, 428
Dioskouroi, the (coins)	451, 487	“ (statue)	317
“ return of the (vase-painting)	513	“ of Argos (cameo)	343
Dodona, bronzes from	270	“ and Prometheus (vase-painting)	363
Dorian dancing girl (statue)	491	Hermes (coin)	158
“ warrior (statuette)	474	“ (vase-paintings)	208, 356
		“ and Charon (painting on a lecyth)	305
Elektra, Orestes and (plaque)	304	“ Psychopompos (bas-relief)	398
Eleusis, Pelasgic tomb at	189	Herodotos (coin)	317
Elis, coin of	142	Hestia (statue)	403
Epeios, Agamemnon, and Talthybios (bas-relief)	319	Hippolytos, Phaidra and (bas-relief)	212
“ Hephaistos and (engraving on an Etruscan mirror)	261	Issarlik, pottery from	150
Epheboi, exercises of (vase-painting)	459	Homer (coin)	313
Erinyes, the, and Orestes (bas-relief)	359	Hope (cameo)	375
Erymanthos, gorge in	180	“ (coin)	367
Eteokles and Polyneikes (bas-relief)	222	Horseman, Athenian (frieze)	536
Eumcuides, the (bas-relief)	529		

	PAGE		PAGE
Hunting scene (plaque)	466	Niobe (statue)	371
Hymenaios (medallion)	559	Nuptial scene (group)	555
Ialysos, vases from	151	Odysseus and his dog (engraved stone)	414
Iason fighting (coin)	233	“ “ Nausikaa (vase-painting)	298
Inscription (on stone)	520	“ begging (engraved stone)	267
Interment (painting on a lecyth)	388	“ carrying a ram (statuette)	296
Io and Zeus (vase-painting)	352	“ making a raft (engraved stone)	287
Iphigenia at Tauris (bas-relief)	244	“ recognized by his old nurse (bas-relief)	268
Ithaka, view of	265	“ returning (coin)	268
 		Offerings to heroes (bas-relief)	395
Kadmos consulting the oracle (engraved stone)	167	“ to Silenos (cameo)	425
Kassandra (engraved stone)	358	Oidipous and the Sphinx (vase-painting)	229
Kephalos (statuette)	214	Oil-harvest (vase-painting)	534
Kerberos (coin)	305	Oinomaos, death of (bas-relief)	237
Klotho (engraved stone)	361	Oreithya and Boreas (vase-painting)	215
Knosos, fragments of vases from	154	Orestes and Elektra (plaque)	304
Kopais, Lake, view of	272	“ “ the Erinyes (bas-relief)	359
Korymbantes and infant Zeus (bas-relief)	163	Orpheus (coin)	169
Kosmetes (marble bust)	565	Owl, the Athenian (coins) 510, 513, 331, 532, 537, 564	
Kronos and Rheia (bas-relief)	338		
Kythera, view of	501		
 		Pallas (bronze figure)	185
Labyrinth and Minotaur (coin)	182	“ at the Areiopagos (cameo)	539
Leukadia, canal of	136	Pallas. <i>See</i> also <i>Atheue</i> .	
“ coin of	136	Pamisos, bridge over the	477
Lion's head (coin)	497	Pandora (vase-painting)	365
Loves at play (coin)	563	Parnassos	274
Lydian jewels	152	Pegasos, Bellerophon and (coins)	203
Lykourgos (coin)	450	Pelagic tomb	159
“ (engraved stone)	413	“ wall and gateway	325
 		Pelops, triumph of (bas-relief)	237
Medousa (coin)	424	Penelope (statue)	301
Melampus and the Proitides (cameo)	196	Pentelikos, quarries of	144
Messenia, coins of	478, 483	Perseus (coin)	203
Metric monument	537	Phaidra and Hippolytos (bas-relief)	212
Mimas, Ares and (cameo)	368	Pheneos, Lake of	140
Minos (coin)	177	Philoktetes in Lemnos (vase-painting)	260
Minotaur and Labyrinth (coin)	182	Philomela, Prokne and (engraved stone)	161
“ Theseus and (marble group)	210	Phokis, coin of	135
“ “ (vase-painting)	184	Phrixios and Helle (vase-painting)	224
Mirrors, Etruscan	169, 261, 284, 294, 351	Players on lyre and flute (vase-painting)	303
 		Pnyx and Bema	545
Mortgage-pillar	533	Polyneikes, Eteokles and (relief)	222
Mykenai, doorway of the Treasury at	178	Polyxene and Troilos (vase-painting)	297
“ objects from 153, 183, 238, 279, 280		Poseidon (statuette)	328
 		“ and Amphitrite (vase-painting)	346
Naiad or nymph (statue)	344	“ “ Apollo (Pompeian painting)	342
Nausikaa (coin)	264	“ “ Athene (cameo)	508
“ and Odysseus (vase-painting)	295	Pottery from Hissarlik	150
Neda, gorges and fall of the	495	Priam (coin)	235
“ valley of the	479	“ death of (bas-relief)	262
Nemesis (coins)	369	Proitides, the, Melampus and (cameo)	196

	PAGE		PAGE
Proitos and Bellerophon (vase-painting)	202	Theseus and the Minotaur (marble group)	210
Prokne and Philomela (engraved stone)	161	“ “ “ “ (vase-painting)	184
Prometheus (coin)	148	“ ex-voto (bas-relief)	377
“ (engraved stones)	362, 399	Thetis and Achilleus (engraving on Etruscan mirror)	351
“ and Atlas (vase-painting)	194	Thunderbolt, the winged (coin)	337
“ Here and “ “	363	Tiryns, akropolis of	186
Psychostasia (vase-painting)	356	“ coin of	190
Pyrrha, Deukalion and (coin)	192	Titans, the	127
Pythia (coin)	293	Tokcus, leaden	519, 544
Rheia, Kronos and (bas-relief)	338	Tomb (coin)	379
Rhodes, coin of	498	“ offerings at a (painting on a lecyth.)	394
Sacrifice, preparations for (vase-painting)	354	“ Pelasgic	189
“ scene of (engraved stone)	431	Triptolemos (coin)	173
“ “ (vase-paintings)	323, 416	“ (vase-painting)	174
Santorin, map of	149	Troad, map of the	236
“ vases from	152	Troy, coins of	235, 245, 251
Semele, Dionysos and (engraving on an Etruscan mirror)	169	Urns for voting (bas-relief)	539
Skamandros (coin)	235	Vases from Hissarlik	150
Skylla (medallion)	266	“ “ Ialysos	151
Skyros, view of	514	“ “ Kuossos	154
Solon (coin)	536	“ “ Mykenai	153
Sparta and the Taygetos	441	“ “ Santorin	152
“ archaic bas-reliefs from	438	Vessels (vase-painting)	312
“ coins of 436, 449, 450, 451, 463, 464, 469, 487		Victim-killer (statue)	295
“ personified (coin)	436	Victory erecting a trophy (coin)	501
“ valley of	437	Warrior (coin)	478
Spartan, dying (engraved stone)	501	“ Dorian (statuette)	474
Spata, objects from	155	“ Greek “	484
Spring, and return of the swallow	505	“ Peloponnesian (statuette)	440
Stryx, cataract of the	413	Zankle, coins of	497
Suda, Bay of	181	Zeus (bronze head)	502
Sunion, Cape	515	“ (cameo)	137
Snopliant killed at the altar (vase-painting)	524	“ (coins)	133, 142, 271, 483
Tablets of Heliasts	547	“ (engraved stone)	384
Talthybios, Agamemnon, Epeios and (bas-relief)	314	“ (statues)	370, 496
Tanagra, figurines from (terra-cotta)	311, 320, 465	“ (statuette)	453
Taygetos, Sparta and the	441	“ (vase-painting)	356
Thamyris playing on the lute (vase-painting)	160	“ and Io (vase-painting)	352
Thebes, coin of	213	“ “ Korymbantes (bas-relief)	163
Themis, the oracle of (vase-painting)	193	“ Kretagenes (coin)	321
Theseus (coins)	211, 507	“ -Poseidon, Zeus-Ilades, and Zeus (vase-painting)	372
“ (engraved stone)	509	Zethos, Amphion and (bas-relief)	286



HOMER.

From a bust in the Museum of Naples

A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. THERE are scientific problems and literary tasks which admit of final solution and which can be worked out once for all, to the lasting fame of the mind that finds the solution, as well as to the permanent benefit of civilized man. Definite and indefinite problems. There are others, more numerous and far more interesting, which are ever being solved, finally perhaps in the opinion of the discoverer, and even of his generation, but always arising again, and offering fresh difficulties and fresh attractions to other minds and to newer generations of men.

I will not cite the largest instances, except by the way. The deep mysteries of Religion, the dark problems of Knowing and Being, which have occupied the theologian and the metaphysician for thousands of years, are still unsettled, Examples in theology and metaphysics. and there is hardly an age of thinking men which does not attack these questions afresh, and offer new systems and new solutions for the acceptance of the human race. Nor can we say that in these cases new facts have been discovered, or new evidence adduced; it is rather that mankind feels there is more in the mystery than is contained in the once accepted solution, and endeavors by some new manipulation of the old arguments to satisfy the eternal craving for that mental rest which will only be attained when we know things, not, as in a glass, darkly, but face to face.

But these are instances too lofty for my present purpose; I can show the same pertinacious tendency to re-solve problems already solved in literature of a far humbler kind. How Examples in literature. striking is the fact that the task of translating certain great masterpieces of poetry seems never completed, and that in the face of scores of versions, each generation of scholars will attack

afresh Homer's *Iliad*, Dante's *Divina Commedia*, and Goethe's *Faust*. There are, as I happen to know, forty English versions of *Faust*. How many there are of the *Iliad* and the *Divina Commedia*, I have not ascertained; but of the former there is a whole library, and of the latter we may predict with certainty that the fortieth version will not be the last. Not only does each generation find for itself a new ideal in translations, — the fine version of the *Iliad* by Pope is now regarded with scorn, — but each new aspirant is discontented with the earlier rendering of his favorite passages; and so year after year we see the same attempt made, often with great but never with universally accepted success. For there are always more beauties in the old masterpieces than have been conveyed, and there are always weaknesses in the translation, which show like the seams of a turned coat after a little wear.

The same eternal freshness in great masterpieces of poetry which ever tempts new translators, is also to be found in great historical subjects, especially in the history of those nations The case of history generally. which have left a permanent mark on the world's progress. There is no chance whatever that men will be satisfied forever with the extant histories, however brilliant, of England or of France, even for an account of the periods which have long since elapsed, and upon which no new evidence of any importance can be found. It is likewise the case with the histories of Greece and Rome. No doubt there is frequently new material discovered; the excavator may in a month's digging find stuff for years of speculation. No doubt there is an oscillation in the appreciation even of well-sifted materials: a new theory may serve to rearrange old facts and present them in a new light.

But quite apart from all this, men will be found to re-handle these great histories merely for the sake of re-handling them. In the words of the very latest of these attempts: "Though we can add nothing to the existing records of Greek history, the estimate placed upon their value and the conclusions drawn from them are constantly changing; and for this reason the story which has been told so often will be told anew from time to time so long as it continues to have an interest for mankind, — that is, let us hope, so long as mankind continue to exist."¹

¹ Evelyn Abbott's *History of Greece*, preface.

§ 2. Perhaps the history of Greece has more right than any of its sister-histories to excite this interest, since the effects of that country and its people are probably far greater, certainly more subtle and various, than those of any other upon our modern life. It is curious that this truth is becoming recognized universally by the very generation which has begun to agitate against the general teaching of Greek in our higher schools. Nobody now attributes any real leading to the Romans in art, in philosophy, in the sciences, nay, even in the science of politics. If their literature was in some respects great, every Roman knows and confesses that this greatness is due to the Greeks; if their practical treatment of law and politics was certainly admirable, the theory of the latter was derived from Hellenic speculation.

And when the originality of our Roman teachers is reduced to its very modest proportions, there is no other ancient nation that can be named among our schoolmasters except the Hebrews. Here too there has been great exaggeration, and it has not yet been sifted and corrected, as in the case of Rome. It is still a popular truism that while we owe all we have of intellectual and artistic refinement to the Greeks, in one great department of civilization, and that the highest, we owe them nothing, but are debtors to the Semite spirit, — to the clear revelation and the tenacious dogma conveyed to the world by the Jews. Like many popular truisms, this statement contains some truth, but a great deal of falsehood. When we have surveyed the earlier centuries, we shall revert to this question, and show how far the prejudice in favor of the Semite has ousted the Greek from his rightful place. Even serious history is sometimes unjust, much more the hasty generalizations of theologians or mere literary critics. The history of religion, therefore, will be found to rest, like everything good which we possess, partly upon a Greek basis; but of course mainly on that portion of Greek history which has only recently risen into public notice among our scholars, — the later and the spiritual development of the nation after the conquests of Alexander had submitted the ancient world to its sway.

So the subject is still quite fresh, and even the evidence of books has not been exhausted, not to speak of the yearly increment

we obtain from the keen labor of many excavators. Even while I am writing, news reaches us that a whole series of new tombs has been found in the face of the hill upon which Mycenæ is fortified. As yet the account is too vague to admit of any statements or inferences in this essay. These new facts are following in the wake of Dr. Schliemann, whose great researches have set us more new problems than we are likely to solve in the present century.

§ 3. What I purpose, therefore, to do in this Introduction is to review the general lines followed by the great historians of Greece of the last two generations; to show the main points in which each of them excels, and where each of them still shows a deficiency. We will then notice some current misconceptions, as well as some errors to be corrected by interesting additions to our evidence, even since the work of Duruy, the last and therefore the most comprehensive of our larger histories; and in doing this we shall specially touch on those more disputed and speculative questions which are on principle omitted in his practical and non-controversial book. By this means we shall indicate in a general way what ought to be expected from any fresh attempt in Greek history, and where there still seems room for discovery or for the better establishing of truths already discovered but not yet accepted in the current teaching of our day. Whatever digressions we may allow ourselves by the way, will all be subordinate to this general plan, which is in fact an essay, not upon Greek history, but upon the writing of Greek history. We shall conclude with some reflections upon the artistic lessons of Greek life which are in the following work made accessible to the larger public.

§ 4. We need not go back to the period of Universal Histories such as that of Bossuet or Rollin, which were adequate enough, before special studies had accumulated vast materials from the records of each separate nation. Even in our own day there are not wanting universal histories,¹ but even the genius and the enormous experience of Ranke was wholly insufficient for the task as it now presents itself.² The first special

Plan of this
essay.

Universal
histories.

¹ More numerous, and much better, in France and Germany than they are in England.

² The first volume of his work has recently been translated by Mr. Prothero, of Cambridge.

(C). Goldsmith's Handbook is one of a number published about a hundred years ago, all of which are forgotten. Of these I have seen at least six. They have now no value.

Greek histories known to me are those of Gillies and of Mitford,¹—the first now totally forgotten; the second only remembered because it stimulated a great successor to write his famous antidote.

Yet the work of Gillies, first published in 1786, was continued by the author, thirty-five years later, down to the reign of Augustus, when the sixth edition, a stately work in eight volumes, Gillies, was published. There is no lack of merit in the book; but the writer's standpoint will be apparent from the opening of his Dedication to the King: "Sir, the history of Greece exposes the dangerous turbulence of democracy, and arraigns the despotism of tyrants. By describing the incurable evils inherent in every form of republican policy, it evinces the inestimable benefits resulting to liberty itself from the lawful domination of hereditary kings." One might imagine Gillies a Hellenistic author dedicating his work to a Ptolemy or a Seleucus.

It is clear enough, though I know not the details of his life, that the horrors of the French Revolution had sunk deep into his soul. This is quite certain in the case of Mitford, Effects of the French Revolution on the writers of the time. a gentleman of fortune, whose education in Greek was early interrupted, but whose long residence at Nice brought him into contact with St. Croix and Villoison, two of the most famous Grecians of that day. After his return in 1777 from France, he found himself a man of leisure and importance, in the same yeomanry corps as Gibbon, whose friendship he gained, and on whose advice he wrote his once popular history.²

Mitford then wrote in a Tory sense, and with a distinct feeling of the *political* significance of Greek history as an example to modern men. He had upon his side the authority Mitford: of almost every great thinker produced in the days of Hellenic greatness. All these speculators, in their pictures of ideal States, and their criticisms of the actual, regard democracy as an evil, and its abuses as the main cause of the early decay of Hellenic greatness. They all point with respect and pride to the permanence and consistency of Spartan life as indicating the writes a Tory history of Greece; sort of government likely to produce the best and most enduring results. Mitford, therefore, not only deserves the credit

¹ I have seen but not read Stanyan's *Grecian History* in 2 vols. (1739), and Gast's *History of Greece*, published in Dublin (1793).

² It is remarkable that he never mentions his contemporary, Gillies, so far as I know.

of having taken up Greek history as a political study, but he undoubtedly represents the body of learned opinion among the Greeks themselves upon the subject. The literary classes, so far as we can judge from what is extant of their works, were not at all radical or democratic, and in a generation which had witnessed the awful results of a democratic upheaving in France, it was very natural to appeal to this evidence as showing that the voice of history was against giving power to the masses, and not the classes, of any society.

What popularity Mitford attained can only now be inferred from the editions of his work demanded,¹ coupled with the all-important fact that he called forth two tremendous refutations, — the monumental works of Thirlwall and of Grote.

§ 5. It is very curious that these two famous histories should have been undertaken (like Gillies' and Mitford's) nearly at the same time, and both of them by way of correction for the he excites splendid refutations. strong anti-republican views of Mitford. It is remarkable that each author explicitly declared himself so satisfied with the work of the other that he would not have undertaken the task, had he known of his rival's undertaking.² This, however, seems hard to fit in with the dates, seeing that Thirlwall's book began to appear many years earlier than that of Grote. In any case the former expresses a different kind of work, or I should rather say an earlier stage of work, and therefore comes logically as well as chronologically first.

The Bishop of St. David's was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, a classical scholar trained in all the precision and Thirlwall: refinement of the public schools, a man accustomed to teach the classics and to enforce accuracy of form and correctness of critical judgment. He added what was then rather a novelty, and what separates him from his distinguished contemporaries, Gaisford and Clinton at Oxford, — a competent knowledge of German, as well as other languages, and a consequent acquaintance with the recent studies of the Germans, who were then beginning to write about classics in German instead of using the Latin language.

¹ The new (second) edition of 1829 has an interesting defence of his history by Lord Redesdale, his younger brother. There has been none since.

² The dates are, Thirlwall's history, 1835, Grote's first two volumes, 1846. But Grote says he had his materials collected for some years. Upon the publication of Grote, Thirlwall at once confessed his inferiority, and wrote no more upon the subject.

It is recorded by John Stuart Mill, who belonged to a debating society along with Thirlwall, that he thought him the very best speaker he had ever heard. The qualities which ^{his merits;} attracted Mill were not passion or imaginative rhetoric, but clear, cold reasoning powers, together with a full command of the language best suited to express accurately the speaker's argument.

These are the qualities which made all Thirlwall's work enduring and universally respected. His episcopal charges were certainly the best delivered in his day, and his history, without ever exciting any enthusiasm, has maintained its high position, so that of recent years it is perhaps rather rising than falling in popular esteem.¹ But the absence of passion, since it ^{his coldness;} precludes enthusiasm in the reader, is a fatal want in any historian. The case before us is a remarkable example. Both the ^{his fairness and accuracy;} learning and the fairness of Thirlwall are conspicuous. It is difficult even now not to be astonished at his caution in receiving doubtful evidence, and his acuteness in modestly suggesting solutions which have since been proved by further evidence. Of course the great body of our materials, the Greek classics, lay before him; the pioneers of modern German philology such as Wolf, Hermann, K. O. Müller, Welcker, were accessible to him. In ordering and criticising these materials he left nothing to be desired, and the student of to-day who is really intimate with Thirlwall's history may boast that he has a sound and accurate view of all the main questions in the political and social development of the Hellenic nation. But he will never ^{but without enthusiasm.} have been carried away with enthusiasm; he will never remember with delight great passages of burning force or picturesque beauty such as those which adorn the histories of Gibbon or Arnold. He has before him the type of a historian like Hallam, whose work would be the most instructive possible on his period, were it not the dullest of writing. It would be unfair to Thirlwall to say he is dull, but he is too cold and passionless for modern readers. To use the words of Bacon: *Lumen siccum et aridum ingenia madida offendit et torret.*

The mention of these qualities in Thirlwall suggests to me that

¹ The most obvious proof of this is the price of the book in auction catalogues. The second octavo edition is both rare and expensive. The first is the cabinet edition in Lardner's series, who suggested the work.

I ought not to omit some mention of the great work of a very Clinton's *Fasti*. similar student. — I mean the *Fasti Hellenici*, a civil and literary chronology of the Greeks from earliest times to the death of Augustus. It is not, properly speaking, a history of Greece, but the materials for the fullest possible history, with all its offshoots, such as the Hellenistic kingdoms of Hither Asia, arranged and tabulated with a patience and care to which I know no parallel. To any one who examines this work the wonder is that it could have been accomplished within the fifteen years during which the several volumes appeared. It is astonishing how difficult the student finds it to detect a passage in the obscurest author that Clinton has not seen; and his ordinary habit is not to indicate, but to quote, all the passages *verbatim*. The book is quite unsuited for a schoolboy, but to the serious inquirer into the history of Greece it is positively indispensable. The influence of Gaisford, then probably the greatest of Greek scholars, obtained for the book the splendid setting of the Clarendon Press. Clinton works with a calmness and deliberation quite exceptional; and though he knew no German, has so completely mastered his subject that the Germans have since indeed translated and abridged him: they have never been able to supersede him. Even when he is wrong or obsolete, he can be corrected by the full materials he has laid before the reader. But the perfect coldness and absence of all passion make the book unapproachable except to a specialist.

§ 6. For the same reason Thirlwall's great and solid book was ousted at once by the appearance of Grote's history. Two minds more unlike can hardly be imagined, admitting that they were both honest and hard workers, and that both knew German as well as Greek, Latin, and French. Instead of a cold, calm college don, loving cautious statement and accurate rendering as the first of virtues: instead of a mild and orthodox Liberal both in religion and politics, — we have a business man, foreign to university life and its traditions, a Sceptic in religion, a Positivist in philosophy, and above all an advanced Radical in politics, invading the subject hitherto thought the preserve and apanage of the pedagogue and the pedant. Of course he occasionally missed the exact force of an optative, or the logic of a particle: he raised the fury of men like Shilleto.

Contrast of
Grote's life.

His theory
Radicalism.

to whom accuracy in Greek prose was the one perfection, containing all the Law and the Prophets. What was far worse, he even mistook and misstated evidence which bore against his theories, and was quite capable of being unfair, not from dishonesty, but from prejudice.

He lived in the days when the world was recovering from the horror of the French Revolution, and the reaction against the monarchical restoration in central Europe was setting in. He was persuaded that the great social and political results of Greek history were because of, and not in spite of, the prevalence of democracy among its States, as well as the number and variety of these States. He would not accept the verdict of all the old Greek dons and professors who voted for the rule of the one or the enlightened few; and he wrote what may be called a great political pamphlet in twelve volumes in vindication of democratic principles. It was this idea which gave not only unity, but fire to his argument, and when combined with his Radicalism in religion and philosophy, produced a book so remarkable that it may be corrected and criticised, but never superseded. It is probably the greatest history among the many great histories produced in this century; and though very inferior in style to Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, will rank next to it as a monument of English historical genius.

There are chapters, such as that on the Homeric Question, on the Greek myths and their historical value, and on Socrates and the Sophists, which mark an epoch in the history of their respective subjects, and have been ever since gradually moulding even the obstinate German professors, who at first rejected his theories with scorn, but have been since slowly leavened by the force of his arguments.¹ There are chapters of narrative, such as that on the battle of Plataea, or the Athenian defeat at Syracuse, where he so saturates himself with the tragic grandeur of the events, and with the consummate art of his great Greek predecessors, that his somewhat clumsy and unfinished style takes their color and rises to the full

¹ Thus the latest English book on the Homeric theory, by Professor Jebb, a scholar who in an earlier primer had held the views of Bergk, advocates mainly Grote's theory. Thus Zeller's latest edition of the *History of Greek Philosophy*, a masterly work, treats the Sophists with constant reference to Grote's views.

dignity of his great subject. But the greatest merit among the many which adorn his immortal work is his admirable *apologia* for democracy, — for that form of government where legislation is the result of discussion; where the minority feel bound to acquiesce in the decision of the majority; and where the administrators of the law are the servants, and not the masters, of the nation, appointed with defined powers to terminable magistracies, and liable to indictment for exceeding or abusing these powers. He occupied the whole body of the book in illustrating how the voluntary submission of the free citizen to control of this kind, the alternation in the same men of commanding and obeying, and the loyalty and patriotism it engendered, were far higher attributes than the enforced or unreasoning submission of the masses to the dictates of a monarch or a close aristocracy.

§ 7. To the first great objection, — that of the Greek theorists, — that the greatness of democracies was but transient, and rapidly degenerated into the fickle and violent rule of a mob, he would have answered, that these theorists themselves never contemplated human institutions as permanent, and even assumed that the ideal State of their dreams must be subject to exhaustion and decay. Still more would he have urged that not a long life, but a great life, was the real test of the excellence of the body politic, and that the centuries of the Spartan oligarchy had done nothing for the world in comparison with the brief bloom of Attic perfection.

Another and more serious objection to his position, that Athens was a typical democracy, and that its high culture was the direct result of its political institutions, he seems to me to have completely ignored. The Athenian citizen, however poor, had indeed equal rights with every other citizen, could succeed to the same high offices, and appeal to the same laws. But the Athenian citizen, however poor, was a slaveholder, and the member of an imperial class, ruling with more or less absolutism over communities of subjects; hence, after all, he was one of a minority, controlling a vast majority of subjects and slaves with more or less despotic sway. Lord Redesdale (in his editorial preface) tells us that this was the point which his brother Mitford thought of capital importance, and

His panegyric
on democracy.

Objection that
democracies
are short-lived.

Objection that
the Athenian
democrat was a
slaveholder
and a ruler over
subjects.

which prompted him to write his history. He met all through revolutionary France, and among the democrats in England, perpetual assertions that Greek democracy was the ideal at which modern Europe should aim, and he felt that these enthusiasts had considered neither the size of modern States, nor the essential differences I have just stated between the Athenian and the modern democrat.

It is therefore quite possible, nay, in my opinion certain, that many of the virtues as well as the vices of the Athenian arose from his being an aristocrat in the strictest sense. — the member of a privileged and limited society ruling over inferiors, with the leisure always obtainable by the slaveholder, and the dignity always resulting from the consciousness of inherent superiority. And even with all this, the type of perfection which the Greeks ever held before them was not the polished democrat of Athens, but the blunt aristocrat of Sparta. This latter was admired and copied, so far as he could be copied, in like manner as the English aristocrat has been admired by all the nations of the world, — not because he lives under free institutions, but because he shows in him the traditions and the breeding of a dominant race long accustomed to the refinements and the splendor of ancient wealth and importance.

But as Grote could see no superiority whatever in aristocracy over democracy, so he ignored completely this aristocratic side of all the Hellenic democracies.

§ 8. Still more, when he comes to treat of the despots, or tyrants, who overthrew governments and made themselves irresponsible rulers, he falls in with all the stock accusations of the Greek writers, — Herodotus, Xenophon, Plutarch, — and represents these despots as an unmixed evil to their country. He treats them in a special chapter as a sort of epidemic at a certain epoch of Greek history, whereas the facts show that all through the whole series of centuries, from the dawn of history to the conquest by Rome, despots were a constantly recurring phenomenon all over the Greek world. We find them mentioned by hundreds, and in every corner of Hellas and Asia Minor. Even Sparta ceased in time to form the almost solitary exception. This persistence of tyrants shows that either the people were politically fools, or that despotic

The Athenian
not the ideal of
the Greeks.

Grote's treat-
ment of the
despots.

Their perpetual
recurrence in
the Greek
world.

government had really some good points, and recommended itself at least as an escape from greater evils.¹ The political Advantages of at despoticism. value of this phase of Greek life I shall treat more fully in the sequel.

We hear, of course, of many violent and vicious despots in Greek history; and these are the cases always cited as proving the unsoundness of that form of government. But if a Good despots not infrequent. list could be procured of the numerous tyrants who governed wisely or moderately, and who improved the manners and the culture of their subjects, it would probably comprise an immense number of names. The good specimens passed by without notice; the criminal cases were paraded in the schools and upon the stage;² and so a one-sided estimate has passed into history. This estimate was taken up with warmth, and paraded with great amplitude by the Radical historian. And yet the very history of Europe since he wrote has shown us strong reasons to doubt that every nation is best managed by a parliamentary system. But on this point Grote had no misgivings. The will of the majority was to him the inspired voice, and he trusted to better education and more experience to correct the occasional errors from which not even the fullest debate will save an excited populace.

§ 9. These observations, though meant as strictures upon the sanguine enthusiasm of Grote's Radical views, are not to be understood as detracting from the charm of his work. It is Grote a practical politician. this very enthusiasm which has led him to understand and to interpret many political movements or accommodations completely misunderstood by the most learned among the German professors; for he was a practical politician, accustomed to parliamentary life,—above all to the conservative effects of tradition and practice, even in the face of the most innovating theories. He has, therefore, put the case of an educated democracy with more

¹ I am glad to see this point dwelt on with great justice and discrimination in Mr. E. Abbott's recent *History of Greece*, i. 368.

² Thus Strabo says, when speaking of Sicily, that the tyrants who had long ruled the city before its liberation by Aratus were for the most part good men; and this accounts for the high reputation of Sicily for culture. It was Lycophron, in his tragedy entitled the *Cassandreans*, who painted the typical portrait of a tyrant in the monster Apollodorus. Cf. my *Greek Life and Thought, from the Death of Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (Macmillan, New York), p. 283.

power and more persuasiveness than any other writer; and for this alone his book must occupy a prominent place even in the library of the mere practical politician.

§ 10. Far more serious are the objections to his last volume, on the life and conquests of Alexander the Great. So unequal, indeed, is this episode, which to him was a mere appendix to the story of independent Greece, that the ^{His treatment of Alexander the Great.} fabulous anecdote prevails of his being persuaded against his will by his publisher to pursue his narrative beyond the battle of Chæronea.¹ Here it is that the calmness and candor of Thirlwall stood him in good stead. The history of ^{Contrast of Thirlwall.} the great conqueror and of the recovered independence of Greece, such as it was, are treated by the scholar-bishop with the same care and fairness which mark all his work. But Grote is distinctly unfair to Alexander; his love of democracy led him to hate the man who made it impossible and absurd for Greece, and he shows it in every page of his twelfth volume.

As regards the subsequent history, which embraces the all-important development of federal government throughout Greece, he does not condescend to treat it at all.² His great ^{Grote ignores the later federations.} work of twelve volumes is therefore incomplete in plan, and stops before the proper conclusion of his subject. Of course he would have found it hard to panegyryze his favorite democracies when he came to the Hellenistic age. There the inherent weaknesses of a popular government in days of poverty and decay, in the face of rich and powerful monarchs, showed themselves but too manifestly.

But let us be thankful for what we have; only this may be given as a warning, — that the reader of Grote should stop with the death of Philip of Macedon, and read the remainder in other books.

§ 11. We must, however, before passing on to his successors, turn back to the very beginning, and say a word on ^{His treatment of the early legends.} his treatment of the elaborate mythical period which the Greeks prefixed to their historical annals. Here the Positivism

¹ The original preface to his first volume marks out the limits which he duly attained.

² He even goes further; for he says in his preface that Greek history after the generation of Alexander has no interest in itself, or any influence on the world's history, — a wonderful judgment!

of the man was sure to bear fruit and produce some remarkable features. He gives, accordingly, with all deliberation and fullness of detail, a complete recital of all the stories about the gods and heroes, their acts and adventures, and then proceeds to argue that they are to be regarded as quite distinct from and unconnected with any historical facts. He argues that as there is in the legends a large quantity of assertions plainly false and incredible, but intertwined indissolubly with plausible and credible statements, we have no right to pick out the latter and regard them as derived from actual facts. There is such a thing as plausible fiction; and we have no guarantee that the authors of stories about gods and their miracles did not invent this latter kind as well. Rejecting, therefore, all historical inferences from the Greek legends, he merely regards them as good and conclusive evidence of the state of mind of their inventors, — a picture of the Greek mind in what Comte called the “theological stage.”

It is remarkable how fully Thirlwall states this view of the Greek myths, and how nearly his cautious mind adopts it, from the indisputable weakness of all such legends as proper and reliable evidence. But when we come to such persistent bodies of legend as those which assert that Oriental immigrants — Cadmus, Danaus, Pelops, etc. — brought civilization to yet barbarous Greece, Thirlwall, with all his doubts, with all his dislike to vague and shifting stories, cannot make up his mind to regard these agreeing myths as mere idle inventions. Moreover, he urged the point, which Grote omitted to consider, that early art might so corroborate a story as to make its origin in fact morally certain.

No doubt both historians were considerably under the influence of Niebuhr, whose rejection of the old Roman legends, which were plausible fiction, produced a very great sensation in the literary world.¹ Nor did they live to see the great discoveries in early art and prehistoric culture which have since been made by the archæologists. It seems to me, therefore, that

¹ The first edition of Niebuhr's history appeared in 1811. The second, a wholly different and enlarged work, was published in 1827, and translated into English by Thirlwall and Hare in 1828. Grote quotes Niebuhr constantly, and takes from his *Lectures on Ancient History* more than from any other modern source.

as regards the *incunabula* of Greek history these great men came at the moment when little more than a negative attitude was feasible. The mental history of the nation in its passage from easy faith to utter scepticism was expounded by Grote in a masterly way; but for the construction of the myths he would not admit any other than subjective causes. Here, then, was the point on which some further advance might fairly be expected.

§ 12. There was another matter also, connected with the life and habits of the time, which made the appreciation of the facts less keen and picturesque than it might have been. Neither of them visited Greece, Neither Thirlwall nor Grote, though each of them possessed ample means and leisure, seems ever to have thought of visiting the country and seeking to comprehend the geographical aspects of their history from personal experience. They both — Thirlwall especially — cite the earlier travellers who had explored and pictured the Hellenic peninsula: but in those days the traveller was regarded as a different kind of man from the historian, who wrote from books in his closet.

It is in the last two features mentioned — the interpretation of the legends and the personal acquaintance with the country — that the more recent attempts excel the older masters. Ernst Curtius spent years in Greece, and published a complete and scholarly account of the Peloponnesus before he produced his history. Duruy, in the work to which this essay is the introduction, often gives life and color to his narrative by an allusion to his personal experiences in Greece. To visit and study the scenes where these great events were enacted is now so easy and so habitual to scholars that we may count it one of the necessary conditions in any future history which is to take a high place in the ever-increasing series of Hellenic studies.¹ The opening chapters of Ernst Curtius breathe such freshness and reality into the once dry preamble of geographical description that we feel we have attained a fresh epoch, and are led to expect great things from an experience gained upon the spot, and verifying the classical descriptions by the permanent features

Neither of
them visited
Greece,

which later
historians generally regard as
essential.

Ernst Curtius
and Victor
Duruy.

The value of
antopсы in verifying old
authors.

¹ Thus Duncker's chapter on the Olympic games shows at once that he never was there, and does not understand the site.

which remain. It is of course idle to think that local familiarity will compensate for imperfect study. The modern Greek antiquarians have not yet shown themselves equal to many who have never seen what they discuss. But withal, this remains certain, that new force and directness are attained by a personal acquaintance with the air, the mountains, the rivers of Greece, and that many an error of inference from ancient texts is avoided by knowing that the scene of the events precludes it.

§ 13. Here is an example. It is commonly inferred from a passage in Plato's *Symposium*, which speaks of thirty thousand citizens being addressed by Agathon in his plays, that the theatre held that number of spectators. This is copied into book after book, though I have long ago called attention to the impossibility of this interpretation.¹ I need not urge the absurdity of speaking from an open-air stage to thirty thousand people. The actual theatre is now recovered, and any one who has seen it and possesses reasonable common-sense will perceive that about ten thousand people was the utmost it could ever have contained. To expect a larger crowd to hear any performance of human voices would be ridiculous. What the passage, therefore, means is that the whole population of freemen at Athens were in the habit of enjoying the play,—not, of course, all at the same moment. Other fancies, which have given rise to eloquent musings concerning the picturesque view of the sea and islands enjoyed by the Athenian as a natural background to his tragedy, can be disposed of in the same way by simply sitting even on the top row and making the experiment,²—not to speak of the false notion of attributing to the Athenian citizen a love of picturesque scenery, or of combining two heterogeneous and mutually disturbing æsthetic interests.

If the writer is bound to have made this preparation, it cannot be expected of the reader. But for him too our generation has brought its benefits. In the fine illustrations now published of all the objects of interest in Greek museums, and of the finest scenery

¹ *Rambles and Studies in Greece*, p. 107. See also the excellent note of Duruy in Vol. II., chap. vii., sect. 1, on the frequent exaggerations of the number of Athenian citizens, which never reached this high figure.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 108–9. Duruy, at the opening of his twentieth chapter (Vol. III. of this work) has given excellent pictures and plans of the theatre in question.

throughout the country, the general public can find some compensation; and from this point of view the history of Duruy marks a fresh epoch, even as compared with that of Curtius. For I am not aware that there has hitherto been any accessible collection of all the interesting things in Nature and Art which the student of Greek history ought to have seen, at least in reproduction. There are, of course, splendid monographs on special buildings, such as the works of the Dilettanti Society, or on special discoveries, such as the original and richly adorned volumes of Dr. Schliemann on Mycenæ and Tiryns. But these are beyond the reach of moderate fortunes. In the present volume the artistic side of Greek history has been for the first time made public property.

Victor Duruy's history an epoch.

Greek Nature and Art now accessible to all.

§ 14. We may now pass to the more modern treatment of the myths and mythical history of Greece. There are before us the essays of several men since the monumental work of Grote. First there is that of Ernst Curtius; then there is Duncker's (both translated into English); and even since then the shorter histories of Holm; Busolt, Hertzberg, and other Germans, — not to speak of Sir George Cox's history and the first volume just brought out by Mr. Evelyn Abbott. In fact they are so many and so various that the production of the present work in English, apart from the artistic value above mentioned, requires some special justification. For the time has really come when we may begin to complain of new histories that are not new, but merely reproduce the old facts and the old arguments, without regard to what specialists have been doing to clear up particular questions. Duncker's large work, of which the earlier period of Greek history forms the closing part, is indeed an important book, and cannot be dismissed so easily. But if I may venture to speak out a bold opinion, I do not think it was worth translating into English. Scholars earnest and patient enough to read through it can hardly fail to have learned German, and therefore require no English version. I cannot believe that the English-speaking public will ever read it, nor do I think this can be expected. For in the first place the book is sadly deficient in style. — not merely in the graces of style, which are seldom attained by Germans, but in that higher

The newer histories.

Not justifiable without particular reasons.

Max Duncker.

quality of style produced either by burning passion or delicate æsthetic taste. Duncker is not, like all the English historians, a politician. To him despot and democracy are mere things to be analyzed. Nor does he strive to advocate novel and picturesque views, like Ernst Curtius. His mind is so conservative that he rather takes a backward step, and reverts, especially in his chronology, to the views which of late seemed likely to be recognized as obsolete. He is always sensible and instructive; he has an excellent habit of making his authorities speak for themselves: but he wants *verve* as well as originality in treating of old, unsettled problems, though he has made some remarkable re-constructions of history from conflicting myths.

§ 15. I think even the most trenchant of sceptics does not now deny that there must be some truth in legendary history, though we may not be able to disentangle it from miracles and misunderstandings. And when once we have abandoned Grote's position, and hold it more probable that legends are based on facts than purely invented, nothing will prevent the sanguine student from striving to pick out for himself the facts and make a probable, if not a certain, sketch of the otherwise unrecorded *incunabula* of a nation's history.

This view and these attempts are based upon an ascertained truth in the psychology of all human societies. Just as people will accommodate a small number of distinct word-roots to their perpetually increasing wants, and will rather torture an old root in fifty ways than simply invent a new combination of sounds for the new idea; so in legends the human race will always attach itself to what it knows, to what has gone before, rather than set to work and invent a new series of facts. Pure invention is so very rare and artificial that we may almost lay it aside as a likely source for *old* legends; and we may assume either a loose record of real facts, or the adoption and adaptation of the legends of a previous age, as our real, though treacherous, materials for finding prehistoric truth. This is the reason why we later students have not adhered to the sceptical theory that plausible fiction *may* account for all the Greek myths, and we look out for some stronger reason to reject them altogether.

The modern attitude.

Pure invention a rare occurrence;

plausible fiction therefore not an adequate cause.

§ 16. There are cases, for example, where we can see distinct reasons why people in a historic age should have invented links to attach themselves to some splendid ancestry. Just as the heralds of our own day are often suspected of forging the generations which are to connect some wealthy parvenu with an ancient house, so it is in Greek history. No larger and more signal instances of this can be found than the bare-faced genealogies of the learned in the days of Alexander's successors¹ when any of the new foundations, — Antioch, Seleucia, etc., — wanted to prove themselves ancient Hellenic cities, re-settled upon a mythical foundation. I shall return in due course to another remarkable instance, which I have set before the world already, where a great record of Olympic games was made up at a late date by a learned man in honor of Elis and Messenia. Later Greek history does show us some of these deliberate inventors, — Lobo the Argive, Euhemerus the Messenian, and a few more; a list which the Greeks themselves augmented by adding in the travellers who told wonderful tales of distant lands which conflicted with Hellenic climate and experience. But here too the Greeks were too sceptical, and rejected, as we know, many real truths only because they found them marvellous. In the same way modern inquirers who come to estimate the doubtful and varying evidence for older history must be expected to vary according to the peculiar temper of their minds.

Cases of deliberate invention,

which breed general suspicion of marvellous stories.

§ 17. But perhaps the reader will desire to hear of a case where a legend has conveyed acknowledged truth, rather than the multifarious cases where it may lead us into error. I will give a remarkable instance from Roman history, all the more remarkable from the connection in which it is found.

Example of a trustworthy legend from Roman history.

This history, as we all know, used to commence with a pretty full account of the seven kings, who ruled for a very definitely stated period. The difficulties in accepting this legend were first shown by Niebuhr; and then came Arnold, who told again the legend as a mere nursery tale, refusing to

Niebuhr, Arnold, Mommsen.

¹ A fine specimen is the pedigree of the Ptolemies direct from Heracles, given by the historian Satyrus. Cf. C. Müller, *Fragg. Histor. Græc.*, iii. 165.

call it history. Mommsen, in his monumental work, goes further, and omits the whole story contemptuously, without one word of apology. The modern reader who refers to his book to know who the kings of Rome were, would find one casual and partial list, no official chapter. I am not sure that Mommsen names most of them more than once in any passing allusion.

But does it follow that Mommsen denies there ever were kings at Rome? Far from it. For there were laws and ordinances, lasting into historical times, which would be wholly inexplicable had they not come down from a monarchy. Thus there remained a priesthood of great dignity, though of little importance, of which the very title — *rex sacrorum* — shows that he was appointed to perform those priestly functions once performed by the abolished kings, and not otherwise provided for in the reformed constitution. The fact therefore asserted by the famous legend, that there were once kings in Rome, is established to the satisfaction of any reasonable man by the evidence of surviving usages.

In the same way at Athens we have legends of kings, but all of an antiquity which makes the story not certain by itself, had there not survived into historical days the king-archon,¹ whose name and functions point clearly to his being the survival of those kingly functions which were thought indispensable on religious or moral grounds, even after the actual monarchs had been abolished by the people.

The legends, therefore, which tell of a gradual change from a monarchy to an aristocracy, and a gradual widening of that aristocracy to embrace more members by making its offices terminable, is no mere plausible fiction, but an obscure, and perhaps inaccurate, but still real account of what did happen in Attica in the days before written records existed.

§ 18. Larger and more important is the great body of stories which agree in bringing Phœnician, Egyptian, and Asiatic princes to settle in early Greece, where they found a primitive people, to whom they taught the arts and culture of the East. To deny the general truth of these accounts would now be to contradict facts scientifically ascertained; it is perfectly

The *rex sacrorum* at Rome.

The king-archon at Athens.

Legends of foreign immigrants.

¹ ἄρχων βασιλεύς.

certain that the Greek alphabet is derived from the Phœnician, and it is equally certain that many of the artistic objects found at Sparta, in Attica, and at Mycenæ, reveal a foreign and Oriental origin. At the same time Duruy, in the luminous discussion he has devoted to the subject in this book,¹ shows that, however certain the early contact with the East, there is hardly any trace of the language of any non-Hellenic conquerors, as there is, for example (he might have added), in the names of the letters, which still bear in Greece their Semitic names. He thinks, therefore, that early Asiatic Greeks were the real intermediaries of this culture, and that they merely stimulated the latent spark in the natives, which shows itself in certain original non-Asiatic features in prehistoric Greek remains. But those who in their enthusiasm for Greece go even further in denying any foreign parentage for the higher Greek art, will now no longer deny that the occurrence of amber, ostrich-eggs, and ivory, which surely were not imported in a rude or unmanipulated condition, prove at least the lively traffic in luxuries which must have existed, and which cannot exist without many other far-reaching connections.

There are even lesser points, where legends might seem only to point to a difficulty of harmonizing conflicting statements; and yet archæology finds that there is something real implied. Thus the legend which asserts that the older Perseids were supplanted by the Pelopids in the dominion of Mycenæ is strangely corroborated by the fact that there are two styles of wall-building in the extant remains, and that the ruder work has actually been re-faced with the square hewn blocks of the later builders.²

§ 19. But we have here been dealing with political legends, which are less likely than genealogical or adventurous legends to excite the imagination, and so to be themselves distorted from facts. Let us turn to consider some of these latter.

When we approach such a story as the rape of Helen by Paris, the consequent expedition of the Greeks, and the siege of Troy, we are confronted, or at least we were confronted a few years ago, with a theory which pro-

Corroborative evidence of art, but not of language.

Corroboration of legends in architecture.

Explanation of myths by the solar theory.

¹ Chap. ii. sect. 3.

² On this cf. Adler's remarkable preface to Schliemann's *Tiryns*.

fessed to explain all such stories as mere modifications or misunderstandings of the great phenomena of Nature expressed in pictorial language. The break of day, the conquest of the Sun over the morning mists, his apparent defeat at night, and the victory of the Powers of Darkness,—all this was supposed to have affected so powerfully the imaginations of primitive men that they repeated their original hopes and fears in all manner of metaphors, which by and by became misinterpreted, and applied to the relations, friendly or hostile, of the various superhuman powers known as gods or heroes. Helen, if you please, was the Dawn, carried off by Paris, the Powers of Night, and imprisoned in Troy. Achilles was only the Sun-god, who struggles against the Night, and after a period of brilliancy succumbs to these very enemies. It appeared that in the *Vedas* and the *Zend-Avesta*, which may be regarded as older cousins of the Greek mythologies, the names of the gods pointed clearly to their original connection with solar phenomena, and some of the Greek names were shown to be merely the Greek forms of the same words.

It is not necessary for me here to expound more fully this celebrated theory, seeing that it has acquired great popularity in England from the brilliant defence of it by Professor Max Müller in his early *Lectures on the Science of Language*. It was a learned theory, requiring a knowledge of the various languages as well as the various mythologies of the Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, and even of other branches of the great Indo-European family. It required, too, a knowledge of that wonderful new science, the science of comparative etymology, by which two names as diverse as possible can be shown really akin. The ordinary reader was surprised at the scientific legerdemain by which *Helen* was identified with *Sarama*, and was disposed to accept a great deal from men who claimed to have made such astonishing discoveries.

§ 20. It is now very long since I first declared myself against this theory,¹ not as false, but as wholly inadequate to explain

¹ Cf. my *Prolegomena to Ancient History*, Longmans, 1872. A *reductio ad absurdum* which attained serious popularity, in spite of its patent jocoseness, appeared in an early number of the Dublin University *Kottabos*.

the great wealth and variety of the Greek legends. On that occasion I argued the case at length, and showed more especially that the mental condition presupposed in the primitive Indo-Europeans by this theory was not provable, and was, moreover, contradicted by everything which we know of the psychological condition of any such people. The theory implies such a daily joy and a nightly terror, when the sun rose and set, as colored the whole language of the primitive races, and gave them one topic which wholly occupied their imaginations. Seeing that men must have existed for a long time before they invented legends, perhaps even before they used language, such fresh and ever-recurring astonishment would be indeed a marvellous case of childish simplicity.¹ Moreover, what we do know of savage men shows us that surprise and wonder imply a good deal of intellectual development, and that the primitive savage does not wonder at, but ignores, those phenomena which interest higher men.

long since shown inadequate,

because it implies sentimental savages,

which is contrary to our experience.

It is a much more reasonable view to take, not the changes of the day, but those of the year, as having suggested early myths of the death of beautiful youths, and the lamentation of those that loved them. I do not know a more masterly treatment of this cause for early myths, such as the death of Adonis, of Linus, of Maneros (in Egypt), than the opening of K. O. Müller's *History of Greek Literature*. It is a book now fifty years old, and our knowledge has so much advanced that Müller's views are in many points antiquated, as I have shown in re-writing the history of the same great subject.² But nothing could antiquate the genius of K. O. Müller, or the grace with which he shows that the plaintive lays of shepherd and of vine-dresser express the constant pathos in Southern Nature of the burning up of green and bloom by the fierce heats of a semi-tropical summer. We now know that Nature provides this rest for her vegetation

K. O. Müller's contribution.

¹ Accordingly, some use was made of the exceptional and alarming phenomena, such as thunder-storms and eclipses, to supply a more reasonable and adequate cause for the violent transitions from terror and grief to joy, which the theory demanded. But it was the regular daily phenomena which figure in the leading rôle of the comparative mythologers.

² *A History of Greek Classical Literature* (2d ed.), Longmans, 1885. The history of K. O. Müller has since been re-edited and supplemented by Heitz, but in a very different style.

in meridional climates; but the sleep of plants in the drought of torrid sunshine seems to men far less natural than their rest in the long nights and under the white pall of a northern winter.

§ 21. These things, however, account for only a small fraction of the great volume of Greek legend. It is indeed true that the same story will be renewed, the same ideas repeated, by succeeding generations. There is such a principle as the *spontaneous transference of myths*, similar to the constant recurrence of the same old stories in our modern society under new scenery and with new characters. If, for example, a man of odd ways and ridiculous habits haunts any society for a long time, and becomes what is called "a character," a number of anecdotes cluster about his name, which are told to illustrate his peculiarities. Any old person who hears these stories will be certain to recognize some of them as much older than the character in question, and as having been told about some other oddity long passed away; and we may predict with confidence that they will be fitted on in future to some new person who is a suitable subject for them. But what would be thought of the logic which inferred that the story must be false from the beginning because it wanders down the stream of time, making itself a new home in each epoch, or that the person to whom it is fitted must be unreal because he is the hero of a tale which does not really belong to him? Yet I could show that this has been the very attitude assumed by some of the comparative philologers.

§ 22. I will take an instance which the reader will naturally expect to find discussed in this essay,—the legend of the siege of Troy. It may be quite true that old names and old metaphors about the sun or the summer lie hidden in the names of the heroes. It is to me certain that older stories were taken from their owners and fitted on to the newer and more celebrated circumstances of this famous war. But all this I take to be not inconsistent with fact, but even to imply as a sort of necessity that there must really have been such a war, which excited the minds of all the Greeks of a certain date, and so formed the obvious nucleus for all the poetical adventures which clung around it.

The transference of myths.

Old anecdotes doing fresh duty.

Example from the Trojan legend,

but not therefore false.

The brilliant researches of Dr. Schliemann have demonstrated that the locus of the legend was not chosen at random, but that Troy, or Ilium, was in the first place the site of a pre-historic settlement; in the next, that it was conquered and burned, and re-settled again and again. These facts, and the existence of a venerable shrine in the obscure historic town to which the Locrians at an early date sent appeasing donations of virgins to atone for the outrage of their mythical ancestor, the lesser Ajax of the *Iliad*, show that here, as elsewhere, the legend formed itself about a historic site, and with some nucleus of historic fact, — how much will probably forever remain a subject of dispute.¹ If history were an exact science, in which strict demonstration were required at every step, this conclusion might warrant our pursuing Grote's course and rejecting the whole legend as imaginary. But history is really a science of probabilities, in which perhaps this is the greatest charm, that it leaves large room to the imagination in framing hypotheses to satisfy the want of a rational explanation of facts which come before us full grown, without their beginnings being recorded.

The contribu-
tion of Dr.
Schliemann.

History not an
exact science.

I am not concerned here with the problem of the origin of the Homeric poems. Those who wish to know what modern research has done on this great field, and what conclusions I have adopted, may consult my *Greek Literature*, in which the English reader for the first time found a full conspectus of this great controversy.² What now comes before us is to estimate the amount of historical truth which can be extracted from our so-called Homer.

It is certain that there was a great struggle round the very site given in the poems. It was a struggle of many Greek chiefs, at a time when Mycenæ was the richest capital, against

¹ Duruy, in speaking of the controversy as to the site (is it Hissarlik, or Bunarbaschi?), says that even this will never be settled, in spite of the striking discoveries by which Dr. Schliemann has shown that Hissarlik was a prehistoric city, and the total absence of any such evidence upon the other site. But Duruy is probably right, because on these matters we have to deal chiefly with pedants, who if once committed to one alternative, will not accept the most convincing evidence that they have been mistaken. They seem to think the chief merit of a scholar is to maintain an outward show of impecability, and therefore hold the candid confession of a mistake to be not honorable, but disgraceful. Duruy himself inclines to follow E. Curtius, who holds the wrong opinion.

² It has since been treated in a convenient and scholarly form by Professor Jebb in a special book.

the wealth and discipline of the princes about the Troad, of whom the chief of Ilium was the head. This, too, is remarkable, that in spite of the superior wealth and larger population of Asia Minor, the superiority of the Greek peninsula over this greater and richer land is plainly asserted. The whole course of known history has verified this large fact taught by the legend. Greece has always been the poorer sister, and the superior, of Asia Minor.

That Mycenæ was the most powerful city in the Greece of these early days, is another fact nobody would ever have suspected but for the teaching of the legend. Even Dr. Schliemann's new demonstration of its truth, by the display of gold, of luxury, of high art which he found in the royal tombs, would never have been made had he not been guided by the consistent assertions of the *Iliad*. For the massive remains of the fortifications and the tombs proved no guides to the historical Greeks, who knew Argos only as the head of that province, and early forgot the splendor of Mycenæ so far as it was not kept alive in their epic Bible.

§ 23. Quite apart from such particular facts, which teach us that the statements of Greek legend are never to be despised, there are large general conclusions which most of us think warranted by the Homeric poems. We may infer the political ideas prevalent in that early time; the relative importance of king, nobles, and commons; the usages of peace and war; the life of men in its social side; the position of women and of slaves; the religious notions of the day; and such other questions as must be answered if we desire to obtain a living picture of the people. Almost every history of Greece has a chapter on the Homeric poems from this point of view, and I think that here Duruy's sketch, especially of the early religion,¹ may fairly take its place beside the chapters in Grote which were long the model to us all.

What I had to say on the subject was set down in the opening chapters of my *Social Life in Greece*, which the classical public have received with approval, though some stray critics have expressed their dissent, without under-

¹ Below, chap. vi.

taking to meet and refute my arguments. Until that is done, the picture I have given of the aristocratic society described in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* holds the field, and it is unnecessary to defend it here. Perhaps, however, recent inquiry may have led some students to imagine that I have attached too much credit to the Homeric pictures of life, seeing that they are now often asserted to be artificial, and constructed by the poets to represent an age and a society different from their own.

We cannot verify what these poets describe by anything which we know in historical Greece, without very large allowances. The games, for example, described in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad* are totally distinct in character from the Olympic games,—the oldest historical contests of the same kind known to us. The monarchy of Agamemnon and of Menelaus is totally different from that of Sparta, which survived into the light of history; and even the poets themselves constantly tell you that they speak of men not such as the men that now are, but greater, stronger, and happier. On the other hand, when we seek for support from the very ancient remains found at Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Troy in recent years, we find no clear corroboration, and must admit that the arms, the dress, and probably the life of the great men whose splendor we have unearthed do not correspond to the descriptions of the same things in Homer. This has been the subject of a special book by W. Helbig,¹ and the general result at which he arrives is merely negative. The civilization found by Dr. Schliemann is apparently not that of Homer. Is the latter then purely imaginary, neither prehistoric nor historic? Is the life described as artificial as the language?

§ 24. For now we know, since the researches of Fick, that the apparent jumble of dialects in the poems cannot possibly be any original language which embraced all the dialects, far less a judicious selection from each due to the genius of the poet, but rather the incongruous result of the adaptation of an older form (*Æolic*) to the wants of a newer and different (*Ionic*) public. This rehandling of great poems to make them intelligible is an almost universal phenomenon, and now affords us the first

¹ *Das Homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert*, 1884.

reasonable theory for the extraordinary phenomena presented by Homer's language. Of course there are later poems, and possibly later passages in the old poems, where this artificial jumble was deliberately imitated by men who found it already achieved, and merely accepted it as the received epic language. But these passages are insignificant. The body of the poems was rehandled for the practical purpose of making them intelligible, just as Dryden rehandled Chaucer.

In this theory of Fick, which he has defended with great acuteness and learning, we have the greatest advance made in our day as regards the language of Homer. Of course it has not yet been accepted by German scholars wedded to some other theory, or by English scholars who are afraid to commit themselves, and wait to see how the tide of opinion turns. I myself think Fick's weak point is his close adherence to the dissection of the *Iliad* into three successive layers by A. Kirchhoff, and his attempt to show that the parts severed from the older as accretions by Kirchhoff are also exactly the parts which were composed in the later (Ionic) dialect, and which therefore do not show the traces of older forms elsewhere to be found. Fick may be right even here; but I cannot see my way to agree with him.¹

But when the conservatives retorted that in presupposing a rehandling of the dialect, and an imperfect translation into newer forms, he was assuming a fact unique in literature, — certainly in Greek literature, — he smote them "hip and thigh" by showing parallel cases, not only in mediæval poetry, but in the collateral Greek lyric poetry. He showed that old epigrams, for example, had been altered to make them intelligible, while an occasional form for which no *metrical* equivalent could be found was allowed to remain.²

§ 25. I have delayed over this important and novel theory not unduly, because its adoption affects the question of the artificiality of the poems. If, as was thought formerly, the poets were distinctly composing in an artificial dialect, into which they foisted forms from various dialects for the purpose of

¹ I understand that Mr. W. Leaf, one of the highest English authorities, holds some such view on this problem.

² Thus at the end of a famous epigram on Thermopylæ composed in Laconian Greek, and reformed into literary language, *χελιάδες τέτορες* remained, because *τέσσαρες* would not scan.

appearing learned in archaic language, we might fairly suspect such a pedantic school of playing tricks with manners and customs, and of omitting or accentuating as they fancied, to make an archaic picture according to their lights. And this is in fact what they are charged with having done by the most recent English historian of Greece.¹

But on the new theory, we have before us merely the verbal changes in what may be old and genuine, perhaps made with all care to preserve the original work. It is as if some Englishman were to make one of Burns's Scotch poems, which are so difficult to ordinary people, accessible by turning the hard words into their English equivalents, leaving here and there those which could not be removed without destroying rhythm or metre. The new version would doubtless sacrifice the flavor of the rude original, but could in no proper sense be called an artificial composition, and would probably preserve all the facts set down by the poet in its jargon.

There is another evidence alleged for the artificiality of the Homeric poems which has not any greater weight. It is the use of epithets and of forms evidently determined by the convenience of the metre. In all poetry of all ages metre is a shackle,—perhaps modern rhyme more distinctly so than the quantities of the hexameter. Yet these shackles, if they mar the efforts of the poetaster, only serve to bring out into greater light the excellence of the true poet. And the longer the Homeric poems are read, the more firmly are all good critics persuaded of their supreme excellence.

This it is which makes any systematic artificiality to my mind most improbable. The difference between a learned epic of a really reflective age and the *Iliad* is illustrated by the *Argonautics* of Apollonius Rhodius, a great poet in his way, but unmistakably and lamentably artificial. I agree, therefore, with Thirlwall, that the Homeric poets described an age not very different from that in which they lived, and that the reason why widely different societies, such as the Periclean Athenian, or the modern American, can appreciate these pictures, is that they are not

Illustration
from English
poetry.

The use of
stock epithets.

High excel-
lence incompat-
ible with arti-
ficiality.

The Homeric
poems there-
fore mainly
natural.

¹ Evelyn Abbott, *History of Greece*, i. 158 seqq.

constructed, but adapted from a real experience, drawn from real human nature, and reflecting real and permanent human passions. The most unreal thing in the poems is of course their theology; and yet this became in after days perhaps more real than the rest by its universal adoption among the Greeks as the authoritative account of their gods.

§ 26. The Homeric poems therefore give us a general picture of the state of Greece at a time shortly before the dawn of history; for such poems could not be composed and held together without writing, and when writing becomes diffused, history begins. But the poets were still in an age not controlled by criticism or subject to the verifications of study. Hence they could deal loosely with particulars, omit details that suited them not, describe places poetically rather than topographically, — so it is that the Catalogue of the Ships will not agree with the rest; and in many other cases there is evidence that the lays brought together were not weeded of their mutual inconsistencies, or compelled to conform strictly to the final plan.

It is therefore certain that according as critics lay stress on the great consistency of character and feelings in these poems, they will, as Mr. Gladstone does, exaggerate their historical value, and set them down as almost sober history. When the other spirit prevails, and we attend to the many flaws in plot and inconsistencies of detail, we shall have acute scholars, like Mr. Evelyn Abbott, denying that either the assertions or the omissions in the poems are evidence worth anything for any historical purpose. Yet even these sceptics will not refrain from drawing pictures of Greek life from these false and treacherous epics.

I have dealt at some length with this question, because Duruy, with the practical spirit which he everywhere manifests, refuses to take any share in its discussion, and leaves it to mere critics. He is content that the poems are certainly old, and contain a picture of early Greek life. And so he gives two excellent chapters on the manners and customs, and on the religion, of the people represented in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. He has more right to draw this explicit and attractive picture, and he does it better, than the modern sceptics; but I do not think he has

But only generally true;

and therefore variously judged by various minds.

Duruy's attitude.

advanced much beyond the exposition of Grote. Let it be understood that the evidence is uncertain, and only probable; but then let us by all means try to work what we have into a consistent picture of human life.

§ 27. We may now pass from so-called legend to so-called early history. All students, from Thucydides downward, have held that shortly after the state of things described in Homer, important invasions and consequent dislocations of population took place in Greece, so that what meets us in the dawn of sober history differs widely from what Homer describes. These various movements have their mythical name,—the Return of the Heracleidæ; and their historical,—the invasion of Bœotia and Phocis by the Thessalians, and the invasion and conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorian mountaineers. The pressure so produced drove waves of settlers to Asia Minor, where the coasts and islands were covered with Greek cities,—Æolian, Ionian, and Dorian. But these cities always claimed to be colonies from Greece and told of mythical founders who led them to the East.

