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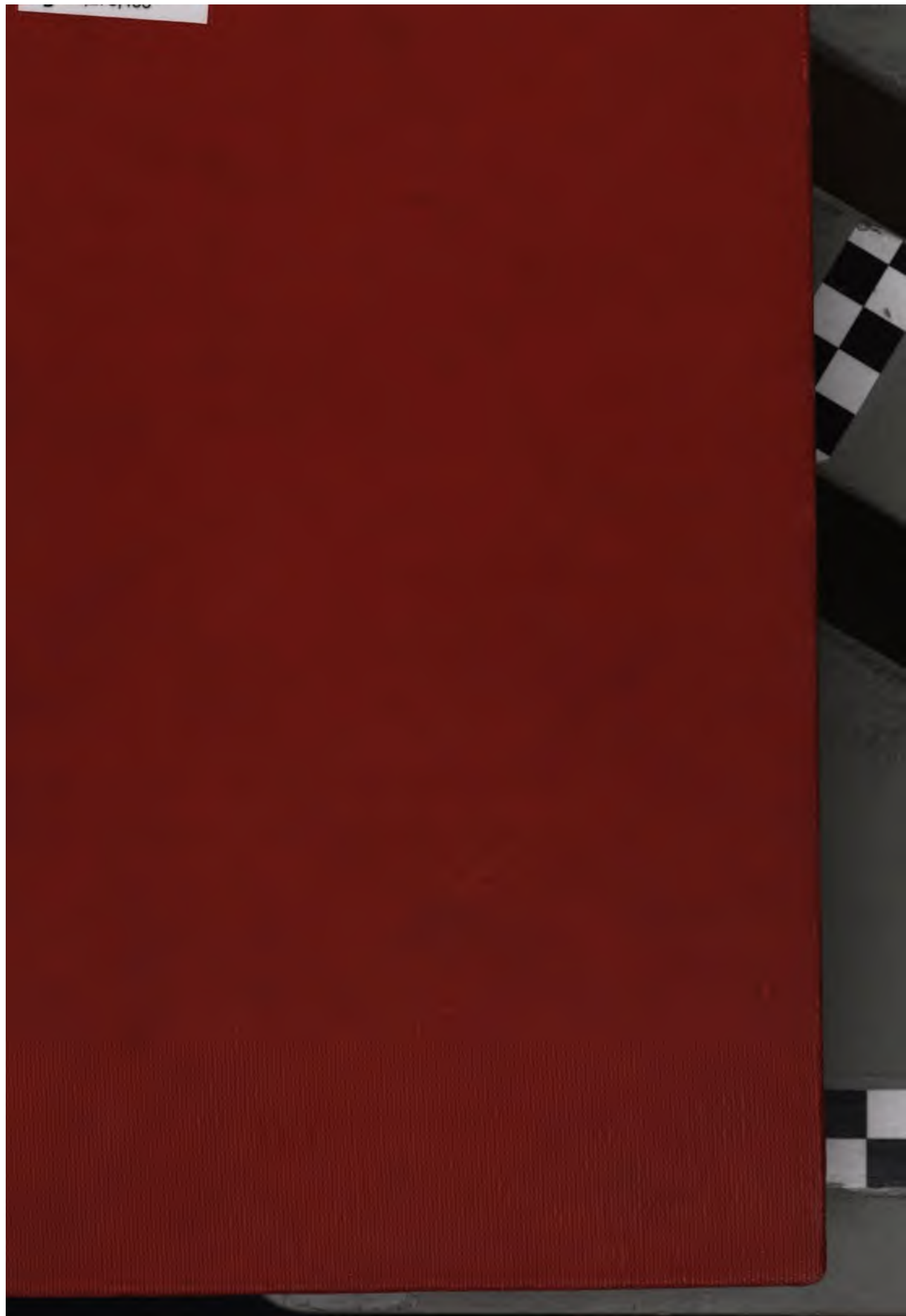
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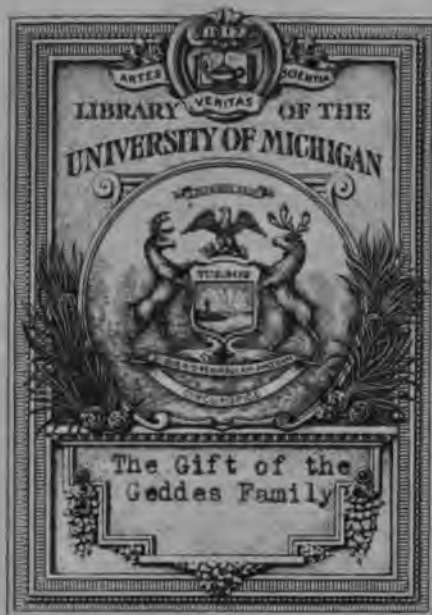
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PANATHENAIC AMPHORA
(Museum of the Louvre)



HISTORY OF GREECE,

AND OF THE GREEK PEOPLE,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

By VICTOR DURUY,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,
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TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY M. M. RIPLEY,

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION

By J. P. MAHAFFY,

DUBLIN UNIVERSITY, AUTHOR OF "SOCIAL LIFE IN GREECE," "GREEK LIFE AND THOUGHT,"
"STUDIES AND RAMBLES IN GREECE," ETC.