We have no early account of these Asiatic settlements. Their traditions were not apparently discussed critically till the time of Ephorus, the pupil of Isocrates, who lived close to Alexandrian days; and we know part of what he said from quotations in Strabo and from the account given, rather irrelevantly, by Pausanias in the book on Achaia in his *Tour*, which was not composed till our second century. The metrical geography attributed to Scymnus of Chios¹ gives us some additional facts; but on the whole we may say that our account of all this early history is derived from late and very theoretical antiquarians.

They did not hesitate to put these events into the tenth or eleventh century before Christ, but on what kind of evidence we shall presently discuss. From the Asiatic settlements and from the rich cities in Eubœa (Chalcis and Eretria) went out more colonies to the coasts of Thrace and the Black Sea; but these are placed at such reasonable dates, in the seventh century, that we must be disposed to give them easier credence.

§ 28. Between these two waves of colonization, both in date and in credibility of details, come the famous settlements in

¹ Printed in C. Müller's *Geographi Graeci*.

Sicily, of which a brief account is given by Thucydides at the opening of his sixth book; and it is no doubt the apparent precision of this account, and the general accuracy in other respects of the author, which has made this colonization to Sicily and Southern Italy one of the early portions of Greek history most readily accepted by even the newest sceptics. It is to me quite extraordinary how the general seriousness and literary skill of an author make even practised critics believe anything he chooses to say. We shall soon come to a similar instance in Xenophon's *Anabasis*.

Any one who reads with care the account of Thucydides will see that he cannot possibly be writing from his own knowledge or inquiry, but from some older and far worse authority, — doubtless one of the chroniclers¹ or story-tellers who gathered, most uncritically, the early legends of various portions of the Greek world. It has long since been suggested, and with the strongest probability, that Thucydides' authority was the Syracusan Antiochus, who compiled the early annals of Sicily with the evident intention of enhancing the glory of his native city.

On what principles of chronology did these chroniclers proceed?

The great and only patent of respectability in any Greek house or city of early times was foundation by a hero or the direct descendant of a hero; for the heroes were sons or grandsons of the gods, from whom all Greek nobility was derived. The Homeric poems, in making or defining the Greek theology, also told of the great houses directly descended from Zeus or Heracles; and so a royal house which descended from these personages or a city founded by them, secured for itself a dignity recognized by all the race. To cite late historical instances, the Macedonian kings made good their claim to being Greeks and civilized men by showing their descent from the hero Æacus, whose descendants the Æacids figure so prominently in the legendary wars. The Romans, when first they came into contact with Greek culture, and felt at the same time their superior strength and their social inferiority, at once accepted and promoted the story invented or adapted for them in Sicily, and

¹ The Greek name is *λογιστοί*, not *λογογράφοι*, which means a speech-writer. Cf. below, § 31, a passage from Clinton which also applies here.

perhaps also at Pergamum, that they were a colony of Trojans, led by Æneas, the child of Aphrodite by a mortal hero.

If these things took place in the dry tree of sober history, what must have taken place in the green? Every city was bound to have a heroic founder, and to have been established in almost mythical times. Even in late and reflecting Hellenistic cities. days, as I have already mentioned (§ 16), when the successors of Alexander founded new towns in Syria and Asia Minor, stories continued to be invented alleging old Hellenic settlements of mythical heroes in these places, whose shrines were accordingly set up, and their worship instituted, to produce an appearance of respectability in upstart creations.

It is not usually felt by modern readers that in consequence of these sentiments the great thing was not to have a long pedigree for a family or city, but to have as short a pedi- Glory of short pedigrees. gree as possible for its founder. To be the son or grandson of a god was a great thing; to be his remote descendant was only to cling on to real nobility like the younger and remoter branches of great English families. This will indicate how strong was the tendency to derive an early origin from a great and known descendant of the gods or their acknowledged sons. The subsequent history and fortunes of a city were comparatively vulgar, provided it was founded by a Heracleid, — the tenth or fifteenth in descent from Temenus or Hyllus. Hence the systematic habit of all early chronologers *of counting downwards from Heracles or the Trojan war*, and not upwards from their own days.

§ 29. I have already declared that I put more faith than the modern sceptical historians in the pictures of life and manners left us in the epic poetry, that I do not believe pure The sceptics credulous in chronology. invention to be a natural or copious source for the materials of early poets. But the very sceptics to whom I here allude are in my mind quite too credulous on the matter of early chronology, and quite too ready to accept statements of accurate dates where no accurate dates can be ascertained.¹

¹ The solitary exception is Sir G. Cox, whose *History of Greece* has found little favor, in spite of its originality. He will not set down any date earlier than 660 B. C. as worthy of acceptance; and I think he is right. But he also rides the solar theory of the myths to death, and so repels his reader at the very outset of his work.

This is the main topic on which I claim to have shown strong reasons for rejecting what Grote, Curtius, Durny, and the others have accepted. They have all agreed in giving up such dates as 1184 B. C. for the siege of Troy, or 1104 B. C. for the Return of the Heraeids; and yet they accept 776 for the first Olympiad, and 736 for the first colony (Naxos) in Sicily, on precisely the same kind of evidence. And they do this in spite of the most express evidence that the list of Olympiads was edited or compiled *late* (after 460 B. C.), and *starting from no convincing evidence*, by Hippias of Elis. This passage from Plutarch's *Life of Numa*, which I cited and expounded in an article upon the Olympiads in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1881. is so capital that it shows either ignorance or prejudice to overlook its importance. "To be accurate," says Plutarch, "as to the chronology [of Numa], is difficult, and especially what is inferred from the Olympic victors, whose register they say that Hippias the Eleian published late, starting from nothing really trustworthy."¹ Nor is it possible to hold that this was some sudden and undue scepticism in the usually believing Plutarch; for I showed at length that the antiquarian Pausanias, whose instinct for very old things was of the strongest, could find no monument older than the thirty-third Olympiad.

We know that there were other and earlier lists; but they did not agree with the Olympiads. There was the greatest difficulty in synchronizing Iphitus, king of Elis, supposed founder of the games, with the Spartan Lyeurgus, who was supposed to have given them his countenance, and with Corœbus, the epigram upon whose tomb seems to have said that he had won the first sprint-race. They had to assume twenty-eight Olympiads before 776, to reach their traditional date for Lyeurgus, and pretended that the foundation of 776 was only a reorganization. This is not the place for minute details, so I will refer the reader to the article above named, and add my plain statement that any historian of Greece, writing nowadays, who blinks this evidence and repeats the usual early dates, is only repeating a vulgar error after the manner of the ordinary public.²

¹ Will it be believed that E. Curtius paraphrases this remark (*ἀπ' οὐθενὸς ἀρμώμενον ἀναγκαίου πρὸς πίστιν*) by "zuerst wissenschaftlich bearbeitet von Hippias"?

² It is an axiom, to which I shall revert, that all sceptics have their credulous side; and

§ 30. It is curious, moreover, that on one point this traditional chronology had been rejected, and an important date in early Greek history revised, by Ernst Curtius; and yet he holds to the tradition in every other case. The date of Pheidon of Argos, the famous tyrant who coined money first in Greece, and who celebrated an Olympic contest in spite of Sparta and Elis, was placed by some of the old chronologists in 747 B. C., the eighth Olympiad, because Pheidon counted as the tenth from Temenus, the first Heraclid king of Argos. All the rational inferences, however, to be made from his life and work pointed to a much later date;¹ so that by a simple emendation the twenty-eighth Olympiad — also an irregular festival, according to Hippias' list — was substituted; and thus Curtius has made a most instructive and interesting combination, by which this tyrant and his relation to Sparta become part of the rational development of Peloponnesian history.

I see a tendency in the more recent historians² to abandon even this gain, and go back to the old date, — probably because such a step would imperil many other old dates, and cast the historians into the turmoil of revising their traditional views. For when you once root up one of these early dates, many others are bound to follow.

There is another "tenth Temenid" specially connected in the legends with Pheidon, as his contemporary and opponent, Archias of Corinth, who is said to have led the first colony to Sicily. I have no doubt that the same chronography which placed Pheidon in the eighth Olympiad (747 B. C.) placed Archias there, and allowing for a few years of domestic struggles,

so we find that Mr. Evelyn Abbott, a learned and able man, who will not accept anything as real fact from the Homeric poems, takes with childish faith the list in Eusebius, and tells us that there we can read the names of the actual victors from 776 B. C. to 221 A. D. (*History of Greece*, i. 246.) And he adds, with charming naïveté, that the alleged fact of one thousand years' record of foot-races "would be incredible if it were not true. But it is true," etc. That a critical historian should tell us these things dogmatically, without touching upon any of the difficulties involved, can only be accounted for by the theory that he was following some authority he respected, such as Duncker, without thinking the matter out for himself.

¹ I notice that older scholars, such as Newton, in his *Chronology*, and Mitford, show quite a wholesome scepticism concerning Pheidon's date, which they are disposed to bring down even lower.

² *E. g.*, Duncker, Abbott, and the author of the present work.

sent him to Sicily in 736 B. C.¹ To my mind this legend is quite unhistorical, nay, — possibly here it may have falsified history; for though it may have suited the national vanity of Antiochus of Syracuse and other old historians to magnify their own city by putting it first, or practically first, in the list, the whole situation points to a different course of events.

Archias is said to have left a party to settle at Coreyra, when on his way; he is said to have sent out and helped neighboring colonies. It is surely improbable that Greek adventurers associated with Pheidon in legend. in search of good land and convenient harbors should fix on Sicily, passing by the splendid sites of Tarentum, Sybaris, Croton, and Locri. That these sites were fully appreciated, is shown by the flourishing cities which the legend asserts to have been founded in the generation succeeding the origin of Syracuse. Will any unprejudiced man believe all this most improbable history? The one fact which the old chronologers of Syracuse could not get over was this: from time immemorial Greek ships arriving in Sicily offered sacrifices at the temple of Apollo Archegetes at Naxos. Hence Naxos must really be the first settlement.

In the following year, says Thucydides, Syracuse was founded; and then all the dates which he copies from his authority — most likely Antiochus — are, as usual, downward from the date of Syracuse, and all, strange to say, in numbers divisible by five.

§ 31. It is the authority of Thucydides which has imposed upon the learned this artificial chronology. The scholar is often wanting in acuteness. There are, I suppose, plenty of Germans who would believe Thucydides far more implicitly than their Bible, and because he appears careful and trustworthy in contemporary affairs, actually assume that he must be equally credible in matters wholly beyond his ken. I suppose they imagine, though

¹ Though the Return of the Heraclids was placed by Eratosthenes in 1104 B. C., older authorities, just as competent, placed it later. Thus Isocrates, in three of his orations, delivered 366-342 B. C., repeats that the Dorians had now been four hundred years in Peloponnesus. Applying this round number, we obtain 1066-1042 for the Return of the Heraclids. The tenth generation, according to Greek counting, down from this date for Temenus, would give us 760-730 B. C. This may be the very computation by which the dates of Archias and Pheidon were fixed. Duncker (i. 139) thinks the Dorians cannot have come before 1000 B. C. If he reasoned like a Greek, and held to Pheidon being the tenth Temenid, he would straightway put him below 700 B. C.

they do not state it, that the historian consulted State archives in Sicily, and set down his conclusions from a careful analysis of their evidence. We have no trace or mention of any such systematic archives; and if the historian indeed confined himself to this, what shall we say to his assertion that the Sikels passed from Italy to Sicily just three hundred years before the advent of the Greeks? How could he know this? But the solemn manner of the man and his habitual reticence concerning his authorities have wonderfully imposed upon the credulity of the learned.

Nobody rates Thucydides higher than I do, wherever he is really competent to give an opinion. His accuracy is not, to my mind, impeached by the fact that he is found to have made a very slovenly copy of a public document lately recovered in the Acropolis. The variations, though many, are trifling, and hardly affect the substance of the document. Yet this will do more to discredit him with the pedants than what seems to me dangerous credulity in larger questions. He is not to be blamed; no man escapes entirely from the prejudices of his age. The most sceptical in some points, as I have already noticed,¹ let their credulity transpire in others. Sir George Cornwall Lewis, whose whole life was spent in sceptical arguments against early history, is found to accept the unity of authorship and unity of design of the Homeric poems. Grote, so careful and precise in accepting documents, subscribes to the genuineness of the Platonic *Letters*, which no other competent scholar admits; and so I suppose that in every sceptic, however advanced, some nook of belief will be found, often far less rational than the beliefs he has rejected.

This truth, which applies to modern scholars so signally, applies no less to the ancient critics of the Greek legends. When we find that Thucydides accepts a piece of ancient history like this account of the Greek settlement of Sicily, we must first of all be sure that he is not the victim of a fit of acquiescence in an older chronicler. When we hear that Aristotle and Polybius, two great and sceptical men, accepted the Olympiads, we must first know exactly what they said about the earlier dates,² and then we must be assured that they did

¹ Cf. above, sect. 29, *note*.

² The excerpt alluding to Polybius (printed in his text as vi. 2, 2) merely asserts that in the book of Aristodemus of Elis it was stated that no victors were recorded till the twenty-

not simply acquiesce in the work of Hippias. For this Hippias was clearly a man writing with a deliberate policy. He must produce a complete catalogue; he must make his documents conform to it. And so there is evidence in Pausanias that he not only succeeded in his purpose, but that he modified or re-wrote certain inscriptions which we may suppose did not suit his purpose. I refuse to put faith in such an authority, and I refuse to accept as the first reliable date in Greek history an epoch fixed by all the Greek chronologers in a downward calculation from the Trojan war.—as may be seen even in the scientific and accurate Eratosthenes. His fragments, written at a time when there really existed Greek science, in a day rich with all the learning of previous centuries, still manifest the old faith in the Trojan war, the Return of the Heracleids, the colonization of Ionia, and the guardianship of Lycurgus as events to be fixed both absolutely and in relation to one another, and to serve as a basis for all the succeeding centuries down to the day of real and contemporary records. “In these early dates and eras,” says Fynes Clinton in a remarkable passage,¹ “by a singular error in reasoning, the authority of Eratosthenes is made to be binding upon his predecessors; while those who come after him are taken for original and independent witnesses in matters which they really derived from his chronology. The numbers given by Isocrates for the Return of the Heracleids² are repeated three times, and are more trustworthy; and yet the critics try to correct them by the authority of Eratosthenes.”

Value of
Hippias' work.

Even Eratos-
thenes counts
downward.

Clinton's
warning.

Summary of
the discussion.

§ 32. What, then, is the outcome of all this discussion?

The first three stages of Greek history are, so to speak, isolated, and separated by two blank periods, one of which has to this day remained a blank, over which no bridge has yet been constructed. Over the second, which eighth Olympiad, when Coræbus the Elean won and was recorded as the first victor; from which time the Olympiads were then reckoned. Aristotle is reported to have said the same thing. Aristodemus appears to have been later than Hippias; and still it is to his book, and not to old registers, that the Greek writers refer. The recurrence of the twenty-eighth as an improper Olympiad shows that this number had some important place in the whole discussion. I think it likely that Coræbus really belonged to the twenty-eighth after 776, and not before it. The oldest actual record of a victor which Pausanias could find was from Ol. 33, and this he describes as of extraordinary antiquity. Other details are given in the paper above cited.

¹ *Fasti Hell.*, vol. ii. p. vii.

² Cf. above, sect. 30, note.

immediately preceded proper history, the Greeks made a very elaborate bridge, which they adorned with sundry figures recovered from vague tradition and arranged according to their fancy. But it is only after this reconstructed epoch of transition that we can be sure of our facts.

The first stage is that represented by the prehistoric remains, which, though they are plainly very various in development, and therefore probably in age, are yet by most of us classed together as "without father, mother, or ^{The stage of pre-Homeric remains.} descent," discovering to us the earliest civilization in Greek lands. But this is perhaps too sweeping a statement. For there can hardly be any likelihood that the Eastern parentage of this early luxury, suggested by the legends, will hereafter be disproved. Even the most extreme advocates of Greek originality must allow this early intercourse with and influence of the older civilizations. As to its effects upon historic Greek art, there seems still a gap between the bee-hive tomb and the fortress-wall to the pillared temple, which was a "great gulf fixed" till Dr. Schliemann found the doorways of the palace of Tiryns. They are all planned like a temple *in antis*, — the earliest form, from which the *peripteral* easily follows. And early vases are adorned with rude figures which may be copies of old models such as those found at Mycenæ. But the intermediate steps are still hopelessly obscure.

The earliest and rudest of these remains are not in Greece, but at the island of Therasia, under the lava, and in the fort of Ilion (Troy) excavated by Dr. Schliemann.¹ The more developed both in architectural skill and in ornamental designs ^{Degrees in this stage.} are in Argolis (Mycenæ, Tiryns) and in Attica (Spata, Menidi). As I have already mentioned, this civilization does not appear to be the same as that of the epic poems, and the verdict of the learned declares that it dates from a long anterior epoch. What went on in Greece between the epoch of this curious pre-Hellenic, perhaps

¹ I incline with Bent to place the remains of Santorin before those of Hissarlik, even though they may be in some respects superior in development. As is obvious, the culture of one place does not keep pace with that of another. But the total disappearance from the legends of any mention of the catastrophe which must have disturbed the whole Ægean Sea, compared with the living memories of Troy, is to me a proof that the latter and its destruction must be far more recent than the former. Abbott, who refers to Bent's *Cyclades*, is disposed to the other view (*History of Greece*, i. 43); and so is Duruy (below, chap. ii. § 1).

imported, culture. and the age of Homer, none of us can even guess. But the fact that the popular poetry chose for the scenes of its adventures these very sites, seems to show that the importance of Troy, Mycenæ. and Tiryns either lasted down to the 'epic' time. or was so recent as to hold the popular imagination.

On the whole. therefore, I am disposed to consider these prehistoric splendors as not so extravagantly old, — surviving, ^{Probably not so old as is often supposed.} haps, till 1000 B. C.;¹ though of course the Trojan remains may be far older than the Mycenæan. At the same time. I protest against making the rudeness of pottery in itself, without any corroboration, a proof of great antiquity. For there is such a thing as neo-barbarism, especially in pottery; and moreover, simple people will go on for a thousand years making their plain household utensils in the same form and with the same decoration.

§ 33. As regards the "epic age," I have already, in my *Greek Literature*, shown ample reasons for not dating it very early; ^{The epic stage.} and the further researches since made seem rather to confirm this view. The society described seems to belong to the eighth century before Christ; but it was gone before the poets brought together their work into the famous epics which were the opening of Greek literature. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* therefore seem to me to describe the second stage of Greek history, which was certainly separated by a considerable gap from the ^{The earliest historical stage.} third. This last begins with the contemporary allusions of the earliest lyric poets, Archilochus, Callinus, Tyrtaeus, — none of whom are earlier than 700 B. C., and more probably lived from 660 B. C. onward.²

According to the theory of the Greeks, which is not yet extinct, three centuries separated this real history from the epic

¹ Duncker, in his very careful discussion (i. 131), thinks the end of this period came about 1100 B. C. I look upon this, in an author who is always liberal with his figures, as a substantial agreement.

² The date of Archilochus, the earliest of the historical figures among Greek poets, used to be fixed about 709 B. C. The researches of Gelzer (*Das Zeitalter des Gyges*) make it certain that this date is wrong, and must be reduced to at least 670 B. C.; for Archilochus names Gyges in an extant fragment, and Gyges appears on a cuneiform inscription as the vassal of an Assyrian king whose time is determinable. Moreover, an eclipse which Archilochus mentions seems to be that which was total at Thasos in April, 647 B. C., where the poet spent his later years. Even the conservative Duncker (vol. ii. p. 175, Eng. ed.) adopts these arguments. Nevertheless, some recent histories stick to the exploded date!

period, when the Trojan heroes and their singers lived; and even among recent critics there are some who wish to place the composition of the *Iliad* as far back as 900 B. C.

I do not believe in so huge a gap in Greek literature. It seems to me impossible that the stream of original epic should have dried up long before Archilochus arose in the middle of the seventh century B. C. And here it is that the moderns have been deceived by the elaborate construction of four centuries of history made by the Greeks to fill the gap between the events of the *Iliad* and the events of the earliest history. In the seventh century we have contemporary allusions to Gyges, king of Lydia, known to us from Assyrian inscriptions; we have yearly archons at Athens, and a series of priestesses at Argos; presently we have historical colonies and many other real evidences on which to rely. But before 700 B. C. it is not so. Some stray facts remained, as when Tyrtaeus tells us that he fought in the second Messenian war, and that the first had been waged by the grandfathers of his fellow-soldiers.¹ The double kingship of Sparta was there, though I am at a loss to know how we can trust a list of names coming down from a time when writing was not known. Nay, we have even distinct examples of fabricated lists. Hellanicus wrote concerning the list of the priestesses at Argos,—in after days a recognized standard for fixing events. But this list reached back far beyond the Trojan war, as it started with Io, daughter of Zeus. The name of the priestess marking the date of the war was solemnly set down. Again, at Halicarnassus has been found a list on stone of twenty-seven priests, starting from Telamon, son of Poseidon, and bringing back the date of the city to 1174 B. C.² The tail of this list also was historical; the beginning must have been deliberately manufactured! From such data the early history of Greece was constructed.³ Lycurgus is a half-

The gap between Homer and Archilochus.

Old lists suspicious, and often fabricated.

¹ The connected history was, however, not set down then, but by an epic poet, Rhianus, and a late prose historian, Myron, both of whom Pausanias, who gives us what we now know of these wars, criticises severely, saying that the prose author is the worse of these bad or incomplete authorities (Pausanias, iv. 6), since he conflicts with Tyrtaeus. How modern historians in the face of this passage can set down fixed dates for these wars, beginning with 783 B. C., passes my comprehension.

² *C. I. G.*, 2655.

³ These inventions were produced at a comparatively late period, and therefore do not conflict with what I said of the rarity of invention in a primitive age with no theories to support.

mythical figure, and probably represents the wisdom of several law-givers. But however individual cases may be judged, in chronology all the early dates are to be mistrusted, and to reconstruct the Greece of the eighth century B. C. requires as much combination and as much imagination as to construct a real account of the Homeric age. I am convinced that two capital features in the usual Greek histories of the eighth century, the reign of Pheidon and the colonization of Sicily, belong, not to that century, but to the next.

Let not the reader imagine that he finds in me one of those who delight in reducing the antiquity of history, and who advocate the more recent date in every controversy. There are nations whose culture seems to be undervalued in duration; to me, for example, those arguments are most convincing¹ which place the great Sphinx of the Pyramids in an epoch before any written records, even in Egypt, so that it remains a monument of sculptured art many thousand years before the Christian era. But the Greeks were mere children in ancient history, and they knew it.

§ 34. At last we emerge into the open light of day, and find ourselves in the seventh century (more strictly 650-550 B. C.), in that brilliant, turbulent, enterprising society which produced the splendid lyric poetry of Alcæus and Sappho, of Aleman and Terpander, and carried Greek commerce over most of the Mediterranean.² We have still but scanty facts to guide us; yet they are enough to show us the general condition of the country, — aristocratical governments which had displaced kings, despots who had displaced aristocracies, and beside them the ancient twin-monarchy of Sparta, gradually passing into the oligarchy of the ephors. There is evidence in the character of Aleman's poetry that he did not sing to a Spartan society at all resembling the solemn state of Lyncurgus. The remains of early art found at Sparta point in the same direction, as do also the strange funeral customs described by Herodotus on the death of the kings.³

¹ I allude to the views of M. G. Maspero in his admirable *Archéologie égyptienne*.

² The reader who desires fuller details may consult the chapter on the "Lyric Age" in my *Social Life in Greece*, and the chapters on the lyric poets in my *History of Greek Literature*.

³ Herodotus, vi. 58.

The Greeks then had before them this model of a respectable and brilliant monarchy. It is nevertheless most remarkable that in all the changes of constitution attempted through the various States, amid the universal respect in which the Spartans were held, no attempt was ever made in Greek history to copy their institutions. The distinct resemblances in some of the Cretan communities were probably not copies, nor can we say that they were Dorian ideas, for the many Dorian States we know well, such as Argos, Corinth, Syracuse, did not possess them.

The Spartan State may therefore be regarded as standing outside the development of Greece, even in the political sense. In one respect only was its policy an aggressive one,—in interfering on the side of the aristocracies against the despots who led the people against their oppressors. It is one of those brilliant general views which make Curtius' history so attractive, that he interprets this great conflict as partly one of race, so far as Ionic and Doric can be called such. The Doric aristocracies of the Peloponnesus were opposed by their Ionic subjects, or by Ionic States rising in importance with the growing commerce and wealth of the Asiatic cities. The tyrants generally carried out an anti-Dorian policy, even though they were often Dorian nobles themselves. There was no more successful aspirant to a tyranny than a renegade nobleman who adopted the cause of the people.

§ 35. I have already alluded to the chapter in Grote's history¹—indeed there is such a chapter in most histories—entitled the "Age of the Despots." The mistake which such a title is likely to engender must be carefully noticed. If we mean the age when this kind of monarch first arose, no objection need be urged; but if it be implied that such an age ceased at any definite moment, nothing can be further from the truth. This form of government was a permanent feature in the Greek world. When the tyrants were expelled from Athens and from the Peloponnesus, they still flourished in Sicily, Italy, the Black Sea coasts, Cyprus, till they reappeared again in Greece.² There was no moment in old Greek history when there were not scores of such

¹ Above, § 8.

² It is likely enough that at no time were they really extinct in the Peloponnesus or in the lesser towns of northern Greece.

despots. The closing centuries, after the death of Alexander, show us most of the Greek States under their control. It was the great boast of Aratus that he freed his neighbors from them, and brought them under the more constitutional Achaean League. But at this period a despot, if he ruled over a large dominion, called himself a king; and we may therefore add to the list most of the so-called kings, who close the history of independent Greece as they commenced it in the legends.

The despot, or tyrant as he is called, has a very bad reputation in Greek history. The Greeks of every age have not only loved individual liberty, but are a singularly jealous people, who cannot endure that one of themselves shall lord it over the rest. Even in the present day Greeks have often told me that they would not for a moment endure a Greek as king, because they all feel equal, and could not tolerate that any one among them should receive such honor and profit. This is why the ancient tyrant, however wisely and moderately he ruled, was always regarded with hatred by the aristocrats he had deposed; so that to them the killing of him was an act of virtue approved by all their society. I very much doubt whether in early days the common people generally had any such feeling, as the tyrant usually saved them from much severer oppression. Of course each individual would revenge a particular wrong or insult, and in later days when a despot overthrew a democratic constitution the lower classes might share in the old aristocratic hatred of the usurper.

§ 36. But in any case the literature was in the hands of the aristocrats; and so we have a long catalogue of accusations against them from Alcæus, Herodotus, Xenophon, Plato, Polybius, Plutarch, — in fact all through Greek literature; according to which the tyrant is a ruffian who usurps power in order that he may gratify his lusts at the expense of all justice and mercy. Feeling himself the enemy of mankind, he is perpetually in a panic of suspicion, and surrounds himself with mercenaries who carry out his behests. He plunders and confiscates, violates the sanctity of the family and the virtue of the young.

This terrible indictment, of which the climax was Lycophron's *Casandreans*. — a tragedy in which the Alexandrian poet rep-

Greek hatred
of the despot,

how far
universal in
early days.

Literary
portraits of the
Greek despot.

resented the tyrant Apollodorus, surrounded by Galatian henchmen, revelling in human blood.¹ has been indorsed by the great democratic historian of our century, to whom the development of political liberty is the great goal of all civilization, and who therefore looks with horror upon those who retard its growth.

But it seems to me that the problem has not been fairly handled, and that there is a great deal to be said for these tyrants, in the face of all this literary evidence.² Of course How far exaggerated. these irresponsible powers were often abused. Coming with no shackle of traditions or scruple of legitimacy to a usurped throne, the same Greek who was so jealous of his neighbor was sure to feel insolent elation at his own success, and deep suspicion of his unsuccessful rivals. And if a case can be found of a tyrant overthrowing a decently working constitution, I surrender it to the verdict of the jury of historians from Herodotus to Grote.

But if the *tyrannis* was so unmixt an evil, how comes it to have been a constant and permanent phenomenon in Greek politics? Man may indeed, as Polybius says, be the most gullible of all animals, though professing to be the most sagacious, and may ever be ready to fall into the same snares that he has seen successful in entrapping others. But surely it exceeds all the bounds of human, not to say Greek, stupidity that men should perpetually set a villain over them to plunder, violate, and exile men and women.

The fact is that the tyrant was at one time a necessity, and even a valuable *moment*, in the march of Greek culture. The aristocratic governments had only substituted a many-headed sovereignty over the poor for the rule of a single king, who might be touched by compassion or reached by persuasion. But who could argue with the clubs of young patricians, who thought the poor no better than their slaves, and swore the solemn oath which Aristotle has preserved: "I will be at enmity with the Demos, and will do it all the harm I can." To these gentlemen the political differences with the people

¹ Cf. above, § 8.

² Mitford, who wrote in the days when tirades against tyrants were in high fashion, brought down a torrent of censure upon his head by saying his word for absolute government against democracy.

had gone quite beyond argument; whatever they urged was true, and whatever was against it false: each side regarded their opponents as morally infamous. Whenever politics reach this condition, it is time to abandon discussion and appeal to an umpire who can enforce his decision with arms.

When the commons had gained wealth and acquired some cohesion, there were consequently violent revolutions and counter-
Questionable statement of Thucydides. revolutions, massacres and confiscations, so that peace at any price was often the cry of the State. Thucydides has drawn a famous picture of the political factions of his day, which he declares to be the novel feature of the times in their violence, fraud, and disregard of every obligation but that of party interests. That clever rhetorician knew well enough that these frauds and violences were no new thing in Greek politics. The poems of Alcæus, still more of Theognis, and many more that were open to him, must have taught him that this war of factions was as old as real Greek history, and that the earliest solution of this terrible problem was the tyrant, who made peace by coercing both sides to his will and punishing with death or exile those that were refractory.

§ 37. In the shocking condition of cities like Athens before Peisistratus, or the Megara of Theognis, we may even go so far as to say that, without an interval during which
The tyrant welds together the opposing parties. both parties were taught simply to obey, no reasonable political life was possible. The haughty noble must be taught that he too had a master; he must be taught how to treat his plebeian brother as another man, and not merely as a beast of burden. The poor must learn that they can be protected from every rich man's oppression, that they can follow their business in peace, and that they can appeal to a sovereign who rules by their sympathy and will listen to their voice.

There were a few cases where the opposing parties even voluntarily elected a single man as umpire, such as Pittacus or Solon,
Cases of an umpire voluntarily appointed. and when their trust was nobly requited. But even in less exceptional cases, such as that of Peisistratus of Athens. I make bold to say that the constitution of Cleisthenes would not have worked, had not the people received the training in peace and obedience given them by the Peisistratid

family. The despots may have murdered or exiled the leading men; they at all events welded their people into some unity, some homogeneity, if it were merely in the common burdens they inflicted, and the common sympathy of the efforts to overthrow them.

This then was the political value of the early tyrants, and it is one which is generally overlooked. Their services to the artistic progress of Greece in art and literature are more manifest, and therefore less ignored. The day of great architectural works, such as the castles and tombs of Argolis, the draining of Lake Copais, had passed away with the absolute rulers of prehistoric days. Even Agamemnon and his fellows would not have dared to set their subjects to such task-work. So long as there were many masters in each city and State, all such achievements were impossible. With the tyrants began the building of large temples, the organizing of fleets, the patronage of clever handicrafts, the promoting of all the arts. It was the care of Peisistratus for the study of Homer, and no doubt for other old literature, which prepared the Athenian people to understand Æschylus. Nay, the tyrant is said to have specially favored the nascent drama, and so to have led the way to the splendid results which come upon us, with apparent suddenness, from liberated Athens. The Orthagorids, the Cypselids, and other single tyrants such as Polycrates of Samos, did similar services for Greek art: they organized fleets and promoted commerce; they had personal intercourse of a more intimate and definite kind with one another than States as such can possibly have; they increased the knowledge and the wealth of the lower classes, as well as their relative position in the State; and so out of apparent evil came real good.¹

Even after all the full experience of Greek democracies, of the complete liberty of the subject, of the value of public discussion, and of the responsibility of magistrates to the people, we find all the later theorists deliberately of opinion that if you could secure the right man, a single-headed State was the most perfect. All the abuses of tyranny, therefore,

¹ I shall return to this subject of tyrants in connection with their later Hellenistic features. Cf. below, § 71.

so carefully pictured by literary men, had not seemed to them equal to the abuses of mob-rule, — the impotence and the vacillation of an incompetent or needy public. I cannot but repeat, that if we regard the world at large, and the general fitness of men for democratic liberties, we shall hesitate to pronounce the majority of races even now fit for government by discussion and by vote of the majority.

§ 38. Let me add a word here upon the nature of those Greek democracies which followed upon the expulsion of aristocrats and tyrants, and which have been so lauded in modern histories. The panegyric of Grote is well known; and there is also a very fine chapter¹ in which Duruy, apparently without being intimate with Grote (for he quotes Thirlwall in his own support) has not only defended and praised this form of government at Athens, but even justifies the coercion of all recalcitrant members of the Delian confederacy. The reader of this book has therefore the case of democracy in Greece ably and brilliantly stated.

But in the first place let me repeat that they were one and all slaveholding democracies, and that for each freeman with a vote there were at least three or four slaves. Hence a Greek democracy can in no wise be fairly compared with the modern democracies of artisans and laborers who have to do their own drudgery, and have hardly any servants. Even very poor Athenians kept a slave or two; they were saved the worry of all the most troublesome or degrading manual labor; and so the Athenian or the Tarentine was in a serious sense an aristocrat as well as a democrat: he belonged to a small minority ruling a far greater population.

It is quite possible that all the modern aids which our poor can use are not as efficient in helping them to attain culture as the leisure granted to the Greek democrat by slave labor at home. Nor have we as yet any instance of a society becoming really refined without the aid of some inferior class, some Gibeonites, to hew wood and draw water.

But if from this point of view the ancient artisan was far freer than his modern counterpart, in another he was not so.

¹ Vol. II. chap. xix. sect. 2.

As against his brother-citizen, the laws secured him equality and justice; but against the demands of the State he had no redress. The Greek theory required that all citizens should be regarded simply as the property of the State; and such a thing as an appeal to a High Court of Judicature against the decree of the assembly would have been regarded as absurd.¹ The Demos was indeed the "sovereign people," but sovereign in the sense of a tyrant, or irresponsible ruler, as Aristophanes tells the Athenians.

These are the general features of Greek democracy, which are not understood by most of the Germans, and not urged with sufficient clearness by English historians.

§ 39. I now pass on to the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, and their treatment by ancient and modern critics.

It is our peculiar good fortune to have these two wars narrated respectively by the two greatest historians whom Greece produced, — Herodotus and Thucydides. Unfortunately, perhaps, after the manner of most historians, they have made wars their chief subject; but this criticism applies less to Herodotus, who in leading up to his great climax has given us so many delightful digressions on foreign lands and their earlier history that his book is rather a general account of the civilized world in the sixth century, with passages from older history, than a mere chronicle of the great war. Nor does he disdain to tell us piquant anecdotes and unauthorized gossip. — all a picture of his own mind and time, if not an accurate record of older history. Making, therefore, every allowance for the often uncritical, though always honest, view he took of men and affairs, there can be no doubt that the very greatness of his subject puts him far above Thucydides, whose mighty genius was confined to a tedious and generally uninteresting conflict, consisting of yearly raids, very small battles, and only one large and tragic expedition, throughout the whole course of its five and twenty years. Still more sad is it that this great man, having undertaken to narrate a very small, though a very long, war, so magnifies its importance as to make it the greatest crisis that ever happened, and therefore excludes

¹ This has for the first time perhaps been clearly put by Duruy in his *History of Rome*.

from his history almost everything else which would be of real interest to the permanent study of Greek life. He passes briefly over the deeply interesting but now quite obscure period of the rise of the Athenian power. A proper history of the fifty years preceding his war would indeed have been an inestimable boon to posterity. He passes in contemptuous silence over all the artistic development of Athens; Pheidias, Ictinus, Polygnotus, the building of the Parthenon, of the temple of Theseus,—all this is a blank in his narrative. No one who really knows and feels old Greek life can refrain from bursts of ill-humor when he thinks of the studied reticences of this great man.

And yet such was his literary genius, such his rhetorical force, that crabbed and sour as he may have been, he has impressed his own and his subject's importance so deeply upon the learned world as to bring the Peloponnesian war into much greater prominence among modern writers than the greater events of Greek history. Thus in a well-known selection of fifteen decisive battles from the world's history, the defeat of the Athenians

at Syracuse figures as a world event; whereas it only settled the question whether one kind of Greek or another should dominate in Sicily, and perhaps in Greece.

The domestic quarrels within the limits of a single nationality are not of this transcendent import. If the Carthaginians had crushed Rome, or the northern hordes of Asia destroyed the civilization of Persia when it was growing under Cyrus, there indeed a great battle might be called a decisive event. But even had the Athenians conquered Syracuse, it is quite certain that their domination of the Greek world would have broken down from within, from the inherent weaknesses in all Greek democracies, which Plato and Aristotle long ago analyzed and explained.

§ 40. This statement requires some illustration to the American reader, who thinks, I suppose rightly, that the surest and most stable of governments is that based upon the free resolve of the whole nation. But the Athenian imperial democracy was no such government. In the first place, there was no such thing as *representation* in their constitution. Those only had votes who could come and give them at the general assembly,

His deliberate omissions.

Effects of his literary genius.

The Peloponnesian war of no world consequence.

No representation in Greek assemblies.

and they did so at once upon the conclusion of the debate.¹ There was no Second Chamber or Higher Council to revise or delay their decisions; no High Court of Appeal to settle claims against the State. The body of Athenian citizens formed the assembly. Sections of this body formed the jury to try cases of violation of the constitution either in act or in the proposal of new laws.

The result was that all outlying provinces, even had they obtained votes, were without a voice in the government. But as a matter of fact they had no votes, for the States which became subject to Athens were merely tributary; and nothing was further from the ideas of the Athenians than to make them members of their Republic in the sense that a new State is made a member of the American Republic.

No outlying members save Athenian citizens settled in subject towns.

This it was which ruined the great Roman Republic, without any military reverses, and when its domination of the world was unshaken. Owing to the absence of representation, the Empire of the Roman Republic was in the hands of the city population, who were perfectly incompetent, even had they been in moral earnest, to manage the government of the vast kingdoms their troops had conquered. In both cases the outsiders were governed wholly for the benefit of the city crowd.

Similar defect in the Roman Republic.

The mistakes and the injustices which resulted in the Roman executive were such that any able adventurer could take advantage of the world-wide discontent and could play off one city faction against the other. It is not conceivable that any other general course of events should have taken place at Athens, had she become the ruler of the Hellenic world. Her Demos regarded itself as a sovereign, ruling subjects for its own glory and benefit; there can be no doubt whatever that the external pressure of widespread discontent, which was the primary cause of the Peloponnesian war, would have co-operated with

Hence an extended Athenian empire not maintainable.

¹ Cicero specially mentions this as a grave defect in Greek democracies, and compares it with the Roman precaution of making the voting by tribes or centuries a formal act at a distinct time. Here is this important and little-known passage (*Pro Flacco*, cap. vii.): "Nullam enim illi nostri sapientissimi et sanctissimi viri vim concionis esse voluerunt; quae scisceret plebes, aut quae populus juberet, summota concione, distributis partibus, tributum et centuriatum descriptis ordinibus, classibus, aetatibus, auditis auctoribus, re multos dies promulgata et cognita, juberi vetarique voluerunt. Graecorum autem totae respublicae sedentis concionis temeritate administrantur." These safeguards were, however, quite insufficient, as the course of history proved. The Athenians also had some safeguards, especially in preparing resolutions for the assembly by a previous council; but this too was almost useless.

politicians within, if not enemies without, and that ambitious military chiefs, as at Rome, would have wrested the power from the sovereign people either by force or by fraud.

This is why I contend that the result of the Peloponnesian war had little import in the world's history, even in its largest crisis. That the little raids and battles, the capture of a couple of hundred Spartans, or the defeat of twenty ships should still be studied with minuteness, and produce libraries of modern criticism, is due solely to the power of the historian and the just prominence of the famous language in which he wrote his book.

§ 41. This is, I think, the most signal instance on record of the falsification of the proper perspective of history by individual literary genius. It was a common-place in old days that The glamour of Thucydides. Achilles and Agamemnon, Ulysses and Diomedes, all the famous heroes of the Trojan war, would have died in obscurity and passed out of sight but for the power of the inspired poet. How much truer is it that Phormion and Brasidas, Gylippus and Lamachus would have disappeared from history but for the eloquence of the Attic historian! Pericles would have remained a historic figure, and so would Lysander (who is almost beyond the period), whether Thucydides willed it or not. The rest were important in their day and to their city, not beyond these limits. The really great spirits from whom the Athens of that day derives her just supremacy, which no Lysander could take away, are, except Pericles, never mentioned in all his work. No one could ever suspect, from this severe and business-like narrative, that the most splendid architects, sculptors, and dramatic poets the world has yet seen were jostling each other in the streets of Athens.

It seems thankless to complain of what Thucydides has not done, instead of acknowledging what he undertook to do and has His calmness assumed. performed with extraordinary perfection. Never was the history of a long war written with more power, judgment, and, I was going to say, impartiality. But I honestly believe that his book would have been far inferior had it indeed been coldly impartial; and I think Grote has shown, what I have supplemented in my *Greek Literature*, that strong personal feelings underlie the apparent calmness of his decisions.

§ 42. This estimate of Thucydides is, however, the very point

on which I feel it almost impossible to persuade the classical world,—by which I mean that large and important body who teach classics to schoolboys and college students. The schoolmaster interest so completely commands the English and German literary journals that any novel opinion which runs counter to scholastic traditions is sure to be set down as the outcome of rashness and ignorance. For in addition to his just influence as a great writer, Thucydides has enlisted in his favor all those to whom Greek grammar with its intricacies is the most divine of all pursuits.

If his speakers, as one of them tells us, strove hard to conceal what they had to say, under new and startling forms, in order to outrun in smartness the cleverness of their audience, and play a sort of intellectual hide-and-seek with their critics, so Thucydides himself plays hide-and-seek with the grammarians, both ancient and modern. To make out exactly what he means his speakers to say, and to render it with every shade of nicety into modern English, is a task to which many acute men have devoted years, and upon their success depends a very considerable reputation. It is but natural that this school, or these schoolmen, should become so enamoured of these intricacies as to love them with a love passing the love of women, and consequently resent bitterly any word of depreciation which affects the importance of their idol.

Enthusiastic study of any subject is always praiseworthy; the insistence upon minute accuracy, and contempt for slovenliness in writing, is always to be admired and encouraged, for it is to these qualities in the minute scholars that we owe precision in thinking, and still more clearness and correctness in style. To this class, therefore, let Thucydides remain forever the foremost of books; but let them not try to bully us into the belief that because they have studied his grammar more carefully than any other, they are therefore to decide that he is absolutely faultless as a narrator, and absolutely trustworthy in whatever he says.

I have already dealt with this latter point;¹ what I am here concerned with is the exaggerated place given in our modern

¹ Above, § 28.

histories to the petty feuds and border-raids of his often tedious chronicle.—tedious only because the events he describes are completely trivial. Herodotus, on the other hand, is apt to be underrated in these modern days. The field he covers is so wide, and the chances of error in observation so great, that it is impossible he should not often be found wrong. But what would our notions of earlier Greece or Asia Minor be without his marvellous prose epic?

§ 43. Let us pass to another remarkable case of distorted perspective, likewise due to transcendent literary ability.

The next great author who has fascinated the world by the grace and vividness of his style is the Athenian Xenophon. In his famous *Anabasis*, or Expedition of the Ten Thousand to assist the insurgent Cyrus, he has told us the story of what I suppose had happened many times before, of Greek mercenaries being induced by large pay to serve in the quarrels of remote Asiatic sovereigns, and finding their patron assassinated or defeated, they had their choice of taking service under his rival (with the chance of being massacred), or of cutting their way out of the country to some Hellenic colony. It was probably due to the ability and eloquence of Xenophon that the present very large and formidable body of mercenaries chose and carried out the latter course. His narrative of this Retreat, in which he claims to have played the leading part, is one of the most delightful chapters of Greek history.

But in all the modern histories, without exception, both the events and the narrator have assumed what seem to me gigantic proportions. It is not the least true that the Greeks were dependent upon this source for their knowledge of the weakness of the Persian Empire. The campaigns of Agesilaus in Asia Minor, which were almost synchronous, and not by any means suggested (so far as we know) by the expedition, showed the same facts clearly enough. The military weakness of the Empire was already a common-place. Its financial power in the face of the poor and divided Greek States was the real difficulty, and the only difficulty, in the way of a Hellenic conquest.

The way in which the Ten Thousand were received, upon

their return to Greek lands, shows all this plainly enough. Instead of being hailed as pioneers of a new conquest, as heroes who had done what nobody dreamed of doing before, they were merely regarded as a very large and therefore very dangerous body of turbulent marauders, who had acquired consistency and discipline by the force of adversity, and who might make a dangerous attack on any civilized city, unless a little time were gained, during which their strength and harmony became dissipated by defections and quarrels among themselves. Their ill-gotten wealth would soon be squandered, and they must then be induced to seek new service separately, and not in such a mass as to intimidate their employers.

Reception of
the Ten Thou-
sand on their
return.

This is the rational account of what historians often represent as the shabby, or even infamous, conduct of the Lacedæmonians, then the leading power in Greece. The policy they adopted was perfectly successful, and the Ten Thousand melted away as quickly as they were gathered; but we can hardly hope that many of them retired into so innocent and cultivated a leisure as Xenophon did in after years.

The army
dissipated.

§ 44. So much for the expedition; now a word or two concerning this famous Xenophon. If his expedition had indeed made the figure in the contemporary world that it does in his *Anabasis* and in modern histories, who can doubt that he would have been recognized as one of the chief military leaders of the age; and as his services were in the market, that he would have been at once employed, either as a general or as a confidential adviser, in the memorable campaigns which occupied the Greeks after his return? Why did he never command an army again?¹ Why was he never tried as a strategist against Epameinondas, the rising military genius of the age? The simple fact is that he has told us the whole story of his Retreat from his own point of view; he has not failed to put himself in the most favorable light; and it is more than probable that the account given by the other mercenaries did not at all place him upon so high a pinnacle. The *Anabasis*

Xenophon's
strategy.

His real
strategy was
literary.

¹ Some of the historians note, naively enough, that the performance of Xenophon is very wonderful, seeing he had never learned the art of war, or commanded in any previous campaign. Wonderful indeed, but was it a real fact?

is a most artistic and graceful panegyric of the author, disguised under an apparently candid and simple narrative of plain facts, perhaps even brought out under a false name, — Themistogenes of Syracuse, — to help the illusion; nor was it composed at the spur of the moment, and when there were many with fresh memories ready to contradict him, but after the interest in the affair had long blown over, and his companions and rivals were scattered or dead.

It is of course an excellent text for Grote to develop into his favorite historical lesson, that the broad literary and philosophical culture of the Athenian democracy fitted a man to take up suddenly any important duties, even so special as the management of a campaign. But however true or false this may be, it is certain that Xenophon's contemporaries did not accept him as a military genius, and that he spent his after years of soldiering in attendance upon a second-rate Spartan general as a volunteer and a literary panegyrist.

§ 45. For to me the suspicion that Xenophon may have been guilty of strong self-partiality in the *Anabasis* was first awakened by the reflection that his later works show the strongest partiality for his patron, and the most nig-
Xenophon on Agésilas and Epameinondas. gardly injustice to the real master of them all, the Theban Epameinondas. If instead of spending his talents in glorifying the Spartan king, a respectable and no doubt able but ordinary personage, he had undertaken with his good special knowledge to give us a true account of the military performances of Epameinondas, then indeed he would have earned no ordinary share of gratitude from all students of the world's greatness. He was in the rare position of being a contemporary, a specialist, standing before the greatest man of the age, and capable of both understanding his work and explaining it to us in literary perfection; Injustice of the Hellenica. yet his *Hellenica* are almost devoted to minimizing the achievements of the Theban hero.

Happily we have here means to contradict him, and to redress the balance which he has unduly adjusted. Shall we believe that when he had no one to contradict him, and his own merits to discuss, he is likely to have been more strictly impartial?

Xenophon will never cease to be a popular figure, and most deservedly; for he added to the full education of an Athenian

citizen in general intelligence, in politics, in art, the special training given by the conversations of Socrates, and the tincture of occasional abstract thinking. But this was only a part of his education. He learned knowledge of the world and of war by travel and exciting campaigns, and set a sort of coping-stone to the edifice by his close intimacy with the best and most aristocratic Spartan life, together with that devotion to field-sports which is so far more gentlemanly and improving than mere vulgar athletics. In the whole range of Greek literature he appears the most cultivated of authors, in his external life the nearest approach we find to the modern gentleman, though in superficiality of judgment and in manifest partiality he is far below Thucydides, and even Polybius.

§ 46. What may most properly make the modern historian pause and revise his judgment of the Athenian democracy, is the evident dislike which the most thoughtful classes, represented by the pupils of Socrates, displayed to this form of society. We are now so accustomed to histories written by modern Radicals, or by men who do not think out their politics, that we may perhaps be put off with the plea that the democracy which these men disliked and derided, and which some of them tried to overthrow, was a debased form of what had been established under Pericles, and that it was the accidental decay or the accidental abuses of democracy which disgusted them, whereas its genuine greatness had been clearly manifested by the great century of progress which had now come sadly to a close.

Ernst Curtius, a German *savant* of the highest type, has so little thought out this subject that on one page we find him saying that the voluntary submission of the people to a single man, Pericles, was a proof of the high condition of their state; whereas on another he says their voluntary submission to a single man, Cleon, is a proof of its degeneracy. But we can hardly expect any real appreciation of the working of a democracy from a German professor brought up in the last generation. Our dealing is rather with Grote, who knew perfectly the conditions and the working of the problem. He argues that Cleon, on the whole, and without military

Yet Xenophon
is deservedly
popular.

Literary verdict
of the Greeks
against
democracy.

Vacillation of
modern critics.

Grote's
estimate of
Pericles

ability, tried to carry out the policy of Pericles, and that the policy of Pericles was a sound and far-seeing one, which would have preserved Athens through all her dangers had she steadily adhered to it.

I have already discussed at length the narrow basis of the Athenian imperial democracy, and expressed my judgment that even great successes would soon have brought about its fall.

§ 47. But I join issue with Grote, and side with Plato in thinking that the policy of Pericles, even within the conditions

compared with that of Plato. imposed upon him by the circumstances just mentioned, was so dangerous and difficult a course that no cautious and provident thinker could have called it secure. Plato

went so far as to say that Pericles had made the Athenians lazy, frivolous, and sensual. Without going the length of indorsing this, it seems warranted by the course of history to say that the hope of holding a great supremacy by merely keeping up with all energy and outlay a naval superiority already exist-

The war policy of Pericles. ing and acknowledged, was truly chimerical. Pericles thought that by making the city impregnable — which

was then, against the existing means of attack, quite feasible — and by keeping the sea open, he could amply support his city population and make them perfectly independent even of the territory of Attica. While they could derive money and food from their subjects and their commerce, they might laugh at the enemy from their walls, and gather in the rural population from the fields, to await the time when the enemy would be exhausted, or compelled to retreat for the purpose of protecting his own coasts against a hostile fleet.

Thucydides tells us in affecting language how this experiment actually turned out, — what was the misery of the country people

His miscalculations. crowded into the city without proper houses or furniture, sleeping in sheds and nooks of streets; what was

the rage of the farmers when they saw their homesteads go up in flames, and the labor of years devastated with ruthless completeness. Pericles had not even reckoned with the immediate effects of his singular policy. Still less had he thought of the sanitary consequences of overcrowding his city, which must in any case have produced fatal sickness, and therefore deep indig-

nation among those who suffered from its visitation, though no one could have anticipated the frightful intensity of the plague which ensued.

But a far larger and more philosophical objection may be based upon the consideration that no city population, trusting mainly to money for a supply of soldiers and sailors, has ever been known to hold its own permanently against an agricultural population fighting, not for pay, but for the defence of its homes, and with the spirit of personal patriotism. If you abolish the yeomen of any country, and trust merely to the artisan, you abolish the backbone of your fighting power; and no outlay will secure your victory if a yeoman soldiery is well handled and brought into the field against you. This was perfectly felt in Thucydides' day; for he makes the Spartan king, when invading Attica, specially comment on the fact that the Athenian power was acquired by money rather than native;¹ and on this he bases his anticipation that the army of Peloponnesian farmers will prevail. It would surely have been a safer and a better policy to extend the area of Athenian yeomen, and secure a source of hardy and devoted soldiers as the basis of a lasting military and naval power.

§ 48. It will be urged, and it was urged in those days, that mercenary forces could be kept at sea more permanently than a body of farmers, who must go home frequently to look after their subsistence and work their property. This is quite true; but mercenaries without a citizen force to keep them in order were always a failure, they became turbulent and unmanageable, and always left their paymaster in the lurch when any chance of immediate gain turned up. Besides, as the event proved in the next century, when Philip of Macedon rose to power, a mercenary force under a monarch will always defeat mercenaries under leaders directed by the discussion, the hesitation, the vacillation of a debating assembly.²

The only excuse, therefore, for Pericles' policy was the impossibility of doing anything else with the materials he had at his disposal; and his materials were thus crippled because the Athenian

¹ ὄνητή μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκείος.

² Cf. on this point Polybius, xi. 13, whom I have quoted in my *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 416.

He depended on a city population against an army of yeomen.

Advantages of mercenaries against citizen troops.

democracy as a ruling power had not the confidence of the subject States. In fact, so long as these were *subjects*, liable to oppression in any moment of panic or of passion, no solidarity, no common feeling of patriotism, no real union could possibly be attained. It has been rather the fashion, since Grote's influence has prevailed, to attribute the breakdown of all attempts at an empire among free Greeks to the incurable jealousy and the love of separatism in their small States. I fancy that at any period in the world's history hardly any small communities could easily have been persuaded to submit to this kind of union, which was built on far too narrow a basis, and was far too distinctly worked for the almost exclusive benefit of the leading city.

It is necessary to insist upon these things, — the want of representation in a common assembly, the want of scope for talent in the outlying States, the difficulty of redress against the dominant people if they transgressed their State-treaties, — especially for a writer like the present, who holds that historical analogies are most serviceable, and aid to explain both ancient and modern history. But we must see clearly that the analogies are genuine, and that we are not arguing from an irrelevant antecedent to an irrelevant consequent.

§ 49. The century at which we have now arrived in our survey — the fourth before Christ — was eminently the age of political theories devised by philosophers in their studies; and they give us the conclusions to which able thinkers had arrived, after the varying conflicts which had tested the capacities of all the existing States to attain peace and plenty at home, or power abroad. The Athenian supremacy had broken down; the Spartan, a still more complete *hegemony*, as the Greeks called it, had gone to pieces, not so much by the shock of the Theban military power, as by its own inherent defects. Epameinondas has passed across the political sky, a splendid meteor, but leaving only a brief track of brilliancy which faded into night.

And in every generation, if the military efficiency of Persia grew weaker, her financial supremacy became more and more apparent. In the face of all these brilliant essays and signal failures, in the face of the acknowledged intellectual supremacy of

The smaller States necessarily separatists.

Political theories in the fourth century.

the Greeks, coupled with their continued exhibitions of political impotence in foreign policy, it was fully to be expected that Greek thinkers should approach these great and painful difficulties, and endeavor to ascertain the laws of public happiness and the conditions of public strength. And so there were a series of essays, of which several remain, on the Greek State and its proper regulation, and a series of solutions for the practical difficulties of the day, and the external dangers to which the Hellenic world was exposed. These documents form the main body of the splendid prose Literature of the Attic Restoration, as I have elsewhere called it,¹ and of the period which closed by the actual solution of the difficulties in foreign politics by the famous Philip of Macedon.²

The historian of Greece must evidently take into account these speculations, though they be not strictly history; but the facts can hardly be understood and appreciated without these inestimable comments by the greatest thinkers and writers whom the country produced.

Inestimable
even to the
practical
historian.

Foremost among these in literary perfection is Plato, whose speculations on the proper conditions—the internal conditions only—of a *Polity* in the Hellenic sense will ever remain a monument of genius, though they could hardly lead, or be intended to lead, to practical results. Then we have Xenophon, who in his political romance on the *Education of Cyrus* stands half-way between the mere philosopher and the practical man of the world. The most instructive of all is Aristotle, who, though he lived to see the old order pass away, and a new departure in the history of the race, nevertheless confined himself to the old problems, and composed a special book—his *Politics*—on the virtues and vices of the traditional Greek polity. The practical side, the necessary steps to reform and strengthen the leading States of Greece, especially in their external policy, and in the face of powerful and dangerous neighbors, we find discussed in the pamphlets of Isocrates and the public speeches of Demosthenes. It is on the proper place of these documents, and the weight to be assigned to them in modern histories, that I invite the reader's attention.

¹ That is, the Restoration of its legitimate democracy. Cf. my *History of Greek Literature*, vol. ii. cap. v.

² Roughly speaking, 400–340 B. C.

§ 50. I have already mentioned the remarkable fact that though at every period of this history, Spartan manners and Spartan laws commanded the respect and the admiration of all Greece, though their constitution had proved stable when all else was in constant flux and change, still no practical attempt was ever made in older Greek history to imitate this famous constitution. It shows, no doubt, a far keener sense of what was practical or possible in the old Greek legislators, that instead of foisting upon every new or newly emancipated State the ordinances which had succeeded as a legitimate, slow, and historic growth elsewhere, they rather sought to adapt their reforms to the conditions of each State as they found it. They fully appreciated the difference between the normal and the exceptional in legislation.

The politicians of modern Europe, who are repeating gayly, and without any sense of its absurdity, the experiment of handing over the British parliamentary system to half-civilized and hardly emancipated populations, and who cry injustice and shame upon those who decline to follow their advice — these unhistorical and illogical statesmen might well take lessons from the parallel cases in Greek history, if their own common-sense fails to tell them that the forest-tree of centuries cannot be transplanted; nay, even the sapling will not thrive in ungrateful soil.

If the real rulers of men saw all this clearly, it was not so with the theorists, nor indeed were they bound to observe practical limitations in framing the highest ideal to which man could attain. Hence we see in almost all the theorists a strong tendency to make Spartan institutions the proper type of a perfect State. Plato will not consider the duties of an imperial or dominating State, he rather regards large territory and vast population as an insuperable obstacle to good government. But as a philosopher deeply interested in the real culture of the mind, perhaps as a bachelor deeply impressed with the defects of home education, which he had never essayed with children of his own, he felt that to intrust an uneducated mob with the control of public affairs was to hand over the State either to unscrupulous leaders, who would gain the favor of the crowd by false and unworthy means,

Sparta ever admired, but never imitated.

Practical legislation wiser in Greece than in modern Europe.

Sparta a model for the theorists.

Plato.

or to run the chance of having the most important matters settled by the caprice of a many-headed and therefore wholly irresponsible tyrant.

Every theorist that followed Plato seems to have felt the same difficulty, and therefore he and they adopted in the main the Spartan solution. — first, in limiting the number and ^{His successors.} condition of those to whom they would intrust power; secondly, in interfering from the beginning, with more or less absoluteness, in the education and training of the individual citizen. They differed as to the amount of control to be exercised, — Plato and the Stoic Zeno were the most trenchant, and thought least of the value of individual character; they differed as to the particular form of the actual government, whether a ^{Their general agreement,} small council of philosophic elders, or some limited assembly of responsible and experienced citizens, or, still better, one ideal man, the natural king among men, should direct the whole course of the State. But on the other two points they were firm. First, universal suffrage had been in their opinion proved a ^{(1) Especially on suffrage and State education,} downright failure. And let the reader remember that this universal suffrage only meant the voting of free citizens, — slaves never came into their political horizon, — still more, that the free citizens of many Greek democracies, notably of the Athenian, were more highly educated than any general public in our own day.¹

I have already pointed out what important differences in their notions of democracy — the absence of all idea of representation, of all delay or control by a second legislative body, of the veto of a constitutional sovereign — make this strong ^{even though their suffrage was necessarily restricted.} and consistent verdict not applicable by analogy to modern republics. Not that I reject Hellenic opinion as now of no value, far from it; but if we argue from analogy, we are bound to show where the analogy fits, and where it fails, — above all to acknowledge the latter honestly. For we are not advocates pleading a cause, but inquirers seeking the truth from the successes and the sufferings of older men of like passions with ourselves.

§ 51. Secondly, the education of the citizens should not be

¹ This Professor Freeman has admirably shown in his *History of Federal Government*; and it is generally admitted by all competent scholars.

left to the sense of responsibility of parents, or to the private enterprise of professional teachers, but should be both organized and controlled by the State. So firmly was this principle engrained into Greek political thinkers that Polybius, who came at the close of all this rich experience, and whose opinion is in many respects more valuable than any previous one, expresses his astonishment how the Romans, a thoroughly practical and sensible people, and moreover eminently successful in their history, could possibly do such a thing as leave out of all public account the question of education, to be solved by each parent as he thought fit. He points out this as the most profound existing contrast to the notions of Greek thinkers.

We know very well how the Roman aristocracy in their best days solved the matter: but we must deeply regret that we have no statistics, nay, even information, how the poorer classes at Rome fared in comparison with the Greeks. National education in Greece was certainly on a far higher level; but here again we have an old civilization to compare with a new one, and must beware of rash inferences. It is, for example, of great importance to note that the Greek State was in idea a city with its suburbs, where the children lived so near each other that day-schools could be attended by all. In a larger State, which implies a population scattered through the country, much more must be intrusted to parents, since day-schools are necessarily inadequate.¹ This is but one of the differences to be weighed in making the comparison. To state them all would lead us beyond reasonable limits.

Still, I take the verdict of the philosopher as well worth considering,—and, indeed, there is no question which now agitates the minds of modern democrats more deeply than this: How can we expect uneducated masses of people to direct the course of public affairs with safety and with wisdom? It is certain that even in the small, easily manageable, and highly cultivated republics of the Greeks, men were not educated enough to regard the public weal as paramount, and to postpone to it their narrow interests or bridle their passions.

(2) Education a State affair.

Polybius' astonishment at the Roman disregard of it.

The practical result in Rome.

Can a real democracy ever be sufficiently educated?

¹ The makeshift of boarding-schools was unknown to the ancients.

Is it likely, then, that Education will ever do this for a State? Are we following an *ignis fatuus* in setting it up as the panacea for the moral ills of communities?

§ 52. To these grave questions there is an obvious, but not, I think, a real rejoinder, when we urge that the position of the Christian religion in modern education makes the latter a moral force for good far superior to any devices of legislators.

While admitting unreservedly the vast progress we have attained by having the Christian religion an integral part of all reasonable education, we must urge that to most people at all times religion is only a very occasional guide of action, and that what we have attained with all our preaching and teaching is rather an acquiescence in its excellence than a practical submission to its directions. So far as this is the case, all Greek legislators took care to inculcate the teaching and the observance of a State religion, with moral sanctions, and with rewards and punishments. They knew as well as we do that a public without a creed is a public without a conscience, and that scepticism, however consistent with individual sobriety and goodness, has never yet been found possible as a general substitute for positive beliefs.

But when we come to the case of the superior individuals, to whom religion is a living and acting force, then we have on the Greek side those splendid thinkers, whose lives were as pure a model to the rest as their speculations were a lesson. These men certainly did not require a higher faith to make them good citizens, and were a "law unto themselves, showing forth the law written in their hearts," with a good conscience. The analogy, then, between the old Greek States and ours as regards education may be closer than is usually assumed by those who have before them the contrast of religions.

I will mention but another point on which all the ancient educators are agreed, and which seems quite strange to modern notions, — I mean the capital importance of music, on account of its direct effect upon morals. Starting from the Spartan pipes, which had much the same effect as the Highland pipes have now upon the soldiers who feel them to be their

national expression, all music was put into the class of wholesome or unwholesome stimulants, wholesome or unwholesome sedatives to the moral nature; and not only does the sober Aristotle discuss with great seriousness and in great detail the question of this influence, but he agrees with Plato in regarding the State as bound to interfere and prevent those strains, "softly sweet in Lydian measure," which delighted, indeed, and beguiled the sense, but disturbed and endangered the morals of men.

On this difficult but fascinating subject I have already said my say in the last chapter of my *Rambles and Studies in Greece*, and I will only repeat that if the Greeks put too much stress on this side of education as affecting character, the moderns have certainly erred in the opposite extreme, and are quite wrong in regarding music as an accomplishment purely æsthetic, having nothing to say to the deeper side of our nature, — our sensual passions and our moral principles.

§ 53. It remains for us to note the chief variations between the positions of the various theorists on the ideal State. Xenophon tells us his views under the parable of the ideal education and government of a perfect king. But as he did not conceive such a personage possible in the Hellenic world, he chooses the great Cyrus of Persia, — a giant figure remote from the Greeks of his day, and looming through the mists of legend. But he makes it quite plain that he considers the monarchy of the right man by far the most perfect form of government, and his tract on the Spartan State shows how he hated democracy, and favored those States which reserved all power for the qualified few.

Nor is Aristotle at variance with him, whose *Ethics* and *Politics* agree in showing the conviction that there were single men superior to average society, and intended by Nature, like superior races, to rule over inferior men. It starts at once to our recollection that Aristotle had before his mind that wonderful pupil of his who transformed the Eastern world, and opened a new era in the world's politics. But no. The whole of Aristotle's *Politics* looks backward and inward at the old Greek State, small, and standing by the side of others of like dimensions, differing as despotisms, aristocracies, republics

discussed in my
Rambles and
Studies in
Greece.

Xenophon's
ideal.

Aristotle's Poli-
tics ignore
Alexander,

will differ, but not pretending to carry out a large foreign policy or to dominate the world.

The monarchy of Alexander is therefore quite foreign to anything contemplated in the theories or in the reflections of Aristotle. The Greek theorists, even such as he was, could not comprehend this new and mighty phenomenon within the laws of Greek human nature. I shall presently show how other great men of that day manifested the same purblindness; but I note it here specially in the case of the *Politics*, because it has not been brought out with sufficient emphasis by modern historians. The one man who made Plato and Aristotle the subjects of exhaustive studies, George Grote, did not live to complete his account of Aristotle's theories on the State, and relegated his masterly account of Plato and Xenophon into a separate book, of late difficult to procure, and more so to master.¹

All these theorists, though in close contact with politicians, were themselves outside the sphere of practical affairs, whether from choice or compulsion. As they looked upon the changing phases of society which make up that complicated and various whole called Greek history, they were led to another general conclusion. No State, however perfectly framed, however accurately balanced, was intended by Nature to last forever. Politics, like individuals, had their youth, development, and decay, and would in lapse of time give way to newer growths. In this we find one of the most curious contrasts between the buoyant, hopeful Greek and the weary, saddened modern. The former had no hope of the permanent and indefinite improvement of the human race; the latter adopts it almost as a historical axiom. Each modern State hopes to escape the errors and misfortunes which have ruined its predecessors, and makes its preparations for a long futurity. The Greeks were fuller in experience or fainter in their hope: they would have regarded our expectations as chimerical, and our anticipations as contradicted by all the past records of human affairs.

§ 54. Let us now pass on to the practical politicians of the

¹ Grote's *Plato and the other Companions of Socrates*, 3 vols. (Murray, London). His *Aristotle* is posthumous and fragmentary, and does not include the *Politics*. Mr. Jowett's expected *Essays on the Politics* will no doubt supply this deficiency.

day, or to those who professed to be practical politicians, and see what they had to propose in the way of improving the internal condition of Greek society, as well as of saving it collectively from those external dangers which every sensible man must have apprehended even before they openly showed themselves above the political horizon.

Let us begin with Isocrates, whose pamphlets, though written with far too much attention to style, and intended as rhetorical master-pieces, nevertheless tell us a great deal of what filled the minds of thoughtful men in his day. He sees plainly that the Greeks were wearing themselves out with internecine wars and perpetual jealousies, and he opined, perhaps shrewdly enough, that nothing but a great external quarrel would weld them together into unity, and make the various States forget their petty squabbles in the enthusiasm of a great conflict. He saw plainly

his anti-Per-
sian policy.

enough that the proper enemy to attack was the power of Asia. For it was ill-cemented and open to invasion; it was really dangerous to the liberty even of the Hellenic peninsula, — not to say of the Greek cities of Asia Minor. — and moreover so full of wealth as to afford an enormous field for that legitimate plunder which every conqueror then thought his bare dues at the hands of the vanquished.

Isocrates had not the smallest idea of raising the Asiatic nations, or civilizing them. No Greek down to Aristotle, nay, not even Arist-

No large ideas
of spreading
Hellenic cul-
ture.

totle himself, ever had such a notion, though he might concede that isolated men or cities could possibly by careful and humble imitation of Hellenic culture, attain to a respectable imitation of it. Isocrates' plain view of the war policy against Persia was simply this: first, that the internal quarrels of Greece would be allayed; secondly, that a great number of poor and roving Greeks would attain to wealth and contentment; thirdly, "the Barbarians would learn to think less of themselves."¹

His first proposal was that Athens and Sparta, the natural leaders of Greece, should combine in this policy, divide the command by a formal treaty, and so resume their proper position as benefactors and promoters of all Hellenedom.

But as years went on, the impotence and the strife of these

Who is to be
the leader of
Greece?

¹ The texts are all cited in my *History of Greek Literature*, ii. 215, on Isocrates

powers made it only too plain that this was no practical solution ; so he turns in an open letter to Philip of Macedon, who was gradually showing how to solve the problem of Hellenic unity, and advises him to use his power, not for the subjugation of the Greeks, but to lead them in a victorious campaign into Asia.

But in Philip they had already found that common enemy against whom they should have united, if voluntary union was ever again possible among them ; and their miserable failure to do so showed plainly that the days of independent States throughout Greece were numbered, and that the first neighboring power with organization and wealth was certain to pluck the over-ripe fruit of Hellenedom.

§ 55. This brings us by natural transition to Demosthenes, on whose life and policy it is very necessary to say a few words, seeing that they have been, like so many other topics in this history, distorted by the specialists, and made the ground of sentimental rhetoric instead of being sifted with critical care. To utter anything against Demosthenes in these days is almost as bad as to say a word in old Athenian days against the battle of Marathon. This battle was so hymned and lauded by orators and poets that had you suggested its importance in the campaign to be overrated, had you said that you believed the alleged numbers of the Persians to be grossly exaggerated, you would have been set down at best as an insolent and unpatriotic knave. In the same way the professors have got hold of Demosthenes ; they have dwelt not only upon the matchless force of his eloquence, but upon the grammatical subtleties of his Greek, till they are so in love with him that whatever is said in his favor is true, and whatever appears to be against him is false.

As I have not spent the whole of a long life either in commenting on this great author or in vindicating to him all the virtues under heaven, I may perhaps be better able than greater scholars to give a fair estimate of his political merits.

Demosthenes at the outset of his career saw plainly, like Isocrates, that a foreign policy was necessary to give not only dignity, but consistency, to the counsels of Athens ; and he too at the outset, misconceiving the real power of Philip, thought that Persia was the real foe, and should be the

Demosthenes
another ideal
figure in this
history.

He sees the im-
portance of a
foreign policy
for Athens

object of most importance to Athenian politicians. Darius Ochus, the last vigorous king of Persia, had made such military preparations against Persia for the reconquest of his rebellious provinces as to alarm all the Asiatic Greeks and conjure up the phantom of a new Persian war. But presently the real danger set aside this bugbear; the activity and military skill of Philip, added to his or Macedonia. discovery or utilization of the Thracian gold mines, made him clearly the future lord of the Hellenes if he could prevent them from combining against him for a few years.

The narrative of this famous struggle, carried on mainly by the eloquence of Demosthenes on one side, and the diplomacy of Philip on the other, forms one of the most attractive pages of history; and nowhere is it better told than in the eleventh volume of Grote's work. The cause of Demosthenes naturally attracted the Radical historian,¹ who sees in the power of Macedon nothing but the overthrow of democracy, of discussion, of universal suffrage; and hence the relapse of society into a condition worse and less developed than it had attained by all the labors of great and enlightened reform.

The cause of Demosthenes also attracted the great specialist Arnold Schäfer, who having chosen the orator and his works for his own speciality, spent years in gradually increasing admiration for this choice, till Demosthenes becomes for him a patriot of spotless purity and a citizen of such high principle that all charges against him are to be set down as calumnies. It has reached so far that if in the collection of law speeches which the orator composed for pay, and often to support a very weak cause, there are found illogical arguments or inconsistencies with other speeches on analogous subjects, such flaws are set down as evidence that the particular speech is spurious, and cannot have emanated from so noble a character as Demosthenes.

§ 56. This estimate is at variance with the judgment of the ancients, his contemporaries and immediate successors, who openly accused, and indeed convicted, him of embezzling money in his public capacity, as well as of accepting briefs and fees from both sides in a private litigation.

To this question of his private character I shall revert. But

¹ As it did Niebuhr, who was brought up in the great struggle of Germany with Napoleon.

Demosthenes
and Philip.

A. Schäfer on
Demosthenes.

Very different
estimate of the
ancients.

as regards the struggle which he carried on for years, not so much against Philip as against the apathy of his fellow-citizens, it must have been plain from the beginning that he was playing a losing game. The dislike of military service in ^{Conditions of the conflict} what is called by Grote the "Demosthenic Athenian" was notorious; the jealousies of parties within, and of other States without, hampered any strong and consistent line of action. The gold of Philip was sure to command, not only at Athens, but at Thebes, at Argos, in Arcadia, partisans who, under the guise of legitimate opposition, would carry adjournments, postponements, limitations, of all vigorous policy. Mercenary troops, which were now in fashion, if not amply paid and treated with regard to their convenience, became a greater scourge to their own side than to the enemy. ^{made Philip's victory certain.} It was quite plain that Philip must win, though none of us can fail to appreciate and to admire the persistent and noble patriotism of Demosthenes, who is never weary of urging that if the free States, especially Athens, would do their duty, and make some sacrifices for the good of Greece, the foreign domination would be indefinitely postponed. But this only means that if the Athenians had changed their character, and adopted that of another generation or another race, the issue of the contest might have been different.

I cannot avoid citing a parallel from contemporary history, one by no means so far-fetched as may appear to those who have not studied both cases so carefully as I have been obliged ^{Parallel from contemporary Irish history.} to do. The Irish landlords, a rich, respectable, idle, uncohesive body, have been attacked by an able and organized agitation, unscrupulous, mendacious, unwearied, which has carried point after point against them, and now threatens to force them to capitulate, or evacuate their position in the country. It has been said a thousand times: Why do not these landlords unite and fight their enemy? They have capital far superior; they have had public influence from the outset far greater; they have a far stronger case, not only in law, but in real justice: and yet they allow their opponents to push them from position to position, till little remains to be conquered. Even after a series of defeats we tell them still that if they would now combine, subscribe, select and trust their leaders, they could win. And all this is certain.

But it is equally certain that they will never do it. One is fond of his pleasures, another of his idleness, a third is jealous of any leader who is put forward, a fourth is trying underhand to make private terms with the enemy. A small minority subscribe, labor, debate. They are still a considerable force, respected and feared by their foes. But the main body is inert, jealous, helpless; and unless their very character were changed, these qualities must inevitably lead to their ruin.

This is the sort of up-hill game that Demosthenes fought for twenty years. At first Athens seemed quite the stronger to superficial observers. But because she was so strong it seemed unnecessary to act with full vigor. Presently she begins to lose way, and Philip to make it. Even still she can win if she will rouse herself. Presently he makes further advances, and she is in difficulties. Then the faint-hearted begin to fear, and the disloyal to waver. It is not till the very end of the struggle, when Athens is in direct danger of immediate siege, that the whole population wakes up, the traitors are silenced, and the city, in conjunction with Thebes, makes a splendid struggle. But the day for victory had long gone by, and Demosthenes has the bitter satisfaction of at last attaining his full reputation of wisdom and patriotism because his gloomiest prophecies are fulfilled.

§ 57. It is from this time onward that his public acts seem to me hardly consistent with common-sense, or with that higher idea of patriotism which seeks the good of the State at the sacrifice of personal theories or prejudices. Grote has observed of the other leading Athenian of the time, the general Phocion, that while his policy of submission and despair was injurious, nay, even fatal, up to the battle of Chæronea, this tame acquiescence when the struggle was decided was the practical duty of a patriot, and of decided advantage to his country. He ought to have insisted with equal force that the policy of resistance and of hope, while it was highly commendable and patriotic up to the same moment, was deeply mischievous to the conquered people, and led them into many follies and many misfortunes. And yet this was the policy which Demosthenes hugged to the last, and which cost the lives and fortunes of hundreds of Athenians.

Demosthenes
fights a losing
game.

The blunders
of his later
policy.

Compared with
Phocion.

I have spoken elsewhere¹ of the peculiar mischief to a nation of having her fortunes at a great crisis intrusted to old men. Demosthenes was only fifty years old when the genius of Alexander showed itself beyond any reasonable doubt. Old men often ruinous in politics. But at fifty Demosthenes was distinctly an old man. His delicate constitution, tried by the severest early studies, had been worn in political conflicts of nearly thirty years' duration; and we may therefore pardon him, though we cannot forget the fatal influence he exercised in keeping both Athens and the other Greek cities from joining heartily in the great new enterprise of the Macedonian king. All the Attic politicians were then past middle life, with the exception of Hypereides, whom I have shown really to belong to a younger generation, though all the historians make him even older than Demosthenes.²

So then the old republican glories of Athens, the old liberties of the Greeks, which had been tried and found wanting, were praised and hymned by all the orators, and the great advent of a new day, the day of *Hellenism*, was cursed as the setting of the sun of Greece. Hellenism despised. Modern scholars, led, as usual, by literary instead of political greatness, have in general adopted this view; and so strongly do they feel that the proper history of Greece is now over that they either close their work with the battle of Charonea, or add the conquests of Alexander and the wars of the Diadochi as a sort of ungrateful and irrelevant appendix. On this subject I have already spoken in connection with the work of Grote.³

The love of political liberty, and the importance attached to political independence, are so strong in the minds of the Anglo-Saxon nations that it is not likely I or any one else will persuade them, against the splendid advocacy of Grote, that there may be such losses and mischiefs in a democracy as to justify a return to a stronger executive and a greater restriction of public speech. The author, like Demosthenes, feels he is fighting a losing game against democracy and its advocates. Nevertheless, the conviction derived from a life-long study of Greek history is so strong in me on this question that I feel it a solemn duty to state my opinions. It is all the more a duty as I hold

¹ *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 4.

² Cf. my *History of Greek Literature*, ii. 371, where this question is discussed.

³ Above, § 10.

that one of the greatest lessons of ancient history is to suggest guiding-posts and advices for the perplexities of modern life. So far is mankind the same in all places and countries that civilized people will stumble upon the same difficulties and will apply the same experiments to their solution.

§ 58. There is no one more convinced than I am that this complex of small, independent cities, each forming separate States in the strictest sense of the term, each showing modifications of internal constitution, each contending with the same difficulties in varied ways, — this wonderful political many in one (for they were one in religion, language, and general culture) afforded an intellectual education to their citizens such as the world has not since experienced. The *Politics* of Aristotle are a summary of the theoretical side of that experience, which could find no parallel till the days of Machiavelli, whose scheme, if completed by the promised *Repubblica*, would have been very similar. For the *Principe* is plainly suggested by the then re-discovered *Politics* of Aristotle, which naturally struck the Florentine statesman with its curiously close and various analogies to the history of the Italian republics of the Middle Ages.

But far more deeply did the lessons of Athenian political life act upon the practical life of the citizen, and train him to be a rational being submitting to the will of the majority, to which he himself contributed in debate, taking his turn at commanding as well as obeying, regarding the labors of office as his just contribution to the public weal, regarding even the sacrifices he made as a privilege, — the outward manifestation of his loyalty to the State which had made him in the truest sense an aristocrat among men. Even when he commanded fleets or armies he did so as the servant of the State; and any attempt to redress private differences by any personal assertion of his rights other than an appeal to the laws was regarded as essentially a violation of his privileges and a return to barbarism. To carry arms for personal defence, to challenge an adversary to mortal combat, to take forcible possession of disputed property, — these things were greater outrages and greater violences to civilization at Athens than they are in most of the civilized countries of the nineteenth century.

The education
of small free
States.

Machiavelli
and Aristotle.

Greek demo-
cratic patriot-
ism.

To have attained this high level, four centuries before Christ, without the inestimable aid of a really pure system of State religion, without the aid of that romantic sentiment which is so peculiar to Northern nations, is to have achieved ^{Its splendid results} a triumph which no man can gainsay. Had the Greeks not been subjected to this splendid training, which radiated from politics into art and letters, and which stimulated, though it did not create, that national genius that has since found no rival, all the glories of Hellenism, all the splendors of Alexander's successors, all the victories over Western barbarism would have been impossible.

§ 59. But when all this is said, and however fully and eloquently it has been said, the fact remains that the highest education is not all powerful in producing internal concord and external peace. There seems, as it were, a national strain exercised by a conquering and imperial democracy, which its members may sustain for a generation or two, but which cannot endure. The sweets of accumulated wealth and domestic comfort in a civilized and agreeable society become so delightful that the better classes will not sustain their energy. All work, ^{appear to be essentially transitory,} says Aristotle, to which men submit, is for the purpose ^{from internal causes.} of having leisure; and so there is a natural tendency in the cultivated classes to stand aside from politics, and allow the established laws to run in their now accustomed grooves. Hence the field of politics is left to the poorer, needier, more discontented classes, who turn public life into a means of glory and of gain, and set to work to disturb the State that they may satisfy their followers and obtain fuel to feed their own ambition. To such persons either a successful war upon neighbors, or an attack upon the propertied classes at home, becomes a necessity. Even the Athenian democracy, when its funds were low and higher taxes were threatened, hailed with approval informations against rich citizens, in the hope that by confiscations of their property the treasury might be replenished.

This is the heyday of the demagogue, who tells the people—the poorer crowd—that they have a right to all the comforts and blessings of the State, and that their pleasures ^{The demagogue.} must not be impaired while there are men of large property living in idle luxury. This produces violences instead of legal decisions; the demagogue becomes a tyrant over the richer classes; the public

safety is postponed to internal quarrels; and so the power of the democracy as regards external foes is weakened in proportion as the harmony among its citizens is disturbed.

These are the changes which Greek theorists regarded as inevitable in a democracy, and as certain to bring about in the end its fall. Whatever may be the case with the great States of modern days, this prognosis was thoroughly verified in Greek history. It may safely be said that no State was ever crushed by successful adversaries at the period of its perfection. It was in every case internal decay which heralded the overthrow from without. There is no reasonable probability that, had there never been a Philip or an Alexander, Athens, Sparta, Thebes, or Argos would have risen into a glorious future and revived the splendors of Leonidas or of Pericles. We may deeply regret that such a future should seem impossible; we may laud in the strongest words the condition of things which had once made it actual: but the day for this splendor was gone by; and far better than the impotence of an unjust mob, and the chicanery of an unprincipled leader, is the subjection of all to external control, even with the impairing or abolishing of universal suffrage.

This was evidently the opinion of Phocion, an honorable and experienced man, whose contempt for the floods of talk in Athens, leading to waste of time and delay in action, made him the persistent opponent of Demosthenes, but nevertheless trusted and respected even by the mob whom he openly despised. History may indeed feel glad that his policy did not earlier prevail,—we should have lost the speeches of Demosthenes; and to the world this gain is far greater than that the Athenians should have escaped their troubles and lived in peaceful submission.

Demosthenes says proudly, in a famous passage of his immortal *De Corona*, that even in presence of his life's failure, even after all he had attempted had been wrecked by circumstances, he would not recall one act of his life, one argument in his speeches, no, not by the heroes that stood the brunt of battle at Marathon, by the memory of all those who died for their country's liberty.

§ 60. We may all applaud this noble self-panegyric, but not the irritating agitation which he continued for fifteen years against the Macedonian supremacy, and which involved his country in further distresses, and cost him and his brother-agitators their lives. For the very means he used to carry on his policy of revolt were more than doubtful in their honesty, and have thrown a dark shade upon his memory. The fact is, as I have already said, that while Phocion, the enemy of the democratic policy, is above all suspicion, both contemporaries and survivors had their doubts about Demosthenes.

I need not discuss here the allegation that he made speeches for money on opposite sides in the successive trials of the same case. The fact appears to me clear enough, for it is only evaded by his panegyrists with their miserable expedient of declaring either of such speeches, though accepted by the best ancient critics, to be spurious. But the morals of advocates from that day to this are so peculiar—I will not say loose—as to make the layman hesitate in offering an opinion. That a man should take fees for a case in which he cannot appear, or retain them when he is debarred by lucrative promotion from appearing for his client, appears to be consistent with modern bar morality. Why then try Demosthenes by a severer standard?

But a larger question arises when we find him arraigned for embezzling a large sum of money brought to Athens by a fugitive defaulter from Alexander's treasury, and moreover convicted of the embezzlement. The chorus of modern critics, with a very occasional exception, cry out that of course the accusation was false, and the verdict simply a political move to escape the wrath of the formidable Macedonian. But the facts remain, and this moreover among them, that the principal accuser of Demosthenes was his brother-patriot Hypereides, who afterwards suffered death for the anti-Macedonian cause.

The evidence left to us seems to me not sufficient to overthrow the verdict on political grounds, and is certainly not such as to justify us in acquitting Demosthenes without further considerations. The real ground, however, which actuates modern historians is quite a different one from that of the evidence adduced, and is, as it seems to me, based on

The dark shadows of his later years.

His professional character as an advocate.

The affair of Harpalus

Was the verdict against Demosthenes just?

a historical misprision, a false estimate of the current morals of the day. I think it well to state the case here; for it is a test case, and affects many of our judgments of other Greek politicians as well as of Demosthenes.

§ 61. The real ground of acquittal is this, that we cannot for a moment conceive a pure and high-souled patriot, who had The modern ground of acquittal. risked all for the national cause, to have been guilty of taking bribes or embezzling money. Schäfer indeed distinctly says in his book that his judgment is determined by his estimate of the moral character of its hero; and so not only weak and illogical speeches, but immoral or dishonest acts, are simply to be set aside as inconceivable in so lofty and unsullied a character. Whether this be a sensible way of writing history, I may leave the reader to decide. What I am now going to urge is this, that in the morality of Attic politics in Demosthenes' days, taking money privately was not thought a vice, but was, with certain restrictions, openly asserted to be quite pardonable, and even right.

Hypereides puts it quite plainly in his speech in this very case. Seeing that it was not the practice at Athens to pay politicians Morality of politicians expounded by Hypereides. salaries for their services, the public was quite prepared that they should make indirect profits and receive money privately for their work; the one thing intolerable was that they should take it from the enemies of their country or to prejudice the Athenian interests.

In England we have had the good fortune to find rich men of high traditions to carry on the affairs of the nation, and even where Modern sentiment at least repudiates these principles. we do not, or used not, to give salaries, it has been thought disgraceful to make politics the source of private gain. How far it was done or not, in spite of this feeling, we need not inquire. There can be no doubt that now, at all events, there is a large number of men supporting themselves by a parliamentary career; and it is usually said of America also, that politics are there regarded as a lucrative profession, and that the men who spend their lives in politics from mere ambition or from pure patriotism are by no means the majority. Still I think modern sentiment, theoretically at least, brands these indirect profits as disgraceful; nor do I think any counsel would lay down such a practice as readily excusable in the way that Hypereides expresses it.

We are dealing, therefore, with a condition of public morality in which taking bribes, to put it plainly, was not at all considered a heinous offence, provided always that they were not taken to injure the State. You might therefore be a patriot at Athens, and yet make that patriotism a source of profit.

This combination of high and sordid principles seems so shocking to modern gentlemen that I must remind them of two instances not irrelevant to the question in hand. In the first As regards practice we have Walpole place men who were thoroughly honorable and served their country faithfully, as, for example, Sir Robert Walpole, have thought it quite legitimate to corrupt with money those under them and those opposed to them. Though they would scorn to receive bribes, they did not scruple to offer them; and they have left it on record that they found most men ready to accept such bribes in some indirect or disguised form.

Again, if the reader will turn to the narratives of the great War of Liberation in Greece, which lasted some ten years of this century (1821-1831), and study the history of the national lead- and the Greek patriots of our own century. ers who fought all the battles by sea and land, and contributed far more than foreign aid to the success of that remarkable Revolution, he will find that on the one hand they were actuated with the strongest and most passionate feelings of patriotism, while on the other they did not scruple to turn the war to their own profit.¹ They were Clephts, bandits of the worst morals. They often took bribes to save the families of Turks, and then allowed them to be massacred. They made oaths and broke them, signed treaties and violated them. And yet there is not the smallest doubt that they were strictly patriots, in the sense of loving their country, and even shedding their blood for it.

§ 62. Let us now come back to the case of Demosthenes. At the opening of his career he would have gladly obtained money and men from Macedon to war against Persia; for Analogy to the case of Demosthenes. Persia then seemed a danger to Greece. Later on, his policy was to obtain money from Persia to attack Macedon; and

¹ Mr. Finlay even goes so far as to say that the islanders of Hydra, who were certainly the most prominent in the cause of patriotism, were actuated by no higher motives than despair at the loss of the lucrative monopoly they had enjoyed of visiting all the ports of Europe during the great Napoleonic wars under the protection of the neutral flag of Turkey! The patriotism of these people did not include gratitude.

we are told that in the crisis before Charonea he had control of large funds of foreign gold, which he administered as he chose.

The end justified the means. The one great end was 'to break the power of Macedonia. And so I have not the smallest doubt that if he thought the gold of Harpalus would enable him to emancipate Athens, he was perfectly ready to accept it, even on the terms of screening Harpalus from his individual danger, provided this did not balk the one great object in view. Thus the telling of a deliberate lie, which to modern gentlemen is a crime of the same magnitude as taking a bribe, is in the minds of most of our politicians justified by urgent public necessity. It is hardly necessary to give instances of this notorious laxity in European public life. Is it reasonable, is it fair, to try Demosthenes by a far higher standard?

This is why I contend that it is illogical and unhistorical to argue that because Demosthenes was an honorable man and a patriot, therefore he could not have done what he was convicted of doing by the Areopagus.

At no time was the average morality of the Greeks very high. From the days of Homer down, as I have shown amply in my Low average of Greek national morality. *Social Life in Greece*, there appears a doubtful standard of truth and honesty among that brilliant society, which is obscured to us by their splendid intellectual gifts. As Ulysses in legend, Themistocles in early, Aratus in later history are the types which speak home to Greek imagination and excite the national admiration, so in a later day Cicero, in a remarkable passage, where he discusses the merits and demerits of the race,¹ lays it down as an axiom that their honesty is below par, and will never rank in court with a Roman's word.

Exceptions there were, such as Aristides, Socrates, Phocion; but they never enlisted the sympathy, though they commanded the respect, of the Greek public. Nay, all these suffered for their honesty. I do not believe Demosthenes to have been below the average morality of his age.—far from it; he was in all respects, save in military skill, far above it: but I do not believe he was at all of the type of his adversary, Phocion, who was honest and incorruptible in the strictest modern sense.

The illusion has here again been produced by the perfect art of

¹ *Pro Flacco*, cap. iv. *Græca fides* was a stock phrase.

Demosthenes, whose speeches read as if he spoke the inmost sentiments of his mind and laid his whole soul open with all earnestness and sincerity to the hearer. I suppose there was a day when people thought this splendid, direct, apparently unadorned eloquence burst from the fulness of his heart, and found its burning expression upon his lips merely from the power of truth and earnestness to speak to the hearts of other men. We know very well now that this is the most absurd of estimates. Every sentence, every clause, was turned and weighed; the rhythm of every word was balanced; the very interjections and exclamations were nicely calculated. There never was any speaking or writing more strictly artificial since the world of literature began. But as the most perfect art upon the stage attains the exact image of nature, so the perfection of Greek oratory was to produce the effect of earnestness and simplicity by the most subtle means, adding concealed harmonies of sound and subtle figures of thought, by which the audience could be charmed and beguiled into a delighted acquiescence.

Deep effect of his rhetorical earnestness.

The perfection of his art is to be apparently natural.

This is the sort of rhetorician with whom we have to deal, and who regarded the simple and trenchant Phocion as the most dangerous "pruner of his periods." To many persons such a school of eloquence, however perfect, will not seem the strictest school for plain uprightness in action; and they will rather be surprised at the eagerness of modern historians to defend him against all accusations, than at the decisive, though reluctant, condemnation which he suffered at the hands of his own citizens.

§ 63. As I have said already, the death of Demosthenes is a favorite goal for the political historians of Greece. But we will not grow weary, and will pursue the fortunes of the race for some centuries more, touching upon those turning points or knotty points where it seems to us that the evidence has not been duly stated or weighed.

The further course of Greek history.

In approaching the work and the character of Alexander, we come upon a new authority among modern historians, whom we have not yet encountered. Droysen, who unfortunately devoted the evening of his days to Prussian history, employed his brilliant abilities for years in researches upon the history of Alexander and of his immediate successors. His latest work

Droysen's Geschichte des Hellenismus.

on this period is no doubt the fullest and best to which we can refer, and it seems a very great omission that it has not been as yet translated into our language.

This is more specially to be desired as we have no great English history of these times. It is but another instance of what has been so often urged in these pages. Greek history has been in the hands of people with literary and scholastic interests. So long as there are great authors to translate, to explain, to panegyryze, all the most minute events are recorded and discussed with care; but as soon as we come to an epoch certainly not less important in human affairs, perhaps more decisive than any that had gone before in shaping the future history of the world, we are deserted by the historians, because the Greeks had lost that literary excellence which makes their earlier records the proper training for the schoolboy and the collegian.¹ We are now reduced to Diodorus, Plutarch, Arrian, Strabo, for our materials, and there are many now who think that the moral splendor and unfailling interest of the famous *Parallel Lives* do not atone for the want of Attic grace and strength which marks the decadence of Greek prose literature. Yet surely to the genuine historian, to whom all these records are merely sources of information on the course of affairs and the characters of men, literary perfection should only be an agreeable accident, an evidence, if you like, of that day's culture, not a gauge to test the pre-eminence of one century or one nation over another.

§ 64. Accordingly, the character of Alexander and his work has not yet been sufficiently weighed and studied to afford us a perfectly clear picture, which might carry conviction to the majority of readers, and finally fix his place in history. As I said above,² Grote's picture of him — the only recent study of the period in England previous to my own *Alexander's Empire and Greek Life and Thought* — is so manifestly

¹ For students I regard Fynes Clinton's third volume of *Fasti* as far the most complete collection of materials for studying later Hellenism. He not only gives all manner of out-of-the-way texts in full, but also a very excellent sketch of each of the Hellenistic monarchies, with dates and other credentials. Considering the date of its appearance (1845), it may be regarded as one of the finest monuments of English scholarship.

² Cf. § 10.

unfair that no candid judge will be satisfied with it. If any other writer had used against Demosthenes or Pericles such evidence as Grote cites and believes against Alexander, the great historian would have cried shame upon him, and refuted his arguments with the high satisfaction of supporting an unanswerable case.

Thus, for example, Grote finds in Q. Curtius, a late, rhetorical, and very untrustworthy Latin historian of Alexander, theatrical details of Alexander's cruelties to the heroic defender of Gaza, or the mythical descendants of the Milesian Branchidæ who had settled in Inner Asia, — details Grote's unfairness in accepting evidence against him. unknown to Arrian, unknown apparently to the Athenians of the day, and fairly to be classed with the king's adventures among the Amazons or in the land beyond the Sun. Yet these stories have their distinct effect upon Grote's estimate of Alexander, whom he esteems hardly a Hellene, but a semi-barbarian conqueror of transcendent military abilities, only desirous of making for himself a great Oriental despot-monarchy, with a better and more efficient military and civil organization, but without any preparations for higher civilization.

The estimate of Droysen is nearer the truth, but still not strictly the truth itself. To him the Macedonian is a political as well as a military genius of the highest order, educated in all the views of Aristotle, who understands Droysen's estimate. thoroughly that the older forms of political life are effete, that small separate States require to be united under a strong central control, that the wealth and resources of Asia require regeneration through Greek intelligence and enterprise, and that the "marriage of Europe and Asia" of which the king gave a specimen in the great wholesale matrimony of his officers to Persian ladies, was the real aim and goal of all his achievements. As such Alexander is the worthy pupil of Aristotle, and the legitimate originator of a new and striking form of civilization.

§ 65. There is, I think, a great tendency, whenever we come to estimate a great and exceptional genius, to regard him as manifesting merely a higher degree of that conscious ability called talent, or cleverness. Tendency to attribute calculation to genius. It is much easier to understand this view of genius than to give any rational account of its spontaneity, its unconscious and unreflexive inspirations,

which seem to anticipate and solve questions laboriously answered by the patient research or experiment of ordinary minds.¹ We its spontaneity. talk of "flashes of genius." When these flashes come often enough, and affect large political questions, we have results which baffle ordinary mortals, and are easily mistaken either for random luck or acute calculation.

If I am right, Alexander started with few definite ideas beyond the desire of great military conquests. On this point his views were probably quite clear, and no doubt often reasoned out with his early companions. He had seen the later campaigns of Philip, and had discovered at Charonea what the shock of heavy cavalry would do against the best infantry the Greek world could produce. He had made trial of his field artillery, and of the marching powers of his army through the difficult Thracian country, in his very first operations to put down revolt and secure his crown. He therefore required no Aristotle to tell him that with the combined arms of Greece and Macedonia he could conquer the Persian Empire. His reckless exposure of his life at the Granicus and at Issus may indeed be interpreted as the divine confidence of a genius in his star, but seems to me nothing more than a manifest defect in his generalship, counterbalanced to some extent by the enthusiasm it aroused in his household troops.

But it also taught him a very important lesson. He probably quite underrated the high qualities of the Persian nobles. Their splendid bravery and unshaken loyalty to their king in all the battles of the campaign, their evident dignity and liberty under a legitimate sovereign, must have shown him that these were indeed subjects worth having, and destined to be some day of great importance in checking Greek discontent or Macedonian insubordination. The fierce and stubborn resistance of the great Aryan barons of Sogdiana, which cost him more time and loss than all his previous conquests, must have confirmed this opinion, and led to that recognition of the Persians in his empire which was deeply resented by his Western subjects.

§ 66. His campaigns, on the other hand, must have at the

¹ Thus Timoleon set up in his house a shrine to *Ἀδρόμαρτα*, the spontaneous impulse which had led him to many brilliant successes. Cf. my *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 110.

same time forced this upon his mind, — that the deep separation which had hitherto existed between East and West would make a homogeneous empire impossible, if pains were not taken to fuse the races by some large and peaceful process.¹ This problem was the first great political difficulty he solved; and he solved it very early in his career by the successful experiment of founding a city on the confines of the Greek seas and the Asiatic continent, into which Jews and Egyptians crowded along with Greeks, and gave the first specimen of that Hellenistic life which soon spread over all his empire.

He discovers how to fuse the nations in Alexandria.

This happy experiment, no doubt intended as an experiment, and perhaps the easiest and most obvious under the circumstances, must have set Alexander's mind into the right groove. Further advances into Asia showed him the immense field open to conquest by his arms, and also by the higher culture and enterprise of Greeks and Jews. He must have felt that in the foundation of chains of cities peopled by veterans and traders he would secure not only a military frontier and military communications, but *entrepôts* for the rising trade which brought new luxuries from the East, and new inventions from the West. How great must have been the effect, upon this commerce, not only of peace and security on roads and frontiers, but still more of the dissemination of a vast hoard of gold captured in the Persian treasuries! This hoard, amounting to several millions of our money, not only stimulated trade by its circulation, but afforded the merchant a medium of exchange as much more portable than baser metals as bank-notes are than gold. The new merchant could pay out of his girdle as much as his father had paid out of a camel's load. I have no doubt the Jews were the first people to profit by these altered circumstances, and thus to attain that importance from Rhodes to Rhagæ which comes to light so suddenly and silently in the history of the Diadochi.

His development of commerce.

Diffusion of gold.

¹ We hear of the complaints of Macedonians and Greeks. The complaints of the Persians have not been transmitted to us; but as they were certainly more just and well-founded, and as the king was living in their midst, where he could not but hear them, are we rash in asserting that they must have been fully as important in influencing his decision? Could the many Persian princesses, married to high Macedonian officers, and their attendants, have been silenced or satisfied without large concessions?

These changes seem to me to have dawned gradually, though quickly, upon the powerful mind of the conqueror, and to have transformed him from a young knight-errant in search of fame into a statesman facing an enormous responsibility. His intense and indefatigable spirit knew no repose except the repose of physical excitement; and unfortunately, with the growth of larger views the love of glory and of adventure was not stilled. No cares of State or legislative labors were able to quench the romance of his imagination and the longing to make new explorations and new conquests. This is the feature which legends of the East and West have caught with poetic truth; they have transformed the visions of his fancy into the chronicle of his life. But all that he did in the way of real government, of practical advancement of civilization, of respecting and adjusting the conflicting rights of his various subjects, seems to me the result of a rapid practical insight, a large comprehension of pressing wants and useful reforms, not the deductions from any mature theory. Hence I regard it as nonsense to call the politician and the king in any important sense the pupil of Aristotle. There is hardly a point in the *Politics* which is really to be regarded as a suggestion in the Macedonian settlement of the world. The whole of the problem and its solution were non-Hellenic, non-speculative, new.

§ 67. It is quite possible that some of Alexander's most successful ordinances were not fully understood by himself, if what I have said above of the spontaneous action of genius be true. But certainly the greater number were clearly seen and carefully planned. What astonishes us most is the supernatural quickness and vigor of the man. He died at an early age, but we may well question whether he died young. His body was hacked with wounds, worn with hard exercise and still harder drinking. We feel that he lived at such a rate that to him thirty years were like a century of ordinary life.

It is a favorite amusement to compare the great men of different ages, who are never very similar, the greatness of their genius producing an individuality which cannot be imitated or replaced. Nevertheless it may be said that Napoleon

Development
of Alexander's
views.

His romantic
imagination.

No pupil of
Aristotle.

His portentous
activity.

Compared with
Napoleon.

shows more points of resemblance to the Macedonian king than most other conquerors. Had he died of fever on his way into Russia, while his Grand Army was unbroken, he would have left a military reputation hardly inferior to Alexander's. He won his campaigns by the same rapidity in movement, the same resource in sudden emergencies. And though starting as soldiers, both showed themselves indefatigable in office work of a peaceful kind, and exceedingly able in the construction of laws. Napoleon imposed, if he did not originate, the best code in modern Europe on his people, and he is known to have worked diligently and with great power at its details.

Both showed the same disagreeable insistence upon their own superiority to other men, whose rivalry they could not brook. But Alexander sought to maintain it by exalting himself to a superhuman position, Napoleon by degrading his rivals with the poisoned weapons of calumny and lies. The falsehoods of Napoleon's official documents have never been surpassed. Alexander never sank so low; but the assertion of divinity seems to most of us a more monstrous violation of modesty, and is to moderns a flaw which affects the whole character of the claimant.

§ 68. So strongly is this felt that an acute writer, Mr. D. C. Hogarth, has endeavored to show¹ that this too was one of the later fables invented about Alexander, and that the king himself never personally laid claim to a divine origin. The criticism of the evidence in this essay is excellent, and to most people will seem convincing. Nevertheless, after due examination of the matter, I am satisfied that he is wrong, and that there is good reason to think the visit to the temple of Ammon was connected with the policy of deriving Alexander's origin from that god.

But to my mind a greater flaw in this able essay is the assumption that for a Greek or Macedonian to claim divine origin was as odious and ridiculous as for a modern man to do so. It is only yesterday that men held in Europe the theory that monarchy was of divine origin. In Egypt and the East it was quite the common creed to think the monarchs themselves were such. The new subjects of the Macedonian king would

¹ In the *Historical Review* for 1887, pp. 317, *sqq.*

have thought it more extraordinary that he did not claim this descent than that he did; and in Egypt especially the belief that the king was the son of a god and a god himself did not conflict with the assertion of his ordinary human parentage. This is a condition of thought which we cannot grasp, and cannot therefore realize; but nevertheless the fact is as certain as any in ancient history.

The assertion, therefore, of divinity in the East was an ordinary piece of policy which Alexander could hardly avoid; the author I have quoted has, however, shown strong reasons to doubt that he ever claimed it in Greece, though individual Greeks who visited his Eastern court at once perceived it in the ceremonial of his household, and though his soldiers taunted him with it during their revolt at Babylon. But this after all is a small matter. He probably knew better than any of his critics how to impress his authority upon his subjects; and whether it was from vanity or from policy or from a contempt of other men that he insisted upon his own divinity, is now of little consequence.

§ 69. The period which follows the death of Alexander is one so complicated with wars and alliances, with combinations and defections, with re-shaping of the world's kingdoms,¹ and efforts at a new settlement, that it deters most men from its study, and has certainly acted as a damper upon the student who is not satisfied with the earlier history, but strives to penetrate to the closing centuries of freedom in Greece. There is very little information upon it, or rather there are but few books upon it to be found in English. Thirlwall has treated it with his usual care and justice; and to those who will not follow the minute and intricate details, I have recently given, in my *Greek Life and Thought*, a full study of the social and artistic development which accompanied this and the succeeding periods of Hellenism in Greece and the East. Duruy's final volume, which will include the same period, is not yet accessible, so that I cannot notice it.

¹ We may well apply to it the famous words of Tacitus at the opening of his *Histories*: "Tempus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox proeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum; principes ferro interempti, bella civilia, plura externa, ac plerumque permixta . . . pollutae caeremoniae; magna adulteria; plenum exiliis mare; infecti caedibus scopuli . . . corrupti in dominos servi, in patronos liberti; et quibus deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressi."

It is from the history of Diodorus and the *Lives* of Plutarch that we draw our principal materials, supplemented by inscriptions, anecdotes in Athenæus, excerpts in Stobæus, and the extant fragments of the Alexandrian poetry. A great part of this history was enacted, not in Greece, or even in Greek Asia Minor, but in Egypt, in Syria, in Mesopotamia, and even in Upper ^{their wide} _{area.} Asia. The campaigns which determined the mastery over Greece were usually Asiatic campaigns, and each conqueror, when he arrived at Athens, endeavored to enlist the support of Greece by public declarations of the freedom, or rather the emancipating, of the Greeks. This constant and yet unmeaning manifesto, something like the Home Rule manifestoes of ^{The liberation} _{of Greece.} English politicians, is a very curious and interesting feature in the history of the *Diadochi*, as they are called, and suggests to us to consider what was the independence so often proclaimed from the days of Demetrius (306 B. C.) to those of the Roman T. Flamininus (196 B. C.), and how so unreal and shadowy a promise never ceased to fascinate the imagination of an acute and practical people.

For, on the other hand, it was quite admitted by all the speculative as well as the practical men of the age that monarchy was not only the leading form of the Hellenistic ^{Spread of mon-} _{archies.} world, but was the only means of holding together large provinces of various peoples, with diverse traditions and diverse ways of life. From this point of view the monarchy of the Seleucids in Hither Asia, and that of Macedonia over the Greek peninsula, are far more interesting than the simpler and more homogeneous kingdom of the Ptolemies in Egypt. For ^{The three Hel-} _{lenistic king-} _{doms.} the Greeks in Egypt were never a large factor in the population. They settled only two or three cities up the country; they shared with Jews and Copts the great mart of Alexandria, and even there their influence waned, and the Alexandria of Roman days is no longer a Hellenistic, but an Egyptian city. The persecutions by the seventh Ptolemy, who is generally credited with the wholesale expulsion of the Greeks, would only have had a transitory effect, had not the tide of population been setting that way; the persecutions of the Jews in the same city never produced the same lasting results. But the Syrian monarchy

stands with the Macedonian as the proper type of a Hellenistic State.

§ 70. How did the Greeks accommodate themselves to this altered state of things, which not only affected their political life, New problems. but made a revolution in their social state? For it was the emigrant, the adventurer, the mercenary, who now got wealth and power into his hands; the capitalist who secured all the advantages of trade; and so there arose a moneyed class in every city, whose interests were directly at variance with the mass of impoverished citizens. The king's lieutenant or agent was a greater man than the leading politician in his own city. Public discussions and resolutions among the freemen of Athens or Ephesus were often convincing, oftener exciting, but of no effect against superior forces which lay quietly in the hands of the controlling Macedonian.

We may then classify the men of that day as follows. First there were a not inconsiderable number of thoughtful and serious Politics abandoned by thinking men, men who abandoned practical politics altogether, as for small States and cities a thing of the past, and only leading to discontent and confusion. These men adopted the general conclusion, in which all the philosophical schools coincided, that peace of mind and true liberty of life were to be obtained by retiring from the world and spending one's life in that practice of personal virtues which was the religion of a nation that had no creed adequate to their spiritual wants.

Among other topics of speculation they treated of politics; and when they did interfere, it was often to carry out very trenchant theories, and to act on principle, without regard except as a purely theoretical question, to the terrible practical consequences of imposing a new order of things on a divided or uneducated public. The Stoic philosophers, in particular, who interfered in the public life of that day were dangerous firebrands, not hesitating at the murder of with some fatal exceptions. an opponent; for were not all fools criminal, and was not he that offended in one point guilty of all? Such men as the Sphærus who advised the *coup d'état* of the Spartan Cleomenes,¹ and the Blossius who stimulated the Gracchi into revolution, and the Brutus who mimicked this sort of thing with

¹ Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Cleomenes*, cap xi.

deplorable results to the world in the murder of Cæsar,—all these were examples of the philosophical politician produced by the Hellenistic age.

But if there were mischievous exceptions, we must not forget that the main body of the schools kept alive in the Greek mind a serious and exalted view of human dignity and human responsibility, — above all, they trained their hearers in that noble contempt for death which is perhaps the strongest feature in Hellenistic as compared with modern society; for there can be no doubt that Christian dogmas make cowards of all those who do not live up to their lofty ideal. The Greeks had no eternal punishment to scare them from facing death, and so we find whole cities preferring suicide to the loss of what they claimed as their rightful liberty.¹ People who do this may be censured; they cannot be despised.

§ 71. But most philosophers had become so convinced of the necessity of monarchy, if not of the rule of one superior spirit, as better than the vacillations and excitements of a crowd, that many of their pupils considered themselves fit to undertake the duty of improving the masses by their control; and so we have a recrudescence, in a very different society, of those tyrants whose merits and defects we have already discussed at an earlier stage in this essay.² The long series of passages from tracts *That Monarchy is best*, which we may read in the common-place book of Stobæus,³ is indeed followed by a series of passages *On the Censure of Tyranny*; but the former is chiefly taken from Hellenistic philosophical tracts, whereas the latter is drawn wholly from older authors, such as Xenophon (in his *Hiero*).

Even the literary men, who are always anti-despotic in theory, confess that many of these later tyrants were good and worthy men; and the fact that Gonatas, the greatest and best of the Antigonids, constantly “planted a tyrant” in a free State which he found hard to manage, proves rather that this form of polity was not unacceptable to most people, than that he violated all the deepest convictions of his unmanageable subjects for

¹ Cf. the cases quoted in my *Greek Life and Thought*, pp. 394, 537, 541–543.

² Above, §§ 35 seqq.

³ Stobæus, *Florilegium* (ed. Teubner), ii. 247–284.

the sake of an end certain to be balked by impolitic means. The force of imitation also helped the creation of tyrannies in the Greek cities; for were not the great Hellenistic monarchies the mightiest success of the age? And we may assume that many sanguine people did not lay to heart the wide difference between the requirements of the provinces of a large and scattered empire, and those of a town with a territory of ten miles square.

These then were phenomena which manifested themselves all over the peninsula,—nay, even at times in Athens and at Sparta, though these cities were protected by a great history and by the sentimental respect of all the world from the upstart experiments which might be condoned in smaller and less august cities.

§ 72. But despite these clear lessons, the normal condition of the old leaders of the Greek world was hardly so respectable as that of the modern tyrannies. It remained a constant policy of protest, a constant resuscitation of old memories, an obsolete and ridiculous title to lead the Greeks and govern an empire of dependencies after the manner of Pericles and Lysander. The strategic importance of both cities, as well as their sentimental position, made it worth while for the great Hellenistic monarchs to humor such fancies; for in those days the means of defending a city with walls or natural defences were still far greater than the means of attack, even with Philip's developments of siege artillery,—so that to coerce Athens or Sparta into absolute subjection by arms was both more unpopular and more expensive than to pay political partisans in each, who could at least defeat any active external policy. But if from this point of view these leading cities had little influence on the world, from another they proved fatal to the only new development of political life in Greece which had any promise for small and separated States. And this brings us to the feature of all others interesting to American readers,—I mean the experiment of a federation of small States, with separate legislatures for internal affairs, but a common council to manage the external policy and the common interests of all the members.

§ 73. This form of polity was not quite new in Greece or Asia Minor, but had remained so obscure and unnoticed in earlier

Contemptible
position of
Athens and
Sparta in
politics,

except in mis-
chievous oppo-
sition to the
new federa-
tions,

and more brilliant times, that we may fairly attribute to the opening years of the third century B. C. its discovery as an important and practical solution of the difficulty of maintaining small States in their *autonomy* or independence both as regards one another and the great Powers which threatened to absorb them.

The old idea had been to put them under the *hegemony*, or leadership, of one of the great cities. But these had all abused the confidence reposed in them. Athens, Sparta, Thebes, had never for one moment understood the duty of ruling in the interests, not only of the governing, but the governed. The Athenian law, by which subject-cities could seek redress before the courts of Athens, had been in theory the fairest; and so Grote and Duruy have made much of this apparent justice. But the actual hints we find of individual wrong and oppression, and the hatred in which Athens was held by all her dependencies or allies, show plainly that the democratic theory, fair as it may seem in the exposition of Grote, did not work. Accordingly, we find both in northern and southern Greece the experiment of federations of cities attaining much success, and receiving much support in public opinion.

It is most significant that these new and powerful federations were formed outside and apart from the leading cities. Neither Athens nor Sparta, nay, not even Thebes, and hardly even Argos, would condescend to a federation where they should have only a city vote in conjunction with other cities; and so the new trial was deprived both of their advice and of the prestige of their arms and arts. If, for example, both Athens and Thebes, but especially the former, had joined the Ætolian League of wild mountaineers, who had wealth and military power, but no practice in the peaceful discussion and settlement of political questions, they would probably have influenced the counsels of the League for good, and saved it from falling into the hands of unprincipled mercenary chiefs, who regarded border wars as a state of nature, and plunder as a legitimate source of income.

But Athens stood sullenly aloof from this powerful organization, remembering always her long-lost primacy, and probably regarding these mountaineers as hardly Hellenes, and as unworthy to rank

whose origin
was small and
obscure.

The old plan of a
sovereign State
not successful.

The leading
cities stood
aloof from this
experiment.

Athens and the
Ætolians

beside the ancient and educated States, which had once thought of them as mere semi-barbarous mercenaries. And yet the Ætoliæans were the only Greeks who were able to make a serious and obstinate struggle for their liberties, even against the power of Rome.

§ 74. But if to have Ætoliæans as co-equal members of a common council would have been too bitter a degradation for Athens, why not ally herself to the civilized and orderly Achæans? For the Achæan cities, though insignificant heretofore, had old traditions, legendary glories; and in later times Sicyon especially had been a leading centre, a chosen home for the fine arts. When Corinth and Argos were forced to join this League, why should Athens stand aloof? Yet here was the inevitable limit, beyond which the Achæan League could never obtain a footing. It stopped with the isthmus, because no arguments could ever induce Athens to give her adhesion.¹

Within the Peloponnesus the case was even worse; for here Sparta was ever the active opponent of the Achæan League, and sought by arms or by intrigue to separate cities and to make any primacy but her own impossible. Thus the Leagues had to contend with the sullen refusal or the active opposition of the principal Powers of Greece; and if, in spite of all that, they attained to great and deserved power, it only shows how unworthy was the opposition of those States whose narrow patriotism could not rise beyond their own susceptibilities. This it was which made the success of the experiment from the first doubtful.

§ 75. But there was a constitutional question behind, which is one of the permanent problems of statecraft, and therefore demands our earnest attention. The mode of attack upon the Leagues, especially upon the constitutional and orderly Achæan League, adopted by Macedon, Sparta, and Athens, was the constant invitation to some member to enter upon separate negotiations with them, without consulting the common council of the federation. And time after time this move succeeded, till at last the interference of the Romans in this direction sapped the power and coherence of the League.

¹ The momentary acquisition (in 190 B. C.) of two unimportant towns, Pleuron and Heraclæa, in northern Greece, need hardly count as a correction of this general statement. The acquisition of the island Zacynthos was stopped by the Romans.

The same kind of difficulty had occurred long before under the old dominations of Sparta, Athens, and Thebes; but I did not allude to them earlier, because this is the proper place to bring the problem in all its bearings before the reader. Under the Athenian supremacy many members had voluntarily entered into the Delian Confederacy; others had done so either under protest, or for the purpose of some special object, such as the clearing of the Ægean from Persian occupation. Presently, when the particular object was fulfilled, and when the Athenian tax-gatherers insisted upon the tribute which was spent on public, but Athenian, objects, the separate members declared their right to secede, and revolted whenever they had the power. The Athenians argued that the peace and prosperity of the Ægean had been secured by the common effort of the Confederacy and by the zeal and self-sacrifice of Athens. They denied that each member which had so long profited by the arrangement had a right to secede, and in any case they declared that they should coerce the seceder. In Dury's chapter on the passage of the Delian Confederacy into the Athenian empire¹ he shows little sympathy for the individual members and their hardships, and justifies Athens in her aggressive policy. In a mere passing note he compares it to the case of the North against the South in the late American Civil War. But as he has not argued the case, I may be of service to the reader in discussing it here.

Disputed already in the Delian Confederacy by Athens and the lesser members.

Dury's attitude on this question.

It was to this dispute that the real origin of the Peloponnesian war is to be traced. And though most people thought Athens quite justified in holding what she had obtained, and not surrendering the empire which had cost such labors and returned in exchange such great glory, yet the general feeling of the Greek world was distinctly in favor of the seceder,—in favor of the inalienable right of every city to reassert its autonomy as a several State,² not only with communal

Greek sentiment very different.

¹ Below, chap. xix. §§ 2, 3.

² I need not pause to remind the reader that each Greek city, or *πόλις*, was in every constitutional sense a separate and independent State, just as much as the largest country is now. These cities severally made frequent treaties even with Rome, to which they stood in the same relations that a foreign king would stand. But this by the way.

independence, but with perfect liberty to treat as it chose with neighboring States. Whenever, therefore, this conflict arose, public sympathies sided with the assertion of independence.

§ 76. The debate which now arose was somewhat different. In the case of the Achæan League, a number of small cities situated upon a coast exposed to pirates, and able to foresee from lofty posts the coming raid, united voluntarily for attack and defence, and so formed a Confederacy, which lasted a long time before the wealth gained by its members as mercenaries and the decay of the greater Powers of Greece brought it into prominence.¹ These cities had a common executive and a sort of cabinet, preparing the business for the general assembly, which met for three days twice a year, and then decisions were obtained from this assembly by its votes. But as the more distant members could not attend in great numbers, the members of each city present, whether few or many, gave that city's vote, which counted as a unit in the Confederacy. The result was of course to put political power into the hands of the richer classes, who had leisure to leave their own affairs and go regularly to the assembly at Ægion. But I cannot here condescend to details.²

The difficulties which now arose are these: Had any of these original twelve towns, that had voluntarily made this Union, the right to withdraw their original adhesion? In a less degree, had the towns that afterwards joined in consequence of the pressure of circumstances, but by a deliberate and public vote, a right to rescind that vote? And in a still less degree, had any town which had subscribed to the Achæan constitution any right to violate its observance in one point, such as negotiating separately with another State, or was it bound to observe in all respects the terms of the Union from which it was not allowed to secede?

The first of these cases is by far the most perplexing, and I

¹ I have suggested these points for the first time in my *Greek Life and Thought*, pp. 7 seqq.

² This voting by cities seems to me the nearest approach to representation that the Greeks ever made in politics, as distinct from religious councils, such as the Amphictyonies; for of course a city far from the place of assembly could agree with a small number of its citizens that they should attend and vote in a particular way. Every citizen, however, might go if he chose, so that this would be a mere private understanding.

am not aware that it has ever been settled by any argument better than an appeal to force. To the Greeks, at all events, it seemed that the right of autonomy — the power to manage one's own affairs — was the inalienable right of every *city*; just as the Irish Nationalists may be heard daily asserting it for every *nation*.¹

in its clearest form never yet settled except by force.

We heard it far more seriously urged in our own youth by the seceding States of the American Union, some of which had been members of the first combination, and had voluntarily ceded certain portions of their political rights, at least their theoretical rights, in return for the protection and support of the Confederation as a whole. These States argued that if the Union began to interfere in the domestic concerns of each, — such, for example, as the practice of permitting household slaves, — it was a breach of contract, and justified the State in formally repudiating its allegiance. But even had there been no encroachment by new legislation, the Greek city claimed the right of returning to its isolated independence.

Case of the American Union.

§ 77. On the other side, it has always been argued that though contracts for a definite period need not be renewed, there are many contracts intended by their very nature to be permanent, and so far-reaching in their consequences that for one party to abandon them is a profound injustice to the remainder, whose lives have been instituted and regulated upon these contracts.² The illustration of marriage is obvious. From this contract there arise such important consequences that a dissolution does not permit the contracting parties to resume their original life; and therefore in all higher civilizations legal divorce

Arguments for coercion of the several members.

¹ The Greek *city* (*πόλις*) was a perfectly clear and definite thing. A *nation*, on the contrary, may mean anything, for it may be determined by race, religion, language, locality, or tradition. Any one or all of these may be utilized to mark out the bounds of a nation according to the convenience of the case.

² Daruy even quotes, in connection with the earlier Athenian Confederacy (chap. xix. § 2), the words of the actual treaties between several of the smaller towns (Erythræ, Chalcis), which have been found graven on stone; and argues that because they assert permanent union with Athens, and invoke curses on him that hereafter attempts to dissolve this union. Athens was legally as well as morally justified in coercing any seceders. It is strange so acute a thinker should not perceive that this assertion of eternal peace and union was an almost universal and perfectly unmeaning formula. If such formula were really valid, we might find ourselves bound by our ancestors to very curious obligations. I know of no case, except that of Adam, where the act of one generation bound all succeeding centuries.

has been made very difficult, and secession from its duties by either party without legal sanction a grave offence.

In like manner it was argued that the several cities had grown rich and powerful under the League. The lives of its members had been sacrificed to defend every city attacked; its funds had been applied to each as they were needed. Was it just that after growing and thriving upon these conditions any one of them should, for its own convenience, repudiate the bond and regard all its benefits as a private property, to be disposed of to any strange Power?

To answer this difficulty and to adjudicate between the litigants is hard enough, and yet I have stated the simplest case. Cases of doubtful or enforced adherence. For in many of the additions to the Achæan League a revolution had first taken place, the existing government had been overthrown, and then the new majority had placed themselves under the protection of the Confederation. If the old rulers returned to power, were they bound by the Government which had coerced them, and which they regarded as revolutionary? Others, again, had been coerced by the presence of an armed force, and by threats of imminent danger if they would not accept the League's protection. When circumstances changed, could they not argue that they were coerced, and that an apparently free *plébiscite* was merely wrung from them against their better judgment?

§ 78. Such were the profoundly interesting and thoroughly modern problems which agitated the minds of men in post-Alexandrian Greece. There were of course also various Various internal questions. internal questions, — whether new cities which joined should have equal rights with the original members; whether large cities should have a city vote only equal to the vote of the smallest; was the general assembly to be held in turn at each of the cities, or in the greatest and most convenient centre, or in a place specially chosen for its insignificance, so that the assembly might be entirely free from local influences? All these questions must have agitated the minds of the founders of the Swiss Union and the American Union, for the problem remains the same, however nations may wax and wane.

The Achæan and Ætolian Unions were very popular indeed, especially the latter, which required no alterations in the administration

of each State, but accepted any member merely on terms of paying a general tax, and obtaining in lieu thereof military aid, and restitution of property from other members if they had carried off plunder from its territory. The Achaean League required more. A tyrant must abdicate before his city could become a member. But there was more than one case of this actually taking place.

The most dangerous, though passive, enemy of this hopeful compromise between the Separatist and the truly national spirit was, as I have said, the sullen standing aloof of the greater cities. Of course the ever-active foe was the power of Macedon, which could deal easily with local tyrants, or even special cities, but was balked by the strength of the combination.

At last there arose a still more attractive alternative, which was rapidly destroying the League, when its leader, Aratus, called in the common enemy from Macedon, and enslaved his country in order to checkmate his rival. This rival was Cleomenes of Sparta, who offered to the cities of the Peloponnesus a Union on the old lines of a Confederation under the headship of Sparta, but of Sparta as he had transformed it: for he had assassinated the ephors, abolished the second king, and proposed sweeping reforms in the direction of socialistic equality.—division of large properties, and protection of the poor against the oppression of aristocrats or capitalists. This kind of revolution, with the great military genius of Cleomenes to give it strength and brilliancy, attracted men's minds far more than the constitutional, but therefore torpid and plutocratic, League. But the fatal struggle led practically to the destruction of both schemes by the superior force and organization of Macedon.

§ 79. The interference of the Romans in Greek affairs reopened many of the constitutional questions upon which I have touched; for in their conflicts with Macedon they took care to win the Greeks to their side by open declarations in favor of independence, and by supporting the Leagues, which afforded the only organization that could supply them with useful auxiliaries. When the Romans had conquered, came the famous declaration that all the cities which had been directly subject to Macedon should be independent, while the League could resume

Looser bond
of the Aetolian
League.

Radical mon-
archy of
Cleomenes.

Position of
Rome towards
the Leagues.

its political life freed from the domination of the Antigonids which Aratus had accepted for it. Now it might have seemed as if the peninsula would at last resume a peaceful and orderly development under the presidency and without the positive interference of Rome.