Containing over Two Thousand Engravings, including numerous Maps,
Plans, and Colored Plates.

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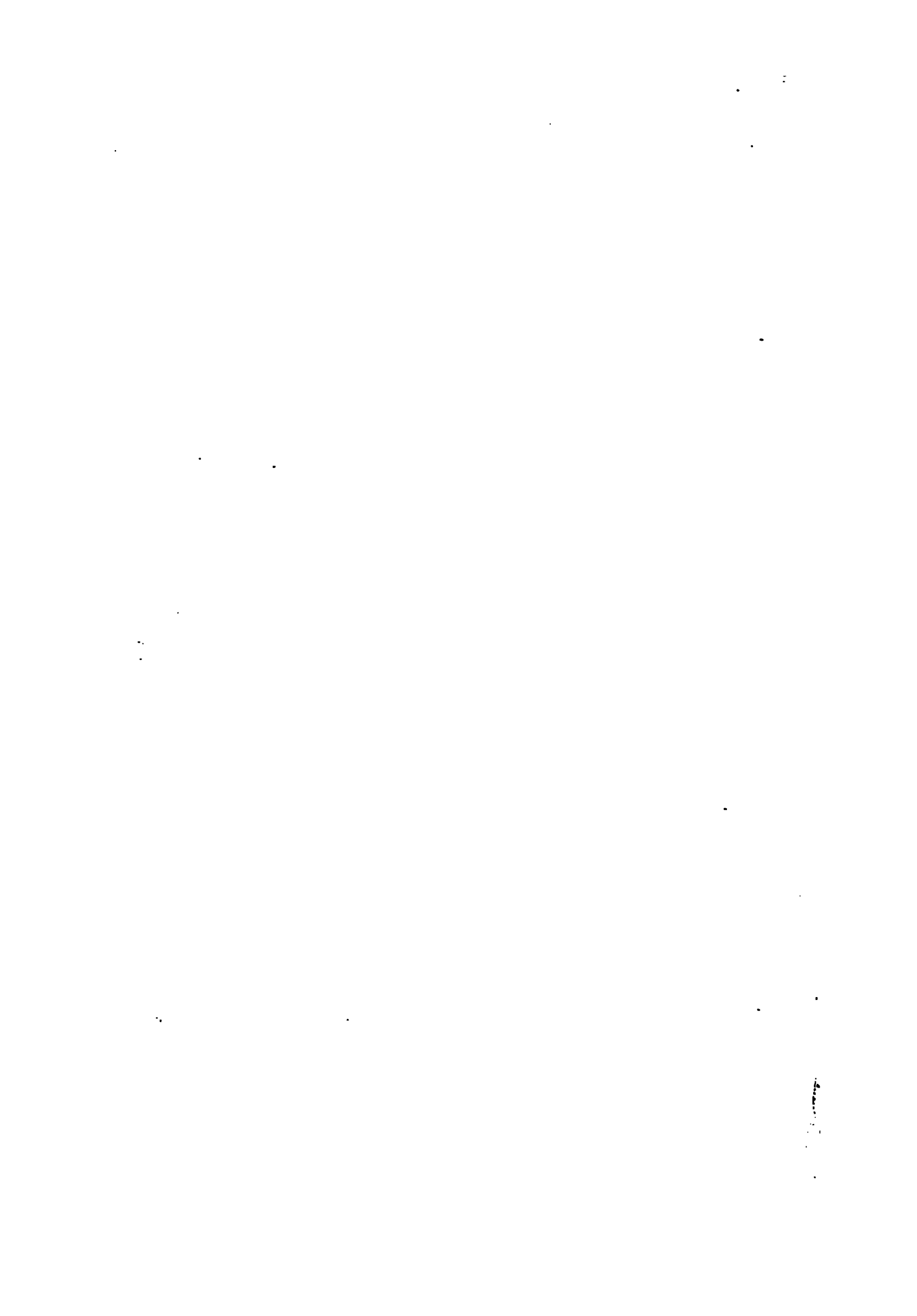
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¹ This plate represents a portion of the frieze of archers, from the palace of Darius in Susa. These bricks are of white porcelain, enamelled on one face in brilliant colors, and were found, sometimes entire, in other cases broken into fragments, which, however, could be matched and reunited. The archers are in profile, walking, and carry a javelin. Over the shoulder is slung a bow and a very large quiver. The uniforms, of different colors, are cut in the same shape, — a skirt cleft at the side, a short shirt with sleeves, belted at the waist, and a vest closed on the breast. The sleeves of this garment, open from the wrist to the elbow, allow the folds of the shirt-sleeve to fall through them. The material is bordered with a rich galloon. On the head is a twisted band, resembling the camel's rope which the Arabs wear. Ears and wrists are decked with jewels and bracelets of gold; the fine yellow shoes are buttoned on the instep. The materials of which the uniforms are made are of singular richness. The first archer has a yellow vest and robe, embroidered with blue and green daisies, and a shirt of dark purple; the second wears a white garment having black figures, on which is designed the citadel of Susa. The type of the figure is the same; the skin is black; the beard has bluish lights; and both beard and hair are closely curled. The drawing is broad and noble, the technique of great simplicity and power. The folds of the skirt and of the sleeves resemble the draperies of the Aiginetan school.