But new and fatal difficulties arose. The "liberty of the Greeks" was still, as ever, a sort of sentimental aphorism which the Romans repeated, often from conviction, often again from policy. But the Romans were a practical people, and did not the least understand that they should free the Greeks from Macedon in order that they might join some other Hellenistic sovereign against Rome. And even if this danger did not arise, the Romans felt that the liberation of Greece would have worse than no meaning if the stronger States were allowed to prey upon the weaker, if every little city were allowed to go to war with its neighbors, — if, in fact, the nominal liberty resulted in the tyranny of one section over another.

Both these difficulties soon arose. The Ætoli-
Roman interpretation of the "liberty of the Greeks." ans, who had by no means obtained from the Romans any extension of territory or other advantages in reward for their vigorous and useful co-operation against the king of Macedon, were bitterly disappointed, for they saw clearly that Rome would rather curtail than advance their power. The cities of northern Greece which had been liberated by the Romans from Philip V. could not be coerced into the Ætolian League without an appeal on their part to Rome, which could hardly fail to be successful. So then the Ætoli-
Opposition of the Ætoli-
ans. ans found that they had brought upon themselves a new and steady control, which would certainly prevent the marauding chiefs from acquiring wealth by keeping up local disturbances, raids, and exactions as the normal condition of the country. They therefore openly incited king Antiochus of Syria to invade Greece, and so brought on their own destruction.

It was a great pity, for this League of mountaineers had shown real military vigor, and had it been educated into orderly and constitutional ways, would have been a strong bulwark of Hellenic independence. Nor are we to forget that when we read of its turbulence and its reckless disregard of justice, we are taking the evidence of its most determined foe, the historian Polybius. He was one of the leaders of the rival
Probably not fairly stated by Polybius.

League, and will hardly concede to the Ætolians any qualities save their vices. On the other hand, he has stated as favorably as possible the more interesting case of his own confederation.

§ 80. And here it was the second difficulty which arose, not without the deliberate assistance of the Romans. On the one hand, the Achæans thought themselves justified in extending their Union so as if possible to comprise all Greece; and though they usually succeeded by persuasion, there were not wanting cases where they aided with material force a minority in a wavering city, and coerced a new member which showed signs of falling away. More especially the constant attempts to incorporate Sparta and Messene, which had never been friendly to the League, proved its ultimate destruction. The bloody successes of Philopœmen, the first Greek who ever really captured Sparta, and who compelled it to join the League, led to complaints at Rome about violated liberties, and constant interferences of the Senate, not only to repress disorders, but to weaken any growing union in the country which they wished to see in impotent peace; and so there came about, after half a century of mutual recrimination, of protest, of encroachment, the final conquest and reduction of Greece into a Roman province.¹

§ 81. The diplomatic conflict between the Achæans and the Romans is of the highest interest, and we have upon it the opposing judgments of great historians; for here Roman and Greek history run into the same channel, and may be treated from either point of view. Those who look at the debate from the Roman point of view, like Mommsen, and who are, moreover, not persuaded of the immeasurable superiority of republican institutions over a strong central power, controlling without hesitation or debate, are convinced that all the talk about Greek independence was mere folly. They point out that these Greeks, whenever they had their full liberty, wore one another out in petty conflicts, that liberty meant license, revolutions at home and encroachments upon neighbors, and that it was the historical mission and duty of the Romans to put an end to all this sentimental sham.

¹ I am of course speaking generally, nor do I venture to decide without argument the difficult question of the exact status of Greece in the years after 146 B. C.

On the other hand Hertzberg, in the first volume of his excellent *History of the Greeks under Roman Domination*, and Professor Freeman, in his *Federal Government*, show with great clearness that far lower motives often actuated the conquering race, that they were distinctly jealous of any power in the hands of their Greek neighbors, and that they constantly encouraged appeals and revolts on the part of individual cities in the League. So they in fact produced those unhappy disturbances which resulted in the destruction of Corinth and the conquest of Greece by a Roman army in formal war.

It is of course easy to see that there were faults on both sides, and that individual Romans, using their high position without authority of the Senate, often promoted quarrels in the interests of that truculent financial policy which succeeded in playing all the commerce of the world into the hands of Roman capitalists.

On the other hand, it is hard to avoid the conviction that the days of independent Greece were over, that the nation had grown old and worn out, that most of its intellect and enterprise had wandered to the East, to Egypt, or to Rome, and that had the Romans maintained an absolute policy of non-intervention, the result would have been hardly less disastrous, and certainly more disgraceful to the Greeks. For a long and contemptible decadence, like that of Spain in modern Europe, is surely more disgraceful than to be embodied by force in a neighboring empire.

Greece in this and the succeeding centuries had arrived at that curious condition that her people who emigrated obtained fortune and distinction all over the world, while those who remained at home seemed unable even to till the land, — which was everywhere relapsing into waste pasture, — far less to prosecute successful trade, for want of both capital and sustained energy. One profession unfortunately flourished, — that of politics; and the amount of time and ability spent on this profession may perhaps account for the decadence of both agriculture and commerce.

§ 82. Their politicians were divided into three classes. There were first those who saw in Roman domination the only salvation from internal discord and insecurity. They either despaired of or despised the prospects of political

Hertzberg and Freeman on the Achaean question.

Senility of the Greeks.

Decay of the mother-country.

The advocates for union with Rome.

independence, and saw in the iron Destiny which extended the Roman sway over the East, a definite solution of their difficulties, and possibly a means of increasing their material welfare. They therefore either acquiesced in or actively promoted every diplomatic encroachment on the part of Rome, and made haste to secure to themselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, as their adversaries thought, that by and by they might be the local governors and recipients of Roman favor.

Over against them were the uncompromising Nationalists, — I apologize for using the right word, — who maintained absolutely the inalienable right of the Greeks to be independent and manage not only their internal affairs, but their external differences as they pleased. They insisted that the Romans had gained their power over Greece by a system of unconstitutional encroachments, and that no material advantages of enforced peace or oppressive protection could compensate for the paralysis which was creeping over Hellenic political life. The advocates of complete independence.

The tyrannous and cruel act of the Romans, who deported one thousand leading Achæans to Italy as suspected of sympathizing with the Macedonians in the last great war against Rome, and who let most of them pine in their exile and die without ever bringing them to trial, gave this party the strongest support by the misery and the indignation which resulted.

The third party was the party of moderate counsels and of compromise. Sympathizing deeply with the National party, they felt at the same time that any armed resistance to Rome was absurd and ruinous. They therefore desired The party of moderate counsels. to delay every encroachment by diplomatic protests, by appeals to the justice of the Romans, and thus protract, if they could not prevent, the absorption of all national liberties into the great dominion of Rome. This party, undoubtedly the most reasonable and the most honest, have left us their spokesman in the historian Polybius; but we may be sure that, like every intermediate party, they commanded little sympathy or support.

§ 83. Moreover, both the extreme parties had strong pecuniary interests to stimulate them. The party which promoted complete submission to Rome were the people of Money considerations property, to whom a settled state of things without constitu-

tional agitations or sudden war-contributions was the only security for retaining what they possessed. Rome had never favored the needy mob in her subject cities, but had always ruled them through the responsible and moneyed classes. Roman dominion therefore meant at least peace and safety for the rich. The grinding exactions of Roman prætor and Roman publican were as yet unknown to them. The Nationalist party, on the other hand, consisted of the needy and discontented, who expected, if allowed to exercise their political power, to break down the monopolies of the rich, and, in any case, to make reputation and money by the practice of politics; for, as I have shown above, and as is not strange to our own day, politics had become distinctly a lucrative profession. These people's hope of gain, as well as their local importance, would vanish with full subjection to Rome; and I suppose this was a strong motive, even though in many it may have only been auxiliary to the real patriotism which burned at the thought of the extinction of national independence.

The debate soon went beyond the stage of rational argument or the possibility of rational persuasion. To the Nationalist, the Romanizing aristocrat or moneyed man was a traitor, sacrificing his country's liberties for his mess of pottage, grovelling and touting for Roman favor, copying Roman manners, and sending his sons to be educated in Roman ways. To the advocate of union with Rome, the so-called Nationalist was a needy and dishonest adventurer, using the cry of patriotism and of nationality to cloak personal greed, socialistic schemes, and hatred of what was orderly and respectable. If he succeeded, his so-called liberty would be used in coercing and plundering the dissentients; and, after all, such stormy petrels in politics must be quite unfit to form any stable government. If any portion of the Peloponnesus asserted its right to several liberty, no politicians would have recourse to more violent coercion than these advocates of national independence. They protested against enforced union with Rome: they would be the first to promote enforced union with themselves, and carry it through in bloody earnest. This was actually what happened during the last despairing struggle. The coercion practised by the

acted upon
both extremes.

Exaggerated
statements on
both sides.

The Separatists
would not tol-
erate separa-
tion from
themselves.

last presidents of the Leagues, the violent Nationalists who forced the nation into war, was tyrannous and cruel beyond Democratic tyranny. description.

But of course the issue was certain; and with the reeking smoke of the ruins of Corinth closes the history of Greece, as most historians, even of wider views, like Duruy, have understood it.

§ 84. There is no period of the history which deserves modern study more than that which I have here expounded in its principles. The analogies which it presents to Modern analogies forced upon us, modern life, nay, to the very history of our times, are so striking that it is almost impossible to narrate it without falling into the phraseology of current politics. When I first published an account of these things last year,¹ I was at once attacked by several of my reviewers for daring to introduce modern analogies into ancient history. I had dragged the Muse of History into the heated atmosphere of party strife and the quarrels of our own day: I had spoiled a good book by allusions to turning questions which disturbed the reader and made him think of the next election, instead of calmly contemplating the lessons of Polybius. It would have been far more to the point had they shown that the analogies suggested were invalid, and the comparisons misleading. This not one of them has attempted to do; nor do I hesitate to say that the objections they and not to be set aside. raised were rather because my analogies were too just and striking than because they were far-fetched and irrelevant. If these critics had found that the facts I adduced favored their own political views, no doubt they would have lavished their praise upon the very feature which incurred their censure.

I think, with Thucydides and Polybius, that the study of history is then most useful and serious when it leads us to estimate what is likely to happen under certain circumstances by the light of what has happened in similar The history of Greece is essentially modern; cases. Mere remoteness of date or place has nothing to say to the matter. The history of Greece, as I have often said already, is intensely modern,—far more so than any mediæval or than most recent histories. We have to deal with a people fully

¹ *Greek Life and Thought, from Alexander to the Roman Conquest.* Macmillan, 1887.

developed, in its mature life; nay, even in its old age and decadence. To deny a historian the privilege and the profit of illuminating his subject by the light of modern parallels, or the life of to-day by parallels from Greek history, is simply to condemn him to remain an unpractical pedant, and to abandon the strongest claim to a hearing from practical men.

Above all, let us seek the truth with open mind and outspoken conviction; and if we are wrong, let our errors be refuted, instead of blaming us for appealing to the deeper interests and stirring the warmer emotions of men. Let us save ancient history from its dreary fate in the hands of the dry antiquarian, the narrow pedant; and while we utilize all his research and all his learning, let us make the acts and lives of older men speak across the chasm of centuries, and claim kindred with the men and the motives of to-day. For this, and this only, is to write history in the full and real sense, — this is to show that the great chain of centuries is forged of homogeneous metal, and joined with links that all bear the great Workman's unmistakable design.

§ 85. We have come to the real close of political Greek history, — at a point upon which historians have been unanimous. And yet the Greeks would hardly have been worth all this study if the sum of what they could teach us was a political lesson. They showed indeed in politics a variety and an excellence not reached by any other ancient people. But their spiritual and intellectual wealth is not bounded by these limits; and they have left us, after the close of their independence, more to think out and to understand than other nations in the heyday of their greatness.

I am sure it is below the mark to say that more than half the Greek books now extant date from the period of the Roman domination. And if it be true that in style there is nothing to equal the great poets and prose writers from Æschylus to Demosthenes, it is equally true that in matter the later writers far exceed their predecessors. All the exacter science we have from the Greeks comes from that large body of Alexandrian writings which none but the specialist can under-

therefore modern parallels are surely admissible, if justly drawn.

The spiritual history not closed with the Roman conquest.

The great bequests of the Roman period.

stand. The history of Diodorus, embracing an immense field and telling us a vast number of facts otherwise lost; the great geographies of Strabo, of Ptolemy, and that curious collection which can be read in Carl Müller's laborious edition; the moral essays of Dion Chrysostom; and many other stores of learning, — come to us from Roman times.

But most of these are special. Is there nothing of general interest? Indeed there is. No Greek book can compare for one moment in importance with that collection of history and letters called the New Testament, all written in Greek, and intended to reach the civilized world through the mediation of Greek. I will not go further into the catalogue of Christian Greek literature, but turn back to Plutarch, who has certainly been more read and has had more influence than any other Greek writer on the literature of modern Europe. Nay, in the lighter subjects, and where the writers must trust to style to commend them to the reader, not only is there a good deal of poetry once thought classical, — such as the Anacreontics and the Anthology, The Anthology, Lucian, Julian, Plotinus. which are in great part the produce of later Greek genius, — but the wit of Lucian and the serious earnest of Julian found in the Greek language their appropriate vehicle.

The deeper philosophy of these centuries, that attempt to fuse the metaphysics of heathendom and Christendom which is called Neo-Platonism, — this too was created and circulated by Greek writers and in Greek; so that though Hellas was laid asleep, and her independence a mere tradition, her legacy to the world was still bearing interest one hundredfold.

The writers who have dealt with this great and various development of later Hellenism are either the historians of the Roman Empire — like Duruy, who has kept up the thread of Greek history, after the close of this work, in his famous *History of Rome* — or the theologians. These latter have a Theological Greek studies. field so specially their own, and the literature of the subject is so enormous, that the mere historian of Greece and the Greeks must content himself with the pagan side. To touch even in a general way, as I have hitherto done, upon the many controversies that now arise concerning Greek life and thought would here be impossible.

§ 86. But there is one important point at the very outset of the new departure into Christianity upon which I would gladly save the reader from a very widely diffused error.

It has been long the fashion, since the writings of Ernest Renan it has been almost a common-place, to repeat after him this: that while modern Europe owes to the Greeks all manner of wisdom and of refinement, — politics, literature, philosophy, architecture, sculpture. — one thing there is which they could not impart to us, — religion. This deeper side of man, his relation to one God, his duty and his responsibilities beyond this ordinary life, is due not to the Greeks, but is the legacy of the Semitic race. To the Jews, we are told, are due all the highest, all the most serious, all the most elevating features in modern Christianity.

Is this true? Is it the case that the Greeks were, after all, only brilliant children, playing with life, and never awaking to the real seriousness of the world's problems? There has seldom been a plausible statement circulated which is further from the truth. However capital the fact that the first great teacher and revealer of Christianity was a Jew, however carefully the dogmas of the Old Testament were worked up into the New, Christianity, as we have it historically, would have been impossible without Hellenism.

In the first place, the documents of the New Testament were one and all composed in Greek, as the *lingua franca* of the East and West; and the very first author in the list, Saint Matthew, was a tax-gatherer, whose business required him to know it.¹ If, therefore, the vehicle of Christianity from the first was the Greek language, this is not an unimportant factor to start with; and yet it is the smallest and most superficial contribution that Greek thought has bestowed upon Christianity. When my later studies on the history of Hellenism under the Roman Empire see the light, I trust that the following grave facts, already admitted by most critical theologians, will be brought, with their evidence, before the lay reader.

¹ The old belief in an original Hebrew Gospel, from which Saint Matthew's was translated, now turns out to have no better foundation than the existence of an old version into Hebrew (Aramaic) for the benefit of the common people who were too ignorant to read Greek. Cf. Dr. Salmon's *Introduction to the New Testament*.

Have the
Greeks no
share in our
religion?

Or is it alto-
gether Semi-
tic?

The language
of the New Tes-
tament exclu-
sively Greek.

§ 87. When we pass by the first three, or Synoptical, Gospels, there remains a series of books by early Christian teachers, of whom Saint Paul and Saint John are by far the most prominent. To Saint Paul is due a peculiar development of the faith which brings into prominence that side of Christianity known as Protestantism.—the doctrine of justification by faith; of the greater importance of dogma than of practice; of the predestination or election of those that will be saved. This whole way of thinking, this mode of looking at the world, so different from anything in the Jewish books, so far developed beyond the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels, was quite familiar to the most serious side of Hellenism, to the Stoic theory of life popular all over the Hellenistic world, and especially at Tarsus, where Saint Paul received his education.

The Stoic wise man, who had adopted with faith that doctrine, forthwith rose to a condition differing *in kind* from the rest of the world, who were set down as moral fools, whose highest efforts at doing right were mere senseless blundering, mere filthy rags, without value or merit. The wise man, on the contrary, was justified in the sight of God, and could commit no sin; for the commission of one fault was a violation of his election, and would make him guilty of all, and as subject to punishment as the vilest criminal. For all faults were equally violations of the moral law, and therefore equally proofs that the true light was not there. Whether one of the elect could fall away, was a matter of dispute, but in general was thought impossible.¹ The wise man, and he alone, enjoyed absolute liberty, boundless wealth, supreme happiness; nothing could take from him the inestimable privileges he had attained.

Can any one fail to recognize these remarkable doctrines, not only in the spirit, but the very letter, of Saint Paul's teaching? Does he not use even the language of the Stoic paradoxes, "as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich: as having nothing, yet possessing all things"? Is not his so-called sermon at Athens a direct statement of Stoic views against the Epicureans, taking nothing away, but adding to their

¹ Cf. further details in my *Greek Life and Thought*, pp. 140, 372.

account of the moral world the revelation of Jesus Christ and of the Resurrection? Will any one venture to assert in the face of these facts that the most serious and religious of Greek systems was the offspring of moral children, or that it failed to exert a powerful influence through the greatest teacher of Christianity upon all his followers? It is of course idle to weigh these things in a minute balance, and declare who did most, or what was the greatest advance made in our faith beyond the life and teaching of its Founder. But the more we compare Greek Stoicism with Pauline Christianity, the more distinctly their general connection will be felt and appreciated.

§ 88. Let us now come to the more obvious and better acknowledged case of Saint John. It has been the stock argument of those who reject the early date and alleged authorship of the Fourth Gospel that the writer is imbued with Hellenistic philosophy; that he is intimate with that fusion of Jewish and Platonic thought which distinguished the schools of Alexandria; that in particular the doctrine of the *Word*, with which the book opens, is one quite strange to Semite thought, doubly strange to Old Testament theology, not even hinted at in the early apocryphal books. In other words, the Greek elements in the Fourth Gospel are so strong that many critics think them impossible of attainment for a man of Saint John's birth and education!

For my purpose this is more than enough. I need not turn, to refute these sceptics, to show how the author of the book of Revelation, if he be the same, made great strides in Greek letters before he wrote the Gospel, thus showing the importance he attached not only to Greek thought, but to Greek expression. The Alexandrian tone, of Saint John's Gospel, derived from the same sources as those which gave birth to Neo-Platonism, is as evident as the Stoical tone in Saint Paul, derived from the schools of Tarsus and Cilicia.

There is here a chapter of later Greek history yet to be written from the Greek side, not as an appendage to Roman history, or as an interlude in theological controversy.

§ 89. So much for the influence of the highest and most serious forms of Greek thinking upon the religion of the Roman Empire. But even from the inferior developments of philosophy, its parodies

of strength and its exaggerations of weakness, there were elements which passed into this faith which is asserted to be wholly foreign to Hellenism. The Cynic ostentation of independence, The Cynic independence of all men; of living apart from the world, free from all worldly cares and responsibilities, found its echo in the Christian anchorite, who chose solitude and poverty from higher but kindred motives. The sentimental display of personal affection, by which the Epicurean endeavored to substitute the love of friends the Epicurean dependence upon friends. for the love of principle or devotion to the State, had its echo in those personal ties among early Christians which replaced their civic attachments and consoled them when outlawed by the State. Indeed, there is much in Epicureanism which has passed into Christianity,—an unsuspected fact till it was brought out by very recent writers.¹

What shall we say too of the culture of this age? Is not the eloquence of the early Christian Fathers, of John Chrysostom, of Basil, worthy of admiration; and was not all their culture derived from the old Greek schools and universities, which had lasted with unbroken though changing traditions from the earliest Hellenistic days? One must read Libanius, a writer of the fourth century after Christ, to understand how thoroughly Athens was still old Greek in temper, in tone, in type, and how it had become the university of the civilized world.² The traditions of this Hellenistic university life and system passed silently, but not less certainly, into the oldest mediæval Italian universities, and thence to Paris and to England,—just as the Greek tones or scales passed into the chants of Saint Ambrose at Milan, and thence into the noble music of Palestrina and of Tallis, which only our own degenerate age has laid aside for weaker and more sentimental measures.

§ 90. It is indeed difficult to overrate the amount and the variety of the many hidden threads that unite our modern culture to that of ancient Greece, not to speak of the conscious return of our own century to the golden age of Hellenic life as the only

¹ Cf. Mr. W. Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*, which is built on this idea; also the excellent account in Mr. Bury's new *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. i. chap. i.

² The reader who fears to attack Libanius himself, may find all the facts either in Sievers' (German) *Life of Libanius*, or in Mr. W. W. Capes's excellent book on *University Life at Athens* (London, 1877).

human model in art. literature, and eloquence which ever approached perfection. As the Greek language has lasted in that wonderful country in spite of long domination by Romans, of huge invasion by Celts and Slavs, of feudal occupation by Frankish knights, in spite of raid and rapine by Catalans and Venetians, ending with the cruel tyranny of the Turk, so the Greek spirit has lasted through all manner of metamorphose and modification, till the return wave has in our day made it the highest aspiration of our worldly perfection.

§ 91. I said at the opening of this essay that I should indicate what I consider the proper lines to be followed by future historians of Greece.—at least by those who have not the genius to recast the whole subject by the light of some great new idea; and in so doing, particular stress has been laid on the political side, not without deliberate intention. For, in the first place, this aspect of Greek affairs is the peculiar province of English historians. They, with their own experiences and traditions of constitutional struggles, cannot but feel the strongest attraction towards similar passages in the life of the Greeks, so that even the professional scholar in his study feels the excitement of the contested election, the glow of the public debate, when he finds them distracting Athens or Ægion. The practical insight of a Grote or a Freeman leads him to interpret facts which are inexplicable or misleading to a German or French professor. Even with Grote before him, Ernst Curtius or Duruy is sometimes unable to grasp the true political situation.

I say this in the higher and more delicate sense; for of course all these books, and in particular the work which here follows, give a fair and adequate account of all the large political changes to the general student. Perhaps, indeed, the remoteness of foreign writers from political conflicts such as ours gives them a calmness and fairness which is of advantage, while the English writer can hardly avoid a certain amount of partisanship, however carefully he may strive to be scrupulously impartial. But in all these things we are compelled unconsciously to reflect not only our century, but our nation, and color the acts and the motives of other days with the hues our

who have
themselves
lived in practical
politics.

Greek political
history almost
the private
property of the
English writers,

imagination has taken from surrounding circumstances. This is the reason why I have sought to supplement that side of the subject by reflections in which the author seems to take only a secondary interest.

§ 92. When we come to the literary and artistic side, the foreign historians have a decided advantage. The philosophical side of Greek literature has indeed been treated by Grote and other English writers with a fulness and clearness that leave little to be desired; but on the poetry and the artistic prose of the Greeks, Ernst Curtius and Duruy write with a freshness and a knowledge to which few of us could attain. Of course a Frenchman, with the systematic and careful training which he gets in composition, must have an inestimable advantage over a people who merely write as they list, and have no rules to guide their taste or form their style. And the German, if in this matter he is even less happily circumstanced than the Englishman, whose language at least has been moulded by centuries of literature, has yet on the side of archæology and art enjoyed a training which is only just now becoming possible in England or America.

Hence it is that the earlier part of Curtius' history has such a charm,—though we must not detract from the individual genius of the man, which is manifest enough if we compare him with the solid but prosaic Duncker. However complete and well articulated the bones of fact may lie before us, it requires a rare imagination to clothe them with flesh and with skin, nay, with bloom upon the skin, and expression in the features, if we are to have a living figure, and not a dry and repulsive skeleton.

This is the high quality which I recognize in the artistic and literary chapters of the work before us. And here for the first time it is adequately supplemented by a series of illustrations which had hitherto to be sought in archæological atlases of the Germans, or in expensive photographs and plates from the British and other museums. There are few really interesting remains of Greek art and archæology which will not be found somewhere pictured in these volumes. There is perhaps a somewhat lavish laxity in the selection, which adds, to the most beautiful reproductions in colour and from photo-

Not so in artistic or literary history,

where the French and Germans are superior;

especially in art.

In the present work the illustrations ample and splendid, but too promiscuous,

graphs, many unauthorized portrait-busts, cuts from old and inaccurate books, and of subjects casually suggested by the language of the text.¹ But all the good materials are here for a pretty complete historical atlas of Greek art from its earliest and pre-historic stages down to the days when Hellenism handed on the torch to the Roman Empire.²

It is greatly to be desired, however, that for the benefit of the reader the pictures should be chronologically arranged,³ and if that were too damaging to the æsthetic homogeneity of the book, there should be a chronological index, in which the gradual development of the arts, and the character of the various schools, should be laid before the reader to guide him through the illustrations treasured in the following pages. I have no doubt that some one will undertake this duty in due time.

§ 93. What I think it right, in conclusion, to insist upon is this: that a proper knowledge of Greek art, instead of being the mere amusement of the dilettante, is likely to have an important effect upon the general appearance of our public buildings and our homes, and to make them not only more beautiful, but also instructive to the rising generation. The day seems to be gone by for original developments of architecture and of decorative art, though the modern advent of a new material for building — iron — ought to have brought with it something fresh and original. In earlier ages the quality of the material can always be shown a potent factor in the style.

If, however, we are not to have a style of our own, we must necessarily go back to the great builders and decorators of former ages, and make them the models of our artists. This has in fact been the history of the revivals since the universal reign of vulgarity in what we call the early Queen Victoria period in England. First there was a great

¹ The landscapes also are not at all adequate to their purpose, and give no idea of the exquisite beauty of Greek scenery; but without colors this is hardly possible.

² All the great Roman buildings in the East — at Athens, Actium, Baalbec, Palmyra — are distinctly Hellenistic in plan, and copied from the architecture of Hellenistic cities.

³ Thus, for example, in the second volume of the French work, now before me, there are beautiful pictures of the balustrade of the temple of Athena Nike, on the Acropolis, but they are scattered all over the volume.

and require a
chronological
index to com-
plete their
value.

Importance of
studying Greek
art.

Modern revi-
vals of ancient
styles. — Goth-
ic, Renaissance.

Gothic revival, when we began to understand what the builders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries meant, and to reproduce their ideas with intelligence. This has since given way to the Renaissance style, in which most recent buildings have been erected, and which has beauties which the Gothic revivalists used to regard with horror.

There is no probability that the last fashion will be any more permanent than the last but one, and it will soon be replaced by some other model. This, however, will have been gained, — that our ordinary lay public will have been trained to understand and appreciate not only the great Gothic, but the great Renaissance works of the late Middle Ages. We can now even tolerate those curious vampings, so common in Holland and Germany, where the one has been laid upon the other or added to it.¹

It is more than likely that the next revival will be a Hellenic revival. Renaissance architecture, as is well known, is the imitation of Roman or late Hellenistic art, with certain peculiarities and modifications forced upon the builders by their education and surroundings. But many of them thought they were building pure Greek buildings, concerning which they were really in total darkness. The few earlier attempts in this century to imitate Greek buildings show a similar ignorance. Thus the builders of the Madeleine in Paris thought, I suppose, they were copying the Parthenon, whereas they knew nothing whatever about the art of Ictinus. How far this inability of understanding the art of a distant century may go, is curiously exemplified in the drawings taken (in 1676) from the yet un-ruined Parthenon by Jacques Carrey, by the order of the Marquis of Nointel. These drawings are positively ludicrous travesties of the sculpture of Phidias in seventeenth-century style.²

Not until a long series of great students, beginning with Winckelmann, had studied with real care the secrets of Greek art, till Mr. Penrose had disclosed the marvellous subtlety in the curves of the Parthenon, till Dr. Dörpfeld had analyzed plan and terra-cotta coating and

Probability of
Hellenic re-
vival.

Greek art only
recently under-
stood. Winck-
elmann, Pen-
rose, Dörpfeld.

¹ Of this confusion the hall of the Middle Temple in London is a very interesting specimen, seeing that the Renaissance screen, a splendid thing, is only two years later than the Gothic hall.

² They are not, however, one whit worse than the ordinary attempts made by nineteenth-century ladies who go to Fancy Fairs in what they call Greek dress.

execution of the Olympian treasure-houses and temples, could we say that we were beginning to have a clear perception of the qualities which made Greek sculpture and architecture so superior to all imitations which have since been attempted.

§ 94. It is high time that all this profound research, this recondite learning, these laborious excavations, should be made known in their results, and brought home to the larger public. Then when the day comes that we undertake to carry out a Hellenic renaissance, we shall know what we are about; we shall abandon the superstition of white marble worship, and adopt colors; we shall learn to combine chastity of design with richness of ornamentation; we shall revert to that combination of all the arts which has been lost since the days of Michael Angelo.

If it be true that there is in heaven a secret treaty between the three sovereign Ideas that ennoble human life,—the Good, the True, and the Beautiful,—which enacts that none of them shall enrich us without the co-operation of the rest, then our study of this side of Greek perfection may even have its moral results. May not the ideas of measure, of fitness, of reserve which are shown in all the best Greek work radiate their influence into our ordinary life, and, making it fairer, prepare it for the abode of larger truth and more perfect goodness?

§ 95. I have sought in this Essay to bring out the political lessons, which are the peculiar teaching of history, and have only suggested what may yet result from the artistic lessons left us by this wonderful people. The reader may wonder that I have said little or nothing concerning the most prominent side of Greek perfection,—the wonders of the poetry which ranks with the best that has been produced by all the efforts of man before or since. My reason for this omission was, that here, if anywhere, the excellence of the extant Hellenic poetry was acknowledged, while the fact that all those ignorant of the language are excluded from enjoying it, makes any discussion of it unsuited to the general public. For whatever may be said of good translations of foreign prose, poetry is so essentially the artistic expression of the peculiar tongue in which it originates that all transference into alien words must produce a fatal altera-

Its effect upon modern art when properly appreciated,

and upon every detail of our life.

Greek Literature hardly noticed in this Essay.

tion. A great English poet may indeed transfer the ideas of a Greek to his page; but he gives us an English poem on Greek subjects, not the very poem of his model, however faithful his report may be.

If, therefore, we are to benefit by this side of Hellenic life, there is no short cut possible. We must sit down and study the language till we can read it fluently; and this requires so much labor that the increasing demands of modern life upon our time tend to thrust aside the study of perfection in bygone languages for the sake of cheaper and more obvious gains.

Demands a good knowledge and study of the language.

§ 96. Nevertheless, it seems wellnigh impossible that a Hellenic renaissance, such as I have anticipated, can ever be thorough and lasting unless the English-speaking nations become really familiar with the literary side of Hellenic life. Revivals of the plays of Æschylus and Sophocles must not be confined to the learned stage and public of an English or American university, but must come to be heard and appreciated by a far larger public.

This can hardly be done until we make up our minds that the subjects of education must not be increased in number, and moreover alternated with far more freedom than is now the case. There is, for example, a superstition that everybody must learn Latin before learning Greek, and that French is a sort of necessary accomplishment for a lady, whereas it is perfectly certain that the cultivation to be attained through Greek is ten times as great as that of Latin; while in the second case it is no paradox to assert that any woman able to understand the *Antigone* of Sophocles or the *Thalusia* of Theocritus would derive from them more spiritual food than from all the volumes of French poetry she is ever likely to read. If we cannot compass all, the lesser should give way to the greater; and it is not till our own day that the supremacy of Greek has been acknowledged by all competent judges.

Other languages must be content to give way to this pursuit.

§ 97. What has made the reign of Latin, and its preference to Greek in our schools, so serious an obstacle to the latter, is partly, I believe, the bugbear of a strange alphabet; partly also — and this among more advanced people — the want of a clear

knowledge how slavishly most Roman poetry was copied from Greek models. Had it been from extant models of the first class, The nature and quality of Roman imitations. the contrast would soon cause the Roman imitations to disappear, as indeed many such must have disappeared when the Roman readers themselves approached the great originals. Even now, if the lyrics of Sappho and Alcæus were recovered from some Egyptian tomb or from the charred rolls of Herculaneum, it would have a disastrous effect on the popularity of Horace.

But in most cases the Romans copied from inferior poets of the Alexandrian age; and it is of importance to insist upon this, The case of Virgil. before the reader and I part company, — that the best of Roman poetry was often a mere version of third-rate Greek. By far the greatest of the Roman poets is Virgil; and if he alone remained, Latin would be worth learning for his sake: if he were gone, then, as far as poetry goes, I should change my opinion. But even Virgil copies from second-rate Alexandrian poets, Apollonius and Aratus, to an extent which would be thought shameful in any independent literature. It may indeed be urged that his versions are in this case fully equal, and even superior, to his originals. I will not dispute this, as my case does not require any doubtful supports. For even granting that he can equal a second-rate model, what shall we say when he attempts to imitate Theocritus in his *Bucolics*? Here he is taking a really good Greek poet for his model, and how wretched is the great Roman in comparison! Even therefore in imitating an Alexandrian master, we can see that the first of Latin poets cannot bear the comparison.

§ 98. If I had not written fully on this subject in my recent *Greek Life and Thought*, I should fain conclude with some brief Theocritus only a late flower in the Greek garden of poetry. account of this after-glow of Hellenic genius, when the loss of freshness in the language and the life of the people had made pedantry and artificiality common features in the writing of the day. Yet these patent faults did not strike the Romans, whose poets, with only few exceptions, copied Callimachus and Parthenius as the finest models in the world.

From my point of view, though I have cited these facts to show what a superstition the preference of Latin to Greek is,

from a literary aspect, it is but another evidence of the supremacy of Greece and its right to a spiritual empire over cultivated men. Even debased and decaying Hellenism could produce poetry too good for the ablest disciples to rival, too subtle for any other tongue to express. Can we conclude with any greater tribute to the genius of the race, with any higher recommendation of this history as the history of a people whose gifts have never ceased to illumine and to fire the higher spirits in every society of civilized men?

after p. 120

HISTORY OF GREECE.

GREECE AS CENTRE OF THE HELLENIC WORLD.



HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

THE LAND.¹

I.—GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION AND GENERAL CONFIGURATION OF GREECE.

“WHAT do you mean by Greece?” was the scornful question of the last Philip of Macedon to the Aitolian deputies who summoned him, as a barbarian king, to withdraw from Greece. “What are its boundaries? And how many of you are Greeks yourselves?”

The name “Greece” has fared like the name “Italy;” each travelled the length of the peninsula which, in the end, it came to designate as a whole. A little district of Epeiros, Dodona, was first so called; but the name spread from point to point, extending over Thessaly, the regions south of the Thermopylai, and the Peloponnesos. Later, it included also Epeiros, Illyria as far as Epidamnos, and finally Macedon. Another singular fact is that the word “Greece” was unknown to Greece herself: she called

¹ Principal works to be consulted: among the ancients, Strabo and Pausanias; among the moderns, Poucqueville, *Voyage en Grèce*; Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque en Grèce*; Doiwell, *Travels in Greece*; Gell, *Itinerary of Greece and Journey in the Morea*; Colonel Leake, *Morea and Northern Greece* (1830-35); Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine* (1831); the *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, with the excellent geographical papers of Puillon Boblaye included in this publication. See also Kiepert's *Atlas*, and the recent work of C. Neumann and Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Alterthum*, Breslau, 1885. Also, to these geographical works must be added those of the members of the [French] School of Athens, which complete or correct them, and are to be found in the *Archives des missions littéraires* or in their individual publications. The School continues, by its *Bulletin of Hellenic Correspondence*, to keep us informed of all the discoveries made in Greece.

herself Hellas, — the country of the Hellenes; and we know not what causes led the Romans to employ the other name.¹ Similarly, in modern times the people who dwell beyond the Rhine are called by another name than that which they themselves employ; and the region extending from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin is designated to us by a word of Persian origin, — Hindustan.

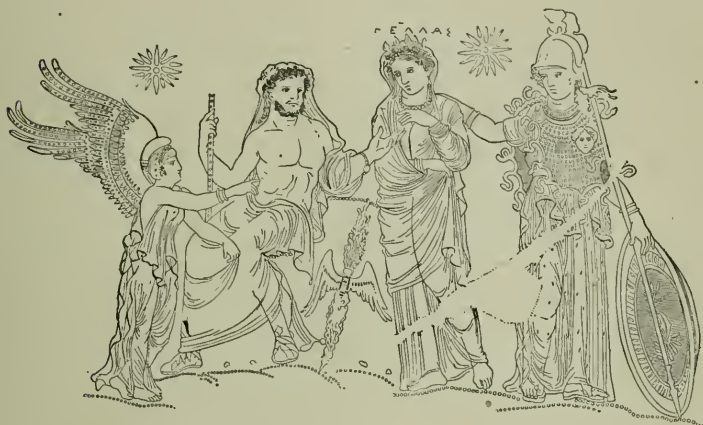
Greece is one of the three peninsulas which terminate Europe on the south. If its extent were measured by the noise it has made in the world, it would be a vast territory; in fact, it is the smallest in Europe. Its area, the Greek islands included, is much less than that of Portugal; but its coast is so indented as to exceed in length the entire Spanish sea-coast. There is no country in the world which, with an equal area, presents so many islands, bays, peninsulas, and harbors; or where, consequently, is more fully exhibited that union of land and sea which is the highest beauty of Nature, and for man the most favorable condition of social advance. Accordingly, the sea has been in all ages the highway of the Greeks, to a degree that they have scarcely needed other roads. The strong Latin phrase, *struere viam*, which brings to mind one of the great glories of Rome, her military roads, would not be used in Greece, although it was a duty of the Greek priests to keep in repair the roads leading to the national sanctuaries, so that access to these shrines might always be easy.² This fact alone shows the profound difference existing between the two peoples: the one grasping the land by her agriculture, her roads, her fortresses, and gaining thence her rough virtues, her rude life, all her victories, and her heavy dominion: the other having the sea for her

¹ The word "Greek" seems to signify "ancient": γραιὺς, γραιῶτα; Fréret (*Observations sur l'origine des premiers habitants de la Grèce*, p. 87) gives the same meaning to the word "Pelasgi." The two names "Greek" and "Hellenic" originated, according to Aristotle (*Meteorol.*, i. 14), near Dodona and the banks of the Achelôös. — a country both marshy and mountainous: Ἑλλὰς ἡ ἀρχαία δ' ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ τὴν Δωδώνην καὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον . . . φέκουν γὰρ οἱ Σελλοὶ ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ καλοῦμενοι τότε μὲν Γραικοί, τῶν δὲ Ἑλληνας. The name "Greeks," probably retained by many tribes of Epeiros, was extended by the Italians to Hellenes of the country beyond, in the same way that the French give all Germans the name *Allemands*, — from the Suabian *Atamanni*, tribes with whom the Gallo-Frankish populations first came in contact. Thus also the Romans called the Rasena Etruscans, or Tuscii. The priests of Zeus at Dodona are called Σελλοί by Homer (*Iliad*, xvi. 234), and Ἑλλοί by Pindar, which is the same word.

² *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 1,688.

domain, commerce for her support, the arts for her adornment, and a wonderful mental activity.

On the north, Greece is attached to the great chain of the Eastern Alps, which separates her by an almost insurmountable barrier from the valley of the Danube.—the great route of Asiatic migrations into Europe. Hence these migrations passed her by, and on her part she extended on that side neither her colonies, nor her civilization, nor her speech. By her con-



GREECE (HELLAS) BETWEEN ZEUS AND ATHENE, AND ATTENDED BY A VICTORY.¹

figuration Greece looks towards the south. By three points she stretches into the Mediterranean, almost in the latitude of Gibraltar, and opposite one of the most fertile of the African provinces.—the Cyrenaica. Separated by the sea from Asia, from Africa, and from Italy, she approaches them by her islands. The Cyclades, beginning near Cape Sounion, unite with the Sporades, which lie very near Asia. In clear weather the sailor is never out of sight of land. From Korkyra [Corfu] Italy is visible; from Cape Malea, the snowy summits of Krete; and from that island, the mountains of Rhodes and of the Asiatic coast.²

¹ From the so-called Vase of Darius, in the Museum of Naples (*Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, ix. pl. 50-51).

² Krete moreover is united to Kythera and to the Peloponnesos by submarine sandbars

Two days' navigation sufficed from Krete to the Cyrenaica, and only three or four to Egypt. Why should we be surprised that Greece shone far out beyond her maritime frontiers, by her commerce, her colonies, and her civilization, when before her so many routes lay open, along which the stars of her almost invariably cloudless skies guided her vessels by night? Geography determined history. On both sides and in front of the Greek mainland, antiquity saw: eastward, an Asiatic Greece; westward, an Italian Greece; southward, on the great promontory of the Cyrenaica, now a desert, an African Greece.¹ What an interchange of ideas and products among these four countries, and what an intensity of life in the one which, situated in the centre, was a focus where all the rays from this luminous circle met in tenfold intensity!

II. — MOUNTAINS AND RIVERS.

GEOLOGISTS, as they write their great history of the earth, tell us that Italy and Southern Greece are the parts of the European continent most recently remodelled by Nature. Her terrible power is still in action there. Though Greece has not its Vesuvius or its Etna, human eyes have seen islands rise from the boiling flood or disappear in the abysses of the sea. Santorin is only a part of the rim of an immense crater, of which the bottom is thirteen hundred feet below the sea, whence burned islands have been many times cast up.² Melos, Kimolos, Therasia, Delos, rose above the waters; Mount Taygetos was thrown out from the midst of the Peloponnesos; and Cape

¹ M. Gaudry has collected from Pikermi, near Athens, fossil bones of the elephant, rhinoceros, antelope, hyena, giraffe, and other animals; these remains of the African fauna were buried in the same reddish clay that is still found on the African coast, proving that Greece was once united to that continent as well as to Asia Minor. The many islands of the Eastern Mediterranean are witnesses left amid the waves to that ancient union of the three continents.

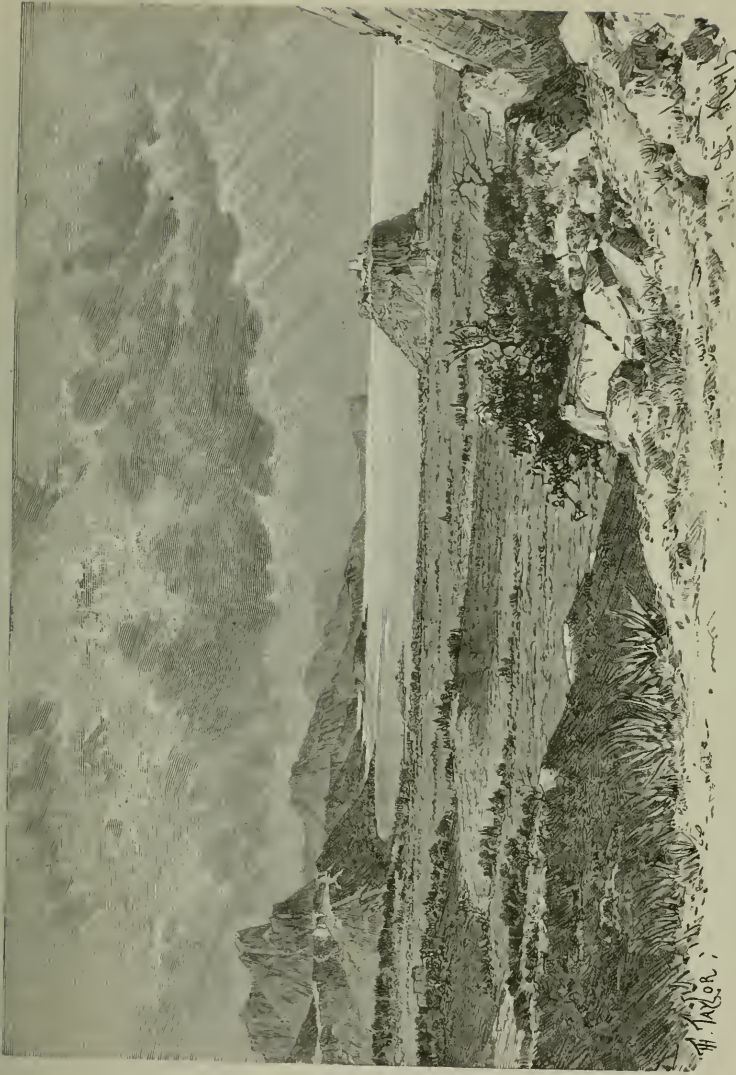
² The latest of these burned islands appeared above the surface of the water in 1707; it is called the *Nea Kamméni*. The *Palaia Kamméni* dates from the second century B. C., and the *Mikra Kamméni* from about the beginning of the Roman Empire. Other eruptions took place during the period from 1866 to 1870. (Cf. the very interesting report of M. Fouqué in the *Archives des missions scientifiques*, iv. 223.)





PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY
OF
GREECE

Kilometres Miles Olympic Stadia
0 0 0
100 62 100
200 125 200
300 187 300



CAPE TAINARON (FROM STACKELBERG, LA GRÈCE, VUES PITTORESQUES ET TOPOGRAPHIQUES).

Tainaron [Matapan] lifted from the waves its rugged front scourged and torn by tempests.

The ancient Greeks had an instinctive knowledge of these great convulsions of Nature. These torn and jagged mountains, these rocks heaped in wild confusion, these islands still bearing the traces of igneous action, recalled to their minds the strife of the Titans against Zeus, the wars of the infernal powers against the celestial; and in celebrating the exploits of their gods, they wrote the history of their land. Listen to Hesiod's *Theogony*: —

“Long time they fought, incurring soul-vexing toil, the Titan gods and the sons of Kronos in opposition to each other in stout conflict, both parties showing work of hand and force at the same time, and the boundless sea re-echoed terribly, and broad Heaven groaned, being shaken, and vast Olympos was convulsed from its base under the violence of the Immortals, and a severe quaking came to murky Tartaros; namely, a hollow sound of countless chase of feet, and of strong battle-strokes, to such an extent did they hurl groan-causing weapons. And the voice of both parties reached to starry heaven as they cheered; for they came together with a great war-cry.

“No longer did Zeus restrain his fury, but went forth, lightning continually; and the bolts close together flew from his sturdy hand, whirling a sacred flash in rapid succession, while all around, life-giving earth was crashing in conflagration, and the immense forests on all sides crackled loudly with fire. All land was boiling, and Ocean's streams and the barren sea; warm vapor was circling the earth-born Titans, and the incessant blaze reached the divine dense atmosphere, whilst flashing radiance of thunderbolt and lightning were bereaving their eyes of sight, strong heroes though they were. Fearful heat likewise possessed Chaos: and it seemed as if earth and broad heaven were threatening to meet, — for such an exceeding crash would

THE TITANS.¹ZEUS.²

¹ Two anguipede Titans, each holding a rock and clasping hands, about to attack Zeus. Above them the ruler of the gods, seated on his throne. (Reverse of a bronze coin struck by the Emperor Maximin at Brusis in Phrygia.)

² Zeus in a quadriga, the horses at full gallop, holding a sceptre and overthrowing the Titans. (Cameo from an unknown collection, published by Charles Lenormant in the *Nouvelle galerie mythologique*, pl. iv., fig. 3.)

have arisen from earth falling in ruins and heaven dashing it down from above. Such a din there rose when the gods clashed in strife."¹

Many of these mountains, however, form continuous chains. What the Apennines are to Italy, the Pindos is to Greece. As the Apennines are a great offshoot from the Maritime Alps, so the Pindos detaches itself from the Eastern Alps; it runs southward, separating Illyria from Macedon, and Epeiros from Thessaly, and covers the peninsula with its extensive ramifications. The Kambounian Mountains begin, north of the headwaters of the Salambria [Peneios], at this central chain, and run eastward towards the shores of the Thermaic Gulf, where they rise in the colossal mass of Olympos,—a mountain nearly ten thousand feet high, which presents at many points the aspect of a perpendicular wall. On the south its foot is bathed in the Peneios; on the other side of the river rises Ossa, which also remains snow-covered till late in the spring.

Some seismic convulsion has rent asunder these two mountains. Their ragged sides match each other; and Poseidon, "the earth-shaker," should he bring them together, might re-unite them. Enormous rocks hang half-suspended; and in the sunlight they exhibit brilliant tints, which contrast with the dark green of the woods, and give the landscape a singular effect of color. In the gap between these two mountains the Peneios has made itself a path to the sea. The river flows gently through green fields shaded by enormous plane-trees,—the tree of Greek rivers. But for a length of about four miles and a half the gorge narrows to about three hundred feet: this is the Vale of Tempe, famous in antiquity for its savage grandeur. A handful of men could keep in check an army in this defile, the only frequented road between Greece and Macedon.

The Kambounian Mountains shut in Thessaly on the north, and Mount Oite closes it on the south, also terminating, on the Maliac Gulf, by a defile which history has rendered famous,—that of the Thermopylai.² On the coast, Pelion is connected with Ossa by a low ridge; and by a chain of hills around the head of the Pagasaian bay it also is connected with Mount

¹ *Theogony*, 628 *et seq.*

² A description of this pass will be given later, when the fight at Thermopylai is related.

Othrys, which separates the basin of the Peneios from that of the Spercheios. Northern Thessaly is thus truly what Xerxes called it,—a valley which might easily be submerged by its own waters if the Vale of Tempe were closed against their egress.

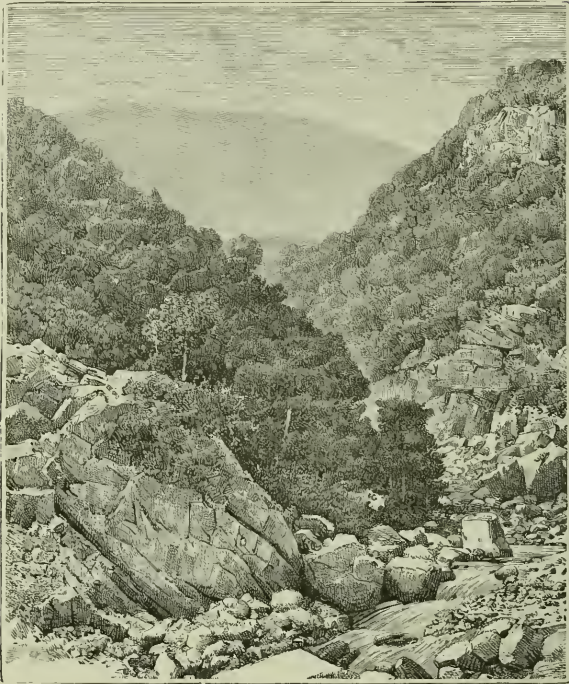
In this region the Greeks found some of their most graceful and some of their most fearful legends, and half of the Homeric poetry comes thence. This Vale of Tempe was opened by the arm of Herakles, or by Poseidon's trident. On the summit of Olympos, amid its almost perpetual snows, in the clouds which wrap in and among the thunderbolts which rend it, were the thrones of the twelve great gods. There the giants fought with them, and sought to pile Pelion on Ossa, that they might scale the heavens; there the Muses gathered to attend the nuptials of Thetis and Peleus, predicting the birth of Achilles and the ruin of Troy. Apollo's laurel first grew in Tempe,¹ and the god had his altars there. "Ἀπλοῦνι Τεμπείτῳ;"² on Pelion were cut the trees of which the ship Argo was made, to which Athene gave for a mast one of the prophetic oaks of Dodona; and the heroes who sailed for the Golden Fleece embarked at the Thessalian port Pagasai.

Southward of Thessaly and southeast of Epeiros, Central Greece is covered with a network of mountain-chains, which meet in Mount Tymphrestos. One of these chains, which may be regarded as the continuation of Pindos, descends to the Gulf of Corinth, between Aitolia and Lokris. Another, crossing Doris and running eastward, has famous mountains.—Parnassos, at whose base lies Delphi, and from whose summit descended, according to legend, the new race that was to re-people Greece after the Deluge of Deukalion; Helikon, abode of the Muses, where, it was said, no noxious plant grew; Kithairon, where Oidipous killed Laios,—a mountain which, united with Mount Parnes, protected Attika against Central Greece; and, lastly, behind Athens, Pentelikos (of which a detached rock bore the Akropolis) and Hymettos, which seems to be continued by a range called the

¹ Every ninth year Delphi sent a solemn embassy to go, by the sacred road which Apollo took when he went into Phokis, and cut at Tempe, the cradle of his worship, a branch of the laurel-tree (Otf. Müller, *Die Dorier*, 2d ed., i. 204). The Greeks regarded Delphi as the centre of Greece and of the world, *ὀμφαλὸν τῆς γῆς* (Paus., *Phok.*, 16).

² *Corp. Inscr. Græc.*, No. 1,767.

Laureion to the promontory of Sounion, still crowned by the sixteen columns of a ruined temple.¹



GORGE IN ERYMANTHOS.²

This chain, often interrupted, sends off towards the south, between the Saronic and Corinthian gulfs, a mighty offshoot,

¹ Height of the principal mountains of Greece: Olympos, 9,754 feet; Ossa, 6,500; Pelion, 5,409; the Kambounian Mountains, 3,500 to 4,500; Pindos, 7,000; the Akrokeraunian Mountains, 6,750; Tymphrestos, 7,730; Kallidromon, 4,580; the highest summits of Parnassos, which are snow-covered for eight months in the year, 8,100 and 8,300; Kithairon, on the side of Elateia, 4,700. The road from Plataia to Megara reaches a height of about 2,700 feet; that from Plataia to Athens, of nearly 1,800. On the three roads leading from Attika into Boiotia and to the Euripos, defended by the fortresses Panaktos, Phyle, and Dekeleia, are heights of ground measuring 2,500, 2,300, and 2,200 feet; Pentelikos, 3,700; Hymettos, 3,506; the Akropolis, 150 feet above the plain.

² From a photograph.

forming a second peninsula at the extremity of the first, and spreads itself out in a circular form, so that the Peloponnesos has almost the figure of a truncated cone, of which the top is six or seven thousand feet above the sea: this is the greatest height of the mountains surrounding Arkadia.¹ On the north, on the frontier of Achaia and Elis, the Erymanthos, the scene of one of the twelve labors of Herakles, rises to a height of 7,297 feet above the sea. On the east, near Sparta, the Taygetos is 7,002 feet high; seen from the Gulf of Messenia, not three miles away, it rises grandly in air; and it was believed by the Greeks to be one of the highest mountain-peaks in the world.

By this position of its mountain-ranges Greece is, so to speak, trebly barricaded. The Kambounian Mountains and Olympus are the first line of defence. When this obstacle has been surmounted or turned,² the assailant will be arrested by Oite at the Thermopylai, and will be shut into Thessaly. This passage being forced, Central Greece is no longer protected by a continuous chain of mountains; but the defence may fall back across the Isthmus of Corinth, where it finds a new stronghold (the isthmus itself only excepted),—mountains difficult of access leaving between their abrupt sides and the sea only two dangerous roads hung above the waves.

The Greek waters could be closed to vessels at three points, — northward of Euboa, protecting the Thermopylai; near the Euripos,³ to defend the approaches to Attika; and in the Strait of Salamis, to protect the Isthmus of Corinth.

The sea being everywhere at no great distance from the mountains, Greece has no rivers of any considerable size. The largest are the Peneios and the Acheloös, the latter one hundred and thirty miles in length. Almost all have the capricious character of torrents. The rains of autumn and winter, falling upon

¹ Other summits are from 3,660 to 5,974 feet in height.

² The Kambounian Mountains present numerous but difficult passes on the west.

³ The Euripos is the narrow channel, one hundred and twenty feet across, which separates Euboa from Boiotia, and in which singular variations of the tides take place. On this subject see Neumann. *Physikal. Geogr.*, p. 150, and *Le Problème de l'Europe*, C. R. de l'Acad. des sciences, vol. lxxxix., ii., 1879, pp. 859-61. A rock, occupied by a little fort, divides the strait; a stone bridge, sixty or seventy feet in length, connects the mainland with this rock, and a wooden bridge, about thirty-five feet long, connects the rock with the island. In the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war the strait was bridged for the first time.

mountains destitute of vegetation, descend rapidly into the valleys and inundate them. With summer comes dryness: for the schist and limestone of the hills, having absorbed little, give nothing back; the springs are dried up; and the river, lately so furious, has become only a rivulet hidden in thickets of laurel, or perhaps it has left its bed entirely dry. Many of these streams follow underground a part of their course; to this class belong the Eurotas, the Alpheios, the Styx, and the Stymphalos. The Alpheios even has a still more remarkable course. The River loved the nymph Arethousa, who fled from him and became a spring in the Island of Ortygia. Whereupon the god of the Ionian Sea permitted the Alpheios to traverse the salt waves of the sea and join the Sicilian nymph.



THE ACHELOÏS,
PERSONIFIED.¹

Greece proper extends no farther north than the fortieth degree of latitude. At this point the climate, sometimes severe, arrests the growth of the myrtle and olive and all the flora of a more southern region. As the dweller in these colder lands had other vegetable products and other physical needs, so also history finds there other modes of life and other ideas: the land is Macedon, which could never obtain entrance into the Hellenic body until that body was at the point of dissolution; adjacent to Macedon was Illyria, which, having neither seaports on its shores, nor plains amid its mountains, and, consequently; without extensive agriculture and entirely destitute of commerce, remained always barbaric.

From Olympos to Cape Tainaron, the mountains covering the larger part of Greece give it a great variety of climate and productions. The mountain-sides, the warm valleys which they shelter, the shores receiving exhalations from the sea, offer, at short distances apart, a different vegetation. While the fir-trees of a northern clime cover the Pindos, the palm-tree, waving its graceful plume of verdure in some islands of the Cyclades, almost matures its fruit in portions of Messenia; and the lemon and orange,

¹ The Acheloös, on a coin of Thyria in Akarnania. The genius of the river is represented, with the head of a bull and a human face; behind is a magistrate's name, ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ. The reverse shows Apollo seated, holding his bow. (Silver.)

finding a home on the coasts of Argolis, form forests there. In this land Nature does not exercise the despotic sway which in other countries condemns mankind to a uniform life and an identity of ideas. In that varied land and upon its hospitable sea was formed the alert and inquisitive Greek mind, which desired to know all things, and was able to express all that it knew.

III.—NATURAL AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS.

As we notice the great number of political divisions in ancient Greece, we are tempted to believe them arbitrary; as a matter of fact, however, nearly all of them were marked out upon the soil by Nature herself. Mountains crossing the territory in opposite directions shut in, as between high walls of rock, usually sterile, and often inaccessible, the plains of Phokis, Boiotia, Attika, Megaris, Corinth, Argolis, Lakonia, and Mantinea. Hence the division of the Greek people into so many petty States, the ardent patriotism with which each city was animated, and its hatred of this or that adjacent city which, situated in another valley, seemed as remote as if in another world. To Geology was due the political constitution of ancient Greece.



COIN OF THE THESSALIANS.¹

Let us examine some of these natural divisions.

Thessaly formed a single State, notwithstanding the Othrys, which cut it in two, because this mountain, high enough to be a watershed, was not so high as to be a line of demarcation for men. Life, however, was much more active on the shores of the Maliac and Pagasaic gulfs, which open upon Greece, than in the solitary basin of the Peneios. Cities as well as legends were crowded there.

¹ Laurelled head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse. ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ. Pallas standing, fighting with spear and buckler. Names of two magistrates: . . . ΑΛΟΥ. ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟ. (Silver coin *in genere*.)

NOTE.—The term *in genere*, used in respect to coins, signifies that the coin was struck for a whole province or people, and not for any particular city of the province or people.

The Epiknimidian and the Opountian Lokris cover the slopes descending to the Euboian Sea; Boiotia, those which descend inland towards Lake Kopais,¹—a moist, rich soil and damp climate, where it seems strange that Pindar could have sung. But the



THE EURIPOS.

Boiotians had two ways of reaching the sea, — through the country of Aulis, on the Euripos, where Agamemnon embarked;² and by the valleys of Kreousa and Chorseia, upon the Corinthian Gulf.

Phokis, higher up the mountain-range, surrounded Boiotia, and, like the latter, touched upon two seas, — on the Euboian Sea by Daphnous; and on the Corinthian Gulf by Kirrha, or Krissa, where

¹ This lake is still some three hundred feet above the sea.

² Aulis seems to have occupied a rocky peninsula, three miles south of Chalkis, extending between two bays, of which the more southern is a mile distant from the modern village of Vathy, — a name probably derived from the *βαθὺς λιμὴν*, the deep harbor, which was applied to Aulis.

the road began by which pilgrims went up to the temple of Apollo.

Doris, a high, cold valley between Oite and Parnassos, could have been nothing else but the beginning of Phokis.

The mountainous district of the Lokroi Ozolai afforded to this people impregnable retreats. Pausanias derives their name from the odor of their garments, made of untanned hides; one of their poets, from the perfumed air of their mountains. There is reason to fear that the



COIN OF THE PHOKIANS.¹

poet was in the wrong; their rude life justifies the explanation given by Pausanias.

The Aitolians, their neighbors on the east, dwelt in a savage country, where the villages, built on rocky slopes, remained during the winter season entirely isolated. These heights are the last ramifications of the Oite and the Pindos, the latter sinking away on the shores of the Acheloüs, the former on those of the Corinthian Gulf, at the narrowest point of that sea, where the coast



COIN OF THE AITOLIANS.²

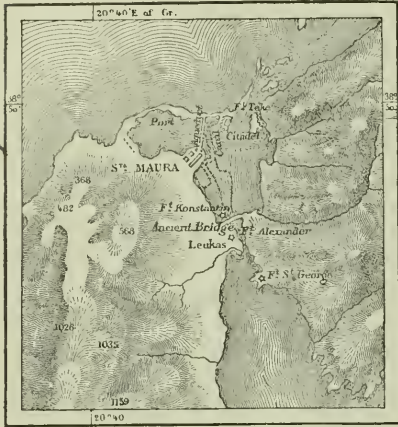
of the Peloponnesos is not quite a mile distant. This was the route taken by the Aitolians in the later period of Greek history in their frequent raids upon the Peloponnesos; and to ravage Thessaly they passed through between Pindos and Oite. These two gates were their only means of egress into the adjacent regions.

The Acheloüs, whose delta is perpetually increased by the alluvial deposits the river brings down, separated them from Akarnania, another mountainous region of calcareous formation. The porous rock retains no water, and the region at the present day is "the dry country," — Xeromeros. Not a river flows upon its surface. From three sides the sea in vain sends clouds over it; torrents formed for the moment by heavy rains sink into the rocks and disappear. The ground takes all, and gives nothing back, except in

¹ A bull's head, cabossed. Reverse, ΦΟΚΙ. Diademed head of a woman, left profile, in an indented square. (Silver coin *in genere*.)

² Reverse, ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ. A shepherd standing, facing to the left, leaning with the right hand upon a long staff, the right foot placed on a rock, his *petasos* thrown back on his shoulders, and his *peplos* over his leg; in the field, NI, initials of a magistrate's name. (Silver coin *in genere*.)

the low country, where the concealed reservoirs become visible, extending in lakes and marshes. Another feature of the geology of this region is a mountain-chain five thousand feet high, which lies



CANAL OF LEUKADIA.

along the Ionian Sea, and leaves no space for human occupation and the growth of towns; thus the sea-coast by which the Akarnanians might have received Greek influence is completely barred to them. We cannot wonder, therefore, at their isolation. In the time of Perikles their manners were those of the heroic age; to know how one of Homer's heroes looked, it was only needful to behold an Akarnanian. Up to the

present day they have scarcely changed; many of them still live upon the acorns of their oak-forests.¹

The northeastern part of Akarnania, though difficult of access, was invaded by some of the Epeirot tribes. The Amphilochians, who inhabited it, were half Greek and half Barbarian. On the west, colonies from Corinth had established themselves. Along this coast lies the Island of Leukadia (on which is now the mediæval fort, Santa Maura), originally connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus. The colonists, to protect themselves from the Akarnanians, dug a canal, which was called the Dioryktos. The sea did the rest; but it is the most modest and peaceful of



COIN OF LEUKAS IN AKARNANIA.²

¹ Heuzey, *Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, p. 239.

² Artemis, standing, facing to the right, holding in her hand an *akrostolion*, symbol of navigation; beside her, a stag; behind her, a sceptre surmounted by a bird. The whole enclosed in a laurel-wreath. Reverse, ΔΕΥΚΑΔΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΥ. A prow of a vessel; in the field, the fore part of a horse, galloping, and the mint mark AE. (Silver.)

straits, easily crossed in a little skiff. The Euripos is much more formidable.¹

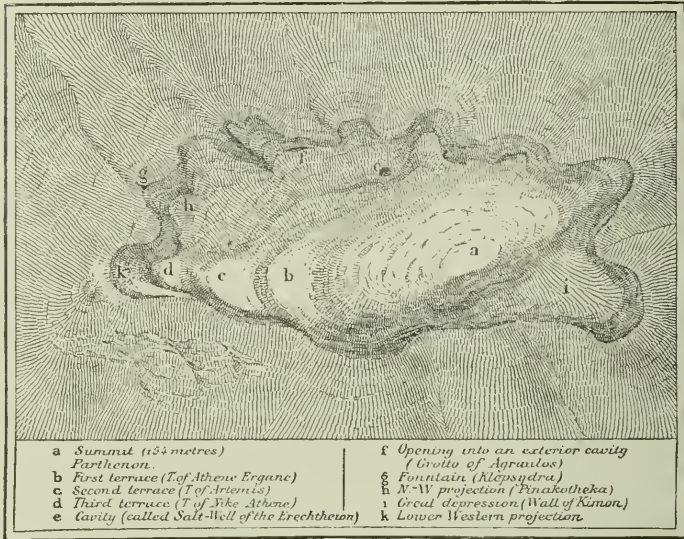
At the opposite extremity of Central Greece extends a peninsula much more clearly outlined, Attika, separated from Boiotia by Kithairon and Parnes, divided into two slopes by Pentelikos and Hymettos, and resting upon three seas. Notwithstanding these diversities, it is one of the best-formed countries in Greece, and most adapted for unity; for the Athenians, whom Aischylos calls "road-makers, turning the wilderness to land no longer wild,"² made highways through it in every direction, and made them easily, owing to the dryness of the soil, which rendered needless the solid substructure of the great Roman roads. Attika has many villages, but only one city,—the common asylum, the market, and the fortress of the country,—Athens, between the Ilissos and the Kephissos, at the foot of steep rocks which served it for a citadel, and five miles distant from the Peiræus, whose three harbors could shelter four hundred vessels. In this city all the life of Attika was centred; here men heard the echo of whatever was done in Asia; here all the business of the world went on; all doctrines and all arts were here refined and made nobler. The human race to this day salutes with gratitude the native city of Sokrates, Pheidias, and Sophokles.

On the coast opposite Salamis we find a fertile plain, Eleusis, over which Athens gained a permanent influence, and, between two mountain-ranges, Megara, which, protected by its position, was less submissive. The people of Megara had but a sterile soil. "They plough the rock," Sokrates says of them; but their city was the gate of the isthmus. Pindar compares this isthmus to a bridge thrown by Nature across the seas to unite the two principal parts of Greece. Unfortunately the approaches to this bridge on the north bristle with mountains, which render the passage difficult; at many points a few resolute men could defy an army. This position of Megara, with its two harbors on the Saronic and Corinthian gulfs, made its importance. But in one of these seas it met the rival navy of Corinth: in the other that of Athens,—a formidable rivalry, which in the end proved fatal.

¹ The Romans built a stone bridge at Leukadia which was standing in Strabo's time (x. 2, 9).

² The *Eumenides*, 13, 14. [Eng. trans. by Rev. Dr. Plumptre. — ED.]

Between Kenchreai and Lechaion the isthmus is over two miles broad, and the highest ground is so low that vessels can easily be transported overland from one sea to the other. Demetrius Poliorcetes, Cæsar, and Nero in turn cherished the design of cutting the isthmus here by a canal.¹

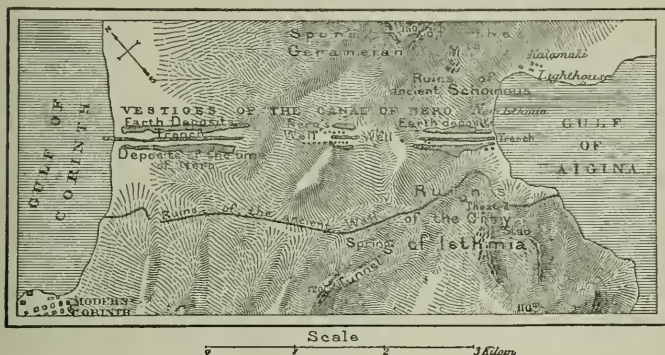


ROCK OF THE AKROPOLIS IN ITS PRIMITIVE STATE.

The Peloponnesos has three well-defined regions,—the central plateau, or Arkadia; Lakonia, or the basin of the Eurotas; and Messenia, or the basin of the Pamisos. I shall speak later of the last two, which are separated from each other by Mount Taygetos, and surrounded on three sides by the sea. Arkadia, shut in by high mountains opening only on the west, towards Olympia, in a narrow defile by which the Alpheios makes its escape, presents a picturesque variety of verdant hills and luxuriant valleys filled with villages, and a very few plains in which cities have

¹ I have crossed the isthmus in a carriage very easily in about forty minutes; there is now a railway across it, and it is probable that the old plan of a canal will some day be carried out.

been built. Geographically it is the most divided region in Greece; hence its population attained to political union only very late, and the union lasted for a very brief time. It was also the best watered, having lakes at heights of two thousand and twenty-five hundred feet above the sea, which serve as reservoirs for the waters of the Peloponnesos; these lakes are fed by rivulets from the higher ground, and discharge through subterranean conduits (*katavothra*) among the mountains, only appearing as rivers in the maritime region. The Eurotas, the Alpheios, the Styx, and the Stymphalos thus have a part of their course underground. There are more



THE ISTHMUS OF CORINTH.

than thirty of these *katavothra* in Arkadia, and as they are frequently obstructed, they give rise to formidable inundations.¹

The rest of the Peloponnesos—that is, the northern sea-coast—is merely a succession of short valleys, descending to the sea, each with its city forming a separate State. The ancients, however, distinguished among them three regions.—Elis, the most fertile portion of the peninsula.² Achaia, and Argolis. They only excepted Sikyon and Corinth, giving the name of each of these cities to the country adjacent.

Argolis, a peninsula bounded by the sea on three sides, almost reproduces the outlines of Attika; but its capital was not in the

¹ The lakes or marshes of Orchoménos and of Kaphyai, the *katavothra* of Mantinea and Tegeia, and Lake Stymphalos were at a height of 2,100 feet above the sea.

² Wheat returns a ten-fold and sometimes a thirteen-fold harvest (Leake, *Morea*, i. 14).

centre, its harbor was poor, even for the ships of the time, its shore was marshy, and it had Sparta as a neighbor. Accordingly, after an early splendor, it played, like Thebes, a secondary part, nor



LAKE OF PHENEOS.¹

had, like that rival of Athens and Sparta, the dazzling renown of Leuktra and Mantinea to compensate for its long obscurity.²

¹ From a photograph.

² Clinton has computed, in his *Fasti Hellenici*, following Arrowsmith's map, the area of the several districts of Greece. His calculations, in square miles, are as follows:—

Thessalia, including Magnesia	5,674	Achaia, Sikyonia, and Phliasia	783	Eubœia	1,419
Akarnania	1,571	Elis and Triphylia	930	Korkyra	211
Aitolia	1,165	Arkadia	1,701	Leukadia	115
Phokis	1,570	Argolis, Korinthia, Epidauris,		Kephalenia	33
Boiotia	1,119	Troizenis, Hermionis, and		Ithaka	22
Attika	720	Kynuria	1,397	Zakynthos	153
Megaris	143	Lakonia	1,896	Kythera	125
Total for Central Greece	11,962	Messenia	1,163	Aigina	41
		Total for the Peloponnesos	7,779	Salamis	58
				Total for the Islands	2,468
Grand total					22,231

The area of Epeiros, which Clinton does not compute, is estimated by Sickler at 500 geographical square miles, and Macedonia (that of Philip) at 1,200.

In regard to the population, Clinton estimates it, for the period between the Median wars

IV. — INFLUENCE OF SOIL AND CLIMATE.

THE mountains of Greece cover nine tenths of its surface, and leave but a small space of level country, of which the larger part is in Thessaly. Hence it followed that this province was the only one which had strong and valuable horses. The mountains, now deprived of their ancient forests, are no richer than those of Italy in precious metals. However, copper and magnetic ore were obtained from Eubœia; iron from Boiotia, from Mount Taygetos, and from the islands of Melos, Seriphos, and Eubœia; Chalkis forged this into excellent weapons, and her workmen boasted of being the first to work in copper. In Epeiros, Cyprus, and Siphnos there was silver, and also in Attika, where Athens in the days of her power employed twenty thousand men in the mines of Laurion.¹ In the Haimos and the Orbelos in Thessaly, in Mount Pangaios between Macedon and Thrace, and in the

and Alexander, at more than 3,500,000 souls. In this number Attika is given 527,660, including slaves. To Thebes he assigns 75,000; to the rest of Boiotia, 55,500. To Lakonia and Messenia, 300,000 (33,000 Spartans, 66,000 provincials, 170,500 helots, etc.); to Arkadia, 161,750; to Achaia, 61,800; to Sikyon, 46,160; to Phlious, 31,000; to Corinth 100,000; to Argos, 110,000; and to the other cities of Argolis, 52,500; to Elis, 186,000: in all, 1,050,000 for the Peloponnesos. It is useless to add that in these figures there is probably no other value than that of the comparison which they give between the different cities. Exactness in computations of this sort is well-nigh impossible in reference to ancient times. For instance, two very competent men, Böckh and Letronne, have arrived at these conclusions: the former thinks that Attika might support 500,000 inhabitants; the latter, that 240,000 could hardly have found subsistence there. More than this, a passage in Demosthenes gives the produce of a piece of land in Attika as 1,000 *medimnoi* of grain. But what was the extent of this field? Forty stadia in *superficial contents*, says Letronne; in *circumference*, says Böckh. A comma placed before or after a word has to decide concerning the existence of 100,000 men! Now, some editors place this comma before the important word; others after; still others, like the ancient Greeks, do not place any at all. When we meet problems in which so many unknown factors are contained, the wisest course is to let them alone. M. Wallon, who has discussed this question in his *Histoire de l'Éclairage* (i. 211-283), sets the number for Attika at about 300,000 souls, 67,000 of which were citizens, including women and children, 40,000 *metics*, and about 200,000 slaves. In Chapter XIX. will be found authentic figures in regard to the Athenian citizens in the time of Perikles, and in Chapter XXVII. we shall see how small was the number of the inhabitants of Sparta in the fourth century B. C. — As to the fertility of Attika, Böckh estimates the average of crops there to have been 2,800,000 *medimnoi* (4,200,000 bushels); Foucart reduces this average to 1,600,000, or even 1,200,000 *medimnoi* (2,400,000 or 1,800,000 bushels).

¹ Large profits are still obtained from working the slag of these mines.

islands of Siphnos and Thasos, gold was found. The Thracian Hebros brought down particles of gold in its sands. Attika and the islands, especially Paros, had famous marbles.¹

In mountainous countries the plains are generally extremely fertile. Such was the case with Thessaly, Messenia, the northern part of Elis, and Euboia, which was the granary of Athens. Boiotia owed also to its numerous streams, and to their long-accumulated deposits, great fertility, especially in the lower valley of the Kephissos, enriched, like Egypt, by periodical inundations.



COIN OF ELIS.²

But the inhabitants, pampered by this too generous Nature, gave themselves up to sensual pleasures. While sterile Attika was crowded with an active and ingenious population, Boiotia nourished a race whose mental indolence became proverbial, though among Boiotians we must count Hesiod, who, while far below Homer, still holds a distinguished place in Greek poetry, and Pindar, whom Horace calls "the Swan of Dirke." The highlands of Arkadia had for inhabitants a race of men resembling the Swiss in their simple and pastoral manners, their warlike spirit, their love of gain, and their dispersal in numerous villages.

Taken as a whole, Greece was not fertile enough to feed its inhabitants in idleness, but not poor enough to compel them to use all their ingenuity in finding the means of subsistence. The diversity of the ground—plains and mountains—and that of the climate, from the snows of Pindos to the almost Asiatic vegetation of the Peloponnesos, imposed upon them that multiplicity of labors which develops the faculties, and by the variety of knowledge calls out a variety of ideas,—in a word, civilization. From the character of their land, the Greeks, much

¹ The most famous of these was the white marble of Paros, of which the Venus of Melos is sculptured. The saccharoid marble of Pentelikos was of less even tint but of finer grain, and retained its polish better than any of the other marbles. In the ancient buildings of Italy the details of the sculptures are rarely found intact; those of Athens frequently present edges as sharp as if the artist had just laid down his chisel. The *verd antique* came from Thessaly and Euboia.

² Laurelled head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse, FA, initials of FAÆΩΝ (with a digamma), archaic form of HÆΩΝ. An eagle standing to the right, before it a wreath; in the field ΠΙ, initials of a magistrate's name; behind, a thunderbolt. (Silver coin *in genere*.)

more than any other race, were obliged to be at once shepherds and agriculturists, and, above all, traders. With corn and cattle a people can live shut up at home. Of these the Greeks had little; but they had wine and oil, — commodities especially marketable, and requiring intelligent handling. Commerce therefore was to them a necessity. The Phœnicians had early taught them to construct “the horse of the sea,” and to fit the vessel with a sail to relieve the oarsman. By night they traversed the sea guided by the Great Bear, — the most brilliant of the northern constellations.² Add to this that they dwelt opposite or adjacent to the richest and most civilized countries of the old world, — Lydia, Ionia, Phœnicia, Egypt, and, farther east, Chaldæa, farther west, Carthage, — so that they had the spectacle of manners the most diverse, while forced themselves to cultivate various aptitudes. How vast the field open to imagination and intellect, and how naturally these people were led to believe themselves born of their own soil!



THE GREAT BEAR.¹

In their physical organization the Greeks were active and muscular. They were deep-chested, like the mountaineer, who breathes from the bottom of his lungs. Although not very tall, they were strong as wrestlers, able to endure fatigue, and rapid as runners. After securing their independence, these qualities made them masters of Asia. Nature had endowed them with beauty of feature; life in the open air and constant exercise developed their elegant proportions, and artists had but to look about them to find models.



BRONZE COIN.³

Add to this that on their varied soil, where not one valley was like its neighbor, there was also such a variety of manners and institutions that everywhere there was motion, in the agora

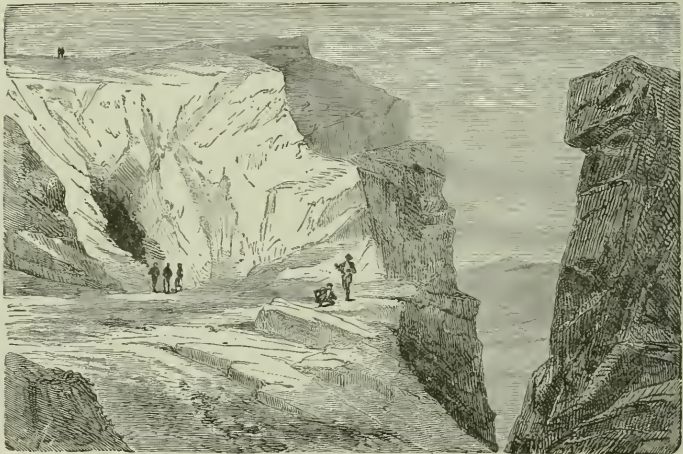
¹ The constellation *Ursa Major*, on a silver denarius of the Roman Republic, which bears the name of L. Lucretius Trio. The lunar crescent is surrounded by its seven stars.

² The Phœnicians had had the skill to discover the one motionless star in the heavens — *Polaris*; the constellation of Charles's Wain, or the Great Bear, is much more brilliant, but its circle around *Polaris* has too great a diameter for it to be of value to navigators.

³ View of the Akropolis, on a coin of Athens. This shows the Propylæia with their pediment, the Parthenon, and the colossal Athene Promachos rising above it. On the side of the hill is the Grotto of Pan, and lastly the steps to the fountain Klepsydra. The legend: ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ]. (Reverse of a bronze coin.)

and in men's minds,—everywhere effort and struggle. In no other race was there ever such an intensity of life.

One district in Greece sums up in itself all the defects and the merits of the Hellenic soil and that coast-formation, where sea and land meet in harmonious union,—it is sterile Attika, with its fertile plains of Marathon and Eleusis which gave sixty-fold harvests, with its olive-trees, its perfumed honey of Hymettos, its marbles of Pentelikos, its mines of Laurion, its



QUARRIES OF PENTELIKOS.

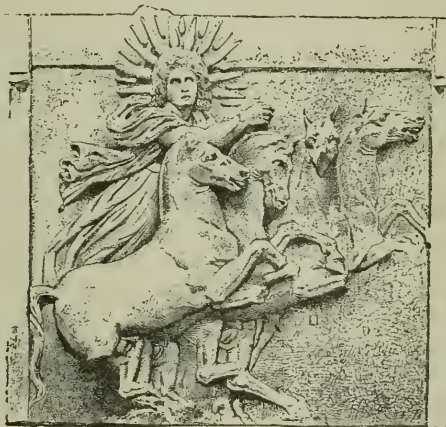
atmosphere so pure that report said a man could see from Cape Sounion the crest and lance of Athene on the Akropolis; and, above all, with the sea on three sides for its belt. When the Athenians went up to the Parthenon, their eyes rested on the numerous islands adjacent, as if ready to become their domain, or to lead them easily “by wet roads” to the coasts of Thrace, of Asia, and of Egypt. Every morning the north wind blew, bearing their vessels smoothly to the Cyclades; every night the south wind in a few hours brought them back to port, under a sky glittering with stars, which were never hidden by the heavy mists of more northern seas. “Gentle and soft is our

atmosphere." says an Athenian poet; "the winter has no rigor, and the darts of Phoibos do not wound."¹

At the same time, amid these islands, around these capes, and in the numerous indentations of the coast, the marine and atmospheric currents frequently change their course; and in the open sea dangerous storms of wind occur. South of the Peloponnesos and near the coast of Asia navigation is not without danger.² These were conditions favorable for forming bold and skilful sailors.

Greece then was a magnificent stage prepared for human activity. Had despotism gained possession of this land and these men; had Darins or Xerxes

conquered at Marathon or at Salamis, — the happy influences of natural circumstances would have been neutralized; ancient Greece would have become what the emperors and sultans of Constantinople have caused modern Greece to be. — a land of desolation. But the Genius of Liberty sat by the hearthstone of this victorious little



HELIOS UPON HIS CHARIOT.³

race; he elevated the souls of the Greeks, which servitude would have degraded; he aided them to draw from their soil and from themselves all the treasures with which a beneficent Nature had

¹ The average temperature of Corinth and Athens is 62° Fahrenheit; but in the latter city, though the mercury never falls below 38°, it sometimes rises to 103°. The sea-breeze aids in making this exceptionally high temperature endurable. The average is for January, 46°; for July, 80°. The difference between these two means is only about 34°. There are scarcely three days in the year that are not sunny, or three nights in which the stars are not visible (Neumann, *Physikal. geogr.*, pp. 17, 24). The rainfall at Athens is about 22 inches; in the mountains it is as much as 40.

² *Mediterranean Pilot*, vol. iv.

³ Metope from the temple of Athene at Iliou.

endowed them, — which, however, evil institutions and contrary circumstances would have rendered worthless; and since this force was derived from the land itself, it exists there still.

Sixty years ago Byron, journeying through this country covered with the ruins made by four centuries of slavery, exclaimed:

“And yet how lovely in thine age of woe,
Land of lost gods and god-like men, art thou!”

Again free, the Hellenes once more aspire to new and glorious destinies. But with their powerful and jealous neighbors, will it be possible to achieve what was expected of Greece fifty years ago, when men said, “A great thing is beginning there”?

FIRST PERIOD.

LEGENDARY HISTORY (2000-1104?).¹

FORMATION OF THE GREEK PEOPLE.

CHAPTER II.

THE PELASGIANS AND THE IONIANS.

I. — PREHISTORIC GREECE.

A ISCHYLOS, a seer by virtue of being a great poet, describes with wonderful fidelity the life of the first human beings before Prometheus had brought to them fire and the arts.

“For first, though seeing, all in vain they saw,
And hearing, heard not rightly; . . . did not know
Houses of brick that catch the sunlight's warmth,
Nor yet the work of carpentry. They dwelt
In hollowed holes like swarms of tiny ants,
In sunless depth of caverns.”²

These are the actual cave-dwellers, whom we have come to know only within the last thirty years. Homer speaks of them

¹ It must be borne in mind that there is not in Grecian history a single authentic date prior to the year 776, in which begins the era of the Olympiads. Before this epoch, chronology is determined only by mythological genealogies, chiefly by those of the Herakleidae; and the years are reckoned from the number of generations, giving to each thirty-two or thirty-three years, so that three make a century. Even to the time of the Median wars many dates are uncertain. A positive value must not, therefore, be assigned to those which we shall give, down to the fifth century; they are only a means of establishing a chronological relation between events. In general, we follow Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*. — The most recent and most complete Grecian histories are, in England, that of Grote, and in Germany, that of Curtius; both have been translated into several languages. — Innumerable quotations and endless discussion might claim a place in this work. I have endeavored to give the latest results of science, but have set aside all that would have uselessly increased the volumes with matters which are to be found in a great number of archaeological treatises. The most recent is that of M. Salomon Reinach, *Manuel de philologie classique*; to which it is well to add his *Traité d'Épigraphie grecque*.

² In the *Prometheus Bound*. [Dr. Plumptre's translation. — Ed.] It is to this period that

in the *Odyssey*.¹ His Cyclopes dwell in caves on the mountaintops. They have neither implements to cultivate the earth, nor ships "with red prows" to carry produce "to the cities of men." No horses, only sheep and goats; not even gods. When Odysseus applies to Polyphemus for hospitality in the name of Zeus, "protector of suppliants," the Cyclops replies, "We care not for Zeus, nor the blessed gods."

BRONZE COIN.²

We find in classic literature an echo, so to speak, from this first age of the world, which exists to-day for many savage tribes, and Lucretius seems to have anticipated some of the results of prehistoric archæology when in the *De Rerum natura* he drew the picture of primitive customs.³ If we divest Herakles of the divine halo with which the poets have crowned him, the rude wrestler traversing Greece armed with his club and clad in a lion's skin, would become the representative of those primitive men who began the struggle with wild beasts, and prepared a place on the earth for more fortunate humanity.

The problem of the origin of the Hellenic people has been complicated rather than solved in recent times by the results of the excavations conducted in Greece and in the adjacent islands; for these reveal the existence of men who had already passed through several stages of civilization, from the age of chipped flints to that of works of refined art. Some of their dwellings even have been identified beneath enormous mounds of ruins, as at Hissarlik, and under thick strata of lava, as at Santorin. Geologists date back to at least twenty centuries before Christ the awful cataclysm which, shaking this island as an oak is lashed by the tempest, precipitated one part of it into an abyss thirteen hundred feet in depth, while another portion, Mount St. Elias, was elevated to

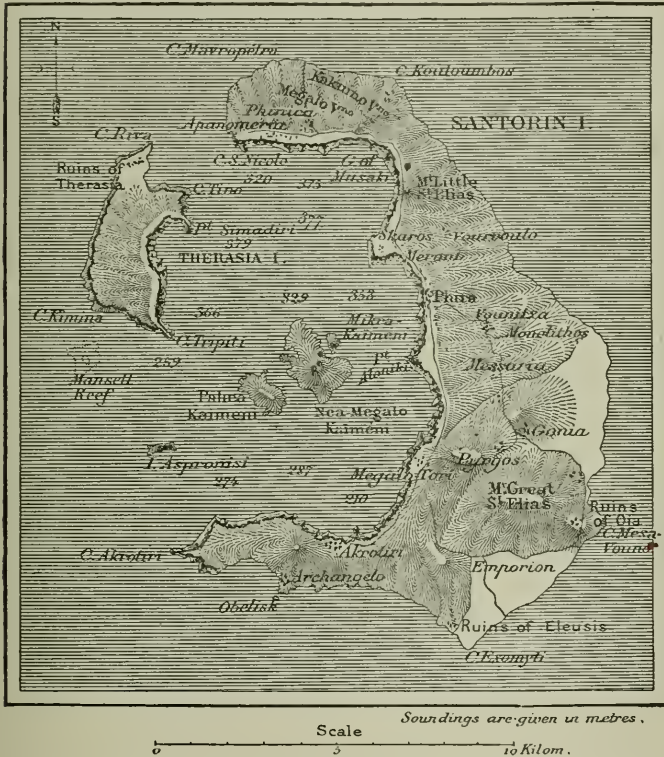
belong the numerous stone implements, arrow-points, knives, axes, and hammers which have been dug up in Hellenic soil, and which may be seen in the prehistoric collection of Mr. Finlay at Athens, a part of which has been bequeathed to that city.

¹ ix. 108, 113, 128.

² Prometheus fashioning the body of the first man. Reverse of a bronze coin struck in the reign of the Emperor Maximin at Nikaia in Bithynia, bearing the inscription NIKAIEON. Prometheus, seated upon a chair, is giving the final touches to the statue of a man placed on a stool before him, and which now lacks only the breath of life.

³ v. 92 *et seq.*

a height of twenty-five hundred feet.¹ In this Pompeii of pre-legendary Greece have been discovered arms and instruments made of flint, weights of lava, vases of terra-cotta fashioned on the potter's wheel and covered with rude designs, etc. From



MAP OF SANTORIN.

these remains it is inferred that there existed in Santorin, two thousand years before our era, men who possessed the first elements of civilization and carried on trade with the neighboring islands.

Herodotos begins his history in this manner: "The learned

¹ Fouqué, *Santorin et ses éruptions*, 1879; A. Dumont, *Les Céramiques de la Grèce propre*.

among the Persians assert that the Phœnicians were the original authors of the enmity between Greece and the Barbarians. They were engaged in navigation, and transported the productions of Egypt and Syria to other nations. In one of their expeditions they landed at Argos and exposed their merchandise for sale upon the shore. They had disposed of nearly all their cargo, when, on the fifth or sixth day after their arrival, several women, and among them Io, daughter of Inachos the king, approached the ships to buy some of their merchandise.

BRONZE COIN.¹

The Phœnicians rushed upon them, captured Io with her companions, and carried them away to Egypt.”²

HISSARLIK POTTERY.³

Such was commerce in ancient times, — the same that we for a long time were engaged in upon the coasts of Africa; such was ancient piracy, as

in later years the slave-trade was carried on along the Guinea coast.⁴

It is not true that the rape of Io was the cause of the Trojan war, but the story of Herodotos is a reminiscence of the relations anciently established by the Phœnicians around the great

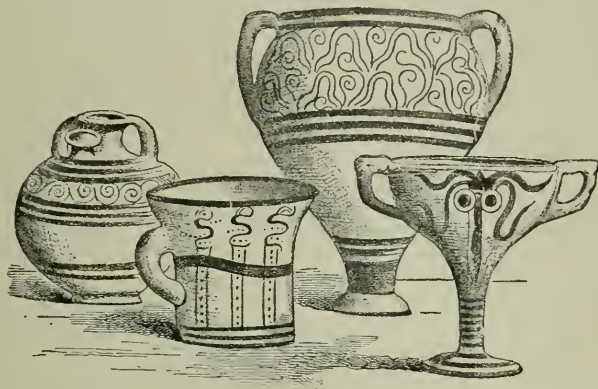
¹ Reverse of a coin of Gaza in Judæa, with the head of Septimius Severus. Io is giving her hand to the Genius of the city, who wears the turret and holds a born of plenty. Behind Io we read ΕΙΩ, and behind the Genius, ΓΑΖΑ. On the exergue, the date 254.

² *Clio*, 1.

³ From A. Dumont and Chaplain. *Les Céramiques de la Grèce propre*, i. 7, 9, and 11. — On the first vase to the left are rude representations of certain features of the human body, — the eyes, nose, and breasts. The collar about the neck, and searf across the bosom, complete the ornamentation of the vase.

⁴ In the *Iliad*, commerce is merely barter, and some details indicate its extent. The Trojan Dolon is clad in the skin of a wild bear, — evidently brought from the far North, as the ivory of which Homer speaks came from the far South, and tin from the extreme West, where it was obtained in the Cassiterides. At Mykenai, amber has been found which is identical with that from the Baltic. — At this epoch, piracy is not dishonorable. Polyphemos asks Odysseus: “Do you sail the seas for trade, or are you pirates who at the risk of your lives are intent on ravaging foreign lands?” (*Odyssey*, iii. 72; ix. 253.)

Grecian lake formed by the Ægean Sea. The Assyrians too, the first-born of western civilization, had reached the borders of this sea, carrying their dominion and some of their arts as far as Lydia. The prehistoric Greeks in their turn visited the coasts of Asia, and some Pelasgo-Ionians must have been among those "people of the sea" who invaded Egypt in the seven-



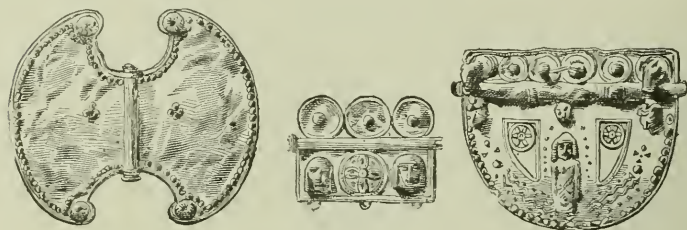
VASES FROM IALYSOS (ISLAND OF RHODES).¹

teenth century. On both sides captives were taken, who brought into their new homes certain arts, religious beliefs, and gods. In the palace of Priam, and in the Ithaka of Odysseus the great traveller, Sidonian women are seen engaged in marvellous works of embroidery. Piracy and commerce united the three worlds between which flowed the waves of the Archipelago and the Syrian Sea.² Proof of this is supplied by the results of the explorations made in the last few years at Hissarlik, Santorin, Ialysos, Spata, and Knossos, which have revealed a Greece anterior to the Greece of Homer.

¹ From *Les Céramiques de la Grèce propre*, vol. i., pl. iii. — On the first vase to the left, in front, the design, three times repeated, appears to represent the *murex*, — the shell which yields a purple dye. It is found at Mykenai, at Spata, and at Knossos. On the vase to the right is a figure of the *octopus*, or devil-fish, which is found at Mykenai as well as in Krete.

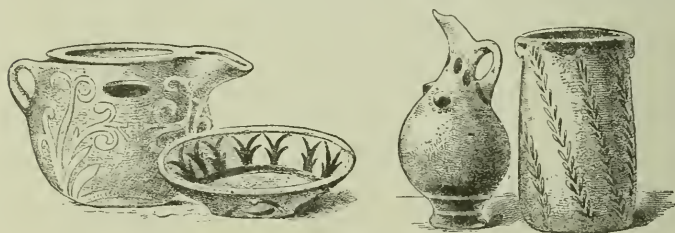
² The *Iliad* (xxiii. 741) speaks of a Sidonian silver urn which comes into the possession of Patroklos.

At Hissarlik, "the little fortress," on a plateau five hundred and fifty feet long and four hundred and sixty feet wide,—smaller, that is to say, than the platform of the Akropolis of Athens.—



LYDIAN JEWELS.¹

Schliemann believes that he has re-discovered Troy, which, however, may have been farther inland, at Bounarbashi.² The pickaxe



VASES FOUND AT SANTORIN.³

of his laborers at that place encountered, in passing through fifty-three feet of rubbish, the *débris* of several cities which had been

¹ From the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique* (1879), iii. 129 (A. Dumont).—The arrangement of the coiffure on the three women's heads recalls that of Egyptian statues. The attitude and costume of the woman on the piece to the right are found on very ancient Greek monuments, where the influence of the East is recognizable.

² The site of Troy has been the occasion of numerous controversies, which may be summed up in two hypotheses. The one places Troy at Hissarlik, the theatre of the interesting excavations of Schliemann; the other finds the site of the Trojan city destroyed by the Greeks of Agamemnon on the rock which overlooks the sources of the Skamandros and the village of Bounarbashi, "Head of the Springs." Curtius, in the latest edition of his *History of Greece*, accepts the latter hypothesis. But the controversy is not ended, and doubtless never will be.

³ From *Les Céramiques de la Grèce propre*, vol. i., plates i. and ii.—Many ornamental designs are borrowed from the vegetable kingdom, such as leaves and flowers. We detect also, as at Hissarlik, a slight imitation of the human body.

destroyed and rebuilt in succession. The shape of the oldest buildings resembles that of the prehistoric dwellings of Santorin and the villages of Asia Minor as described in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Many stone implements have been exhumed from this ancient soil, but also many of bronze, the tin of which came from a great distance, and objects in precious metals, designated



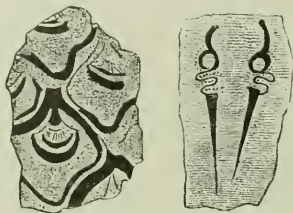
FRAGMENTS OF VASES FOUND AT MYKENAI (NOT IN THE TOMBS).¹

by Schliemann as the "Treasure of Priam." These last must have been purchased in Lydia, where the Paktolos formerly washed down particles of gold.² Since there is no trace among these remains either of Phœnician art or of the enamelled pottery or scarabæi with hieroglyphics of Egypt, such as are found

¹ From Schliemann's *Mycena*, fig. 213. Five warriors, wearing high helmets and armed with shields, the lower end of which is hollowed out in the form of a crescent, and with lances, are marching in file, followed by a woman, whose left arm is raised in an attitude of grief. The object which is suspended from the lance is probably the cord which served to recover the weapon when it had been thrown.

² The gold, being in its pure state when found, was easily identified by its brilliant color and hardness; it was also worked at a very early period.

at Mykenai, at Ialysos in the Island of Rhodes, and at Spata near Athens; since, also, on the most ancient vases we see only geometric ornamentation, and that in the most rudimentary forms, together with a few very rough attempts at imitating the human form on the so-called owl's head vases. — it must be admitted that the earliest civilization of Hisarlik represents an epoch anterior to that of Santorin and Mykenai; and here we find the primitive civilization of the Hellenic East.



FRAGMENTS OF VASES FOUND AT KNOSSOS.¹

Its second stage is marked by the objects discovered at Santorin.

This island, formerly of circular outline, but to-day presenting only the form of a crescent, was shaken, at the epoch above indi-



OBJECTS FOUND AT SPATA, IN ATTIKA.²

cated, by a tremendous volcanic eruption. The entire central portion sank, and its place was filled by a gulf into which the

¹ From the *Revue archéologique*, 1880, pl. xxiii. (B. Haussoullier). The same principles of ornamentation are found on these fragments.

² From the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique* (1878), vol. ii., plates xvi. and xviii. (B. Haussoullier). — Objects in ivory. The lion springing upon an animal which he strikes to the ground, is one of the subjects most frequently met with at Mykenai. — The head, nearly three inches high, suggests Assyrian figures by the shape of the beard, by the tripartite arrangement of the hair at the back of the head, and by the headdress, a mitre of conical shape.

sounding-line descends thirteen hundred feet, while a layer of pumice, a hundred feet deep, covered what remained of the island. Beneath this deposit were found the dwellings of the former



OBJECTS FOUND AT SPATA.¹

inhabitants, and *débris* showing an advanced industrial condition. — vases containing charred barley and chopped straw intended as food for the sheep and goats whose skeletons lay buried near by; millstones, oil-mills, weights of about $6\frac{1}{2}$, 550, and 1,650 pounds, — a series which presupposes a regular system of measures; walls covered with coatings of various colors;² the employment of lime

¹ From the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, vol. ii., plates xv., xvi., xix. — Objects made of ivory and of vitreous paste, with fragments of pottery. Marine animals and shells predominate: a dolphin in the sea, the waves being represented by undulating lines that serve as an ornament to the plaque; coeikle-shells and turbinates, whose spirals and nodosities are clearly defined; a nautilus surmounted by three tentacles; and purpura shells. The sphinx has its head covered with a low kalathos, from which floats a sort of plume: the disposition of the wings is entirely Assyrian.

² Dr. Schliemann found at Tiryns also remains of mural paintings for which, besides black and white, three colors were employed, — red, blue, and yellow. These frescos represent spirals, rosettes, ornamental designs, and even figures; as, for example, a bull, and a man seizing it by the horn.

and puzzolan for cement; and everywhere designs and figures which show, first, a taste for geometric ornamentation, then for floral and marine decoration, — in short, a certain æsthetic feeling.

The remains of this ancient pottery reveal intercourse with the earliest inhabitants of Rhodes, Cyprus, Melos, and continental Greece, — that is to say, the existence at that time of an extensive commerce.

The Rhodian city of Ialysos, situated in the vicinity of the great centres of Egyptian and Oriental civilization, presents an art, more advanced, and probably more recent, which unites the types of Santorin with those of Mykenai.

The successful excavations made in the latter city by Dr. Schliemann were also a revelation. Though we may not admit that he has really found, as he believes, the body of Agamemnon, he has brought to light royal burial-places where the dead wear masks of gold, and their garments and weapons attest the wealth of a powerful kingdom. The vases have forms and designs that recall those of Santorin and Ialysos, but are of more skilful workmanship; and fragments of Egyptian porcelain, rings, carved stones, and an ostrich's egg ornamented with figures, are proofs of intercourse with Egypt and Assyria through the medium of the Phœnicians.

Unfortunately the tombs of Spata, near Athens, had been violated before their discovery in 1877. What the marauders left, however, — ivory objects, vitreous pastes similar to those of Ialysos, jewels overlaid with gold-leaf, representations of the lotus and the sphinx, and a purely Oriental head wearing a conical mitre,¹ — is sufficient to establish the fact that in the Attika of ancient times Oriental influence was greater than it was in Argolis.

These discoveries, made so recently, and sure to be multiplied, reveal the old nations of Asia and of Egypt awakening in Greece the civilized life of a new people. This is a fact which geography pointed out, which archæology confirms, and history must record.²

¹ See p. 154.

² The slow and insensible spread among different nations and in successive centuries, of industrial arts, of superstitious beliefs, and even of simple popular tales discovered far away from the country in which they originated, is a fact most clearly demonstrated in our day by philologists and historians.

II. — THE PELASGIANS AND THE IONIANS.

CONCERNING the men who inhabited Santorin ten or twelve centuries before Homer, we can say nothing, prehistoric archæology possessing no inscriptions to reveal the origin of these petty nations by the character of their language. We must therefore pass over those times which are shrouded in obscurity, and interrogate another science, philology, and other men, the poets and the glossarists.

We have seen in the preceding chapter that Greece is, so to speak, connected with Asia by a multitude of peninsulas and islands which go out as if to meet the great eastern continent. To this it should be added that a race, essentially the same, settled upon these beautiful shores, and that the intercourse rendered necessary by the geographical character of the countries themselves was facilitated by a similarity in language and manners. These countries have always belonged to the same race. Since the days of Priam, the Hellenes have remained in possession of their patrimony; for the Turks, driven out of Greece, encamped on the shores of Thrace rather than gained it as a permanent possession. The tent of Osman is indeed pitched there; but who can say that a tempest will not sweep it away?

What was the Hellenic race? The Greeks were ignorant of their ancestry, and believed themselves sprung from the soil, autochthons. The question of origin is very difficult to solve in regard to all primitive populations, for they exist for centuries before having a history. One science alone can enter this darkness, torch in hand, — the science of philology. The comparative study of languages has revealed the fact that the natives of India, the Persians, Greeks, Italians, Kelts, Germans, and Slavs had a common ancestry, whose early home was Bactriana and the neighboring countries. Attempts to establish a contrary view have so far failed to destroy this revelation of the original unity of the Aryan race.¹

¹ See one of the latest works in which this theory has been maintained, that of Fick, *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas*, 1873.

The Greeks then are a branch of the great Indo-European race. But a multitude of peoples established along the shores of Asia Minor and in the eastern peninsula of Europe, under quite a variety of designations, possess the right to claim this illustrious name, either because their direct descendants bore it at Salamis and Plataia, at Sparta and Athens, at Miletos and Syracuse; or else because, though they never entered the brilliant circle of Hellenic life, they yet have in their veins the blood, and on their lips the language, of the Hellenes.

By the first flickering rays of light which history, or rather poetry, projects upon these ancient ages, is seen, lost in the night of time, a great race, the Pelasgians, which appears to have covered Asia Minor, Greece, and a part of Italy, where it left its language, which has formed the Greek and Latin, and its gods, which the Hellenes and the Italiots adopted.¹ The most ancient oracle of Greece was that of Dodonian Zeus, whom Homer calls also Pelasgian. In ancient traditions these Pelasgians are divided into a multitude of tribes, which probably formed, south of the Danube, between the Adriatic and the Black Sea, three principal groups, — Illyrians, Thracians, and

Hellenic Pelasgians; the latter so called to distinguish them from those who passed into Italy. In fact, all the tribes which settled in these regions appear to have been originally closely connected. In legends they are frequently mentioned together, and many of the divinities which the first



HERMES, ON A COIN OF AINOS, IN THRACE.²

peoples of Greece worshipped, seem to have come to them by way of Macedonia and Thessaly.

The Illyrians were scattered along the eastern coast of the Adriatic, from Epeiros to the mouths of the Po, and on the oppo-

¹ Herodotos (i. 57) believes that the Pelasgians spoke a language different from the Greek, but he does not often look beneath the surface of things, and his philological knowledge was not very extensive. The speech of those whom he calls the Pelasgians may in his time have retained obsolete forms which prevented him from recognizing its Hellenic origin.

² Head of Hermes, facing to the right, wearing a petasos ornamented with a row of beads. Reverse, inscription AINI (for AINIION). A he-goat stepping to the right, at his feet a vase. (Silver coin)

site shores of Italy. The Dardanians halted on the frontiers of Macedonia: the Pannonians, farther to the north, were of this race, of which only a feeble remnant now exists, — the Albanians, or Arnauts, of the Turkish Empire.¹ Epeiros was the point of contact of the two populations, — the Illyrian and the Pelasgo-Hellenic.

The Thracians, says Herodotus,² are the greatest of all nations, after the Indians; and if they were governed by one man, or acted in concert, they would be invincible. They dwelt to the eastward of the Illyrians and in Asia Minor, where the Phrygians, Mysians, and Bithynians were of this race. It appears that one branch of this people spread across Macedon as far as Pieria, attaining there a comparatively advanced state of civilization, and exerting a considerable influence upon Greece. They rendered honors to Ares, the god of war (figured by the point of a lance or the blade of a



THE HYPERBOREAN APOLLO.³

¹ Consult the *Albanesische Studien* (1854) of Von Hahn, Austrian consul in Greece. The author thinks that the Albanians are neither Pelasgians nor Thracians, still less Getai, but of the race of the Macedonians before they were Hellenized, and that, in short, they belong to the same great family of peoples as the Aryas of the East and the rest of the Indo-European nations. M. Benloew (*La Grèce avant les Grecs* and *Analyse de la langue albanaise*) maintains a different theory; namely, that the Pelasgi also have nothing in common with the Hellenes, except that they inhabited Greece at an earlier date. M. D'Arbois de Jubainville (*Les premiers habitants de la Grèce*) excludes the Pelasgians from the Indo-European race. I confess my incompetence to decide questions like these, which only indirectly concern the political history of Greece. This does not prevent my applauding the efforts which scholars are making to dissipate this darkness. Schömann (*Griechische Alterthümer*, i. 4) applies the name "Pelasgi" to the great mass of the early inhabitants of Greece, whatever their origin; but he recognizes that the inhabitants of the western coasts of Asia Minor and those of Greece and Italy were of the same blood.

² Book v. 3.

³ Vase painting, from Lenormant and De Witte, *Élite des monuments céramographiques*, vol. ii., pl. v. The god, mounted on a griffin, holding his lyre in his left hand, in his right a branch of palm, is arriving at or departing from the region of the Hyperboreans. Every year at spring-time he left that mysterious, far-off country, to visit the sanctuaries of Delphi and Delos, where his return was celebrated with festivities.

bloody sword),¹ and Hermes, the god of shepherds, whose altars were heaps of stones piled together by the roadsides.

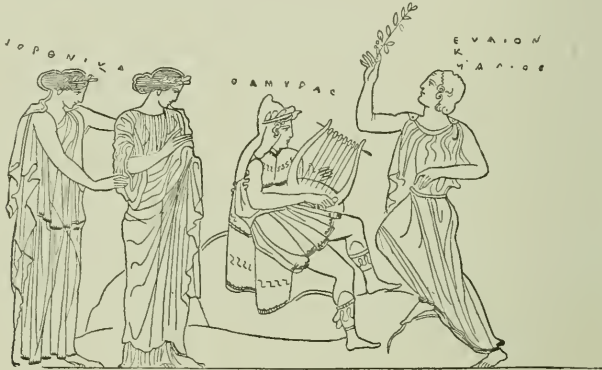
The gods of Greece came into that country from two directions.—from the south by sea, and overland from the north; and it is not always easy to determine whence came a particular legend or god. From Thrace were received, it is probable:—



HEAD OF
ORPHEUS.²

The Muses, chaste goddesses having their birth in Macedonian Pieria, but whose melodious choirs Hesiod claims to have heard on Helikon in Boiotia;

Zeus, whose seat the Greeks placed above the clouds which hide the summit of Olympus;



THAMYRIS PLAYING ON THE LYRE.³

Apollo, an Asiatic divinity, connected with northern countries by some of the ceremonies of his worship;

Dionysos, lastly, or the Roman Bacchus, who had devotees in Thrace and Macedon long before he was worshipped in Greece.

Among the Thracians certain ancient poets also are said to

¹ See *History of Rome*, ii. 264-266, the worship of the axe.

² Head of Orpheus, crowned with a diadem, facing to the right, on a coin of Antissa in Lesbos. The reverse bears the legend ANTIS (Ἀντισσαίων), with a bearded head wearing a lofty tiara. (Bronze coin.)

³ Painting on a vase, from the *Museo Gregoriano*, vol. ii. pl. xix. 2 a. Thamyris, or Thamyras (ΘΑΜΥΡΑΣ), wearing a Phrygian cap and crowned with laurel, is singing and accompanying himself upon the lyre in the presence of three of the Muses.

have been born, — Orpheus, Mousaios, and Eumolpos. Homer does not refer to these early singers of Greece, and they doubtless have no historic individuality;¹ but he mentions Thamyris, the Thracian musician who ventured to challenge the Muses to a contest of song, and was punished for his defeat by the destruction of his lyre and the loss of his voice.



ENGRAVED
STONE.²

At a subsequent epoch, when Greece was already widely populated by various tribes, these Thracians, it is said, penetrated, with their gods and legends, as far as Daulis in Phokis, which is the scene of the tragic story of Philomela and the bloody feast of Tereus, one of their kings.³ They are supposed to have established themselves on the slopes of Helikon, where were the tomb of Orpheus and the temple of the Muses, and possibly even entered Attika, and are said to have instituted, at Eleusis, the worship of Demeter.⁴ The tomb of Mousaios was long pointed out by the Athenians on one of their hill-tops.

The accounts of Herodotos concerning the Thracians of his time conflict with these traditions of the poets. He remarks: —

“The Getai are the most valiant and just of the Thracians; they deem themselves immortal, and that those lost by them do not die, but go to their god Zalmoxis. Every five years they select by lot one of themselves,

¹ The songs attributed to Orpheus, notably his *Theogony*, were the work of Orphic schools of the sixth century. No poetry anterior to Homer has come down to us; though it is very certain that many singers and a great deal of poetry existed before his time, for no literature begins with a masterpiece: the *Iliad* is a culmination, and not a commencement. Aristotle does not believe in the existence of Orpheus, though Plato admitted it.

² Prokne and Philomela bringing to Tereus the head of his son Itys. An engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,806 in the Catalogue, an Oriental garnet, 20 millim. by 13. Tereus is sitting before a tripod, at the foot of a tree on which are perched a swallow (Prokne), a nightingale (Philomela), a hoopoe (Tereus), and a goldfinch (Itys).

³ This is the legend as preserved to us by Anakreon, Apollodoros, and Ovid. Pandion, king of Athens, gave his daughter Prokne in marriage to Tereus, king of Thrace. Some time after, Philomela followed her sister, accompanying Tereus who, on the journey, dishonored her, cut out her tongue, and shut her up in a solitary dwelling. With her needle she wrought upon cloth the story of her misfortunes, and thus revealed it to her sister, who, to avenge her, caused Tereus to eat their own son Itys. The two sisters fled, and were changed, one into a swallow, and the other into a nightingale.

⁴ If we are to accept these traditions, it will be necessary to distinguish these primitive Thracians from those whom Herodotos (v. 3 *et seq.*) mentions, and whom he found to be still characterized by all the ferocity of barbaric ages, wives being buried also at the decease of their husbands, and children sold by their fathers. Especially is this requisite if, as seems proper to do, we associate with them the Getai, who continued to offer human sacrifices down to his day.

and despatch him to bear to Zalmoxis tidings of their state and to set before him their wants. The deputation is sent out in this manner: three of their number are required to hold a single javelin each, with its point directed upward, while others seize the man who is to be sent to Zalmoxis by his feet and hands. After swinging him to and fro, they launch him into the air in such a manner that he comes down upon the pikes. If he is transfixed and dies, they believe that their god is propitious; if he survives, they regard him as a wicked man; and having blamed him, they send another to their divinity after the same fashion, and give to him also, while yet alive, the messages to be carried by him."¹

Customs like these do not prove certainly that the Getai were of very humane disposition, but the account shows at least that this people cherished a firmer belief in the immortality of the soul than was held by the Greeks of ancient times, and it prepares us to understand how it was that from Thrace were derived, later, those ideas which are the basis of the Orphic mysteries.²

The tribes which peopled Greece proper are known under the famous names of Pelasgians and Hellenes, the Pelasgians coming first, and being followed by the Hellenes who gradually drove out, exterminated, or absorbed them, and thus remained sole masters of the country, — a slow process of revolution which was not entirely completed in the time of Homer.

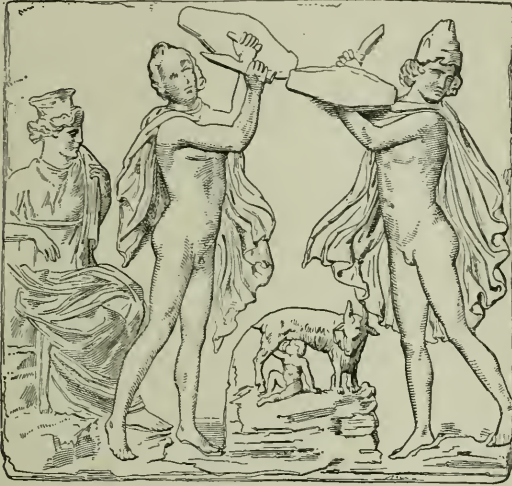
Under the general name of *Pelasgoi* the Greeks designated the petty nations which had preceded them on the soil of Hellas. But they also had special names for each. — the Dryopes, or men of the forest; the Leleges, or picked troops (?); the Kaukones, who left their name to a part of Elis; the Lapithai; and the Perrhaiboi, who had a Dodonian sanctuary, with its sacred oaks on Olympus; the Aones, Hyantes, etc.

In the absence of certain knowledge, and judging from traditions and historical probabilities, we may conclude that the Hellenic Pelasgians came into Greece from the regions of the North. After having traversed Thrace and Macedonia, they occupied Epeiros and Thessaly, whence, by gradual stages, they came to Central Greece and the Peloponnesos, where the belief became prevalent that the

¹ Book iv. 93-94.

² See, farther on, Chapter VI. § 6, the Worship of the Dead, and Chapter XV. the Orphic Mysteries.

race had originated in Attika and Arkadia. In the islands, which they also occupied, they were obliged to share the country with the Kouretes, Korybantēs, Idaian Daktyles, and Telchines, who taught them how to work in metals. But those who are designated under these appellations were not so much foreign tribes as colonies of Pelasgians or Asiatic Hellenes farther advanced in



KORYBANTES AND THE INFANT ZEUS.¹

civilization, who carried in their long journey around the Ægean Sea, their industrial skill and more highly developed religious ideas to those of their own race still in a state of barbarism. These peoples disappeared at an early date, and their name survived solely as a designation of the priests of certain gods. It is possible that they never were anything else.

¹ Bas-relief of an altar of the Capitol, from the *Museo Capitolino*, iv., tav. vii., and Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, Atlas, pl. iv., i. On each side of the infant god, who is suckling the goat Amaltheia, are Korybantēs or Kouretēs dancing, and beating their swords against their bucklers to prevent Kronos from hearing the cries of his son, whom he intends to devour. On the left is seated a woman, possibly the nymph Adrasteia, who with her sister Ida kept watch over Zeus.

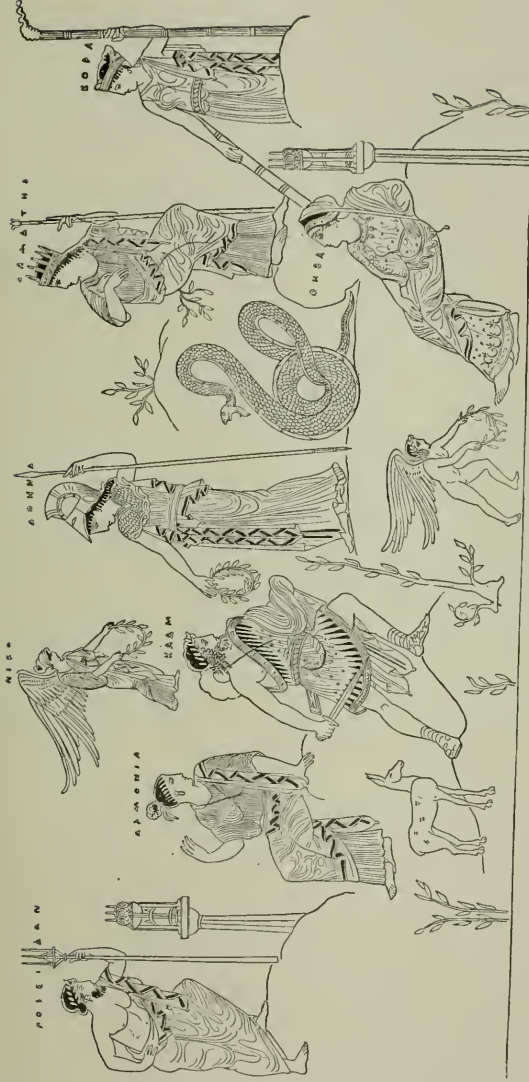
III. — PREHISTORIC INFORMATION SUPPLIED BY LEGENDS.

WHAT reliance is to be placed upon the legends which have been preserved by poets or collected by writers of subsequent ages ?

As the sea along its shores sports with the fragments of rock which the tall cliffs fling to it ; as it rolls them incessantly beneath its waves, wears them away, and breaks them to pieces, or transforms them, lavishing upon them all the wealth of that two-fold life of which it is the source, — so the imagination of peoples and the fancy of poets play with the names and deeds which tradition brings to them, dividing or combining them, intermingling foreign elements, or clothing them in the richest garb, till history becomes lost in fiction. When to this creative power of the popular imagination, which delights only in tales of the marvellous, there succeeds reflection, replacing faith in the supernatural by patient analysis and comparison of facts, — when criticism, in short, seeks to interpret the special features of legend, and explain the traditions of ancient ages, then arise conflicting theories. Looking at the details only, we cannot be free from uncertainty ; but regarding the subject as a whole, we find a general and satisfactory truthfulness.

History then should study these legends in accordance with the idea just suggested, and also with another. — that Greece accepted these fictions, and they inspired her artists and poets, who have transmitted to remotest generations types that we find about us to-day. If recent literature has less to say of Apollo,

NOTE. — The engraving facing this page represents Kadmos fighting with the dragon, — a vase-painting from Gerhard, *Etruskische und kampanische Vasenbilder*, Taf. C. Kadmos (ΚΑΔΜΟΣ) advances, sword in hand, against the dragon. The hero, as though he had already gained the victory, wears a wreath upon his head ; another is suspended from his girdle. Standing in the centre of the scene, Athene (ΑΘΗΝΑ), armed, offers a crown to Kadmos, and the goddess of victory (ΝΙΚΗ) does the same. Behind him is seated Harmony (ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ), the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, whom the conquering hero will espouse ; before him Theba (ΘΗΒΑ), at whose feet a winged Genius is depositing a crown, personifies the city of Thebes, of which Kadmos is to be the founder. The gods witness the combat ; on the left, Poseidon (ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ), armed with his trident ; at the right, Demeter (ΔΑΜΑΤΗΡ), sceptre in hand, and her daughter Kora (ΚΟΡΑ), bearing two torches. Apollo, Artemis, and Hermes, are represented on the portion of the vase not shown in the engraving. According to the legend, all the gods were present at the nuptials of Kadmos and Harmonia. Two tripods, laurel-trees, and a fawn, complete the ornamentation of this beautiful vase.



KADMOS FIGHTING WITH THE DRAGON.

the Muses, and the nymphs, than did that of the last century, our painters and sculptors have not yet forgotten Homer and Phœdias, who consecrated, one by his verse, the other in marble or bronze, the great adventures of the gods and heroes.

The general truth revealed by narratives concerning the earliest times of Greece seems to be that there was a Pelasgic-Ionian period, from which date the first cities as well as the first systems of worship, and in which were already united by close relations the Greek mainland and that coast of Asia connected with it by the islands of the Ægæan Sea, rising like the broken arches of a bridge. In this way history corresponds to geography.

The eastern shores of Greece have been, in fact, since the very earliest times, visited by the peoples of the opposite shores of Asia, who pushed forth fearlessly upon that peaceful sea where each evening an island offered a harbor for their vessels. On the west, the coasts of Elis and Messenia are much more fertile; but it is with Argos and with Athens that the most ancient legends are connected,—a sure proof that life was earliest awakened there. The



COIN OF TYRE.¹



ENGRAVED
STONE.²

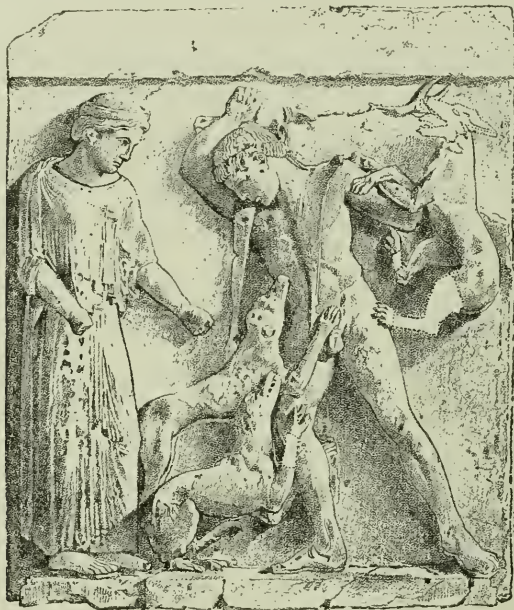
Greeks of subsequent ages, finding this fact in their traditions, have, as usual, replaced these thousand obscure voyages by a few famous expeditions, and have attributed to a small number of men results produced by the influence of relations extending perhaps over ten centuries.

These personages, who represent the influence of the East upon Greece, are particularly Kadmos, who is held to have been Phœnician, and Danaos and Kekrops, regarded as Egyptians. We give an outline of the legends concerning them.

¹ Reverse of a bronze coin of the Emperor Gallienus, struck at Tyre. Kadmos, standing, holds a patera and a spear; his peplos is over his left arm; at his feet, a cow lying down; higher up, the walled enclosure of the city of Thebes, with a large gate; in the field we read ΘΗΒΕ. As legend: COL. TYRO. METRO. The shell placed in front of the cow is the *murex*, from which purple was made; this was the symbol of the city of Tyre.

² Kadmos consulting the oracle. Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*, black jasper, 12 millim. by 10. The hero, helmeted, with buckler and lance upon his arm, is making an interrogative gesture; before him is an altar about which a serpent is coiled. (Chabouillet, *Catalogue général et raisonné des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibl. Impériale*, etc., No. 1,794.)

Kadmos, the son of Agenor, king of Tyre and Sidon, had two brothers, Phoinix and Kilix, and a sister Europa, whom Zeus seized and transported to Krete, where, directly opposite to Asia, Europe begins. Kadmos went in pursuit of his sister, journeying



AKTAION DEVoured BY HIS DOGS.¹

long and visiting many countries. Having arrived in Greece, he consulted the oracle of Delphi. "Seek thy sister no longer," was the response of Apollo, "but follow a heifer having on each side a white mark like the orb of the moon at its full; and where she

¹ Metope of a temple at Selinous; from a photograph. The head and arms of the goddess are of marble, all the rest of coarse stone. The representation is in conformity with the legend of Aktaion as related by the poet Stesichoros of Himera. Desiring to prevent the union of Semele and Aktaion, Artemis threw over him the skin of a stag, and his own dogs, being thus deceived, devoured him. On the metope are still to be clearly distinguished the skin and horns of the animal. Aktaion is defending himself with his sword.

sinks down exhausted, found a city." The heifer led him into Boiotia, and stopped near a fountain sacred to Ares. A dragon guarded its sacred waters; Kadmos slew him, and sowed his teeth



DIONYSOS AND SEMELE.¹

upon the ground. From them sprang up armed men, who fought with each other until all perished except five. These survivors

¹ Engraving on an Etruscan mirror, from Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, vol. i., pl. lxxxiii. Semele (*Semla*), bending forward, is tenderly pressing to her bosom the youthful Dionysos, whose thyrsos she holds; the latter, his head thrown back, has his arms about his mother's neck. One legend has it that, after a long separation, the god found his mother in the infernal regions, and brought her back to Olympus. Apollo (*Apulu*), a branch of laurel in his hand, is contemplating the scene, which is completed by a young satyr playing the double flute. A wreath of ivy encircles this graceful composition.

assisted Kadmos to build a fortress, Kadmeia, about which grew up Thebes later; and from them were descended the five most noble Theban houses. Kadmos brought with him the Phœnician alphabet, which the Greeks adopted, and the arts of mining and smelting metals.¹ His descendants were famous for their misfortunes.—Pentheus, whom the Bacchantes tore to pieces; Aktaion, the rival of Artemis in the chase, who, having ventured one day to gaze at her as she was bathing in a fountain, was changed into a stag by the enraged goddess, and afterwards devoured by his



THE DANAIDES.²

own dogs; and Semele, beloved of Zeus. By the perfidious counsel of Here she desired to behold the god in the splendor of his majesty, in the midst of his lightnings and thunderbolts; but the celestial fire consumed her. Her unborn child did not perish: it was caught up by Zeus, and placed within his thigh until the moment appointed for its birth. This child was Dionysos, or Bacchus, the giver of merry intoxication, but also of savage frenzy, when those initiated into his mysteries, running on the mountains, half-naked and with dishevelled hair, tore in pieces their prey while yet alive, and drank of its blood.³

Lykos, Amphion of the melodious lyre, Laios, and Oidipous are mentioned among the successors of Kadmos who often paid tribute

¹ The earliest Greek alphabet was composed of twenty-two Phœnician letters. Later, after the Peloponnesian war, in 403, the Athenians adopted the Ionian alphabet, which comprised two additional letters, and became common to all Greece.

² Bas-relief of an altar in the Vatican: from the *Museo Pio-Clemen.*, vol. iii., p. xxxvi.

³ See, on this subject, Chapter XV., and the *Bacchantes* of Euripides.

to the powerful city of Orchomenos. Observe in passing, that the Greek tragedians, who had so much to say of the misfortunes of the posterity of Kadmos, knew nothing of the Phœnician origin of that race.

Argos, on the border of its hospitable gulf, was undoubtedly the most ancient city of Greece, the point where occurred the meeting of foreigners with the natives of the soil. We have seen that, according to Herodotos, the Phœnicians captured Io upon this shore, as a reprisal for the carrying away of Europa. These names are fictitious; but the fact remains true, in the sense that men and women were then, and long continued to be, the principal objects of piracy and barter. Tradition tells of numerous relations existing between Argos and Egypt. It is from Libya that the Argives obtained the corn which they used for seed: on the banks of the Nile Io terminated her adventurous course; and finally, thence came Danaos with his fifty daughters, who, with a single exception, murdered their husbands, and were condemned, in the lower regions, to be forever filling a bottomless cask. Danaos, the son of Belos, propagated the worship of Apollo, and his fifty-oared galley taught the natives to venture upon the waves. After him we see, in Argolis, Proitos summoning the Kyklopes of Lykia¹ to construct the walls of Tiryns; the hero Palamedes, founder of Nauplia, and also believed to be the inventor of weights, measures, letters, and dice.²

In Attika it is an Egyptian sage, Kekrops, who, driven from Saïs, his native country, by civil war, lands at the Peiraieus, marries the daughter of the king of Attika, and at the king's death succeeds him. The inhabitants were living widely separated; he collected them into a dozen large villages, taught them how to cultivate the olive-tree, extract oil from its fruit, and obtain

¹ This Asiatic nation of Kyklopes was of course only a myth. To Hesiod the Kyklopes were the personification of the thunderbolt and subterranean fires. Subsequently they were regarded as the workmen of Hephaistos; later still, and as a natural consequence, as giants, to whose work was attributed every structure of great size. They were believed to have come from Lykia, because that was the volcanic country best known to the ancient Greeks.

² The lava weights found at Santorin are in systematic correlation; the men who used them lived, however, much before the time of Homer, and had certainly received them from the coast of Asia. The Greek alphabet was also an importation from Phœnicia. But with their taste for simplicity and personification, the Greeks have attributed to Palamedes all the inventions known in the heroic age.

from the earth different species of grains. In order to knit more closely the bonds of the new State, Kekrops instituted laws of marriage, funeral rites consecrating the memory of the dead, and the tribunal of the Areiopagos, which met on a hill consecrated to Ares, and was intended by its equitable decisions to prevent acts of violence. Three miles distant from the sea, Kekrops built on an isolated rock with broad flat summit, inaccessible except on the western side, the impregnable fortress which bore his name, the Kekropia, and at its base the city of Athens grew up by



BIRTH OF ERICHTHONIOS.¹

degrees. Among his sixteen successors are numbered Amphiktyon, who united all the peoples in the vicinity of Thermopylai into a league, to which he gave his name; Erichthonios, who immolated his daughter that he might win a victory; Erechtheus,² who is styled chief of a new Egyptian colony, from which Triptolemos acquires a more certain method of sowing and harvesting grain; and lastly Aigeus, father of Theseus. An Egyptian named Lelex is also mentioned among the early kings of Megaris.

These traditions are to-day abandoned. Most writers of antiquity regard Kekrops as one of the original inhabitants of Attika. Doubtless we should go farther, and see in him, as in Erichtho-

¹ A vase painting, from the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. x., pl. xxxviii. Before Kekrops (ΚΕΚΡΟΨ), half man and half dragon, leaning upon a sceptre and having on his head a wreath, his mother (ΓΕ. or the Earth), half issuing from the ground, holds out Erichthonios (ΕΡΙΧΘΟΝΙΟΣ) to Athene (ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ). The protectress of Athens receives the infant in her arms. Behind Athene is Hephaistos (ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ), the father of Erichthonios, and lastly Herse, daughter of Kekrops (ΕΡΣΕ), is seen hastening up. On the other side of the vase, which we do not reproduce entirely, two women and three men are represented, — first Aglauros (Ἄγλαυρος), daughter of Kekrops, then Erechtheus (ΕΡΕΧΘΕΥΣ), Pandrosos (ΠΑΝΔΡΟΣΟΣ), daughter of Kekrops, and lastly Aigeus and Pallas.

² Erichthonios and Erechtheus were long regarded as one person. Plato, in the *Kritias*, seems to have made a distinction between them for the first time. Homer knows only Erechtheus as king of Athens (*Iliad*, ii. 547; *Odyssey*, vii. 81).

nios, only the serpent-god; in Triptolemos the inventor of the plough and of agriculture; and in most of the characters of these early legends merely allegories personified, — ideas which poetry has converted into kings, heroes, or gods.¹ Thucydides says, indeed, that prior to the Trojan war the Karians and the Phœnicians had occupied several of the islands; but he makes no mention of the colonies of Danaos and Kadmos, which came to the Greek mainland from Egypt and Phœnicia; and, unlike Herodotos, who, accepting the testimony of the priests of Memphis, knows so much concerning these ancient ages, the severe historian doubts whether in respect to those times anything can be positively affirmed.³ Finally, these foreigners, who are the founders of royal houses, and who, to do this, must have been numerous, spoke languages radically different from that of the Hellenes. If their influence had been strong enough to enable them to grasp political supremacy, it would also have enabled them to displace the national speech. It is not usually the conquerors of a country, superior to the vanquished in civilization as well as in power, who give up the use of their native tongue. That the Greek has retained very few traces of the Semitic languages is because the Semites, if they ever entered Hellas, disappeared thence without having founded the

TRIPTOLEμος.²

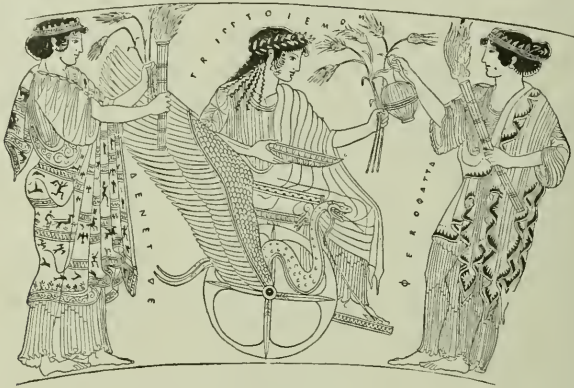
¹ The cicada, which seems to be born from the earth, was the symbol of autochthony. Its Greek name is *κερκώπη*, whence, by transposition, we have *Kekrops*. The Athenians, as a sign that they were indigenous to the soil, wore in their hair ornaments in the form of a cicada (Thucyd., i. 6). Erechthonios, son of Hephaistos and Ge, was represented as half man and half serpent; Erechtheus was a surname of Poseidon: an inscription recently discovered bears the words Ποσειδῶνι Ἐρεχθεΐ. His temple was built on the Akropolis of Athens, on the spot where it was said Poseidon struck the earth with his trident. The name Triptolemos signifies "he who thrice turns up the earth." Danaos, whose name is Greek, *δανός* (?), *dry, fit for fuel*, is a personification of the arid soil of Argos. Ἄργος ἄνυδρον (Hesiod, *Fragm.*, 69); and his daughters, with their bottomless cask, are the rains which vainly water this land, that retains none of the moisture spread over its surface. Moreover, it is very certain that Attika and the eastern coast of the Peloponnesos, from their geographical position, must have received part of their inhabitants by sea.

² Triptolemos, standing in a chariot drawn by two winged dragons. Reverse of a silver coin of Tarsos in Kilikia, with the likeness of Caracalla. Legend: ΔΩΡΕΑ. ΣΙΤΟΥ. ΑΠΟ. C. T. Y. ΤΑΡΣΩ. (Public gift of wheat to the city of Tarsos by the Emperor on his appointment to the consulship for the third time.)

³ Liv., i. 1 and 20. The identification of the gods of Egypt with those of Greece, which is spoken of by Herodotos, does not go back farther than the seventh century before the Christian era, — the epoch when regular communication began between the Greeks and Egypt.

powerful and enduring dynasties attributed to them. We may add that the most ancient ruins in Greece do not reveal an Egyptian art, though many objects have been found there which were brought from Egypt and from the coast of Phœnicia.

It is true that at the supposed time of the arrival of these Oriental emigrants there were in Asia great migratory movements ;

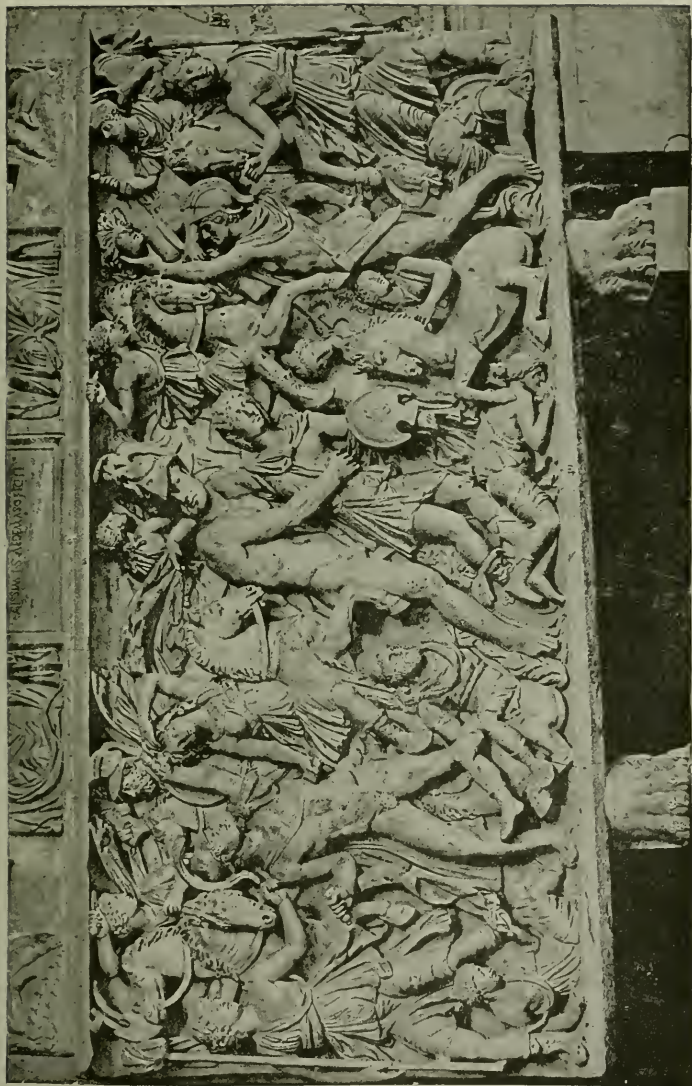


TRIPTOLEμος.¹

that tradition makes the Phrygians pass by turns from Asia into Europe, then from Thrace into Asia. the Amazons penetrate into Attika, Memnon into the Troad. the Karians occupy the Cyclades and the coasts of the Saronic Gulf, the Telchines migrate from Rhodes to Sikyonia ; that, finally, at about the same time there

¹ Painting on a vase from Hiero's manufactory, from the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. ix., pl. xliii. Triptolemos (ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ), holding a patera in his right hand and heads of grain in his left, is seated on a winged chariot from which dart two serpents. In front of him Proserpine (ΠΡΟΣΕΡΠΙΔΑ) holds a torch in her left hand, and in her right a wine-jug which she inclines towards the patera of Triptolemos. Behind the chariot is Demeter (ΔΗΜΗΤΡΕ), a torch and some heads of grain in her hands. Borne along in his chariot, the hero is preparing to journey through the world and instruct the human race in agriculture.

NOTE. — The combat represented on the opposite page is from a relief on a sarcophagus in the Vatican, from a photograph. (Cf. the *Musœo Pio-Clem.*, vol. v., pl. xxi.) The Amazons fight on horseback, armed with the lance or the short sword and indented buckler; all have one bosom bared. In the centre Achilles is supporting the wounded Penthesileia. According to the legend, the queen of the Amazons, hastening to the support of the Trojans, was mortally wounded by Achilles; and the hero, struck by her beauty, became enamoured of the dying virgin.



GREEK WARRIORS FIGHTING WITH AMAZONS.

took place in Egypt what is called the "exodus" of the Hebrews and the expulsion of the Shepherd kings, and then the great expeditions of the Pharaohs, which threw Asia into commotion as far as India. Around the Ægean Sea everything was therefore in movement; some echo of this commotion must have resounded in Greece, and some of these migratory peoples must have come thither, bringing the ideas and customs of Asia.

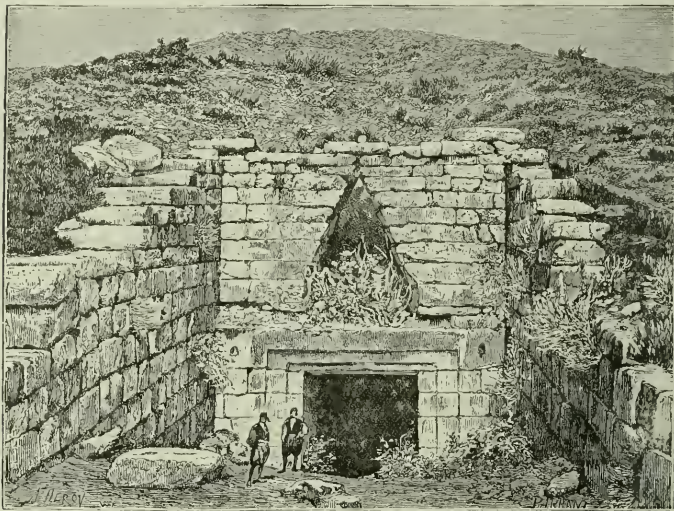
It is not the fact of the coming of Oriental colonists that is called in question, but the nationality which has usually been attributed to them. We must not forget that the coasts of Asia Minor were covered with populations of Hellenic origin. Mounted on their "marine coursers," and guiding their march by the stars, these Greeks by degrees crowded the Phœnicians from the islands of the Ægean, and, following in their wake, landed on nearly every shore which is bathed by the Eastern Mediterranean. As early as the eleventh century the Hebrews knew the name of Sons of Javan (Ionians), dwellers in "the isles of the Gentiles;" and this name may now be read in hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty.¹ We must therefore admit the existence of a period in other respects unknown to us, during which the Asiatic Greeks prepared for their future prosperity by establishing intercourse with the rich nations of the East. Some of their chiefs, in the habit of trading with Egypt and Phœnicia, may well have left their disturbed country in times of revolution, and established themselves in Pelasgic Greece, in the midst of peoples of their own language, to whom they carried the knowledge which they had acquired in their commerce with nations of the East and the South. A thousand things reveal to us the intimate relations binding together Greece and Asia. The history of the Greeks in the most remote times constantly leads

MINOS.²

¹ This is the same group of hieroglyphics, read *unim*, which are found to designate the Greeks in the inscriptions of the Ptolemies. The Karians, who held sway in the Sporades and the Cyclades, seem to have been a mixture of Asiatic Greeks and Phœnicians. Lassen considers them a Canaanite people, and consequently of Semitic origin, in his work entitled *Ueber die alten Sprachen Kleinasiens*. This is likewise the opinion of Movers. The Lydians also are Semitic, according to Lassen. At Santorin have been found objects of Phœnician origin brought there by commerce.

² Minos standing, looking to the left, holding an olive-branch and a sceptre: legend, MINΩ. Reverse of a small bronze coin of Gaza in Judæa.

us back to Asia, whence they obtained most of their gods.¹ Some of their art-processes and certain types of great antiquity may be regarded as Oriental imitations. The Gate of the Lions at Mykenai recalls the symbolic guardians of the citadel of Sardis and of the palace of Niveveh, while the Treasuries of Minyas and



DOORWAY OF THE TREASURY OF ATREUS AT MYKENAI.²

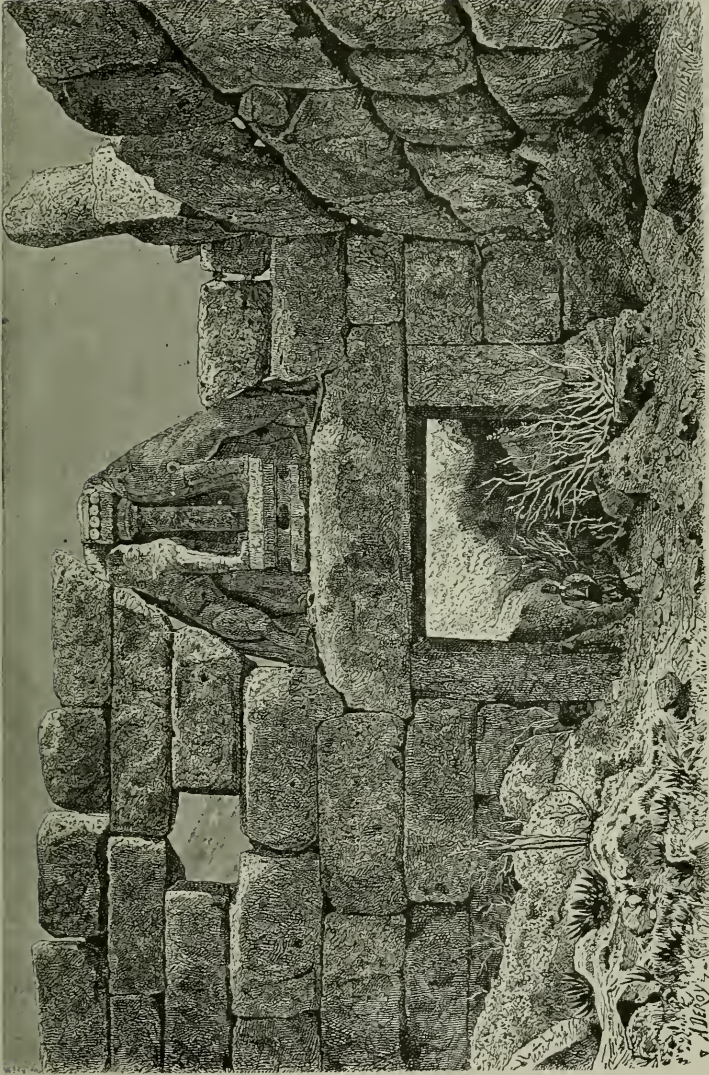
Atreus resemble the half-subterranean edifices of Phrygia.³ We have seen that the primitive alphabet of the Hellenes was borrowed from the Phœnicians, as was their system of measures.

Another legend, that of the Kretan Minos, taken also in its general signification, confirms the fact of these ancient relations between Greece and Asia. This wise king, it relates, the most

¹ Guignaut, *Religions de l'Antiquité*, ii. 1063.

² From a photograph.

³ These so-called "treasuries" are undoubtedly tombs. "The Cyclopean constructions of the plain of Argos," says M. Bertrand, in his *Voyage d'Athènes à Argos*, pp. 226 and 230, "have much in common with those found on the coasts of Lykia, which are popularly called 'Camps of the Leleges.' The Tomb of Tantalos in Phrygia and several monuments in neighboring countries, present exactly the same characteristics of style and construction as those of Mykenai. Thus the walls of Tiryns were an exact reproduction of Lykian constructions."



GATE OF THE LIONS AT MYKENAI. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

powerful of the princes of his time, reigned in Krete, uniting all its population under his dominion. He there founded three cities,—Knossos, Kydonia. and Phaistos. His laws were based upon a principle foreign to Oriental legislation,—the equality of the citizens. Unless there has been attributed to him what was really a later regulation brought in by a Dorian colony, Minos forbade holding private property, and decreed that all the inhabi-



VIEW OF THE BAY OF SUDA.¹

tants should take their meals together at common tables set up in public places. In time of war the royal power was unlimited; in peace a senate administered the affairs of the State. The care of cultivating the soil was intrusted solely to slaves. The young Kretans, relieved from material labors, received a rigorous education, for the purpose of developing their powers and training them in all the virtues that make useful citizens. Minos was also a conqueror; he built a fleet, and drove from the Archipelago the Karian and Lelegen pirates who infested it. All the islands, from Thrace as far as Rhodes, acknowledged his rule, and the colonies which he founded in some of them, with others

¹ From Spratt's *Travels and Researches in Crete*, ii. 131. The city of Minoa was situated at the northern entrance to the Bay of Suda, opposite Aptera.

established by him on the coasts of Asia Minor, assured the continuance of his power. Megara and Attika paid tribute to him.



THE MINOTAUR AND THE LABYRINTH
OF KRETE.¹

An expedition against Sicily failed, he himself perishing with it. A city in the island is, however, known by his name, Minoa. His tomb is there near a sanctuary of Aphrodite, the Tyrian Astarte, whose worship the Phœnicians had established in Sicily, and also in

the Island of Kythera. Zeus, to requite his just character, bestowed upon him, with his brothers Aiakos and Rhadamanthos, the office of judging the shades of the dead in the infernal regions.

Later, confusion arose from the great number of adventures ascribed to Minos; and, by a process not unusual to writers who desire to give to legend the appearance of history, — as Plutarch admits that he did in the case of Theseus, — this personage is doubled, and there is made to appear, a generation after the legislator of Krete, a second Minos, in whose reign lived the industrious Daidalos, constructor of the Labyrinth where was confined the Minotaur, which Theseus afterwards slew by Ariadne's aid.³ Under Minos II. Krete was the greatest power of Greece; but after his death this superiority declined. Idomeneus, grandson of this first sea-king, could bring only eighty vessels to the aid of the Greeks in the Trojan war.



ARIADNE.²

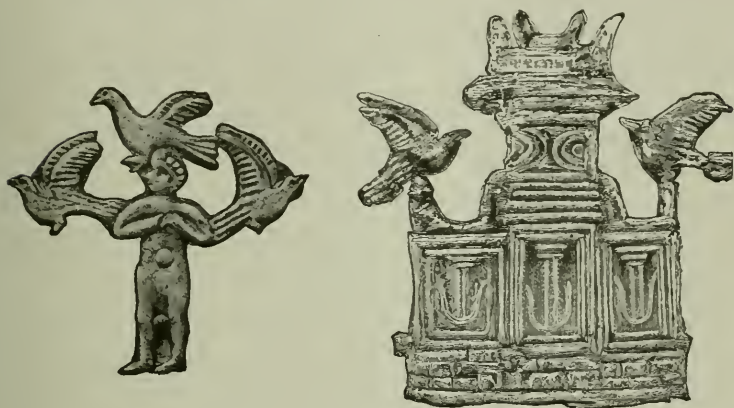
It would not be wise to make any assertion touching this story of Minos, but it appears manifest that from the general mass of traditions may be gathered an incontestable fact, — that

¹ The Minotaur, kneeling and turned towards the left, holding a globe in its raised right hand, and probably a lotos-flower in its left. Reverse: the Labyrinth, in the form of a cross, ornamented with a star at the centre, and with four indented squares in the angles. (Silver coin of Knossos in Krete.)

² Head of Ariadne, facing to the right, placed in a circle which some have thought represents the windings of the Labyrinth. On the reverse, ΚΝΩΣΙΩΝ. Zeus seated, facing the left. (Silver coin of Knossos in Krete.)

³ According to Pausanias (ix. 3), the name daidala (*δαίδαλα*), was given to all wooden statues, — a statement which has led O. Müller, in his *Manuel d'archéologie*, to conjecture that "Daidalos" was the generic appellation of the ancient sculptors.

a great power was exercised in the early days of Greece by the Kretans. We may add that this maritime and insular domination established prior to any other was inevitable. In the history of the formation of our globe science points out an insular period preceding that in which the great continents made their appearance. In the history of Greece there was also a time when the most active life was upon the islands and along the coasts of the Ægean Sea.



ASTARTE AND HER TEMPLE AT MYKENÆ.¹

Krete, situated in the midst of this activity, controlled it and supplied its chief power. This was the reign of Minos,—that is to say, an effort put forth from this high island which commands the Ægean Sea like a citadel, to organize this mobile and turbulent population, repress piracy, give to commerce its rightful position, and maintain a watchful survey of the waters of Greece as far as the great island of the West, Sicily, at that time its *Ultima Thule*.

Herodotos would seem to agree in the main with this theory as to the ancient affairs of Greece, since he makes the Ionians to

¹ From Schliemann's *Mycenæ*, figs. 268 and 423. Plaques of gold repoussé work. The goddess is represented nude, her hands on her breast; a dove is perched upon her head, two others are flying from her shoulders. The façade of the temple, with an altar in the centre and a dove on each of the angles, reminds us of the coins of Paphos in Cyprus, on which a temple is represented, with a dove on each gable.

be the descendants of the Pelasgians.¹ Great value should always be attributed to the words of the old historian who took so much pains to collect popular traditions. This idea of ancestry is



THESEUS SLAYING THE MINOTAUR. — THE FLIGHT OF DAIDALOS.²

explained by what has just been stated. The Pelasgians are the first to spread over Greece: the Ionians from Asia arrive there afterwards by sea, few in number, as must be the case at a time

¹ Book i. 56. I am aware that Homer mentions the Ionians only once (*Iliad*, xiii. 685); I use this expression, the "Pelagic-Ionian period," as do Curtius and Schömann, because it clearly indicates the fact I wish to express. Strangely enough, this ancient name of *Ionians*, *Idoves*, at which the Athenians blushed when Aristophanes applied it to them in derision (*Acharnians*, 104), is to-day the word by which the Turks designate the Greeks of the independent kingdom, *Ionian*: their own subjects of Greek race are to them the *Roumi*. The Arabs likewise have never called them by any other name than *Iouân*.

² A vase-painting, from the *Gazette archéologique*, vol. ix. (1884), plates i.-ii. (O. Rayet). Theseus, figured as a man of mature age, is transfixing with his sword the Minotaur, which he has seized by one horn; the scabbard of his sword hangs at his left side. Behind him Ariadne, immovable, in a heavy cloak such as we find on the statues of the Branchidai and the Samian Here, is holding the thread which will enable Theseus to find his way back to the door of the Labyrinth. On the part of the vase not reproduced in the engraving are grouped seven couples of Athenian captives whose lot is about to be decided; two of the young girls are visible at the left of the second scene, in which the winged Daedalus is escaping from the pursuit of an armed horseman, probably Minos.

when navigation was so precarious, and without women, which obliged them to seek wives from the natives of the country. At first they plunder, ravage, or kill; then they gradually become



Pallas.



Flute-player.

BRONZES FOUND AT DODONA.¹

established on those eastern coasts to which all traditions of the primitive age refer, intermingle with the Pelasgians, for many centuries a branch separated from their own stock, and they give birth to the earliest civilization of the country.

¹ From Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, pl. xi. 4, and x. 1 bis. Pallas, wearing a helmet with a lofty crest, is clad in a sleeveless double tunic and an *ægis*, with neither *gorgoneion* nor serpents. The flute-player is dressed in a long tunic with short sleeves, and belted about the waist. The remarkable arrangement of the hair is found on a number of archaic statues. We recognize the leather band (*φορβειά*) which served to modify the sound; this is kept in place by a strap over the top of the head. On the left arm is suspended the bag which contained the flutes.

IV. THE CYCLOPEAN MONUMENTS.

THE localities in which the development of this civilization was most manifest were, in Epeiros the neighborhood of the temple of Dodona, which, with its prophetic oaks and sacred doves, seems to have been to the Pelasgians what Delphi was for the Hellenes, —

WALLS OF THE AKROPOLIS OF TIRYNS.¹

the sanctuary and oracle held in greatest veneration; Thessaly, which gained such an advance upon the other provinces that a part of the Homeric poetry originated there, and the Muses came forth from it; Boiotia, in which arose, about Lake Kopaïs, the mighty city of Orchomenos, whose inhabitants, the Minyai, are said to have tunnelled through a mountain in the construction of outlet-channels to preserve them from the inundations of the lake,

¹ From a photograph.

— an immense undertaking, and one which would evince a state of knowledge already far advanced, if Nature had not herself supplied the means.¹

Attika, though early inhabited, has preserved nothing which dates back to Pelasgic times, except a part of the walls of its Akropolis. The Arkadians claimed that Lykosoura was the oldest city in the world; and that their race existed before the moon herself sent her pale rays earthward. But the country most important at that time seems to be Argolis, where so many vestiges of those ancient days yet remain, and so many memorials of very early relations with the East.

To this prehistoric period are referred certain monuments of peculiar construction, which later generations have attributed to a race of giants, the Kyklopes (Cyclops). Remains of Cyclopean constructions are still to be seen at Mykenai, at Argos, — whose walls the Lykians are said to have built. — at Tiryns. Athens, Orchomenos, Lykosoura, and probably in many other Hellenic cities. These are enormous blocks of stone, often in the rough, sometimes hewn, but always laid up without cement in irregular polygons.² The most remarkable of these monuments are the walls and galleries of Tiryns, built of stones, the smallest of which could not be drawn by two horses, and the building called the Treasury of Atreus at Mykenai, whose door has for its lintel a single stone about twenty-seven feet long, and seventeen feet broad, which is the largest that has yet been found in a regular construction. A portion of the walls of Mykenai, and a gate surmounted by two lions, present the same style of architecture. These lions, fierce

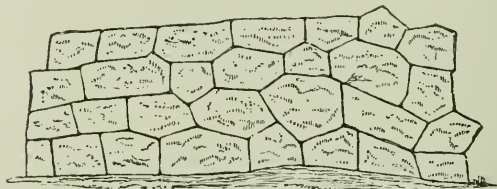
¹ Lake Kopais is three hundred and twenty feet above the level of the sea. When the water is low, the lake covers a surface of 57.91 square miles; in freshets it extends over 96.53 square miles. Between ancient Kopais and the ruins of Iliart are as many as thirteen *kata-vóthra*, or natural tunnels, which have their outlet in the Channel of Euboia (the Euripos). It is only three miles and three quarters from the mouth of the great *kata-vóthra* into which the Kephissos disappears to the point where the river joins the sea at Larymna; and these two points are separated only by a ridge one hundred and fifteen feet high. Strabo (ix. 2. 18) relates that Alexander charged Krates with a certain work of repairs, — which the words of the geographer, τὰ ἐμφράγματα ἀνακαθαίρων, do not clearly indicate, — and that his labors were stopped by a revolt. There are still visible to this day, on the two ridges which separate Lake Kopais from the Bay of Larymna and from Lake Hylika, sixteen large wells which the Minyai dug for the purpose of cleaning out the underground channel of the Kephissos and taking up the rubbish which had gathered there. Cf. Émile Burnouf, *Archives des missions*, i. 143.

² Dr. Schliemann found mortar in the walls of the houses at Tiryns (*Tiryns*, pp. 238 *et seq.*).

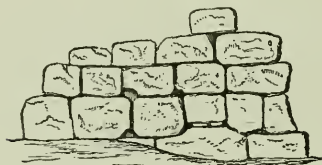
guardians of the Akropolis, are the oldest bas-relief in Europe. Their heads — probably of bronze, and certainly not of the same block with the rest of the bas-relief, as is proved by the straight



1



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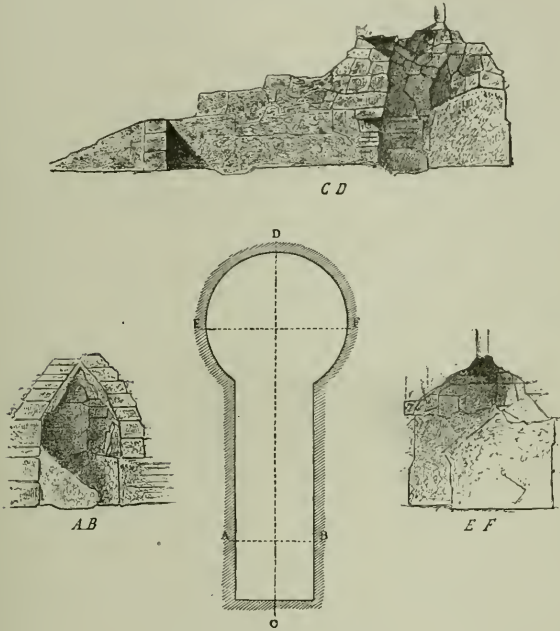
CYCLOPEAN WALLS OF DIFFERENT SYSTEMS.¹

cut of the neck and the rivet-holes yet visible — have disappeared; they were turned, facing outward, no doubt, and looked with threatening gaze at all who entered.²

¹ From Schliemann's *Mycena*, figs. 17–19. Walls 1 and 2 are of polygonal blocks, which in the first system are rough, and often of enormous size; between these great blocks much smaller pieces are interposed. Examples of this are the walls of the Akropolis of Tiryns and of Mykenai. In the second system the blocks match with smooth surfaces, the facing is cut smooth, and the effect of the whole is very imposing; for instance, in the west wall of the Akropolis of Mykenai, in the wall of the Akropolis of Athens, behind the Propylaia, and in that of the terrace which supports the temple of Delphi. In the third, the blocks, usually rectangular, are arranged in horizontal courses; for instance, in the Gate of the Lions at Mykenai.

² Schliemann's *Mycena*, p. 32. See this gate, above, p. 179.

Akarnania is still covered with monuments of Cyclopean or polygonal construction, the employment of which long prevailed in this province. It should be noted also that the Greeks, having stone everywhere at hand, rarely employed bricks and mortar



PELASGIC TOMB AT ELEUSIS.¹

in their walls. They built with stones laid one upon the other, which were held in place by their arrangement and weight. Even at Eleusis a tomb has been discovered which reproduces, in diminished proportions, the Treasury of Atreus, with the pointed-arched passage, the circular hall, and the Cyclopean structure of the walls of Tiryns.²

¹ From the *Gazette archéologique*, vol. viii. (1883), pl. 42. This tomb, discovered by F. Lenormant on one side of the Akropolis of Eleusis, presents a striking resemblance to the Treasuries of Mykenai (Treasury of Atreus, called Mrs. Schliemann's Treasury), the Treasury of Orchomenos, and the sepulchral chambers of Menidhi (near ancient Acharnai) and of Palamidhi (ancient Nauplia). The plan and form are the same.

² F. Lenormant, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.* (1866), p. 59.

These monuments, which have the same general character, mark, however, by certain details, different epochs. Thus it has been thought that to the Pelopids should be attributed the Treasury of Atreus, or Agamemnon's Tomb, and the Gate of the Lions, which show a more advanced art, and especially an art more Asiatic in its character. But how were these massive blocks moved with the lever,—the only power known to that age? Constructions which required so great an outlay of muscular force, and consequently of men, must belong to an epoch of public servitude, under military chiefs or a dominant caste of warrior-priests, of which traditions afford us

COIN OF TYRINS.¹GOLD LION FOUND AT MYKENAI.²

a glimpse. The Pelasgians were doubtless condemned by their masters to severe compulsory labor, like the Romans, under Tarquinius Superbus, when they constructed the great Cloaca and the Capitol; like the Egyptians when they built their pyramids and temples; and like the inhabitants of Gaul when they reared huge cromlechs and the walls of stone at Karnac. The Oriental influence from which the Greeks were to free the world was therefore still in force among the Pelasgic tribes.³

¹ Diademed head of Here, looking to the right. Reverse, ΤΙΡΥ (for Τίρυνθίων). A palm-tree. (Bronze.)

² Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, fig. 532.

³ Curtius refers the so-called Cyclopean constructions to the whole heroic epoch, and, relying on tradition which represents the Cyclops as coming from Lykia, believes that this style of construction in Greece was a Phœnician importation. He makes a distinction, however, between the Cyclopean enclosures of Argos, Tiryns, Mykenai, and Midea, which he attributes to kings of the race of Perseus, and the royal tombs and subterranean chambers, called "treasuries," which he regards as the work of the Pelopids. See this interesting discussion in his *Griechische Geschichte*, i. 118 *et seq.* This is also the opinion of A. Bertrand, in his *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie grecques, d'Athènes à Argos*.

We should note, however, that the Cyclopean walls did not serve to contain a god, nor to protect a royal mummy, like the ostentatious monuments which the pride of priests and kings reared on the banks of the Nile: nor were they, as in Gaul, useless constructions whose purpose has remained an enigma to this day. Neither temple, nor haughty tomb, nor a chief's impregnable fortress, but the city of the whole people, these ruins tell us that, in the most remote epoch, Greece had entered upon that urban life which constituted her greatness. Her earliest populations founded cities in which the world's civilization was subsequently elaborated.

CHAPTER III.

THE AIOLIANS AND THE ACHAIANS.

I. — DEUKALION AND THE AIOLIAN HEROES.

WHEN the Greeks were asked as to their origin, their answer was very simple. Prometheus, said they, was the son of Ge (the Earth) and father of Deukalion. The latter was a king in Thessaly when Zeus, angry at the crimes of mankind, sent a deluge, in which the whole race perished.



DEUKALION AND PYRRHA.¹

Deukalion alone escaped, with his wife Pyrrha, in a vessel which he had built by the advice of Prometheus. After nine days the ark rested on the summit of Parnassos. When the waters had subsided, Deukalion and Pyrrha consulted the oracle of Themis, and received the command to cover their faces and to cast behind them the bones of their

ancestress. Deukalion comprehended the meaning of the oracle; and the man and woman picked up stones from the ground and flung them over their shoulders. Pyrrha's changed into women, Deukalion's became men; and Greece was thus re-peopled.² This Deukalion was the father of the Hellenic race, for his son was

¹ Deukalion and Pyrrha in a square bark floating on the waters; in front, a man and a woman standing; on the front of the bark is read the word ΝΩΕ; a bird is perched above the bark, and at a distance is seen another bird, flying. Legend: ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. ΕΠΙ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΑ Γ (Artemas being appointed to preside at the games for the third time). The obverse of this piece bears the effigy of Septimius Severus. (Bronze coin struck at Apameia in Phrygia.)

² Homer, who is thought to have lived about the year 900, and who, according to Ephoros, was born at Smyrna of parents who were natives of Kyme, makes no allusion to this tradition, and does not even mention the name either of Deukalion or Ogyges. Aristotle (*Meteorol.*,

Hellen, who became the father of Doros, the ruler of Central Greece; Aiolos, to whom fell Thessaly; and Xouthos, father of Ion and



THE ORACLE OF THEMIS.¹

Achaïos, who ruled over the Peloponnesos. Greek vanity was not satisfied with this descent, but claimed that the father of the Greek

i. 14), who has heard of Deukalion, places the deluge in Epeiros, where was a *Hellas* not far from Dodona. But the legend of Deukalion reported by Pindar (*Olymp.*, ix. 66) was very old in Greece. It formed part of the general tradition which so many branches of the Aryan and Semitic races have preserved of a great cataclysm, again brought to men's minds in Greece by some special event, — such as an overflow of Lake Kopais in the time of Ogyges, and in the time of Deukalion some movement of the waters which, according to Herodotos, originally covered all Thessaly. Later, the Chaldaean tradition, which is preserved in the Bible, became mingled with the Greek legend, as may be seen in Plutarch and Lucian.

On the general subject of traditions relating to the great cataclysm, which are found in the New World as well as the Old, and even as far as Oceanica, see the work of Renan, *Histoire générale et système des langues sémitiques*, i. 458 et seq.

¹ Vase-painting, taken from Conze, *Vorlegeblätter für archäol. Vebungen*, Series A, pl. xi. 2. Under the portico of a temple, indicated by a column surmounted by a frieze, is Themis (ΘΕΜΙΣ). She is seated upon the high Delphic tripod, her head veiled, a patera in the left hand, a branch of laurel in the right. According to the legend, Themis received from Ge the ownership of the oracle at Delphi and gave it to Apollo. In front of Themis is Aigeus (ΑΙΓΕΥΣ), crowned with laurel. The king of Athens came to consult the oracle because he was without posterity.

race, and even of neighboring races which were only partially Hellenic, was none other than Zeus himself. According to a tradition, Hellen was the son of Zeus and Pyrrha; and Makedon and Magnes, ancestors of the Macedonians, were sons of Zeus and Thyia, Deukalion's daughter.



PROMETHEUS AND ATLAS.¹

About the new-born race there was current another legend,—that of Promethens forming man.² It was even known what clay was used by him, and remains of it were pointed out to Pausanias in Phokis.³

The new tribes, whose domain Pelasgic Greece next became, were animated by a freer and more heroic spirit, according less to the gods, and more to man. The priest was now to give place to the warrior. It was therefore with justice that the Greeks placed at the head of their race, as the father of Deukalion, the

¹ Vase-painting, taken from Gerhard, *Auserles. Vasenbilder*, pl. lxxxvi. Prometheus is chained by the arms and legs to a column upon which a bird is perched. The eagle of Zeus is tearing out his liver, from which fall drops of blood. In front of him is Atlas, painfully supporting his heavy burden, which is figured as a rock. The serpent serves merely to fill the vacant space. The ponderous column which supports the entire scene isolates it, and indicates that it took place elsewhere than on earth. With regard to Atlas, see the metope of Olympia, represented later, p. 206.

² See above, p. 148.

³ x 1, 4.

Titan who had stolen fire from heaven to bestow it upon men, and to make, by the invention of the arts, a degraded race the rival of the gods. Hence Zeus hurls his thunderbolts at Prometheus, he chains him to the summit of the Kaukasos, and an eagle devours his liver without cessation; but the vanquished Titan still retains hope, and prophesies victory.¹

“Yea, of a truth shall Zeus, though stiff of will,
Be brought full low. . . . A combatant
He arms against himself, a marvel dread,
Who shall a fire discover mightier far
Than the red levin, and a sound more dread
Than roaring of the thunder, and shall shiver
That plague, sea-born, that causes earth to quake,
The trident, weapon of Poseidon’s strength.”

But though the myth is in accord with the genius of the nation, it has little agreement with the facts.

Notwithstanding that well-ordered genealogy which divides the Hellenic race into four branches and shows it subjugating all Greece in a single generation, we see in the Greek world of the historic age only two quite distinct groups of Hellenic people,—the Ionians and the Dorians. These differ, as we shall see, in political and social institutions, in dialect and art, architecture, music, poetry, and even in philosophical doctrines. But these peoples yield the first place, in ancient times, to the Aiolo-Achaian tribes. If the Ionians were then one of the considerable elements of the Hellenic population, they do not play a distinct part nor possess any special renown. The Dorians also remain in the background. The two other tribes appear alone in the treacherous light of the legendary epoch.

Who were the Aiolians? Possibly we ought to see in them, as their name indicates,² a mixture of Pelasgians and Hellenes.

¹ Aischylos, *Prometheus*, 916–925. Prometheus was to the Greeks the personification of the beginnings of Hellenic civilization. Aischylos makes him use these words:—

“ I first

Bound in the yoke wild steeds, submissive made
Or to the collar or men’s limbs, that so
They might in man’s place bear his greatest toils;
And horses trained to love the rein I yoked
To chariots, glory of wealth’s pride of state;
Nor was it any one but I that found
Sea-crossing, canvas-winged cars of ships.”

² Aiolian, *Αἰολεύς*, from the word *αἶολος*, variegated.

made at unknown epochs, in various places and in different proportions. Indeed, those whom the ancients called by this name do not appear to have been one and the same tribe, as their dialect seems less a distinct branch of the Greek language than a mixture of all the forms of the Hellenic idiom which were neither Ionian nor Dorian. It has moreover been established as a fact that the greatest affinities between Greek and Latin are found in the Aiolian dialect, which, much more than the other dialects, resembles the type common to both, and doubtless contains the elements of the language which was first spoken in Greece and Italy.

We find the Aioliens extending over a belt of country from northeast to southwest, nearly all of which borders on the sea.



MELAMPOS AND THE
PROITIDES ¹

We find them around the Pagasaian Gulf, in a part of Boiotia, in Phokis, Aitolia, Lokris, Elis, and Messenia. Podaleirios, Machaon, Philoktetes, Odysseus, Nestor, and Aias, son of Oileus, were of this race. Legend attaches to it also Iason, the great chieftain of the sea; the divine Melampus, who could interpret the singing of birds and was skilled in healing the severest wounds; the presumptuous Salmoneus and his

brother, the crafty Sisyphos, founder of Corinth, who in the infernal regions, as a punishment for crimes not clearly stated, is obliged to carry up a mountain a rock which is continually falling back; and lastly Athamas, the mighty king of the Minyai, son-in-law of Kadmos and father of Melikertes, whose name recalls that of a Tyrian god. Athamas was the father also of Helle and of Phryxos, whom he was about to sacrifice, and whom their mother Nephele rescued, obtaining from Zeus a ram with a golden fleece to carry them out of Europe.

The Achaïans are even less distinguishable. The ancients connected them with the Aioliens,² with whom they at last became

¹ The three daughters of Proitos, king of Argos, stricken with madness, are healed by the divine Melampus, who sacrifices a pig above their heads. Two other characters, a nymph and an acolyte, witness the ceremony. (Cameo, presented by Baron de Witte to the *Cabinet de France*, 16 millim. by 15.) For the explanation of the myth, see the interesting memoir of M. de Witte in the *Gazette archéologique*, 1879, pp. 121 et seq.

² Strabo expressly says this (book viii. 1. 2).

blended, and no mention is anywhere made of an Achaian art or dialect. They did not, therefore, form a special tribe. Like the Aiolians again, they showed a preference for maritime localities, and their history points to the East. Teukros, one of



ACHILLEUS AND THE CENTAUR CHEIRON.¹

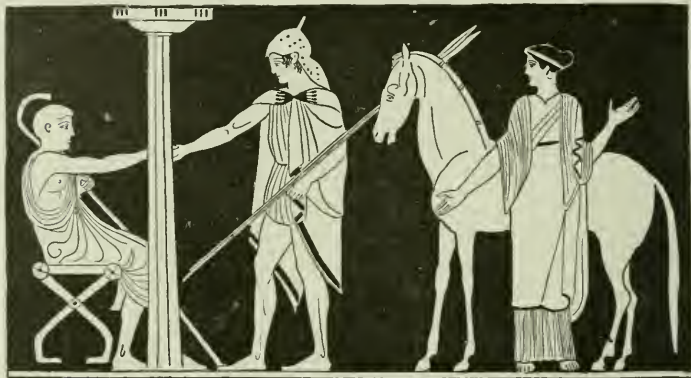
their heroes, has the same name as a king of the Troad, and Achaians are found in Cyprus and Krete. But they rose to a higher degree of power than did the Aiolians, and in truth it is with them that the history of Greece begins.

II.—ACHAIAN HEROES: ACHILLEUS, BELLEROPHON, PERSEUS, HERAKLES, THESEUS, ETC.

THE first region occupied by the Achaians was probably Phthiotis.—a rich valley between Mount Othrys and Mount Oite, made fertile by the River Spercheios. Their capital, perched on rocky cliffs like an eagle's nest, bore a Pelasgic name, Larissa, "the

¹ Vase-painting, taken from the Panphaïos Amphora, in the Louvre. Cheiron (XIPON) bears in his right hand the infant Achilleus (ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥ[Σ]); in his left hand he holds, resting on his shoulder, a branch of a tree from which a hare is suspended. Unlike other centaurs, Cheiron, the friend of gods and heroes, had a man's legs, and was clothed like a man.

hanging." There had dwelt Peleus, the hero dear to the gods, offering to them hecatombs of rams, and beloved by Thetis, the silver-footed goddess. Their son was Achilles, brought up on the mountains by the sage centaur Cheiron. Great-hearted, of invin-



DEPARTURE OF ACHILLEUS.¹

cible strength and indomitable courage, a tender and faithful friend, he passed swiftly through life, and was cut off in the bloom of youth. Poetry has invested his name with immortal glory, and

¹ Vase-painting in the Louvre. A young warrior, helmeted, clothed in a short tunic and chlamys, and holding two spears, is taking leave of an old man. The latter is seated at the threshold of his dwelling, indicated by a column. Behind the young man a horse is seen, and a young woman is contemplating the scene. It is clear that the name of Achilleus, usually given to the warrior in these farewell scenes, is not the only appropriate one.

NOTE.— Opposite is represented a sarcophagus of the Villa Albani, from Zoega, *Li Basilicci di Roma*, tav. lii. The hero is seated on the right of his bride; he is clad in a mantle which leaves his chest and legs exposed. Thetis is wrapped in a long garment which she has drawn around her face, and is holding with her right hand. Towards this pair, whose demeanor is grave, the gods in slow procession are advancing, laden with gifts. First is Hephaistos, who gives to Peleus a sword and shield; then Athene, who brings him a helmet and a spear. Four female figures come next, who cannot be identified with certainty. Possibly we may recognize in them the four goddesses of the seasons ($\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$), bearing flowers, fruits, and game. The scene is laid on Mount Pelion, and the trees seen at the left serve to recall that locality. Next come a child with a torch, and a young man wearing a crown of foliage, holding an amphora in his left hand, and possibly a torch in his right. The last two figures (Love pushing away a female figure, perhaps Aphrodite) are not turned in the same direction with the others, and do not appear to form part of the procession. The legend declares that all the gods attended the nuptials of Thetis, and this visit in state is represented on the celebrated François Vase, in the Museum of Florence.



MARRIAGE OF THETIS AND PELEUS.

made of him the ideal hero of the Hellenic race. Such was the fervor of the homage rendered to his memory, so abundant were the works of art consecrated to him, that we could almost reconstruct his entire history by the aid of those which have come down to our day, few as they are in comparison with all that antiquity possessed. There is no circumstance of his life which could not be established, in the absence of written testimony, from some statue or bas-relief; and as there is a book which consists solely of an index to passages in Greek and Latin authors, poets and prose writers, having reference to Achilles, so another might be compiled, as large at least, which would be only a catalogue of the works of art in which he is represented.¹

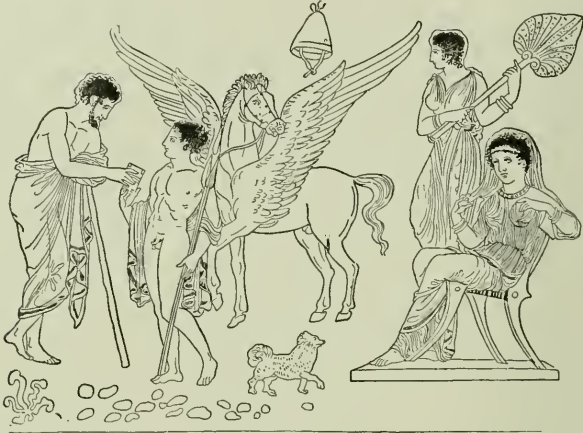
The circumstances of the hero's life which have engaged the attention of artists to so great an extent are, especially,—the purification of Achilles by his mother, Thetis, who attempted to render him invulnerable, according to one legend, by plunging him in the waters of the Styx, which bathed his whole body except the heel, by which she held him, or according to another by placing him in the midst of flames after having anointed him with ambrosia, to destroy all that was mortal in him; his education by the centaur Cheiron, who fed him, in the depths of the forest, on the marrow of lions and wild boars; his sojourn in the Island of Skyros, where his mother had concealed him among the daughters of Lykomedes,² and the stratagem of Odysseus, who discovered him by placing among the gifts offered to the young girls some weapons, which were at once seized by Achilles; his arrival at Aulis, where he was unable to prevent the sacrifice of Iphigeneia; his exploits and his wrath before the walls of Troy; the vengeance wreaked by him on the dead body of Hektor; his victory over the queen of the Amazons, Penthesileia, and his subsequent grief, with the funeral honors that he paid her, and the jeering of the cowardly Thersites, whom the hero thereupon slew with his fist; his betrothal to Polyxene, one of the daughters of Priam; the treachery of Paris, who gave him his death

¹ Raoul-Rochette, *Monuments inédits d'antiquité figurée*, p. 2. Homer gives the name of Hellenes only to the warriors whom Achilles led to Troy; and all Thessaly is to him "the Pelasgic plain."

² See in Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. ii., pl. iii. and lxxii.; vol. iii., pl. xcv. etc. These paintings by Greek artists are of too late an epoch to be reproduced here.

wound from behind; and lastly, the expiatory sacrifice of Polyxene, which the hero's shade required of the Greeks.

The Achaians in the South gloried, not in a single chief so famous among men, but in two heroes, Bellerophon and Perseus, who, with the assistance of the gods, accomplished the most marvellous deeds.



PROITOS DELIVERING TO BELLEROPHON THE FATAL TABLETS.¹

The former was grandson of the king of Corinth, Sisyphos, the most crafty of mortals. Having committed homicide, Bellerophon was obliged to leave Corinth. He repaired to Tiryns, where reigned Proitos, a descendant of Danaos, who purified him from his blood-guiltiness. The queen of Proitos became violently enamoured of him, and, offended by his coldness, accused him to her husband. Proitos was unwilling to stain his hands with the blood of his guest, but sent him to his father-in-law, Iobates, king of Lykia, with a folded tablet on which he had traced signs indicating his wish that the king should cause the death of Bellerophon.²

¹ A vase-painting, from the *Monum. dell' Instit. archeol.*, vol. iv., pl. xxi. Bellerophon is represented with the features of a young man; behind him is Pegasus, about to bear him into Lykia. The queen, whose love the hero has repulsed, is present at his departure; she is seated at his left, holding her veil with her right hand. At her side a servant bears a flabellum.

² *Iliad*, vi. From this passage it has been inferred that in Homer's time the art of writing was as yet unknown. Another reference in book vii. confirms this opinion. "So the old man

Iobates gave the stranger a magnificent reception, instituted festivities in his honor which lasted nine days, and every morning sacrificed a bull to the gods, to thank them for the coming of his guest. Not until the tenth day did he ask to see the tablet which Bellerophon had brought; and having examined it, bade him go and slay the Chimaira, a fabulous monster which had the head of a lion, the tail of a dragon, the body of a goat, and breathed forth flames. The hero slew this monster with the aid of Athene, who gave him the winged horse Pegasus, the offspring of Poseidon and Medousa.



BELLEROPHON SUBDUING PEGASOS.¹

Iobates then commanded him to fight the Solymoi and the Amazons:² these he also conquered; upon which the king, despairing of success by open means, placed his bravest men in ambush, to kill him, but not one of these warriors ever returned home. Then Iobates recognized the favorite of the gods, and gave him his daughter in marriage. Towards the end of his life the hero, mounted on Pegasus, sought to scale Olympos, and failed disastrously. His body was dashed to pieces, but his divine steed was taken up into the sky to form a constellation.



BELLEROPHON.



THE CHIMAIRA.³

Akrisios, king of the Argives and, like Proitos, a descendant of Danaos, had a daughter, Danaë, beloved of Zeus. Persens was the fruit of this union. An oracle had predicted to Akrisios that he

upbraided them, and there stood up nine in all . . . fain to fight . . . and among them spake again Nestor, 'Now cast ye the lot from the first unto the last' . . . and they marked each man his lot and cast them in the helmet of Agamemnon" (English prose translation, p. 183). These texts are open to dispute. Those of Strabo (vi. 1) and Servius (*Ad Aen.* i. 507), stating that there were no written laws before the time of Zalenkos (about 664 B. C.), are not proofs of any greater weight. When we find measures under the lava-deposits of Santorin, and in prehistoric localities of Greece so many proofs of communication with Oriental countries, where writing was employed at a very remote epoch, we are led to think that the Greeks must have been early acquainted with it, though it may have been greatly restricted in its use for a long period.

¹ Reverse of a bronze coin bearing the Emperor Hadrian's effigy, struck at Corinth. The legend reads: COL. L. IVL. COR. (*Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*).

² The women warriors are of course only a mythological conception which seems to have originated in the homicidal worship of the Tauric Artemis. The Chimaira appears to be the personification of a volcanic region, which was called Burned Phrygia.

³ Bellerophon, mounted on Pegasus, galloping to the right; beneath, the koppa, Ϟ, initial letter of the name of Corinth. Reverse, the Chimaira, facing the right; below, ΔΙ, the stamp of the maker. (Silver coin of Corinth.)

would be deprived of his crown and of his life by his grandson. As soon as he knew of the birth of Perseus (says Simonides in his admirable *Lament of Danaë*), he shut up the boy and his mother in a chest, and cast it into the waves.

“Within the skilfully fashioned chest resound both the roaring of the wind and the beating of the waves. Danaë, seized with fright, and her cheeks bathed in tears, clasps Perseus in her arms and exclaims: ‘O my child! what grief I endure; but thou hearest no sound, thou art sleeping with a peaceful heart in this sad abode with its walls joined by nails of brass, in this night where no ray of light enters, in this black darkness. Thou art not disturbed by the wave that passes over thee without wetting thy long hair, nor by the resounding wind, and thou art reposing in the folds of thy purple covering, with thy lovely features. Ah! if that which affrights me terrified thee also, thou wouldst lend thy charming ears to my words. But sleep, my child; sleep also, O Sea! sleep, thou our overwhelming misfortune; let my eyes, O Zeus! again behold thy designs favorable to me. This prayer which I address to thee may be presumptuous: grant me thy pardon, for the sake of thy child!’”

The waves bore them to the Island of Seriphos, whose king delivered them from their prison. Perseus rapidly grew in strength and courage. His first enterprise was directed against the Gorgons, who had serpents entwined in their hair, and changed to stone all who encountered their gaze. But Hades gave the youthful hero a helmet which rendered him invisible, Athene bestowed upon him her shield, and Hermes his wings and an adamant sword. He surprised the Gorgons asleep, and cut off the head of Medousa. From the blood of the Gorgon sprang Pegasus, which Perseus at once seized. Atlas, king of Mauretania, refusing his appeal for hospitality, the hero held up before him Medousa's head, and the king was transformed into a mountain. On the coast of Palestine he delivered Andromeda, who had been exposed to a marine monster, and married her. Phineus, uncle of the princess, came with his partisans and disturbed the nuptial festivities;



BRONZE COIN.¹

¹ Reverse of a bronze autonomous coin of Amisos in Pontus. Perseus standing, on his head a Phrygian cap, in his right hand a harp, and in his left the Gorgon's head, which he has just cut off; at his feet is seen the extended body of the decapitated monster. Inscription: AMISΩY and a monogram.

the Gorgon's head turned them to stone. The king of Seriphos, who endeavored to compel Danaë to accept him for a husband, met the same fate. After this final exploit the hero relinquished to the gods the arms which he had received from them, and attached the head of Medousa to the shield of Athene. On his return to Greece, in throwing a diskos he accidentally killed his grandfather; after which, leaving his native land, he founded Mykenai, whose walls he caused to be built by the Cyclopes of Lykia, as Proitos had made them build those of Tiryns. After a long reign he died by the hand of a son of Akrisios, who thus avenged his father's death.

The Achaians claim a still more famous personage, who became for the Greeks the national hero, or rather divinity, holding a place among the immortals. — Herakles, son of Alkmene and Amphitryon. Both were descended from the divine race of Perseus, and Amphitryon was the legitimate heir to the kingdom of Tiryns. Forced to flee, after the involuntary slaying of his uncle Elektryon, Amphitryon repaired to Thebes, where Zeus assumed his likeness, and thus deceived Alkmene.

COIN OF SAMOS.¹

Herakles was born, and Here, who did not forgive Alkmene for having been the object of her husband's love, sent two serpents to kill the infant in his cradle; but he seized them and strangled them with his powerful hands. Appeased by the prayers of Pallas, the goddess consented to take the child to her own bosom, and thus render him immortal; but he bit her with such violence that the milk spurted even to the vault of heaven, where it formed the Milky

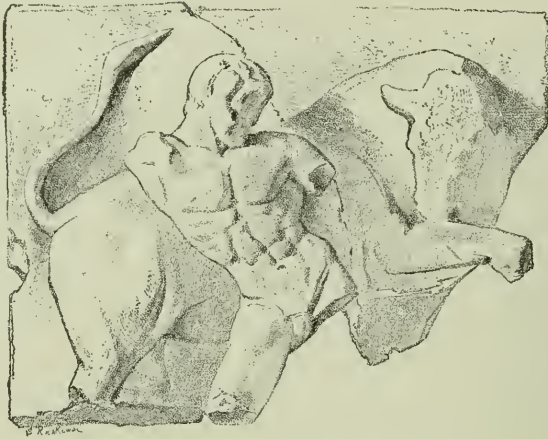
COIN OF PHAISTOS.²

Way. The childhood of Herakles was passed amid the rude exercises of the shepherds of Kithairon. He began his celebrated labors by delivering the plains of Thespiæ from an enormous lion which was ravaging them. He freed Thebes from the yoke of the Orchomenians, and, closing the outlets of Lake

¹ The child Herakles, kneeling to the right, is strangling the serpents. Inscription, ΣΑΜΙΟΝ. Reverse of a tetradrachm of Samos. On the face of this coin is a lion's muzzle, front.

² Herakles standing, facing the left, armed with his club, on his arm the lion's skin, combating the Lernean hydra; at his feet a crab. Reverse, ΦΑΙΣΤΙΟΝ. A cow walking towards the right. (Tetradrachm of Phaistos in Krete.)

Kopais, he converted the plain of Orchomenos into a vast marsh. Zeus himself did not disdain the aid of Herakles against the



HERAKLES STRUGGLING WITH THE KRETAN BULL.¹

Titans, who sought to scale heaven, but nevertheless allowed his son to be subject to the caprices of Eurystheus, king of Mykenai, either in fulfilment of a vow imprudently made by the god, or in expiation of a homicide committed by the hero. Herakles fought the Nemean lion, the Lernean hydra, whose heads sprang up again as they were cut off, the Erymanthian boar, the gigantic birds



ENGRAVED STONE.²



ENGRAVED STONE.³

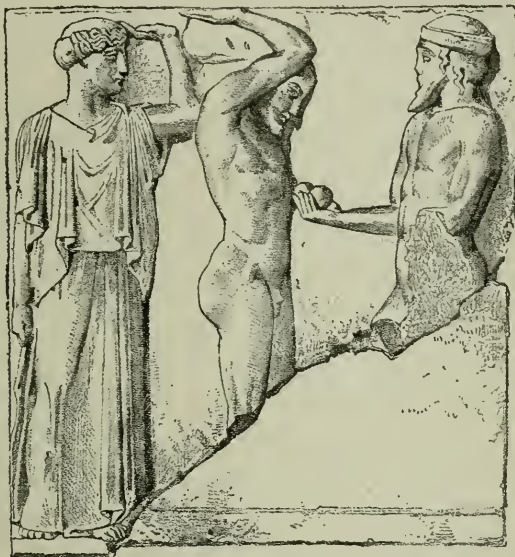
of Lake Stymphalos, and the Kretan bull. He caught in the chase, after having pursued it a whole year, the hind of

¹ Metope of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (in the Louvre). Herakles is preparing to strike the bull with his club. Infuriated by Poseidon, who had driven it from the sea at the request of Minos, the animal was devastating the country about Knossos.

² Herakles, kneeling, drawing his bow against the birds of Lake Stymphalos; behind him his club and lion's skin. (Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*. Cornelian, 13 millim. by 17. Chabouillet, *Catalogue*, etc., No. 1,764.)

³ Herakles, armed with his club, has felled to the earth Diomedes, king of the Bistones of Thrace. Herakles is bareheaded, and wearing the lion's skin; Diomedes helmeted, and armed with a shield. (Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*. Cornelian, 19 millim. by 15. Chabouillet, *Catalogue*, etc., No. 1,771.)

Mount Keryneia, with its brazen feet and horns of gold; cleaned the stables of Augeas by turning through them the Alpheios; gave Diomedes, the Thracian king, to be devoured by his horses, which he had fed on human flesh; carried off the golden apples from the garden of the Hesperides, despite the dragon who guarded them;



HERAKLES AND ATLAS.¹

slew the three-bodied Geryoneus; and chaining up Kerberos, delivered Theseus, imprisoned in the realms of Hades.

These were the twelve labors of Herakles; but he performed many more in his long journeys through Asia, Africa, and Europe. He delivered Hesione, sister of Priam, whom a sea-monster sent by Poseidon was about to devour; captured Troy; slew the robber Kakos on the Aventine; and in Libya, Antaios, whom he

¹ Metope of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, from a cast. In the centre, bearing on a double cushion the celestial vault, stands Herakles, who has taken the place of Atlas; the latter, standing in front of the hero, is presenting to him the apples which he has just gathered in the garden of the Hesperides. Behind Herakles one of the Hesperides is assisting the hero to bear up the heavens.

strangled, holding him up in his mighty arms, for each time that he threw the giant upon the ground, he saw that Antaios recovered new strength by touching the Earth, his mother. He exterminated the centaurs, brought back Alkestis from the under-world, and delivered Prometheus from the vulture which was devouring his liver; he assisted Atlas to bear up the heavens, and opened the strait which lies between the Pillars of Hereules. Exiled on account of a homicide, he was sold for three talents in Lydia by Hermes, and spun at



HERAKLES IN OLYMPOS.¹

the feet of Omphale. Having returned to Greece, he aided the Dorians against the Lapithai, seized upon the territory of Amyntor, king of Orchomenos, and slew the king of Oichalia, with all his children except Iole. At the sight of this beautiful girl, brought home a captive by Herakles, Deianeira, his wife, apprehended the loss of her husband's affection. To retain it, she sent him a tunic dipped in the blood of the centaur Nessos, and impregnated with the poison of the Lernean hydra. As soon as the hero puts it on, a secret and terrible fire devours him. He seeks to tear it off, but tears his flesh with it. Yielding to his fate, he causes a funeral pile to be erected on the summit of Oite, and ascends

¹ A vase-painting in the Louvre. The hero, clad in the lion's skin, the club in his left hand, a quiver and bow on his left shoulder, advances towards armed Athene, who holds a flower in her hand; behind him is Hermes.

it, having first intrusted his arrows to Philoktetes. This was the final test. The gods receive into Olympos the hero, purified by grief and love, and bestow upon him the youthful Hebe as his immortal companion.

The exploits of Bellerophon and Perseus have the East for their especial theatre; the legend of Herakles is more national, although the hero carries his invincible strength throughout the entire world then known, and the Tyrian Melkarth has contributed not a little to enrich his history. The story of Theseus is almost exclusively Greek.

This hero, son of Aigeus or of Poseidon, was born at Troïzen, among the Achaians. Aigeus had placed his sword and his sandals under an enormous stone. When sixteen years old Theseus was strong enough to bring to light these tokens by which he was to recognize his father, but the youth was unwilling to appear at Athens before he had rendered himself worthy of the throne by his exploits. Robbers infested Argolis, the Isthmus of Corinth, and Attika, — Sinnis, who bound strangers who fell into his hands to two pine-trees bent down in opposite directions, and then allowed the trees to spring back and tear in pieces the victims; Skiron, who hurled them from the summits of cliffs into the sea;¹ Kerkyon, who forced them to wrestle with him, and put them to death when he had vanquished them; and Prokrustes, who bound them to a bed of iron, cutting off the extremities of those who exceeded its limits, and stretching out with straps those whose limbs were too short. Theseus slew these robbers; and when he at last arrived at Athens, he made himself known to Aigeus, in spite of the magician Medeia, who, repudiated by Iason, had sought refuge in the city of Athens.

In Attika the hero found further occasion to display his strength and courage. He was victorious over Pallas and his sons, who, disappointed in their hope of succeeding to the kingdom, made an attempt to overthrow Aigeus, and he captured a bull which was desolating the plains of Marathon. Athens at

¹ The Megarians, far from regarding Skiron as a robber, honor him as a benefactor. But the passage of the Skironian rocks has always been attended with danger. Quite lately it was deemed wise to demand an escort. In January, 1870, when I crossed the Isthmus of Corinth with some travellers from Athens, soldiers had been stationed at intervals, to protect the expected party against unwelcome surprises.

this time paid to Krete a yearly tribute of seven young girls and seven boys, whom the Minotaur devoured. Theseus offered to become one of the victims. With the aid of a thread given



THESEUS AND THE MINOTAUR.²

him by Ariadne, he penetrated into the Labyrinth of Daidalos, slew the monster,¹ and returned, accompanied by Ariadne, whom however he abandoned on the Island of Naxos. Nearing Athens, the black sails of his vessel, for which he had promised to substitute white in case of success, led his father to believe him dead, and the old king Aigeus thereupon cast himself into the sea which bears his name. Theseus succeeded him, and gave wise laws to Attika. He instituted festivals in honor of Athene and Apollo, and every year the vessel which had brought him back from

Krete carried offerings to Delos. Preserved with pious care, this vessel lasted for centuries. A thousand years later it still carried to Delos the sacred embassy.

But a love of adventure induced Theseus to resume his wandering life. He joined in the pursuit of the wild boar of Kalydon and in the conquest of the Golden Fleece; he fought the Amazons on the banks of the Thermodon, carried off Helen, and sought to aid Peirithoös in the abduction of Persephone. But Peirithoös was torn in pieces by Kerberos, and Theseus, detained as a prisoner in the infernal regions, was delivered only by the inter-

¹ This legend, and that of Herakles slaying the Nemeian lion, resemble scenes often portrayed on the cylinders and monuments of Assyria and Chaldaea.

² Marble group in the *Villa Albani*, from Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, plates, v., pl. 811 A, No. 2,071 R. Theseus is represented as a young man, armed with a club, like Herakles; hence this group has been thought to represent the encounter of Herakles with the River Acheloös. As to the appearance of the monster, it may be compared with the coin of Knossos represented above, p. 182.

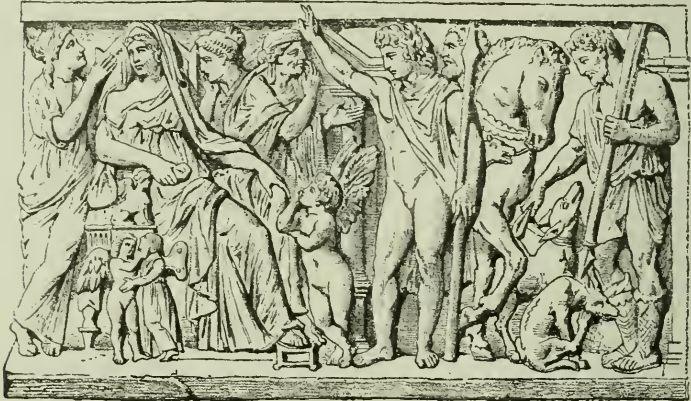
vention of Herakles. After two years of absence Theseus returned to Athens, where he listened to the complaint of Phaidra against Hippolytos, and cursed his unoffending son, calling upon Poseidon to destroy the youth. Upon this the sea-god sent forth a monster from the waves which frightened the steeds of the young prince as he was driving along the shore; the chariot was upset, and Hippolytos killed. From that moment everything turned against Theseus. Notwithstanding the services he had rendered them, the hero lost the love of his subjects; the Athenians drove him forth, he sought shelter in the Isle of Skyros, and the king of that island treacherously put him to death. Later Kimon conveyed his ashes to Attika, and the Athenians rendered honors to him as a demigod.

BRONZE COIN.¹

There is little in the legends of Bellerophon and of Perseus to be accepted as history, except so far as they testify to the fact that ancient relations existed between Argolis and the countries to the east and south of Greece. In the legend of Herakles there is evidently some historic truth; but how are we to detach this truth from the marvellous which envelops it.—how make proper allowance for all that has been added by successive ages and different peoples, bringing their tribute to magnify the renown and the labors of the great hero? To Homer he is almost unknown, but the Cyclic poets show a full acquaintance with him. First, it is necessary that we should recognize several different personages under the name of Herakles, beginning with the distinction between the Greek hero and the Phœnician divinity. It is the latter who makes the voyages over the Mediterranean; he is the Sun, and a representative of the maritime people whose trading stations covered the coasts of Africa, Spain, and Gaul. In the hero of Greek legend there are several persons. Of these, one—he who rends the rocks, cleaves mountains that streams may issue from them, and destroys wild beasts—belongs to the period of a primitive civilization, to the first efforts of a nascent society against the world of matter, and has his place in the imagination of all ancient peoples, whose theogonies delight to

¹ Head of Theseus, wearing the lion's skin, like Herakles; inscription, ΘΗΡΑΙΑ. ΝΙΚΑΙΩΝ (Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Caracalla, struck at Nikaia in Bithynia.)

recognize a god who is the exterminator of monsters. Another, who at the head of trusty companions defends the weak against the strong, punishes tyrants, overthrows oppressors, and gives their kingdoms to his brave followers, belongs to a later age, — the epoch in which the Hellenic tribes fought with each other for the possession of Greece. Finally, we may also distinguish the



PHAIDRA AND HIPPLYTOS.¹

Theban Herakles, who appears in the form of a powerful chief, an invincible conqueror; and also the Herakles of Mykenai, in subjection, for an unknown cause, to the capricious will of his cousin Eurystheus.

But why seek for history where only legendary poetry is to be found, enriched with new details by each successive generation of poets and even of philosophers? The latter mingled purely mythical

¹ Relief of a sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum at Rome, from the *Monum. dell' Instit. archeol.*, viii., tav. xxxviii. The figures are separated into two groups: on one side, Phaidra, her servants and nurse; on the other, Hippolytos and his serving-men. Phaidra is seated not far from a temple, of which the pediment and a single column are seen in the background. Her head is covered with a veil and turned away, she seems overcome with grief, and her women servants are busied around her, while the nurse is speaking to Hippolytos. The latter, standing with his right arm raised, seems to repel her. Behind him are two servants, his dogs, and his horse, over which is thrown the skin of a beast, of which the head may be distinguished. At the feet of Phaidra a Love leaning on his inverted torch, and, farther to the left, the little group of Eros and Psyche, give visible form, as it were, to Phaidra's passion.

ideas with recitals of human adventure, and Herakles became the personification of physical agents, of moral forces, and even of astronomical theories.¹ Thus he was the hero who brings help to humanity, and strives incessantly for the salvation of the world. In Boiotia he was honored as the averter of ills (*ἀλεξίκακος*) and the bestower of health (*σωτήρ*). He was the source of life and strength, he was the pure air and luminous aether. While

THEBAN HERAKLES.²

some saw in him only the personification of a strength which no person or thing could withstand, others, in a later age, made him the ideal of human perfection, and regarded his whole life as a passion borne for the salvation of the human race.³ Herakles was thus the divine man whom all other men should take for their example. This is the explanation of the famous allegory preserved for us by Prodikos, — the appearance before the son of Alkmene, just entering manhood, of two women: the one, majestic and stern, is Virtue; the other, smiling and lovely, is Pleasure. Each endeavors to attract him to herself and induce him to follow the path which she is pursuing. He decides in favor of the first.

ENGRAVED
STONE.⁴

Theseus remains a man, a hero. Though born at Troïzen and passing his youth in Argolis among the Achaians, he seems to personify an epoch of power which it is believed that Attika enjoyed before her great historic period. Legend, leading Herakles through all the countries of Greece, gives him nothing to accomplish in this province. The Athenians found compensation in making Theseus the hero of Attika, as Herakles was the hero of the peoples of Argolis and Boiotia by his origin, and of the Dorians, who accepted his sons as their chiefs, and always had

¹ His twelve labors recall the progress of the sun through the twelve signs of the zodiac.

² Head of Herakles, beardless, covered with the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse, ΠΥΡΡΙ . . . (name of a magistrate). The club of Herakles and the Boiotian shield. (Bronze coin of Thebes.)

³ See, for instance, the *Hercules Furens* of Seneca, l. 762 *et seq.*, and my *History of Rome*, vi. 364. [Eng. trans.]

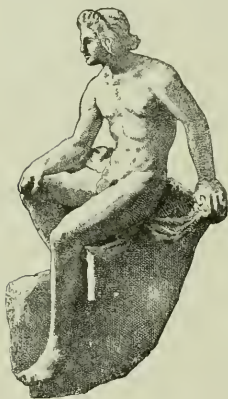
⁴ Aias, helmeted, armed with lance and shield, is stooping to raise Aehilleus, who falls to the ground at his feet. (Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*. An amethyst 15 millim. by 12. Chabouillet, *Catalogue*, etc., No. 1.818.)

Herakleid kings. We shall examine later, in Chapter IX., the institutions which are attributed to Theseus.

Among less important figures of the heroic times, we may mention at Mykenai, the Pelopids, Atreus and Thyestes, with their bloody banquet; in Sparta, Tyndareus, and Leda beloved by Zeus and mother of the Dioskouroi, Kastor and Polydeukes (Pollux), famous for their fraternal devotion, and of their sisters, Helen and Klytaimnestra, of fatal beauty; in Aigina, Aiakos, most just of mortals, and his sons Telamon and Peleus, both less illustrious than their respective



ATALANTA.¹



KEPHALOS.²

sons, Aias and Achilleus; at Corinth, the crafty Sisyphos, who enchained Death and deceived Hades by persistently remaining alive when the god had granted him permission to return to earth for a few days only, and Peirene, the inconsolable mother whose tears formed the Akrokorinthian spring; at Sikyon, the most ancient royal race; in Arkadia, Atalanta, the bold huntress who outstripped in the race the swiftest of the Greek runners, and slew them after she had vanquished them. She was herself vanquished, however, by the crafty Hippomenes, who, to slacken the speed of the indomitable virgin, threw down before her three golden apples from the garden of the Hesperides, given to him by Aphrodite.

Tradition also places at Pylos the sage Nestor, the only one who escaped when the sons of Neleus were slain by Herakles; in Attika, Erechtheus, who to obtain a victory sacrificed his three

¹ Atalanta attacking the Kalydonian wild boar, which she pierces with her lance: behind the wild boar, a tree. On the exergue the legend, TEPEA. (Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Julia Douma, struck at Tegea in Arkadia.)

² Bronze statuette of the *Cabinet de France* Height, 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Kephalos (?), seated on a rock, upon which his left hand rests. In his right, now mutilated, M. Chabouillet (*Catalogue général*, etc., No. 3.054) supposes that he held a javelin. The pose of this statuette is identical with that of the celebrated bronze Hermes of the Museum of Naples. (See *Gazette archéol.*, 1876, p. 144.)

daughters, willing victims; Kephalos, lover of Aurora; and Oreithyia, whom Boreas carried away, finding her as she was straying alone on the banks of the Ilyssos. In Aitolia are Meleagros, who killed the wild boar of Kalydon, which Artemis had



OREITHYIA CARRIED OFF BY BOREAS.¹

sent to ravage the country, and Tydeus, father of Diomedes; in Thessaly, Peirithoös and the struggle, so many times reproduced by the Grecian artists, of the Lapiths and the Centaurs; in Phthiotis, Peleus with his son Achilleus, born of Thetis, a sea-nymph, and the centaur Cheiron, who knew all the medicinal herbs of the mountains and could read the destiny of men in the stars, among

¹ A vase-painting, on a wine-jar in the Museum of the Louvre. (See *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques*, 1874, pl. 2.) The god, clad in a short tunic belted about the waist, and a chlamys with an ornamented border, is bearing away the young girl, who vainly exerts all her strength in a last effort. She is enveloped in a long and elegant peplos of transparent material. The right leg of Boreas, extended forward, the folds of the chlamys and the peplos raised and wafted backward by the wind, mark the rapid movement of the divine pair.

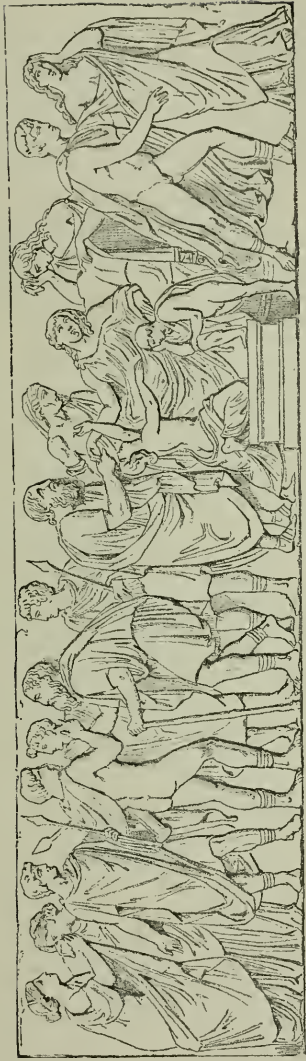
which, after his death, he was placed as the constellation Sagittarius; finally, at Pherai, Admetos, who brought to his father-in-law, as a marriage gift, a chariot to which a lion and a wild boar were harnessed,¹ and whose wife, Alkestis, voluntarily devoted herself to death to preserve his life.

Space would fail us to recount the legends which relate to all these personages. Two of them, however, Kastor and Polydeukes, claim a more detailed narration, since they play an important part in the plastic art of Greece and Rome. Homer sees in them only men,—one a tamer of horses, the other invincible as a pugilist; and he does not bring them before Troy “because the ground had already closed over the two heroes in Lacedæmon.” The legend gradually developed, from the singer of Achilles down to him who sang the victors of the national games. In his tenth *Nemean*, Pindar gives their history. Kastor, son of a mortal father, was himself mortal; Polydeukes, the child of Zeus, might enjoy the immortality of the gods. The former having been killed in a combat, his brother desired to share his fate.

“He implores the son of Kronos: ‘Bid me also, O king, to die with him. The glory is departed from a man bereaved of friends.’ . . . The god responds: ‘I give thee choice of these two lots; if, shunning death and hateful old age, thou desirest for thyself to dwell in Olympos with Athene and with Ares of the shadowing spear, this lot is thine to take; but if in thy brother’s cause thou art so hot, and art resolved in all to

¹ See on this subject the beautiful mosaic found at Nîmes in 1883 (*History of Rome*, vol. viii. chap. ex.).

NOTE.—On the opposite page is represented a bas-relief on a sarcophagus of the *Villa Albani*, taken from Zoega, *Li Bassirilievi di Roma*. i. tav. xlili. The bas-relief comprises three distinct scenes, corresponding to three successive stages of this drama, which is not infrequently represented on sarcophagi: 1. The arrival of Admetos; 2. The last moments of Alkestis; 3. The descent of Alkestis to the infernal regions.—In the first, Admetos, robed in a chlamys, learns from an old man that his wife is dying. At his side are two of his companions armed with lances; behind him is a group of two women, one of whom seems to be restraining the sobs of the other. Compare a sarcophagus of Ostia, in Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, pl. xxviii., and *History of Rome*, vol. v. chap. lxvii. § vi.; and a sarcophagus of Saint-Aignan, in the *Gazette archéol.*, vol. i. (1875), pl. xxvii., which represents the same subject. In the second, the dying Alkestis is extended upon a couch, at the foot of which are her two children, a daughter and son, in attitudes expressing the most intense grief. She is placing in the hands of an old man the tablets which contain her last wishes: this aged man is the paidagogos; and in the two women bending over her couch may be recognized the nurse and a maid-servant of Alkestis. The third scene is not so complete on the sarcophagus of the *Villa Albani* as on the two monuments mentioned above. It has but two figures,—Hermes and Alkestis, whom he is leading away to the lower regions.



DEATH OF ALKESTIS.

have equal share with him, then half thy time thou shalt be alive beneath the earth, and half in the golden house of heaven.”¹

Polydeukes willingly made this sacrifice. Other legends represent the Dioskouroi as the protectors of sailors, the guardians of the laws of hospitality and of the rules of the gymnastic games. Kastor was pre-eminently the subjugator of horses, and Polydeukes the master of pugilists. A warlike character was also attributed to them. The kings of Sparta bore images of them when they went to war, and the Romans claimed to have seen them in their ranks at the great battle of Lake Regillus. These helpful divinities, *θεοὶ σωτήρες*, were very popular, and their temples numerous. During the Argonautic expedition they saved the heroes by stilling a tempest, and at that moment a star was seen to shine about the head of each. Accordingly, their heavenly abode was placed in the constellation Gemini.

III. — THEBAN WARS; THE ARGONAUTS.

THE poets gathered nearly all the chiefs of the heroic age of Greece in four famous enterprises, — the two Theban wars, the expedition of the Argonauts, and the Trojan war.

The Theban king Laios, alarmed by threatening oracles, had caused his son Oidipous to be exposed on Mount Kithairon. Shepherds rescued the boy and carried him to Corinth, where king Polybos, himself childless, adopted him, and reared him as though born in his own house. On reaching manhood, Oidipous learns that he is fated to bring destruction upon all his family. That he may escape from his destiny, he withdraws in all haste from Corinth and from those whose son he supposes himself to be. In the mountains of Boiotia he encounters an old man, who, with imperious voice, seeks to drive him from his way. A struggle ensues, and the old man falls mortally wounded. This was the Theban king Laios. Oidipous arrives at Thebes. Just outside the gates of the city is seated a monster, having the face of a young girl, the body of a lion, the wings and talons of an eagle.

¹ [Myers's prose translation, p. 141.]

and a serpent's tail. This is the Sphinx, who has come, according to the legend, from the remotest part of Ethiopia. She propounds a riddle to all passers-by, and tears them in pieces when they cannot answer it. Kreon, who has now become king of Thebes, has promised the hand of his sister Iokaste, widow of Laios, to



OIDIPOUS AND THE SPHINX.¹

him who should free the city from this terrible neighbor. Oedipous essays the adventure: he discovers the answer to the riddle, and the vanquished monster throws herself from the summit of the cliffs and dies. Thus Oedipous, who marries Iokaste and becomes king of Thebes, is his father's murderer, the husband of his mother, and the brother of his own children.

¹ A vase-painting (*kylix* of Vulci, at the Vatican), from a photograph. (Cf. *Museo Gregoriano*, ii. tav. lxxxiv. 1 b). Oedipous (ΟΙΔΙΠΟΔΕΣ), his head covered with a petasos, wrapped in a chlamys, is seated upon a rock; between his crossed legs is his traveller's staff. In front of him sits, on an Ionic column, the Sphinx, with a woman's head: the monster speaks, and the inscription, KAITRI, has reference to the riddle which she proposes. The sentence may be completed thus: *καὶ [τρίπουν]*, "and which has three feet."

Having thus been the innocent instrument of an implacable fatality, he is also its victim.

A pestilence prevails in the city. Oidipous, consulting the gods, seeks to know what means may be taken to appease their wrath and save his people. He learns, to his horror, that the Thebans are punished for his own crimes, of which he then for the first time is aware. Iokaste cannot survive the horrible revelation. She strangles herself; and he who is at once her son and husband condemns himself to lose his sight. He tears out his eyes, and then forsakes the polluted palace. Accompanied by his daughter Antigone, who piously guides his steps, he wanders long in various lands, an object of fright to all who meet him, and everywhere repulsed as soon as recognized. At last, after long sufferings, he arrives at Kolonos, near Athens, most devout, "the one deliverer of the stranger-guest."¹

The oracle had announced to him that he would find rest only in the presence of the Eumenides, the goddesses of divine vengeance. At Kolonos was a grove consecrated to them. Disregarding his daughter's tears, Oidipous penetrates the dread enclosure and supplicates the "revered and terrible" goddesses to fulfil the words spoken by Apollo in reference to him.

"Come, ye sweet daughters of the Darkness old,
Come, O thou city bearing Pallas' name,
O Athens, of all cities most renowned,
Have pity on this wasted spectral form!"

The gods grant his prayer.

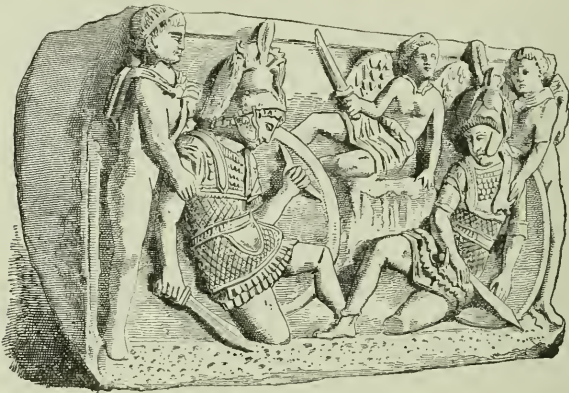
"What form of death
He died, knows no man, but our Theseus only.
For neither was it thunderbolt from Zeus
With flashing fire that slew him, nor the blast
Of whirlwind sweeping o'er the sea that hour,
But either some one whom the gods had sent
To guide his steps, or else the abyss of earth
In friendly mood had opened wide its jaws,
Without one pang. And so the man was led
With nought to mourn for — did not leave the world
As worn with pain and sickness, but his end,
If any ever was, was wonderful."²

¹ Sophokles, *Oidipous at Kolonos*, 261. [Plumptre's translation.] (See below, Chapter XX.)

² *Ibid.*, p. 120.

Theseus alone knows the place of his burial, and the chiefs of the Athenian government will mysteriously transmit to one another this dread secret, to which the gods have attached the fortune of the city.

Meanwhile his two sons, Eteokles and Polyneikes, contended for the throne. The latter, put to flight by his brother, sought refuge with Adrastos, king of Argos, who gave him one of his daughters in marriage and returned with him to besiege Thebes,



ETEOKLES AND POLYNEIKES.¹

with an army commanded by seven illustrious chiefs (1214?). Menoikens, son of Kreon, saved the city by voluntarily devoting himself to death, that an offering might be made to Ares of that royal blood which Teiresias demanded in his name. All the seven chiefs, an impious race, perished, with the exception of Adrastos, who escaped from the victorious Thebans by the speed of his horse Arion, a divine steed which had been ridden by Herakles. One of the chiefs, Kapanews, had dared to defy Zeus, and the god had smitten him with a thunderbolt. His wife, Evadne, that she might not survive her husband, cast herself, like a Hindoo widow, upon his funeral pyre.

¹ An Etruscan urn, in the Museum at Florence, from the *Gazette archéol.*, vii. (1881-1882), pl. lxiv. (E. Babelon). The artist has represented the last moments of the combat. Mortally wounded, the hostile brothers are falling backward, supported by an army servant (*σκευοφόρος*): above the scene hovers Thanatos, the Genius of death.

Thebes also lost her king,—another victim of the fatality which pursued the race of Labdakos. When the Chorus of young Thebans strove to prevent Eteokles from entering the battle, he replies to them:—

“As for the gods, they scorned us long ago,
And smile but on the offering of our deaths;
What boots it, then, on death's doom still to fawn?”¹

He rushes forth from the gates, and the double fratricide invoked by the curses of Oidipous is accomplished. The two brothers having slain each other in single combat, the crown remained to their uncle Kreon, who forbade giving burial to the dead bodies. Antigone, their sister, ventured to disregard this barbarous order, and the tyrant put her to death;² but Theseus, guardian and avenger of moral laws, declared war against Kreon and slew him. Afterwards (in the twelfth century?) the sons of the seven chiefs, the *Epigonoï*, marched against Thebes, and captured it after bloody assaults. Laodamas, son of Eteokles, was slain, or fled to Thessaly with a portion of the Thebans, and Thersandros, son of Polyneikes, reigned over desolated Thebes. The terrible legend stops here. Teiresias, who had predicted its appalling scenes, ends with it, after having outlived seven generations of men.

The Expedition of the Argonauts takes us to the confines, not merely of Greece, but of the world as known to the Hellenes. Rumor had spread abroad the report of the immense wealth of Aietes, king of Kolchis, and poetry had symbolized it under the form of a Golden Fleece consecrated to Ares and guarded by a dragon: this was the fleece of the ram given by Zeus to Phrixios and Helle to enable them to escape from the wrath of their father Athamas. As they crossed the narrow passage which separates Europe from Asia, Helle fell off into the sea which has retained her name. Phrixios reached Kolchis in safety, sacrificed the ram to Zeus, and presented its fleece to the king of the country. It became a kind



THE SHIP ARGO.³

¹ Aischylos, *The Seven against Thebes*, 702–704. [Plumptre's translation, p. 73.] For the belief in destiny, see below, Chapter VI. § ii.

² See in Chapter XIX. the *Antigone* of Sophokles.

³ The ship Argo, with five rowers. Reverse of a bronze coin bearing the effigy of Gordian III., struck at Magnesia in Ionia. The inverted inscription reads: ΑΡΓΩ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ.

of palladium to Kolchis,—the token of its wealth and greatness. Iason, son of the king of Iolchos, being deprived of the throne by his brother Pelias, proposed to recapture the Golden

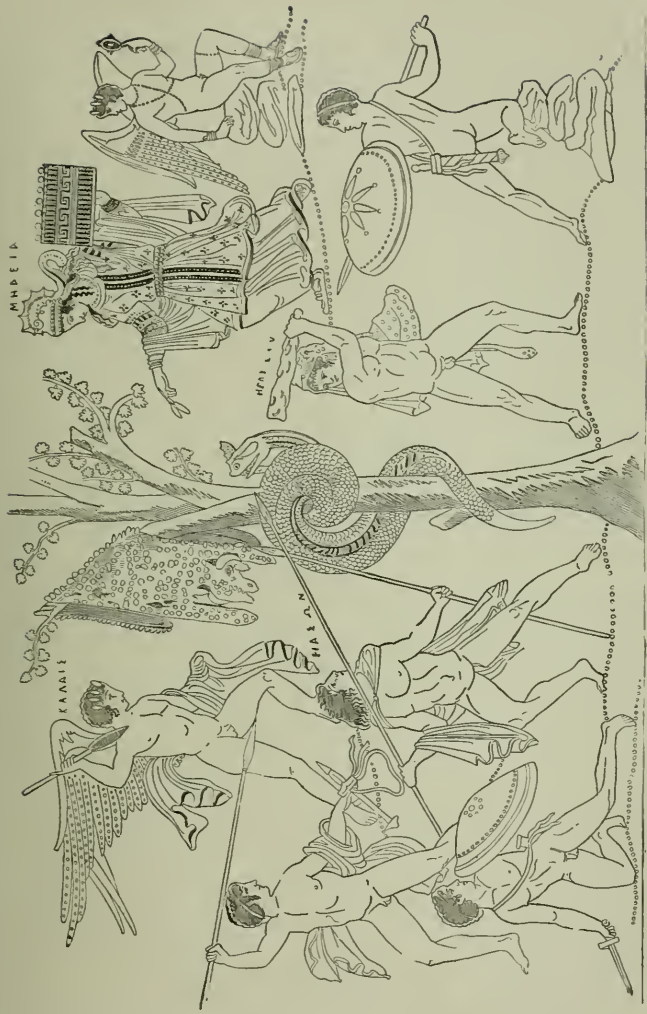


PHRIXIOS AND HELLE.¹

Fleece. He manned the ship *Argo*, the construction of which was directed by Athene; the mast, made of a speaking-oak of Dodona, delivered oracles. Fifty warriors went on board, the

¹ A vase-painting, signed Assteas, from the *Bullett. archeolog. Napolet.*, N. S., vii. tav. iii. — Phrixios and Helle (Ἰῶν) are crossing the sea on the ram which is to save one of them. The sea is indicated beneath them, in the part of the vase not reproduced in this engraving, by a triton, by *Skylla*, and by some fishes. Above shines the sun, whose rayed disk is seen. Phrixios clings to the horns of the ram with his right hand; he holds his sister clasped in his left arm. The latter has her right arm passed over the shoulders of her brother, and with her left she holds her veil floating in the wind. Her head is inclined backward, while Phrixios is looking behind him. In front of the ram *Nephele* (Νεφέλη) protects the flight of her two children; only the upper part of the goddess of the clouds is visible. She holds her mantle spread out, as if to hide the fugitives from the view of their persecutors.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is reproduced a vase-painting from the *Monum. dell' Instit. archeol.*, v. tav. xii. In the centre of the scene rises a tree, dividing it into two equal parts, in which the characters are distributed in two classes. Upon the branches is suspended the Golden Fleece; about the trunk is coiled the dragon which guards it. Iason (Ἰάσων) on the left, and Herakles (Ἡρακλῆς) on the right, are preparing to strike the monster, the one with his lance, the other with his club. Behind the heroes and ready for combat are three of the Argonauts, their companions. In the upper division, on the left, the winged *Kalaïs* (Καλαίς), son of *Boreas* and *Oreithyia*, comes to take part in the combat. To the right, *Medeia* (Μηδεία), clothed in splendid Asiatic garments, aids the combatants by her magic power: in her right hand she holds a casket, with her left she is preparing to throw some leaves upon the dragon. Behind her, and corresponding to the figure of *Kalaïs*, is a winged *Love*; he is seated upon a rock, holding a mirror in his left hand, and gazing at the magician.



IASON AND HERAKLES, WITH THE HELP OF MEDEIA, ATTACKING THE DRAGON.

most illustrious of whom were Herakles, who abandoned the expedition; Theseus, Peirithoös, Kastor and Polydeukes, Meleagros, Peleus, the poet Orpheus, who with his melody, beloved of the gods, dispelled all discord, and the physician Asklepios, son of Apollo, whom no disease could resist. The Phœnician Phineus, who guarded the entrance to the Hellespont, made known to them which route to follow. It should be remembered that the Phœnicians had preceded the Greeks in these waters, and had knowledge of the wealth to be found on their shores.

“And when they had hung the anchors over the prow,” says Pindar, “then the chief, taking in his hands a golden goblet, stood up upon the stern, and called on Zeus, whose spear is the lightning, and on the rush of waves and winds and the nights and paths of the deep, to speed them quickly over, and for days of cheer and friendly fortune of return. And from the clouds a favorable voice of thunder pealed in answer, and there came bright lightning flashes bursting through. Then the heroes took heart in obedience to the heavenly signs, and the seer bade them strike into the water with their oars while he spake to them of happy hopes, and in their rapid hands the rowing sped unceasingly.”¹

When the Athenian fleet sails for Sicily, and when Scipio departs from Syracuse on his way to destroy Carthage, these same ceremonies are again observed.

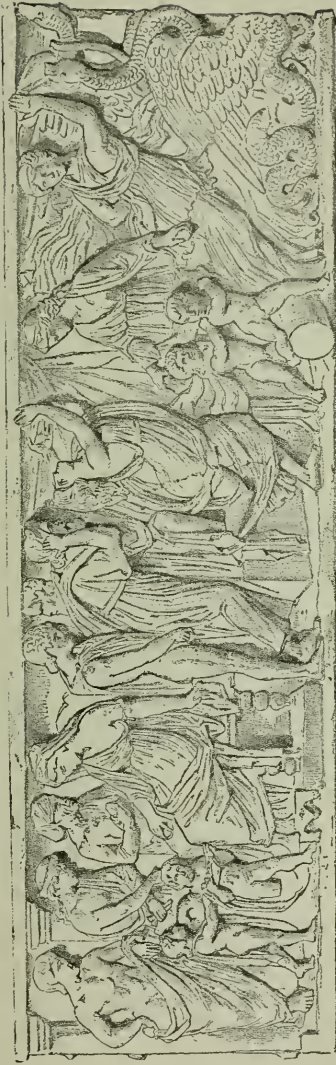
After many adventures, Iason arrives in Kolchis and wins the love of the king's daughter, Medeia, a mighty enchantress, from whom the plants have no secrets. She reveals to him all the perils that await him, but imparts to him the means of triumphing over them. Aided by her formidable art, he seizes and without difficulty overcomes two flame-breathing bulls with brazen feet and horns. He yokes them to an iron plough, buries in their broad flanks the painful goad, and ploughs four acres of a field consecrated to Ares. Here he sows a dragon's teeth, and armed men spring up as the harvest; they attack him, but he throws stones among them, and they turn their arms against each other. Iason then approaches the dragon who guards the Golden Fleece; with a magic potion he stupefies him, then slays him, and bears away the treasure. Medeia accompanies Iason in his ship, and to escape the fierce pursuit of Aietes, the Argonauts take a new course.

¹ *Pythian Odes*, iv. 340 *et seq.* [English prose translation, p. 75.]

They ascend the Phasis as far as the great river Okeanos, which like an immense ring surrounds the disk of the earth, then coast along the shores of the Orient, and re-enter the Mediterranean by the Nile.

Other accounts represent the bold navigators as sailing towards the North and West, to the fortunate region where the Makrobians lived for centuries free from infirmities; to the country of the Kimmerians, dark with perpetual night; or, finally, through the River Tanaïs, into the Northern Sea and the Western Ocean, returning by way of the Pillars of Hercules. Those who have sought to bring the legend into harmony with history have made them sail up the Danube, whence, carrying their vessel overland, they passed into the Adriatic, then through the Eridanos into the Rhone and the Tuscan Sea. Circe (Kirke), the enchantress, afterwards so fatal to the companions of Odysseus, is, at this time, helpful to those of Iason. The Nereïdes bear up with their hands the vessel, that it may safely make the dangerous passage between Skylla and Charybdis. The Sirenes call to the sailors with their musical voices; but Orpheus counteracts the fatal enchantment by the sweet strains of his lyre. A tempest drives them upon the coast of Africa; they visit the gardens of the Hesperides, from which Herakles had not long before stolen the golden apples; then they cross the Sea of Krete, and finally return to Greece, which Medeia fills with dismay by her transports of rage.

NOTE. — Facing this page is represented a bas-relief from a sarcophagus in the Louvre in which appear four groups, corresponding to as many scenes of this drama, made so popular in ancient times by the tragedies of Euripides and of Seneca. — 1. Kreousa, seated beside her nurse, is receiving the presents offered her by Iason, who stands between the columns of the palace, and by the two children, the offspring of the hero and Medeia. A companion of Iason stands behind the children. 2. To this calm and peaceful scene succeeds a scene of violence. Kreousa has put on the poisoned robe, and already the magic fire is devouring her. With head thrown back and arm raised as if to repel the flame, she strives to flee. Powerless, her father Kreon, and behind him Iason, are spectators of this tragedy, which Euripides delineates. 3. The vengeance of Medeia is not yet complete; she is about to strike her two boys, who are represented as running, — possibly engaged in play, as Euripides represents them; possibly fleeing from the palace, which has caught fire from the flames that are devouring Kreousa. On that supposition the cylinder lying on the ground at the children's feet would be a prostrate pillar. Behind them is their mother, who, in other bas-reliefs on the same subject, holds a dagger in her hand. Like Euripides, the sculptor has avoided the representation of the actual murder. 4. The victorious sorceress is about to disappear; she is seen rising upon a chariot drawn by winged serpents, and looking back, as if to enjoy once more the sight of her vengeance. Cf. Clarac. *Musée de Sculpture*, text. vol. ii. 1st part, pp. 540 *et seq.*



THE VENGEANCE OF MEDEIA.

On the voyage, as they were about to be overtaken by her father, she had torn in pieces her young brother who shared their flight, and scattered the fragments of his body upon the route taken by Aietes, to arrest his pursuit. At Iolchos she renews the youth of Iason by her magic art, and causes Pelias to be cut in pieces by his daughters, promising that his limbs, mixed with magic herbs and boiled in a caldron, shall receive new life and youth. Ten years after this, Iason is about to take another wife, upon which Medeia presents a poisoned tunic to Kreousa, her rival, murders her own children, and, rising into the air on a chariot drawn by winged dragons, escapes to Attika, where she becomes the wife of Aigeus.

BRONZE COIN.¹

In this legend—or rather in these two legends imperfectly fused together—the great enchantress throws into the shade the heroes towards whom attention is at first directed. Their story is a kind of summary, made by the poets, of all the different expeditions of the Greeks towards the Black Sea, as the voyages of the Tyrian Herakles typify the Phœnician expeditions towards the West. The details of the return of the Argonauts, we have seen, became more numerous as the knowledge and the conjectures of the Greeks in respect to the regions of the North and West became more extended.

It is remarkable that the Greeks should have two cycles of national legends concerning distant countries,—the *Odyssey*, and the story of the Argonauts. The Romans never displayed a curiosity like this. Instead of shutting themselves within the narrow limits of their own horizon, the Greeks strove to extend it, and were tireless in exploring unknown depths. This passion is indeed characteristic of those pioneers of the old world who followed in the track of Odysseus across the Ionian Sea, and of Iason across the Euxine, and planted their colonies upon every shore.

¹ Iason, armed with helmet, lance, and shield, is on the point of transfixing a prostrate foe; at his feet may be read ΙΑΧΟ. The inscription is ΕΠΙ. ΤΡΑ. ΚΑ. ΝΙΚΟΜΕΔΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Pergamos, bearing the effigy of Commodus.)

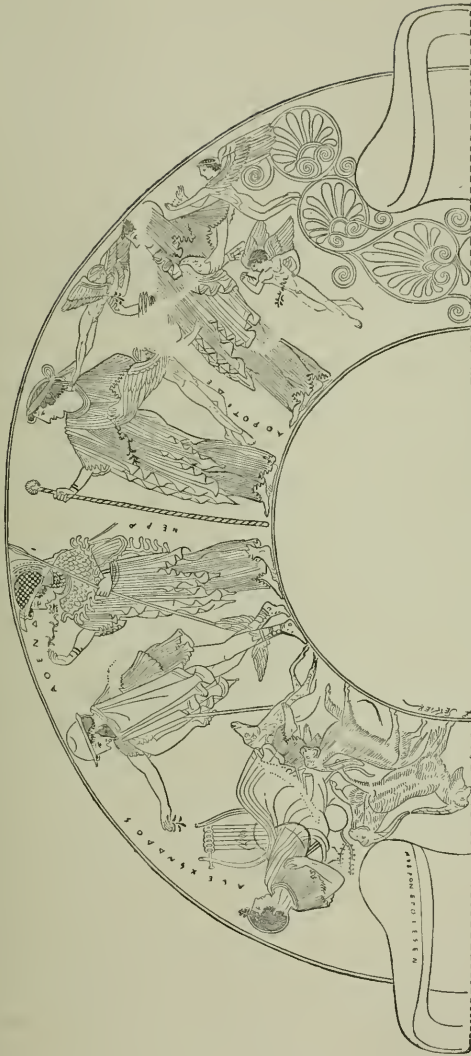
IV. — THE TROJAN WAR (1193–1184 ?).

THE Trojan war left ineffaceable traces in the memory of the Greeks, and exerted on art and poetry a permanent influence. This event is unquestionably historic; it marks the moment when Greece, after having endured for centuries the invasion moving westward from the East, at last retaliated, and set on foot a movement in the opposite direction. Some of the circumstances connected with this war possess, indeed, a higher degree of certainty than any of the details of the Argonautic expedition or of the wars with Thebes. But poetry has enveloped all these incidents with marvellous details which the *Iliad* has consecrated for all time.¹

From the general tenor of these traditions it may be inferred that a powerful State was formed opposite Greece, on the east-

¹ The lays of the ancient poets, not having been committed to writing until quite a late period, were for a long time transmitted by oral tradition, with numerous variations. One of these singers, Homer, emulating Demodokos and Phemios, of whom mention is made in the *Odyssey*, has taken for the especial subject of his verse one of the episodes of the *Trojan Cycle*, — the *Wrath of Achilles*: and this episode has reached us augmented by successive re-touchings. Another, or several others, — for several parts have been detected in the *Odyssey*: the *Nostos*, or Return of Odysseus, the *Telemachos*, etc., — composed the *Odyssey*. These two works are the final form of a popular poem, very much longer, which celebrated the lofty deeds of the heroes of Greece. (On this first edition, so to speak, of the Homeric poems, see Chapter X.) As to Hesiod, we are not even certain that the *Theogony* is his work. But these are matters for the philologists, and not for us. It is enough for us to know that the work is very ancient; and this no person denies. The theory of F. A. Wolf is again coming into favor; G. Christ, in his *Homeri Iliadis carmina sejuncta*, etc., believes that the *Iliad* is a group of songs rather than one poem conceived from beginning to end by Homer; and M. Croiset, in the *Ann. de la Soc. des Études grecques*, 1884, p. 66, thinks the same. In respect to the literature on this subject, see S. Reinach, *Man. de philol.*, vol. i. p. 168, note 2. [See Introduction, p. 25. — ED.]

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a painting from a vase of Hiero, after Conze, *Vorlegeblätter für archäol. Uebungen*, series A, v. The signature of the potter is graven on the left handle (HIEPONEPOIESEN, Hiero made). Hiero flourished in the fifth century before our era. The Judgment of Paris is a favorite subject for artists, particularly the painters of antiquity, — whether fresco or vase painters. Here Paris Alexandros (ΑΙΧΥΝΑΠΟΣ *sic*) sits at the left on a rock on Mount Ida, in the midst of a flock of goats. The young shepherd wears a wreath of foliage and holds in one hand a cithara. Before him the three goddesses, led by Hermes, have stationed themselves. Hermes, recognizable by his winged sandals and petasos (cf. p. 158, a coin of Ainos), is presenting a flower to Paris. Each of the goddesses also holds a flower in her hand. First is Athene (ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ), bearing the ægis; then Here (HEPA), with the sceptre; lastly Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΙΔΕ *sic*), surrounded by four winged Loves, who are offering her flowers and wreaths, and holding in her left hand a dove.



THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS.

ern coast of the Ægæan Sea. In primitive times the first need is security. Troy, the capital of this kingdom, was not on the shore, which is unprovided with harbors, though protected against storms from the west by the Island of Tenedos. Like Athens, Argos, and Corinth, it was far enough from the sea to be secure from any sudden attack of pirates. Also, like these cities it had at its back an abrupt rock, four hundred feet in height, with escarpments frequently perpendicular, on which was built its citadel, Pergamos, where on occasion of danger the people might take refuge. The Simois, descending from Mount

BRONZE COIN.¹KING PRIAM.²

Ida, with many windings surrounded the city on the east, and the Skamandros, formed by numerous springs in the cliff of Bouarbashi, fertilized the valley where the royal flocks were pastured. Different peoples or different ruling families succeeded each other there, the latest of these being the Dardanians, whose empire extended as far as the

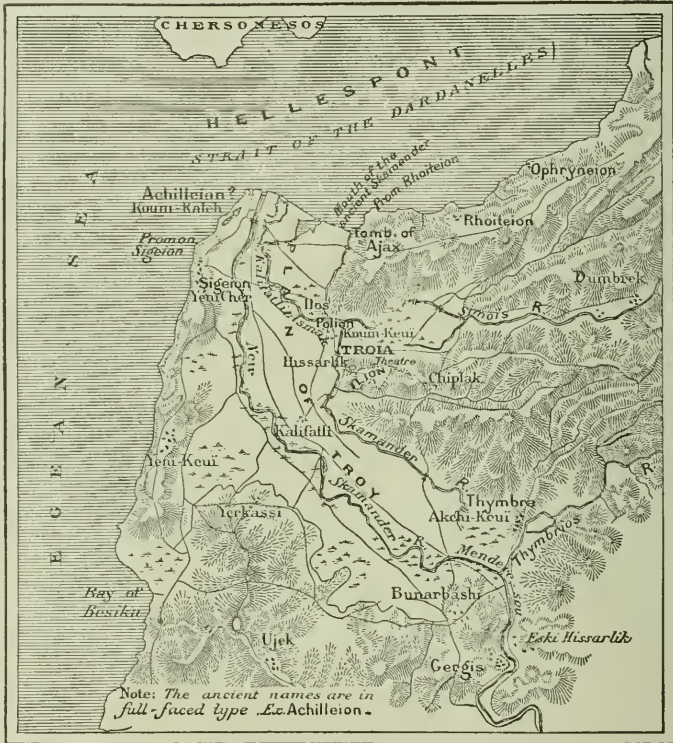
Kaikos, near the frontiers of Lydia, and with whom several States of the peninsula were in alliance. Priam was at that time king. His capital, Troy, or Ilium, was famous for the strength of its walls, the wealth and luxury of its inhabitants, whose customs and religion were, like their language, the same with those of the Hellenes, but in a higher stage of development. Apollo was their protecting divinity. It was on Mount Ida that three goddesses had selected Paris to decree the prize of beauty, and that Aphrodite bore to Anchises the pious Aineias (Æneas).

An inveterate national hatred, however, separated the Greeks from the Trojans, and at last armed them against each other. Outrages committed on both sides do not suffice to explain this deadly rivalry. Herodotos regarded it as an early conflict between poor and warlike Greece and rich and civilized Asia. Others have represented Troy as a Pelasgic city, and its destruction by the

¹ The Genius of the Skamandros reclining towards the left, holding in his right hand a reed, and leaning with his left upon an overturned urn from which waves are escaping. Inscription, ΚΑΜΑΝΔΡΟC ΙΛΙΕΩΝ. (Reverse of a bronze coin struck at Ilium by the Emperor Commodus.)

² Priam, wearing a Phrygian cap, seated on a throne and holding a scepter. Inscription, ΠΡΙΑΜΟC ΙΛΙΕΩΝ. (Reverse of a bronze coin struck at Ilium by the Emperor Commodus.)

Hellenes as the close of a struggle of two races. which, beginning in Greece, had ended most conspicuously upon a vaster stage. Herodotos, nearer to the events, seems likewise nearer to the truth.



MAP OF THE TROAD.

In the legend, the hatred of two peoples is only that of two families,—the sons of Priam, aided by Apollo, the Asiatic god. and the sons of Pelops, protected by the goddess of Argos. Here, the Roman Juno, whose worship was never popular on the Asiatic coast. This race-hatred was of ancient date,—originating

in the quarrel between the two kingdoms of the Troad and Phrygia for the supremacy in Asia Minor.

Tantalos was a king of Phrygia. On one occasion, when he was to entertain the gods at his table, he formed the design of testing their divine knowledge: having caused his son Pelops to be put to death and cut in pieces, he served up to them the boiled flesh. Zeus detects the crime and the insolent sacrilege.



DEATH OF OINOMAOS AND TRIUMPH OF PELOPS.¹

and hurls the culprit into the infernal regions, where, in the midst of abundance, he suffers eternally from cruel thirst and hunger.

The Greeks did not hesitate to ascribe to their divinities certain evil passions, which brought them nearer to humanity. In the legend of Niobe the gods punish the daughter of Tantalos for a noble sentiment, — maternal pride. But artists have cause to thank the poets who have thus furnished them a magnificent subject for a sculptured group. Proud of the twelve children she had borne to Amphion, king of Thebes, Niobe offended Leto (Latona), triumphing over the goddess, who was the mother of but

¹ Bas-relief of a sarcophagus in the Louvre. — 1. In the first scene, on the left, Pelops is in conversation with Oinomaos; behind the king is an armed servant. 2. Then follows the race, which opens in the plain of Pisa, personified by the nymph extended upon the ground. At her side, in a basket, are the palm-branches intended for the victor in the race. Oinomaos, defeated, is thrown down under his horses, still holding the reins; standing near Myrtilos, who has betrayed him, a frightened servant is raising his hand to heaven. The victorious Pelops has a whip in his hand, and at his left is a man about to place a wreath upon his head. This latter figure and that of the horseman preceding the chariot are borrowed from representations of the Roman circus, which gives to this monument a very late date. 3. Pelops has received the prize of his victory: guided by Love, he is leading away Hippodameia, whom her old nurse supports and encourages.

two, — the twins Apollo and Artemis, born in floating Delos. To avenge these insults, the divine destroyer of monsters and the virgin huntress discharged against the children of Niobe those shafts



GOLD MASK FROM MYKENAI.¹

that never miss their mark. All her sons and daughters perished, and Niobe herself was changed, by the compassion of Zeus, into a rock upon Mount Sipylus. Here, among the cliffs where dwell the nymphs who dance about the River Acheloös, although a stone, the

¹ From Schliemann's *Mycena*, fig. 474. These masks were laid upon the faces of the dead. The entire body, in certain tombs, was literally covered with jewels (Schliemann, *Ibid.*, p. 294). The mask upon the face, the diadem on the forehead, plastron on the breast, rings and bracelets on the fingers, a baldric at the belt, and finally hands on the legs, not to mention the ornaments attached to the clothing, — everything was of gold.

NOTE. — Facing this page is represented a bas-relief of a sarcophagus in the Vatican (*Museo Pio-Clem.*, Gallery of the Candelabra, No. 201), from a photograph. Artemis at the left and Apollo at the right slay with their arrows the children of Niobe. The action of the goddess is represented in many statues of Artemis the huntress. The paidagogos endeavors in vain to protect the youngest child, who is clinging to him, in vain does the old nurse tenderly care for one of the young girls, already wounded. The vengeance of the gods will be fully accomplished, and in the upper portion of the bas-relief the artist shows us ten prostrate corpses laid one against the other.



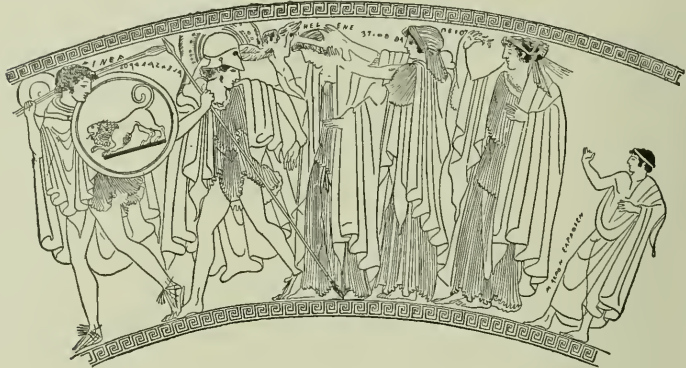
DESTRUCTION OF THE CHILDREN OF NIOBE.

bereaved mother still lamented her loss, and brooded forever over the troubles that the gods had sent upon her.

At the feast of Tantalos, Demeter, absorbed in the grief which the loss of her daughter Persephone caused her, had eaten a shoulder of Pelops without recognizing the dreadful dish. Zeus restored the boy to life, and gave him an ivory shoulder, mere contact with which would serve to cure all ills, — although it did not insure victory to the new king of Phrygia when he attacked the Trojans. Vanquished by Tros, king of Ilion, Pelops is compelled to flee into Greece. He carries away immense treasures, and is accompanied by his brave companions. In Elis he sues for the hand of Hippodameia, daughter of the king. Thirteen suitors have previously perished; for Oinomaos, warned by the oracle that his son-in-law will cause his death, challenges to a race those who seek his daughter's hand: he is sure to outstrip them with his swift horses, and after he has conquered them he slays them. Pelops bribes the charioteer of Oinomaos, who removes the nails from the wheels: the chariot is overturned in the lists, Oinomaos dies, and Pelops succeeds him. According to other narrators, Poseidon had given him a golden car and winged horses. His authority, or at least his influence, extended over all the southern peninsula, so nearly an island that it was known to antiquity as Peloponnesus, or the Island of Pelops.

But this favorite of the gods was the ancestor of an impious race. Thyestes seduced his brother's wife; Atreus, in revenge, caused Thyestes to eat the flesh of his own children, repeating the feast of Tantalos; Aigisthos, son of Thyestes by his own daughter Pelopeia, seduced the wife of his cousin Agamemnon, then murdered him, and, eight years later, himself fell by the hand of Orestes, who slew also his mother Klytëmnëstra. Such is the house of the Atreids, whose crimes and misfortunes have so long furnished themes for poetry and art. After having conquered or in some way gained rule over the west coasts of the Peloponnesos, the Pelopids, in consequence of events unknown to us, which are presented by tradition under the form of peaceful agreements, removed the seat of their power to the eastern coasts, and replaced in Argolis the royal house descended from Perseus. Atreus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon reigned in succession at Mykenai, at that

time the capital of the country, and Menelaos, the grandson of Atreus, at Sparta and in Lakonia by virtue of his union with Helen, daughter of Tyndaros. The influence of the Pelopids extended over the whole of the peninsula of Apia, and a number of



ABDUCTION OF HELEN.¹

islands were subject to them. They were great rulers on sea and land. The discoveries made at Mykenai attest their wealth and power.

Paris, the son of Priam, having made a journey into Greece, sojourned for a time at Sparta. There he saw Helen, one of those "victims of Aphrodite" for whom the Greeks had so much indulgence,² and bore her away. A fable, later than Homer or

¹ A vase-painting, taken from the *Gazette archéol.*, vol. vi. (1880), pl. viii. (de Witte). The vase bears the signatures of the potter Hiero and the painter Makron (ΜΑΚΡΟΝ ΕΛΡΑΦΣΕΝ, Makron painted). Helen has yielded to the solicitations of Love, Aphrodite, and Persuasion (whom we shall see again in the bas-relief of the Museum of Naples, given on the next page), and Paris is urging her forward. Before the hero marches Aineias (ΑΙΝΕΑΣ), who, by order of Aphrodite, had accompanied Paris into Greece; he is armed like Paris. The latter (ΑΛΕΞΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ) leads by the left hand Helen (ΗΕΥΕΝΕ), towards whom his face is turned, and clasps tightly her right wrist in a manner often found on ancient monuments. Helen walks slowly, her head slightly bent forward, her left hand laid upon her breast. Over the double chiton she wears the ample peplos of a bride. Love is placing a wreath upon her head, while Aphrodite (ΑΦ[Ρ]ΟΔΙΤΕ) adjusts the peplos and draws it over the forehead of the young wife. Peitho (ΠΕΙΘΩ), the goddess Persuasion, follows Aphrodite, with a flower in her hand.

² Such as Medea, Ariadne, Pasiphaë, and the mortal women beloved by Zeus.

Hesiod, relates that Aphrodite had promised him the most beautiful of women when he awarded to her the golden apple, the prize of beauty, for which that goddess, Here, and even the wise Athene, contended. This outrage aroused the wrath of the



APHRODITE PERSUADING HELEN.¹

Atreids; all Greece sympathized with them; and from Krete to Macedonia all the chiefs took up arms and assembled on the rocky peninsula on which was situated the little Boiotian city of Aulis. Eleven hundred and eighty-six vessels were collected in its harbor;² but adverse winds delayed them a long time, and

¹ Bas-relief of the Museum of Naples, taken from the *Museo Borbonico*, iii. tav. xl. — Standing before Helen, who is seated, is Paris (Alexandros), wearing a chlamys. Three divinities are seconding the hero, whose passion they favor. — Love, Aphrodite, and the goddess of Persuasion herself. Love is leaning on Paris. Aphrodite, seated at the side of Helen, whom the goddess with her lofty stature overlooks, is endeavoring to persuade her, aided by Peitho (ΠΙΘΩ). Cf. the vase-painting given on the preceding page.

² Note that in Homer there is as yet no reference to any naval battle.

Kalchas declared that no favorable wind would blow until the daughter of the king of Argos had been sacrificed on the altar of Artemis. The army insisted that the sacrifice should be accomplished, and the priest dealt the blow; but at his feet fell a white hind which Artemis had substituted for the royal victim.



IPHIGENEIA AT TAURIS.¹

Iphigeneia, carried away to Tauris and consecrated to the service of the fierce goddess, did not forget, amid her sad honors as priestess of Artemis, her family and her native land.

“ And now, a stranger, I dwell in an unpleasant home, on the inhospitable sea, unwedded, childless, without city, without a friend, not praising Here in

¹ Bas-relief, in the Louvre. We find here two scenes described by Euripides in the tragedy of *Iphigeneia at Tauris*. 1. At the left, Orestes, sword in hand, sinks to the ground, supported by Pylades; behind him is a Fury, in her hands a torch and a whip. In the tragedy a herdsman relates to Iphigeneia that two strangers have been captured on the inhospitable shore; one of them, seized with sudden fury, has rushed upon the herds, imagining that he was fighting the Erinyes (v. 281 *et seq.*). The artist has represented the moment when Orestes, exhausted by fatigue and regaining his reason, sinks into the arms of his friend. 2. The two captives are about to be offered as a sacrifice to Artemis; but Iphigeneia has recognized her brother, and, holding in her arms the image of the goddess, she announces to King Thoas that she wishes to purify the idol and the captives in the waves of the sea (v. 1157 *et seq.*). On the bas-relief she bears the idol veiled, and witnesses the attack of Orestes on the servants of Thoas. In Euripides the appearance of Athene brings the drama to a close, and Thoas abandons the pursuit of the fugitives.

Argos, nor, in the sweetly humming loom, adorning with the shuttle the image of Athenian Pallas and of the Titans; but, imbruing altars with the shed blood of strangers, sigh forth a piteous cry and shed a piteous tear."

Her companions in exile, the Greek maidens of the Chorus, take up her complaint: —

"Thou bird that by the rocky cliffs of the sea, Alkyone, dost chant thy mournful dirge, a sound well understood by the wise, — namely, that thou bemoanest thy husband in song, — I, a wingless bird, compare my lamentation with thine, longing for the assemblies of the Greeks, longing for the goddess of light who dwells upon Mount Kynthos, near the palm with its luxuriant foliage, and the holy shoot of the deep-blue olive, and the lake where the melodious swan honors the Muses. Would that I might pass along the glittering course where moves the fair light of the sun, and over my own chamber rest from rapidly moving the wings at my shoulders, and would that I might stand in the dance where also I was wont to stand, — a virgin sprung from honorable nuptials, joining in the dances of my companions, bounding in rivalry of the Graces."¹

The Greek fleet, set free by the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, carried to Asia more than a hundred thousand warriors, resolved, says the wise Nestor in his speech in the assembly, to punish the crime of Paris by inflicting upon all the Trojans the shame of Menelaos.² Priam could hardly raise one half that number to oppose them, though aid had been sent to him from Thrace, from Macedonia, and even from Ethiopia.³

The Greeks had elected as their chief Agamemnon, son of Atreus. Joined with him were his brother Menelaos, king of Sparta, the outraged husband of Helen; Achilles, whom Odysseus had discovered in the Isle of Skyros hidden by Thetis among



HEKTOR IN BATTLE.⁴

¹ Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, 1089-1152.

² *Iliad*, ii. 355-356.

³ The least improbable date for the capture of Troy, though without itself possessing the slightest certainty, is that given by Eratosthenes, — four hundred and seven years before the first Olympiad, or 1184 B. C. As regards Homer, there were eighteen traditions concerning the date of his birth, varying from twenty-four to four hundred years after this war.

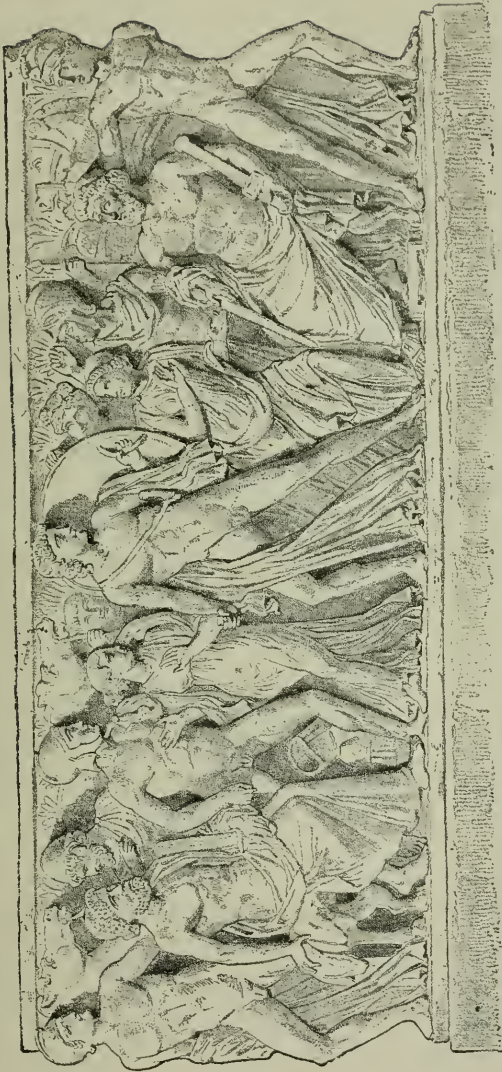
⁴ Hector, armed with helmet, breastplate, lance, and shield, standing upon a war-chariot drawn by its four horses, moving to the right. Inscription, ΕΚΤΩΡ ΙΑΙΕΩΝ. (Reverse of a bronze coin struck by Caracalla at Ilion.)

the daughters of the king; Patroklos, his friend; Diomedes; Aias (Ajax), king of the Locrians, and Aias, king of Salamis, who after Achilleus was the bravest and most beautiful of the Greeks; the sagacious Nestor; Odysseus, the wily king of Ithaka; Philoktetes, possessor of the arrows of Herakles; Thersites the Aitolian, a cowardly and insolent scoffer. Among the Trojans, the valiant Hektor eclipsed all other chiefs; Aineias (*Æneas*) was inferior to him.

The first of the Greeks who should set foot on Trojan soil must perish: the gods had so determined. Protesilaos, to put an end to the indecision of the chiefs, rushed forward and landed first. The will of destiny was accomplished: he fell, slain by Hektor. Yet the Greeks, after landing, won a battle which permitted them to construct a camp that a portion of their troops guarded, while the rest occupied themselves in pillaging the towns in the vicinity, or tilled the Chersonesos to supply provisions to the army. This division of the Greek forces, and the quarrels which more than once broke out, enabled the Trojans to make a long resistance. Their foes remained ten years before the walls of the impregnable city.

It is not until the tenth year that the *Iliad* opens, for Homer has sung only the wrath of Achilleus and the incidents to which it led. Angry that Agamemnon had taken from him Briseis his captive, the hero retires to his tent and invokes the wrath of the gods upon the chief who has snatched from him her who, given to him as his share of the booty, had become his well-beloved companion. Zeus hears his prayer; the Greeks are defeated, and driven back into their camp, which they are obliged to fortify with a wall and

NOTE.—On the opposite page is represented an alto-rilievo of a sarcophagus in the Louvre. Achilleus, who has already taken possession of the arms brought by Odysseus, occupies the centre of the composition. He is moving hastily towards the left, surrounded by the surprised daughters of king Lykomedes. The latter is seated at the right, and the hero's head is turned towards him. At the left sits a man of mature age, perhaps Nestor, chief of the embassy sent to the king of Skyros; at his feet is a breastplate, which is to be worn by Achilleus. At Nestor's side stands Odysseus, recognizable by his pilos. The other warriors cannot be named with certainty. The artist has particularly sought to give to his composition the utmost regularity possible, and the groups are symmetrical. The interpretation of this scene has given rise to numerous discussions. Some scholars recognize in it the dispute of Achilleus and Agamemnon relative to Briseis: the two persons sitting would then be, Agamemnon on the right, and Menelaos on the left. (For similar representations, see Overbeck, *Die Bildwerke zum thebischen und troischen Heldenkreis*, pp. 287 *et seq.*)



ACHILLEUS AT SKYROS

a trench, to shelter their ships against Hektor. Then they seek to appease Achilles, and send deputies to him to implore the help of his arm; he remains inflexible.

Meantime the battle is renewed with fury. The goddess Here aids the Greeks, and the ruler of the gods, seated on the summit of Ida, from which he beholds the strife, encourages the sons of Priam. The latter are about to be victorious, when Here, borrow-



BRISEIS TAKEN AWAY BY AGAMEMNON.¹

ing of Aphrodite her girdle, interposes to charm and beguile her husband. A golden cloud envelops them, perfumed flowers bloom about them, and Sleep, "lord of all gods and of all men,"² overcomes Zeus in the arms of the goddess. Now the Trojans fall in crowds. But Zeus awakes; he bitterly reproaches Here for her stratagem, and fills the hearts of the Trojans with new ardor. They clear the moat, the wall, which defend the camp of the Greeks, and many a chief falls before them. The Achaians take refuge on board their ships, which Hektor seeks to set on fire.

¹ Painting of a vase made by Hiero, in the Louvre. Agamemnon (AA[a]MENMO[v] *sic*) is leading away Briseis. In Homer he merely threatens Achilles that he will go himself to the latter's tent and bring off the young captive with his own hand; here the heralds have led her to him. Briseis, her head covered with a veil, slowly follows the king. Concerning the gesture of Agamemnon and the attitude of Briseis, see the abduction of Helen, on a painted vase of the same manufacture, given on p. 242. Behind Briseis are the herald Thalphybios (ΘΑΛΦΥΒΙΟΣ), resembling Hermes in every respect, and Diomedes (ΔΙΟΜΕΔΕΣ).

² *Iliad* [prose translation, p. 200].

At sight of this, Achilles is moved. Patroklos, his dearest friend, entreats him to assist the Achaians, or at least to lend him his arms. He accedes to the latter request; and, after many a brave deed, Patroklos encounters the Trojan chief, who has no rival but Achilles, and perishes by his hand. Tidings of this render Achilles frantic with grief. He cannot rush into the fray, because he has now no weapons, but he goes forward to the ram-



WRATH OF ACHILLEUS.¹

part, and thrice utters a terrible cry. The Trojans recognize the voice of the hero, and thrice fall back in dismay, and the Greeks are enabled to recover the body of Patroklos.

Achilleus invokes his mother, Thetis, who hastens from the deep caverns of the sea with her tearful retinue of Nereids to assuage her son's grief. She promises him arms to replace those lost by Patroklos, and prevails upon Hephaistos to forge a complete suit of armor and a wonderful shield.² Panoplied in these divine

¹ Vase-painting, in the Louvre. Reverse of Hiero's cup, on which is represented the carrying away of Briseis. Achilleus ([ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ]) occupies the centre of the scene, and the other personages are looking at him. The hero sits on an okladias, or folding seat; wrapped in his garment, he appears wholly absorbed in grief. His sword and pilos hang upon the wall. Before him stand Odysseus (ΟΥΥΤΤΕΥΣ), the chief of the embassy sent by Agamemnon, and Aias (AIAS); behind is the aged Phoenix (ΦΟΙΝΙΞ), the devoted friend of Achilleus. (See book ix. of the *Iliad*, and Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, p. 408.)

² This is not the place to repeat Homer's description (*Iliad*, xviii. 478-608). I note only a single feature, — Ares and Athene, who lead a troop of soldiers, have a more lofty stature than that of men. This superior height often helps in distinguishing, upon vases and in bas-reliefs, the divine beings from the mortals or the shades being conducted by Hermes to the

arms, the impetuous descendant of Aiakos hastens against the Trojans, who flee before him like a frightened flock. Heaven again joins in the strife.

“On this side and on that the gods went forth to war: to the company of the ships went Hera, and Pallas Athene, and Poseidon, Earth-enfolder, and the Helper Hermes, pre-eminent in subtle thoughts; and with these went Hephaistos in the greatness of his strength, halting, but his shrunk legs moved nimbly under him: but to the Trojans went Ares of the glancing helm, and with him Phoebus of the unshorn hair, and archer Artemis, and Leto and Xanthos, and laughter-loving Aphrodite. . . .

“But when among the mellay of men the Olympians were come down, then leapt up in her might Strife, rouser of hosts, then sent forth Athene a cry, now standing by the hollowed trench without the wall, and now on the echoing shores she shouted aloud. And a shout uttered Ares against her, terrible as the blackness of the storm, now from the height of the city to the Trojans calling clear, or again along Simois shore over Kallikolonē he sped.

CAMEO.¹

“So urged the blessed gods both hosts to battle, then themselves burst into fierce war. And terribly thundered the father of gods and men from heaven above; and from beneath Poseidon made the vast earth shake and the steep mountain-tops. Then trembled all the spurs of many-fountained Ida, and all her crests, and the city of the Trojans, and the ships of the Achaians. And the lord of the Underworld, Aidoneus, had terror in hell, and leapt from his throne in that terror and cried aloud, lest the world be cloven above him by Poseidon, Shaker of earth, and his dwelling-place be laid bare to mortals and immortals, — grim halls, and vast, and lothly to the gods. So loud the roar rose of that battle of gods. For against king Poseidon stood Phoebus Apollo with his winged arrows, and against Euyalios

BRONZE COIN.²

Elysian fields. Hesiod, or rather some unknown poet endowed with epic genius, has also given a description of a shield — that of Herakles.

¹ Cameo from Winckelmann, *Monum. ant. ined.*, fig. 129. Achilles, sitting at the door of his tent, is overcome by grief. Standing before him is Antilochos, his friend and the most swift-footed of the Greeks, who has just informed him of the death of Patroklos.

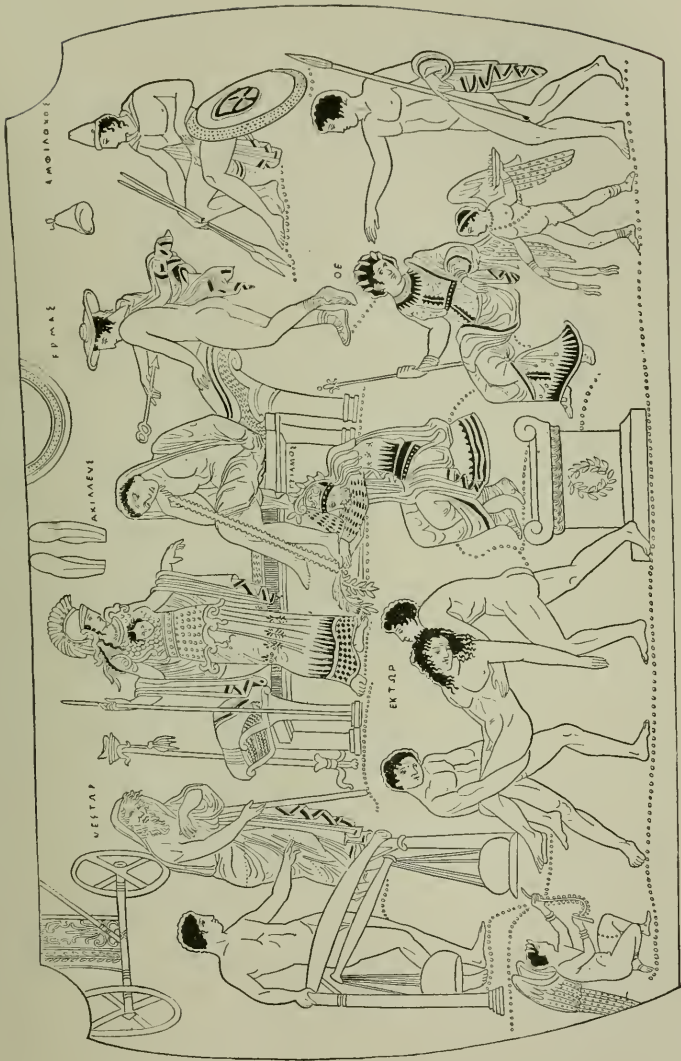
² Hektor struggling against two Greek warriors who are striving to carry off the body of Patroklos. Inscription: ΕΚΤΩΡ ΙΛΙΕΩΝ. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Alexander Severus, struck at Ilion.)

stood Athene, bright-eyed goddess, and against Hera she of the golden shafts and echoing chase, even archer Artemis, sister of the Far-Darter; and against Leto the strong Helper Hermes, and against Hephaistos the great, deep-eddying River, whom gods call Xanthos and men Skamandros."¹

Meanwhile the contest rages among the heroes. "The whole plain was filled with men and horses, and ablaze with bronze; and the earth rang with the feet of them as they rushed together in the fray." Aineias, engaging with Achilles, is about to be pinned to the ground by his opponent's far-shadowing spear, when Poseidon interposes to save him, shedding mist upon the eyes of Achilles, so that Aineias has the opportunity to escape, while the Greek hero pursues his victorious course, driving the Trojans into the river, and sparing none alive, for grief and anger at the death of Patroklos. Then the Xanthos swells his waves, seeking to drown Achilles, who has leaped into the stream; the hero, struggling out of the eddy, makes haste to fly over the plain with his swift feet, but the River still pursues him. "wearying his knees with violent rush beneath, and devouring the earth from under his feet." Athene comes to his aid, and he is about to make his escape, when Xanthos calls aloud for help to the River Simois. Upon this Here appeals to Hephaistos, who puts forth large blasts of flame, burns up the trees on the banks of Xanthos, and wraps the River in fire. Thus Xanthos is subdued, and Achilles goes on slaying the Trojans, until he encounters Hektor "in front of Ilios and the Skaian gates." The son of Priam

¹ [*The Iliad of Homer, done into English Prose* by Andrew Lang, Walter Leaf, and Ernest Myers (London, Macmillan & Co., 1883), pp. 400, 401.]

NOTE. — Facing this page is represented a scene taken from the *Monum. dell' Instit. archeol.*, v., tav. xi. (The reverse of this beautiful vase has been given on p. 225.) Achilles (ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ) is sitting on a couch, overcome with grief; his garment is drawn over his head as a sign of mourning, and the artist represents him with close-cut hair, for he has sacrificed his beautiful locks on the funeral pile of Patroklos. At his side Athene and Hermes (ΕΡΜΑΣ) are endeavoring to arouse the hero, deaf to the voice of Nestor (ΝΕΣΤΩΡ) and of his son Antilochos (ΑΝΤΙΛΟΧΟΣ *sic*). On the wall are suspended his pilos, shield, and greaves; at the left is seen the chariot to which Hektor was attached. Below Achilles is Priam (ΠΡΙΑΜΟΣ). The old man, dressed in a rich Phrygian costume, has an olive-branch in his left hand, but he is not holding it out, as a suppliant, to the slayer of his son, being entirely absorbed in the spectacle presented to his gaze. The dead body of Hektor (ΕΚΤΩΡ) is before him, borne by two men, whose steps are directed towards the balance in which the corpse of the Trojan hero is to be weighed. Behind the king is Thetis (ΘΕΤΙΣ), mother of Achilles, and a young man, possibly a Myrmidon. The two winged genii seem to be funereal; one is preparing to lay a wreath upon the body of Hektor, the other brings fillets and a tray laden with fruits. The painter has followed Homer (*Iliad*, xxiv.) and the tragedy of Aischylos, now lost, entitled *The Phrygians, or the Ransom of Hektor*. To the tragic poet belongs the idea of weighing the body. (See Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, 464 *et seq.*)



RANSOM OF HEKTOR.

yields to momentary terror as Achilles comes up, and leaving the gates, flees in fear around the wall of Troy. Achilles follows him. "They past the watch-place and wind-waved wild fig-tree sped ever, away from under the wall, along the wagon-track, and came to the two fair-flowing springs, where two fountains rise that feed deep-eddying Skamandros. The one floweth with warm water, and smoke goeth up therefrom around as it were from a blazing fire, while the other even in summer floweth forth like cold hail or snow or ice that water formeth. And there beside the springs are broad washing-troughs hard by, fair troughs of stone, where wives and fair daughters of the men of Troy were wont to wash bright raiment, in the old time



COMBAT BETWEEN ACHILLEUS AND HEKTOR.²

of peace, before the sons of the Achaians came. Thereby they ran, he flying, he pursuing. Valiant was the flier, but far mightier he who fleetly pursued him. . . . Thrice around Priam's city circled those twain with flying feet, and all the gods were gazing on them. . . . But when the fourth time they had reached the springs, then the Father hung his golden balances, and set therein two lots of dreary death; and the lot of Hektor inclined and sank. The son of Priam stood still and waited for his foe. "He drew his sharp sword that by his flank hung great and strong, and gathered himself and swooped like a soaring eagle that darteth to the plain through the dark elouds to seize a tender lamb or crouching hare." But Achilles pierced him in the throat with his spear, "and the shadow of death came down upon him, and his soul flew forth of his limbs and was gone to the house of Hades, wailing her fate, leaving her vigor and youth."²

¹ A vase-painting from Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, pl. civ. Hektor (HEKTOP), mortally wounded, is about to fall; Apollo (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ), his protector, abandons him and retires, while Athene (ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ) urges on the victorious Achilles (ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ). (See book xxii. of the *Iliad*, and Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, p. 448.)

² *Iliad* [prose translation, p. 445].

Then Achilles stripped Hektor of his armor, pierced his ankles, and thrusting thongs of ox-hide through them, bound him to his chariot, leaving the head to trail, and, mounting his chariot and lashing the horses to speed, dragged the body around the city walls. Then, returning to the camp, he threw it down beside the bier of Patroklos. On the following day he rendered stately funeral honors to his friend, accompanied by the sacrifice of twelve young captives on the funeral pile, and ending with contests in chariot-racing, boxing, wrestling, and running.

Achilleus had fiercely refused the dying Hektor's appeal for funeral rites, and had sworn that dogs and birds should devour him utterly: but during all the days and nights that the body lay in the dust, Aphrodite and Apollo protected it. At last, on the twelfth day, Priam comes, guided by Hermes, to beg for his son's body. He enters the hut of Achilleus, embraces his knees, and kisses his hands, "terrible, man-slaying, that slew many of Priam's sons." He entreats the hero, for his own father's sake, to show mercy. "Thy father," he says, "is of like years with me, on the grievous pathway of old age. Him haply are the dwellers round about entreating evilly, nor is there any to ward from him ruin and bane. Nevertheless while he heareth of thee as yet alive he rejoiceth in his heart, and hopeth withal day after day that he shall see his dear son returning from Troy-land. But I, I am utterly unblest, since I begat sons the best men in wide Troy-land, but declare unto thee that none of them is left. Fifty I had when the sons of the Achaians came; nineteen were born to me of one mother, and concubines bare the rest within my halls. Now of the more part had inpetuous Ares unstrung the knees, and he who was yet left, and guarded city and men, him slewest thou but now as he fought for his country. . . . For his sake come I unto the ships of the Achaians that I may win him back from thee, and I bring with me untold ransom. . . . Have compassion on me, even me, bethinking thee of thy father. Lo I am yet more piteous than he, and have braved what none other man on earth hath braved before,—to stretch forth my hand toward the face of the slayer of my sons." ¹

¹ *Iliad* [prose translation, p. 493].

NOTE.—On the opposite page is represented a marble group, now in Florence in the *Loggia de' Lanzi*, and known under the name of the *Pasquino*. There are several antique replicas of this work of art. (See Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, p. 551.)



AIAS BEARING THE BODY OF ACHILLEUS.

Achilleus is touched by this appeal: he weeps with Priam, himself lamenting for his own father and for the dead Patroklos, as the old man laments for man-slaying Hektor. He accepts the ransom which Priam has brought. — “twelve very goodly women’s robes, and twelve cloaks of single fold, and of coverlets a like number, and of fair sheets, and of doublets thereupon. . . . And talents of gold, ten in all, and two shining tripods, and four caldrons, and a goblet exceeding fair that the men of Thrace had given him when he went thither on an embassy; yet not that even did the old man grudge from his halls, for he was exceeding fain at heart to ransom his dear son.”¹ Achilleus courteously entertains Priam with meat and wine; and by night the old man departs, bearing with him in his mule-chariot the dead body of his son.

The *Iliad* goes no farther, but tradition continues the story. With Hektor, Troy had lost her stanchest bulwark; yet, aided by Penthesileia, queen of the Amazons, and Memnon the Ethiopian, the city still held out. Achilleus in his turn falls wounded in the heel by a shaft from the bow of Paris, directed by Apollo. Aias and Odysseus dispute for the possession of his arms; the assembly of the Greeks adjudge them to the latter, whereupon Aias, furious and desperate, casts himself upon his sword.

BRONZE COIN.²

Troy, however, could not be taken until a statue, the Palladion,³ which Zeus had given to Dardanos, had been removed from the city, and until Philoktetes, possessor of the bow of Herakles, should be present in the camp of the Greeks. This hero, wounded in the foot by an arrow, of which the point had been dipped in the blood of the Lernean hydra, had been abandoned by the Greeks on the Island of Lemnos on account of the insupportable odor which escaped from his wound. Pyrrhos, son of Achilleus, sent to persuade him to rejoin his comrades, overcomes his resis-

¹ *Iliad* [English prose translation, p. 485].

² Aias kneeling, piercing himself with his sword; at his feet is his shield. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Prusa in Bithynia, with the effigy of Caracalla; inscription, ΠΡΟΥΣΑΙΩΝ.)

³ [The Palladion (Latin, *Palladium*) is properly an ancient image of Pallas Athene, revered and guarded as a pledge of the safety of the town to which it belonged. The Trojan Palladion was said to have been four and a half feet in height, and to have held in the right hand a spear, and in the left a spindle and a distaff. — ED.]

tance; Machaon heals him; and Paris falls, pierced by one of his arrows. But the Palladion was still shut up within the citadel of the city, and the Trojans, to guard against its capture, had made several imitations of it. Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, penetrates into the city, and in spite of all obstacles carries back to the camp of the Greeks the fated object.



PHILOKTETES ON THE ISLAND OF LEMNOS.¹

This heroic war ended, however, with a stratagem. After embarking their men, the Greek chiefs, concealed within an immense wooden horse, — a deceptive offering which they had left on the plain of Troy, — were brought into the city by the Trojans themselves, notwithstanding the warnings of Laokoön. The gods, resolved to bring about the ruin of Troy, instantly punished his patriotic prudence by sending against him two serpents, who strangled him, with his two sons, in their writhing folds at the very foot of the altar upon which he was about to sacrifice. The following night the hundred chiefs enclosed in the flanks of the wooden horse issued from it and

¹ Painting on a vase, taken from L. A. Milani, *Il mito di Filottete* (Florence, 1879), fig. xxiv. and p. 80. Philoktetes, his head mournfully inclined upon his breast, is seated on a rock under the shade of a tree. His left foot is wrapped in bandages. At his right and in reach of his hand are the quiver and bow of Herakles, which later will decide the fate of Troy.

opened the city gates for their comrades, who had returned with all possible speed. Troy was destroyed, Priam slain, and Hekabe and her daughters carried into captivity. One of them, Polyxene,



HEPHAISTOS AND EPEIOS CONSTRUCTING THE TROJAN HORSE.¹

was sacrificed upon the tomb of Achilleus; Andromache, the widow of Hektor, was given to Pyrrhos, the son of Achilleus; and Kassandra, another daughter of Priam, to Agamemnon. Aineias—son of Aphrodite and Anchises—and Antenor were the only Trojans who escaped from the carnage or the captivity. The probable date of this event is 1184.

Troy was not, however, entirely destroyed, or else it was rebuilt later; for the ancient historian Xanthos² relates that the

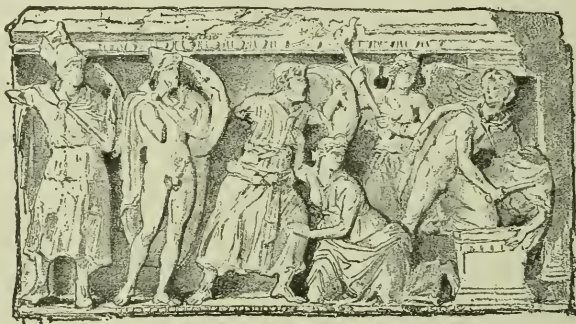
¹ Engraving on an Etruscan mirror of the *Cabinet de France* (Chabouillet, *Catalogue*, No. 3,134). Hephaistos (*Sethlans*) on the left, and Epeios (*Etule*) at the right, are busy completing the wooden horse (*Pecse*,—Pegasus). The horse is fastened by the right leg, as were sometimes the statues of the gods in the temples, and the inscription *Hlus*, which is legible at the right, is a part of the dedication: "The Hellenes [to Athene]." Hephaistos, wearing a chlamys, holds in his left hand what is probably a lump of pitch; Epeios has the cap and costume of a Phrygian. Cf. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, iii. 219.

² Strabo, book xii. 8, 3, and xiv. 2, 14. On the discoveries of Schliemann in 1873, see above, pp. 150-152.

city was besieged and taken, many years later, by the Phrygians. This time its destruction was complete. Its very ruins have disappeared:¹ and the traveller, vainly seeking them, can easily fill this solitude with the grand scenes which the immortal poem brings before him. The mighty city is obliterated from the surface of the earth, while the voice of a blind and mendicant poet outlives the centuries.

TETRACHM.²

But terrible expiations awaited the conquerors of Troy. Odysseus wandered for ten years over the waves before seeing again his loved Ithaka. Menelaos was driven about by tem-

DEATH OF PRIAM.³

pests during eight years. Agamemnon perished, murdered by Klytannestra and her lover Aigisthos, and they in turn fall by the hand of Orestes, who obeys the command of Apollo. Diomedes,

¹ . . . *Etiam perire ruinae* (Lucan. *Pharsalia*, ix. 969).

² Aineias, armed like a Trojan warrior, makes his escape, bearing his aged father on his shoulder. He is preceded by his wife, Kreousa, who, with her head turned towards him, is fleeing, carrying their son. As an inscription, AINEΑΣ; in the field, a rosette; on the reverse, an incused square. (A tetrachm of Aineia, in Macedonia, struck about the year 600 B.C. The unique coin is in the Museum of Berlin. See *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (1880), vii. 221.)

³ Bas-relief on a marble urn in the Louvre. Pyrrhos, dagger in hand, is about to strike Priam, whom he holds extended upon the altar of Zeus Herkeios, near a palace or a temple, the entablature of which is seen. Behind this group is a Fury, with torch in hand. Pyrrhos has his head turned towards one of the daughters of Priam, who, kneeling before the altar, at the same moment looks back at her father and supplicates Agamemnon. The latter is advancing, doubtless with uplifted sword, against Priam. Behind him stand Odysseus, identified by his pilos, and another warrior, inactive and contemplating the scene.

Jaume p 262



Dambourgez chromolith.

CORINTHIAN VASE
(Museum of the Louvre)
Mourning over the dead Achilles

Impr Lemercier et C.

threatened with a similar fate at Argos, escapes into Italy. Athene, pursuing with her wrath Aias, son of Oileus, wrecks his vessel. He finds refuge on a rock, exclaiming, "I shall escape in spite of the gods." Poseidon splits the rock with a blow of his trident, and hurls the blasphemer into the sea. Teukros, who was driven away from home by his father's curse for not having avenged the death of Aias, his brother, went to the Island of Cyprus and founded there a new Salamis. According to tradition, Philoktetes, Idomeneus, and Epeios went as far as the shores of Italy, which also offered an asylum to the Trojan Antenor and to the son of Anchises. The poets sang the misfortunes of these heroes, and their recitals formed a complete epic cycle, of which only the *Odyssey* remains. — in all probability not of the same epoch or by the same hand as the *Iliad*.

The following is briefly the story of the *Odyssey*. Years had passed since the fall of Troy, and still Odysseus, king of Ithaka, was unable again to behold the smoke ascending from his native isle. Penelope his wife has never ceased for a single day to weep for her husband, but now no longer can resist the importunities of her suitors. They imperiously bid her choose which of them shall rule over her and over Ithaka, and meantime, having established themselves in the palace of Odysseus, they consume his wealth.

Penelope has a son, Telemachos, now approaching man's estate. Pallas, bestowing upon him the same affection which she has always had for his father, advises him to summon the people and denounce before them the indignities committed by the suitors, and then to go himself and seek at Pylos and Sparta, from Nestor and "the auburn-haired Menelaos," some tidings of his father.

Odysseus in the mean time was languishing in the Island of Ogygia, where the goddess Kalypso,¹ daughter of the rude Atlas, who holds up the columns of heaven, detained him as her lover for eight years. The recollection of his native land at length, with the aid of the gods, breaks the spell. He constructs a raft and launches out upon the waves. But a tempest shatters his frail craft; and for two days and nights he battles against the furious waves, which at last fling him, half dead with hunger and fatigue,

¹ From *καλύπτω*, to conceal.

upon the Island of Korkyra. There he sees the beautiful Nausikaa, who, in the midst of her companions, directed them as they washed in the stream the rich garments of her father, Alkinoös, the powerful king of the island. The maiden receives the hero as a being sent by the gods, and Athene, under the form of a young girl, herself leads him to the king's palace, where Odysseus repays the sumptuous hospitality of Alkinoös by relating to him his long series of misfortunes. He tells the king how, driven by the wrath of Poseidon the Earth-shaker, he was cast, first upon the inhospitable coasts of the Lotos-eaters, and then upon the land of the Cyclopes. Here he encountered Polyphemos, who killed and ate several of his company, and intended the same fate for them all. But Odysseus succeeded in blinding the giant by driving a sharp stake into his one eye while the Cyclops lay asleep, and made his escape with his surviving companions. Reaching the island of Aiolos, the friendly keeper of the winds, the wanderer received from him an ox-bladder in which were bound fast all unfavorable gales, while the west wind was suffered to blow, that it might quickly bring the Greek vessels to their desired haven. For nine days and nights their course was then prosperous, and their paternal fields were in sight, and fires burning on the shore. At this moment of apparent security Odysseus ventured to fall asleep, upon which his companions, wishing to know what was in the bladder that had been given their leader, opened it. Instantly all the winds rushed forth, and the storm bore the vessel far out to sea. After many days they landed upon the island of Circe (Kirke), the enchantress, who changed men into brutes by certain harmful drugs mingled with their food,—a danger from which Odysseus alone was able to protect himself. Thence making his way into Hades, he consulted many souls of the dead; returning to the outer world, the wanderers passed by the rocks of the Seirenes, whose wiles Odysseus escaped by causing himself to be bound to the mast, after having stopped his companions' ears with wax; they then made their way, with great damage to their vessel, between Skylla and Charybdis, and immediately after-



NAUSIKAA.¹

¹ Head of Nausikaa, on a bronze coin of Lesbos. Inscription: ΝΑΥΣΙΚΑΑΝ ΗΡΩΙΔΑ. The reverse of this medal represents Sappho seated, and playing upon the lyre.

wards landed on the island of the Sun. Here beautiful oxen were feeding, the property of the god; and being overcome with hunger, the companions of Odysseus, notwithstanding his remonstrances, slaughtered some of them. As a punishment for this sacrilege, they suffered shipwreck, and Odysseus, the sole survivor, was cast upon the island of Kalypso.

Alkinoös, delighted with these long narrations, embodying all the marvellous traditions current in Greece as to the countries of the



VIEW OF ITHAKA.¹

West, bestowed liberal gifts upon the hero, and prepared to send him on his way in a swift vessel. A strong serving-man accompanied him to the shore, and maidens bearing a change of garments for the journey, and bread and wine.

“Now when they had come down to the ship and the sea, straightway the good men of the escort . . . strewed for Odysseus a rug and a sheet of linen, on the decks of the hollow ship in the hinder part thereof, that he might sleep sound. Then he too climbed aboard and laid him down in silence, while they sat upon the benches every man in order, and unbound

¹ From the Duchess of Devonshire's *Æneid*, in which are engravings of the principal places mentioned in the poem.

the hawser from the pierced stone. So soon as they leant backward, and tossed the sea-water with the oar-blade, a deep sleep fell upon his eyelids, a sound sleep, very sweet, and next akin to death. And even as on



CONTORNIATE MEDALLION.¹

a plain a yoke of four stallions comes springing all together beneath the lash, leaping high, and speedily accomplishing the way, so leaped the stern of that ship, and the dark wave of the sounding sea rushed mightily in the wake, and she ran ever severely on her way, nor could a circling hawk keep pace with her, of winged things the swiftest. Even thus she lightly sped and cleft the waves of the sea, bearing a man whose counsel was as the counsel of the gods, one that erewhile had suffered much sorrow of heart. in passing through the wars of men and the grievous waves; but for that time he slept in peace, forgetful of all that he had suffered.”¹

In the early morning they reach the coast of Ithaka, and here, in a sheltered harbor, the sailors beach the vessel. “Then they alighted from the benched ship upon the land, and first they lifted Odysseus from out the hollow ship all as he was in the sheet of linen and the bright rug, and laid him yet heavy with slumber on the sand.” By his side they place the gifts that had been sent by Alkinoös, and depart homeward again.

Presently Odysseus awakes, and, looking about him, is unable to recognize his native land. Pallas Athene having shed a mist over him that she might conceal him from the sight of others. He believes himself abandoned, and curses the perfidy of the sailors; but shortly the goddess appears to him, first as a young man, “the herdsman of a flock, a young man most delicate, such as are the sons of kings,” and later as “a woman, fair and tall, and skilled in splendid handiwork.” After talking with him for a while, she scatters the mist and the land appears, and “the steadfast, goodly Odysseus was glad, rejoicing in his own land, and he kissed the earth, the grain-giver.”

By the advice and assistance of the goddess he disguises himself

¹ The monster Skylla, surrounded by dogs, in a biga drawn by two dolphins with long, uplifted tails, holds a rudder with her left hand, and with her right grasps by the hair the pilot of Odysseus' vessel. The king of Ithaka, helmeted, comes to the defence of his companion. On the ship are seen several warriors, and in the water other companions of Odysseus. (Reverse of a contorniate medallion; on the obverse, the head of Rome, helmeted.)

² *Odyssey* [Butcher and Lang's translation. pp. 209, 210 *et seq.*].

as an aged beggar. "Therewith Athene touched him with her wand. His fair flesh she withered on his supple limbs, and made waste his yellow hair from off his head, and over all his limbs she cast the skin of an old man, and dimmed his two eyes, erewhile so fair. And she changed his raiment to a vile wrap and a doublet, torn garments and filthy, stained with foul smoke. And over all she clad him with the great bald hide of a swift stag, and she gave him a staff and a mean tattered scrip, and a cord therewith to hang it." Then by her command he goes to seek his old and faithful swineherd Eumaios, who will tell him all that has passed during his twenty-years' absence.

ODYSSEUS BEGGING.¹

Meantime Athene herself departs to Sparta, "the land of fair women," to call home Telemachos, the hero's son. The latter promptly responds to her summons; arriving in Ithaka, he also repairs to the swineherd's hut, and there meets his father, who, after some conversation, makes himself known. The young man then returns to the palace, whither later in the day Odysseus comes, presenting himself before his wife Penelope, with the aspect of an aged and feeble beggar. No one suspects the presence of the master of the house except his old dog and his nurse, Eurykleia.

The palace is full of the suitors of Penelope, haughty, insolent, and rapacious. She has long put them off; but at last, prompted by Athene, makes known that she will accept as her husband that one among them who can bend the bow of Odysseus. The trial is appointed for the day following. One after another the suitors make the attempt and fail. At last Odysseus himself grasps his own weapon; he bends the bow, and sends the arrow true to its mark. Then, standing in the threshold of his house, he takes aim at the suitors in succession, and does not desist until the last is laid dead.

The favorite of Athene has finally expiated, by his long series of misfortunes, the injury which he inflicted upon the Cyclops, the son of Poseidon: and now comes the recompense. He regains

¹ Engraved stone (onyx), from Overbeck. *Bildwerke*, pl. xxxiii. No. 9. Odysseus carries a sword beneath his beggar's wallet, and seems to be speaking to some one.

his wife, his possessions, and his island, in spite of hostile divinities and opposing men, and almost in spite of Destiny, over which he triumphs by his indomitable perseverance and by the



ODYSSEUS RECOGNIZED BY HIS NURSE.¹

ingenious subtlety of a mind never at a loss for suitable words or useful expedients. Odysseus is the symbol of the crafty wisdom of the Greeks, as Achilles was to them the type of invincible strength and brilliant valor. In historical times the former of these types bore the name of Themistokles, the latter that of Alexander. In every epoch there is found an Odysseus and an Achilles among the heroes of this people; and in this fact we may see one of the many reasons which have made the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* immortal.



SILVER COIN.²

¹ Bas-relief in terra-cotta from the *Villa Albani*, taken from Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti*, t. ii., pt. ii., No. 161, and p. 217. While washing his feet, Eurykleia, the aged nurse, has recognized the scar of a wound which her master had received in hunting. She is rising to her feet, but Odysseus places his hand over her mouth, preventing her from speaking his name to the aged Eumaios, who approaches to solicit alms. Lying by the side of Odysseus is his faithful dog Argos.

² Odysseus returning to Ithaka, wearing the conical helmet and holding a traveller's staff in his hand: his dog is bounding at his feet. (Reverse of a silver denarius of the Roman Republic, bearing the name of C. Mamilius Limetanus.)

CHAPTER IV.

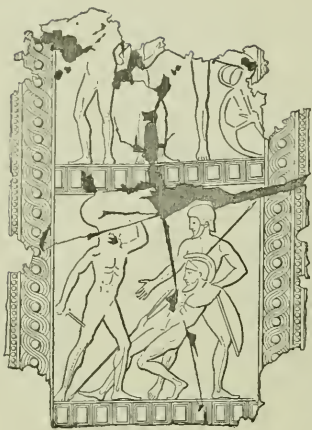
THE DORIANS.

I. — MOVEMENTS OF PEOPLES IN GREECE AFTER THE TROJAN WAR.

THE Trojan war, legend tells us, lasted ten years, — a number having mystic significance, which was later assigned as the duration of the Sacred War of Kirrha; at an epoch, however, when more authentic history begins. Was it this long absence of the chiefs, the tragic adventures of the homeward journey, or the dispersion or destruction of the great army, which determined new movements of the peoples? We cannot tell; but an important fact is clearly revealed, — Greece has changed its aspect. Before this war the supremacy belonged to the Achaians, and, among them, to the Pelopids, who had sought to conquer Asia, and had so far exhausted themselves in the attempt that their enfeebled condition permitted new tribes to attain pre-eminence. Internal disturbances again manifested themselves; most of the ancient royal houses had become extinct, and many of the inhabitants migrated to other lands.

What is called the “Dorian migration” marks therefore a new period in the history of Greece.¹ The superiority of power previously exercised by the maritime tribes of the eastern coast who had remained in uninterrupted relations with the Asiatic

¹ This is the epoch at which Ephoros and Kallisthenes placed the beginning of the authentic history of Greece. But how much remains uncertain between the twelfth and the sixth century B. C. ! The Greeks reckoned the events of this epoch as follows: invasion of the Thessalians, fifty years after the capture of Troy; establishment of the Aiolians in Boiotia, sixty; return of the Herakleids, eighty; Aiolian colonies, one hundred and fifty; Ionian, one hundred and forty. According to this chronology, constructed for the purpose of supplying some clew for the guidance of history, the Dorian migration must have occurred in 1104. Some critics bring it one, or even two, centuries nearer to our epoch. For my own part, amid the darkness I am in doubt.

FRAGMENTS OF BRONZES.²

populations, passed over to the tribes of the interior and the North. Greek life, so brilliant and already so expansive in the Homeric story, becomes narrow and colorless. The darkness, which poetry had for a time dispelled, again descends upon the Hellenic world, and envelops it for six centuries. This night of history is traversed by the flickering rays which are projected from a very few events. Too feeble to give any general light, they are nevertheless sufficient to show us peoples aroused and on the march, and a great revolution in progress.

The movement originated in the West, — that region where the names Greek and Hellene were indigenous, and where stood the ancient shrine of Dodona.¹ Many times had the men of this land, climbing the summits of Pindos, cast their longing gaze upon the smiling and fertile plains which they beheld extending far below them to the banks of the Spercheios and the Peneios. The defile of Gomphoi opened to them an easy road into this land of promise, and many had passed that way. These migrations, which bear witness to the authority of the god of Dodona in the land which then bore the name of Haimonia, have

¹ See above, p. 122, note 1.

² Fragments of bronzes found at Dodona. After Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, pl. xvi. Scenes of combat. On the third plaque we recognize two of the labors of Herakles, — the struggle with the Kretan bull and against Acheloös, or perhaps the Lernean hydra.

left no trace in the memory of man. The legend, as usual referring the origin of every people to some hero, tells us only of a descendant of Herakles, Thessalos, whose sons, returning from the Trojan war, were cast upon the shores of Epeiros and settled there, giving to their subjects the name of Thessalians. The signification of this is, doubtless, that one of the Herakleian bands which had followed the mythic hero, or, more probably, lived with sword in hand, obtained the suprémacie in Epeiros.

COIN OF THE BOIOTIANS.¹

While the inhabitants of Haimonia were becoming enervated in the midst of abundance, the Thessalians in the wild valleys of Epeiros were exclusively devoted to hunting and war, with the savage modes of life which their neighbors in Aitolia retained until the latest days of Greece. At an epoch impossible to determine, placed by conjecture at about 1134, these Thessalians in great numbers crossed the Pindos and fell upon the Aioliens of Arne,² who claimed descent from the hero Boiotos, and called themselves Boiotians. The Thessalians gained an easy victory over them, and divided among themselves the land and the captives. The latter, under the name of Penestai, or "slaves," became degraded to the condition of serfs of the soil.

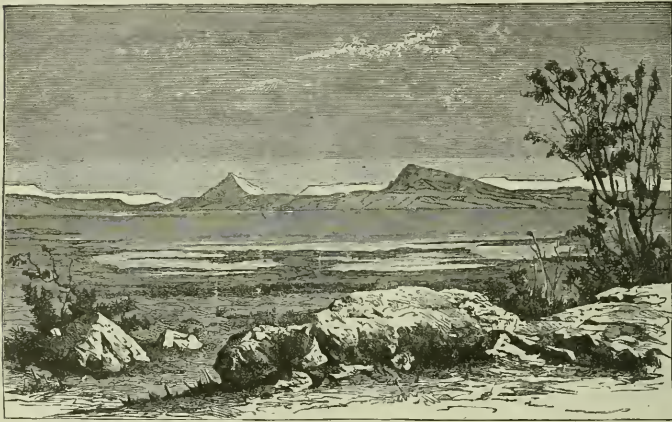
A part of the conquered people chose exile in preference to servitude under these imperious masters. They went southward, carrying their gods, Poseidon and Itonian Athene, with what they could rescue of their wealth and flocks. Crossing the Oite, they found, in the valley of the Kopaïs, a region which resembled Arne, with fertile fields and abundant water. Two peoples held sway there, — the Kadmeians of Thebes, and the Minyai of Orchomenos, both enfeebled by the recent war with the Epigonoï. The Boiotians, by fair means or foul, established themselves between the two cities, on the northern bank of Lake Kopaïs, where they built a new Arne, which in a short time gained the mastery over its neighbors. An inundation of the Kopaïs destroyed their city;

¹ Silver coin of Boiotia, *in genere*. Laurelled head of Zeus, facing the right. On the reverse, ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ. Victory standing, facing the left, holding a lance and a crown. In the field, a monogram of a magistrate's name.

² Kiepert places Arne at Kierion, on a tributary of the Peneios, to the southwest of Krannon, in the region afterwards called Thessaliotis.

but the other cities were now open to them and in their power, with the exception of Thespiæ and Plateia; and the region which till now had been without a common name was called, from its new masters, Boiotia.

Other exiles came from Haimonia. The Dorians, who dwelt at the foot of Olympos, bravely crossed the whole country rather than submit, and, becoming conquerors instead of fugitives, captured from the Dryopes the high valleys which extend from the



LAKE KOPAÏS.¹

Oite to Mount Parnassos, and remained there ever afterwards. They had also brought from the valley of Tempe their national god, Apollo, whom they regarded as the father of their ancestor Doros, and of whom they were always most zealous worshippers. The sacred road which, at a later period, led from Delphi to Tempe, passed over their territory.

Thus Northern Greece changed inhabitants and political institutions, losing by this revolution the importance which it had acquired in the heroic age. Haimonia had been one of the principal centres of Hellenic life, the home of gods and heroes, and

¹ From *Le Tour du Monde*, xxxiii. 104. The draining of this lake was undertaken in June, 1886.

of the most ancient legends. Almost all the Homeric poetry springs from it. Under its new masters the country separated from the common life. Hellas henceforth had narrower limits. Thermopylai became the gateway of Greece instead of the Pass of Tempe, and Parnassos instead of Olympos the religious centre of the new society.

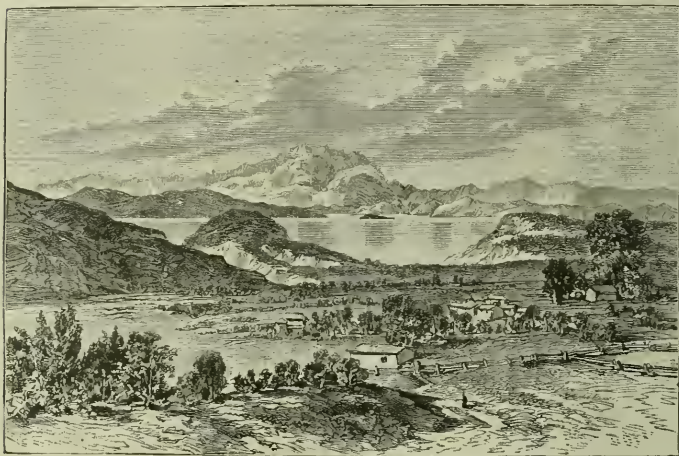
II. — RETURN OF THE HERAKLEIDS (1104?).

A MOVEMENT of peoples more important, in view of its consequences, was what is called the Return of the Herakleids. The poets tell us that Eurystheus, the enemy of the sons of Herakles, after having been their father's foe, had robbed them of their heritage and driven them from the Peloponnesos. Theseus, the faithful companion of the hero, was yet alive. The Herakleids joined him in hospitable Attika, and dwelt in the plain of Marathon, which, in memory of this fact, the Spartan troops during the Peloponnesian war, received orders to respect. Eurystheus summoned the king of Athens to deliver up the fugitives, and on his refusal invaded Attika. But the army of Eurystheus was destroyed, and he himself, with all his sons, slain, by the Athenians under Iolaos, Theseus, and Hyllos (the eldest son of Herakles and Deianeira), who now, with his family, remained the sole representatives of the divine race of Perseus.

The passage of the isthmus being forced, the victorious Herakleids spread over the peninsula. But a terrible pestilence reduced their numbers, and the response of the oracle, when consulted, was that they had returned before the epoch fixed by Destiny. According to another tradition, a numerous army of Ionians, Achaians, and Arkadians barred their passage. Hyllos offered to settle the quarrel by single combat, accepting the condition that the Herakleids should make no further attempt upon the Peloponnesos for fifty years, if he were vanquished. He was killed by Echemos, king of Arkadia (1204?); and his companions went back into

¹ In the mythologies, Perseus, son of Zeus and Danaë, has two sons, — Sthenelos, father of Eurystheus, and Elektryon, father of Alkmene, who was the mother of Herakles.

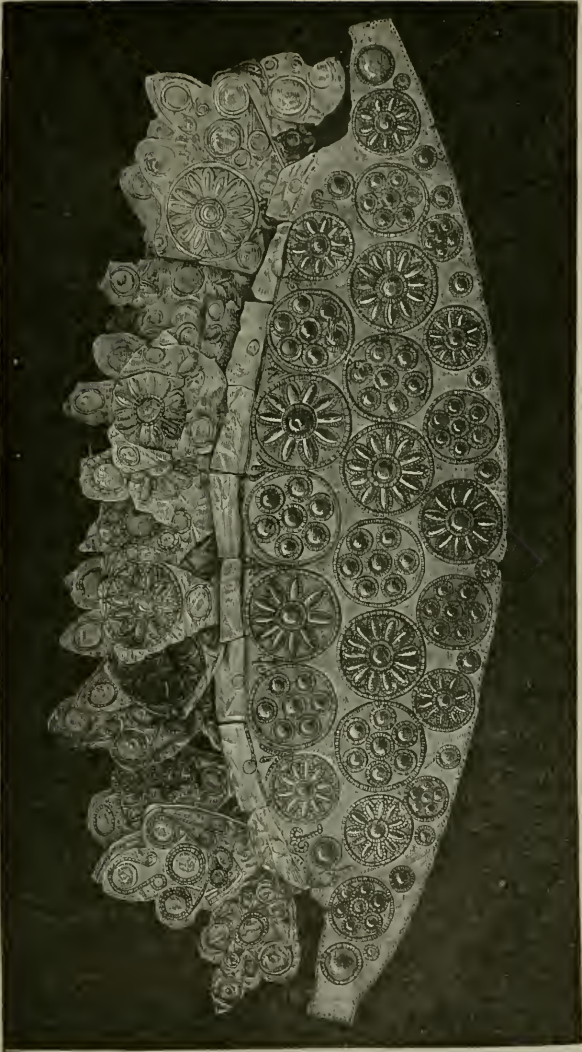
Attika, at a time when the Pelopid Atreus, son-in-law of Eurystheus, succeeded the latter on the throne of Mykenai. Further attempts made by the Herakleids only served to increase the power of the descendants of Pelops, about whom several tribes of the Peloponnesos took their stand, to defend the entrance of the peninsula against those who sought to conquer it. To the kingdoms of Mykenai and Tiryns the Pelopids united that of Sparta



PARNASSOS, FROM THE COAST OF AIGIALEIA (ACHAIA).

when Menelaos married the daughter and heiress of Tyndareus, the beautiful Helen. Corinth also acknowledged their supremacy, as did also Sikyon and seven cities about Pylos. Then the Herakleids, losing all hope of success, quitted Attika, where, besides, Theseus no longer reigned, and took refuge among the Dorians, who, mindful of the services once rendered by Herakles to their race against the Lapiths, received them with honor, espoused their quarrel, and, eighty years after the Trojan war, placed them at their head to secure victory.

¹ From Stackelberg's *La Grèce*. The view is taken at a point opposite the Gulf of Krissa and Mount Parnassos, not far from the presumed site of Gonoussa, a city situated on the Gulf of Corinth, between Sikyon and Aigeira.



GOLD DIADEM FOUND AT MYKENAL.

From Schliemann, Fig. 231.

Orestes, after having avenged upon Aigisthos and Klytaimnestra the murder of his father Agamemnon, and regained possession of the crown of Mykenai (1176 ?), had moreover united the kingdoms of Sparta and Argos and subjugated part of Arkadia. After a long reign he left to his son Tisamenos a dominion extending over more than half the Peloponnesos. Against this Tisamenos the Dorians advanced, guided by the Aitolian Oxylos, and under the leadership of three Herakleid chiefs, — three brothers, Temenos, Kresphontes, and Aristodemos.

Warned by an oracle, they did not attempt to enter the peninsula by way of the Isthmus of Corinth, so easy to defend. Here they merely made a demonstration which deceived Tisamenos, while the bulk of their forces, assembled at Naupaktos, where the gulf is only from eight to ten stadia wide, constructed a flotilla of rafts sufficient for the transportation of twenty thousand men.¹ They then rapidly crossed Aigialeia and Arkadia, took possession without a battle of Lakonia and of Argolis (whence Tisamenos made his escape), drove Melanthos, a descendant of Nestor, out of Messenia, and then divided their conquest by lot. Temenos obtained "royal Argos," and his descendants ruled over Troïzen, Epidauros, Aigina, and Phlious. Kresphontes obtained by a stratagem "beautiful Messenia," and established himself at Stenyklaros. Eurysthenes and Prokles, the two sons of Aristodemos, who died during the expedition,² received Lakonia. A fourth descendant of Herakles, Aletas, reigned afterwards at Corinth. Sikyon became the patrimony of another Herakleid. Lastly, Elis received without opposition Oxylos and his Aitolians, who were of the same origin as the ancient inhabitants of the country. Arkadia preserved its independence, but made a compact with the new rulers of the Peloponnesos.

Meanwhile Tisamenos, after having abandoned to the victors his

¹ The width of the strait between Rhion and Antirrhion is, according to Dodwell and Leake, about a mile and a half. Thueydides calls it only seven stadia, Strabo five, and Pliny one Roman mile.

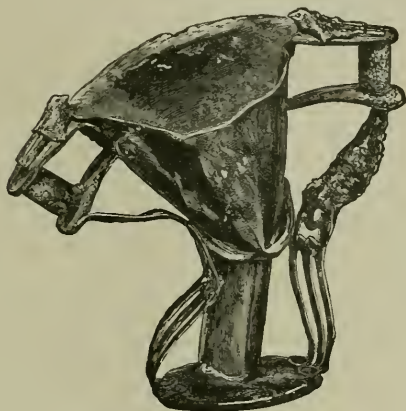
² ["It is said that Aristodemos died at Delphi before the Dorians returned to the Peloponnesos. Some, indeed, say, magnifying their own history, that Aristodemos was shot with arrows by Apollo because he had not gone to the oracle, but consulted Herakles, whom he chanced to meet first, as to how the Dorians should return to the Peloponnesos. But the truer account is that the sons of Pylades and Elektra, who were cousins of Tisamenos, the son of Orestes, murdered Aristodemos" (Pausanias iii. 1). — Ed.]

strongholds in Argolis, fell upon Aigialeia, drove out the Ionians, and established himself there with his Achaians, who gave their name to the country. The despoiled Ionians retreated into Attika, whither Melanthos had already preceded them with the Aiolians who had been expelled from Messenia, and a portion of the inhabitants of Phlious, Corinth, and Epidaurus.

In this manner Thessaly, Central Greece, and the Peloponnesos changed inhabitants, or at least masters. Two regions only were not affected by this overturning, — the two peninsulas in which Greece ends on the west and on the east, Akarnania, where the customs of the heroic age were so long preserved, and Attika, where they were so early lost. Attika, the last region to be itself invaded, felt from the first the consequences of other invasions. The Minyai and Tyrrhenes of Boiotia took refuge there after the Aiolian invasion; the fugitives from Troizen peopled the demoi of Sphettos and Anaphlystos. From Aigina came the Aiakidai, from whom Miltiades and Kimon were descended; from Messenia, the descendants of Neleus, who gave rise to the powerful families of the Alkmeionidai, the Peisistratidai, and the Paionidai. Attika was an asylum for all fugitives from the Peloponnesos and Central Greece. The Dorians, some years later, undertook to pursue them, and on their way captured Megara; but their progress being checked by the devotion of Kodros, they returned into their peninsula, — probably about the year 1066 B. C. Subsequently a column was erected near the middle of the isthmus which separated it from Central Greece, bearing these words engraved on the face fronting the Peloponnesos: "Here are the Dorians;" and on the other, which looks towards Attika: "There is Ionia." A long and disastrous rivalry made evident this distinction.

Such is the tradition generally followed regarding the Return of the Herakleids. This detailed account may be reduced to more simple facts. The companions of Herakles, or armed bands claiming the name of descendants of Herakles, adventurers like himself, gathered under their leadership, in Dryopis, the Dorians who had penetrated thus far. The Aiolians joined them, and together they resolved to leave their wild valleys and desolate mountains, and seek their fortune in the great and rich peninsula, where,

judging by the frightful legends current as to the Pelopidai, this royal house had lost the affection of the people. The conquest was neither so easily nor so rapidly accomplished as tradition asserts. The Achaians of an earlier generation had played too important a part to yield at the first blow, and we know that many States made a long resistance intrenched behind the solid ramparts of their cities. There was no fighting over Sikyon.



GOLD CUP FOUND AT MYKENAI.¹

Epidauros, Kleonai, Phlious, and Troizen. But Amyklai, Argos, and Corinth did not submit until after repeated assaults; and Mykenai and Tiryns never surrendered. These two cities preserved, together with their independence, their memories of the past. Every year, for centuries, they celebrated a solemn festival in honor of Agamemnon, and at the time of the Persian invasion they supplicated the ancient heroes of the country to aid them in the great war for independence.

In Messenia, the descendants of Nestor likewise remained free

¹ Taken from Schliemann, *Mycenae*, fig. 346. The description of Nestor's cup, as given by Homer (*Iliad*, xi. 632-635), applies in more than one point to the Mykenai vase, on which are found, for instance, the gold doves which adorned the handle of the "old man's magnificent cup." See W. Helbig, *Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert*, p. 272.

at Pylos, and though Sparta, an unwallèd city, fell into the power of the conquerors, it is evident that they were long unable to advance beyond the upper valley of the Eurotas. We know, for instance, that it was long before the Herakleids obtained possession of the eastern coast, from Argolis to Cape Malea. Incapable, as they were, of capturing a strongly walled town, it was the plan of these invaders to halt in some defensible position in its neighborhood, as at Temenion near Argos, and at Solygion near Corinth, and thence keep the city in constant alarm, until famine, a surprise, or an act of treachery, should open its gates to them.

One of the most momentous results of all these disturbances was the founding of colonies in the islands of the Ægæan Sea and upon the coast of Asia Minor. Their history we shall consider later; in the Peloponnesos itself, the Dorian conquest produced effects which were felt throughout its entire historic life. Only a portion of the vanquished, the royal or aristocratic families, emigrated, and almost everywhere, with the exception of Elis, where the fusion was complete, the two peoples remained side by side, one ruling, and the other ruled. This joint occupation of the same territory by conquerors and conquered, gave rise, wherever it occurred, to an aristocratic form of government; and this organization, which arose from a political necessity, entered so deeply into the social economy of the Dorian race that it became its principal characteristic. We find the same in Thessaly, among the Boiotians, and even at Athens, for it was at this period a general fact, like the upheavals which were its cause, although we usually study it as existing in Sparta only, because the separation of the two races and the enslavement of the one to the other came to be, in the city of Lycurgus (Lykourgos), the very principle of the constitution.

A powerful aristocracy and an enslaved populace,—with this, Greek history begins in the eleventh century before our era, and this was the cause of all the internal feuds with which Greece was torn until its latest hour. This history has two great representatives,—the Spartan people, and the Athenian: the one going to the extreme of the strictest form of aristocracy, the other to that of the broadest democracy; each having a different

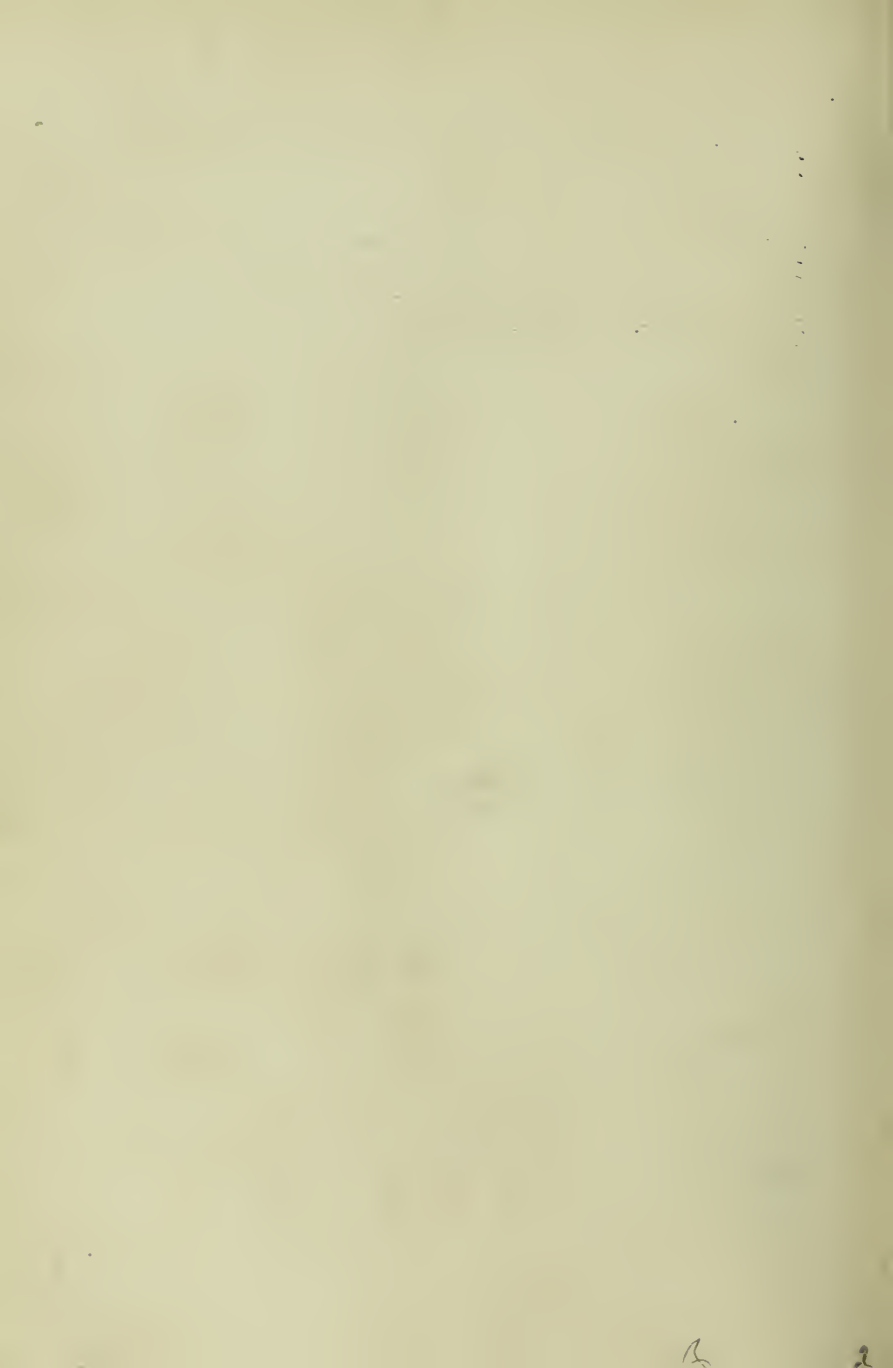
conception of life, of art, and of science, and each speaking its own dialect.

But before studying these two imposing types of the Hellenic race, we must linger a while in the heroic times, to consider their manners, their religion, and their social organization.

¹ Intaglio from Mykenai. From Schliemann's *Mycenae*, fig. 335. The scene is engraved on the stone of a massive gold ring.



SCENE OF COMBAT.¹



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