In comparing the costumes of these archers with the list Herodotos gives of the troops who followed Xerxes into Greece, it appears that thus were attired the ten thousand "Immortals" who formed the body-guard of the Great King. The question is extremely interesting, how came these black archers among the troops of the King of Persia? According to Dieulafoy, the primitive population of Susiana was a black race, — the Ethiopians of the Levant, whom Homer and Herodotos mention.

Whatever their race, these Immortals were of noble figure, and the frieze is a ceramic work of far higher order than the justly celebrated bas-reliefs of Luca della Robbia. The materials employed were very simple, — a coarse falence run into good moulds, and doubtless finished with the chisel; and for colors, turquoise blue, yellow, manganese, white, and a little purple. But the touch of genius made them a splendid work.

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PERIKLES.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

SECOND PERIOD.

FROM THE DORIAN MIGRATION TO THE MEDIAN WARS.
(1104–490 B. C.)

ISOLATION OF THE STATES. — INTERIOR REVOLUTIONS. — COLONIES.

(Continued.)

CHAPTER X.

THE PEISISTRATIDAI AND KLEISTHENES (560–500 B. C.).

I. — PEISISTRATOS.

THE principles upon which rested the legislation of Solon were in accord with the character and the needs of the Athenian people; his laws, consequently, were destined to live.¹ But time is required before old parties relinquish power and leave new institutions to work with regularity. The past cannot be effaced with the stroke of a pen. Even after it is under sentence of death its influence still endures, and we have seen communities that had been overthrown to their very foundations, still unable thoroughly to uproot it and enter freely upon a new life. In a certain degree this resistance is legitimate, for it hinders progress from becoming precipitate; and for the State, as well as for the family, tradition is an element which ought to have its share of influence. We cannot wonder, therefore, that the wisdom of Solon was not immediately successful in disarming all ambitions, extinguishing all rancors, and uniting all parties in one, — the party of the public peace and the national grandeur.

¹ Curtius says of Solon's legislation: *Es war das gute Gewissen der Athener welches das wankelmüthige Volk immer wieder mit leiser Gewalt zum Guten zurückführte* (i. 281).

When, on returning from his ten years' absence, he re-entered Athens, he found three hostile factions arrayed against each other. The men of the plain had Lykourgos at their head; those of the shore, the Alkmaionid Megakles; the mountaineers, Peisistratos, who boasted himself to be a descendant of Nestor. To this latter party the crowd of *thetes* had joined themselves, — the declared enemies of the rich, and disappointed by Solon in their hopes of a division of the land. The new constitution was still respected, or at least it was not yet openly violated; but on all sides men were hoping for a revolution, in which he who was strongest would seize the power. Fortunately history and the late laws had so closely bound the Attic populations together that, while these rivalries might indeed overthrow the public liberties, they could not tear the State asunder. Thus each faction had its head; only the party of peace and of the law had none. Solon was naturally the person to fill this *rôle*. Received with honor and respect, he strove to conciliate the three rivals. But he quickly distinguished among them the skilful and ambitious leader who endangered liberty, — Peisistratos, a man rendered popular by his courage in the wars with Megara, and by his conciliating manners towards all.

“He was,” says Plutarch, “amiable, pleasing in what he said, charitable towards the poor, mild and moderate towards his enemies. He so well knew how to feign the virtues which Nature had denied him that he was generally believed to be modest and reserved, a zealous partisan of justice and equality, a declared enemy of those who wished to promote innovations.” When he believed the moment favorable to renew the attempt made by Kylon, he adopted a singular stratagem. After having inflicted slight wounds on himself and on his mules, he drove them into the Agora, fleeing, he averred, from enemies who had attempted to assassinate him. The crowd is filled with indignation, and a partisan of Peisistratos proposes that a body-guard of fifty citizens armed with clubs be granted to the people's friend. On hearing of this crafty proposal, Solon, notwithstanding his advanced age, hastens into the Agora, where he vigorously opposes it; but, abandoned by the aristocratic party, he is alone amid an angry crowd of the poor. Upon this, he returns to his house,

takes his weapons, and lays them on the ground before his door, saying: "I have defended the country and the laws as much as I was able." He defended them by his verses, but also vainly: "If you endure these evils through your own baseness, do not accuse the gods of them. It is you who have made these men so great, and placed yourself in this shameful slavery."

By the deference he showed to Solon, Peisistratos, however, induced him, if not to favor his usurpation, at least to aid him sometimes by his advice. The sage died in 559.

With the guard granted him by the citizens, which he increased finally to four hundred men, Peisistratos seized upon the citadel (560). From this time he was master of Athens, whence the malecontents departed, under the leadership of the elder Miltiades, to found a colony in the Thracian Chersonesos. He made use of his power wisely and moderately. Content with the reality of his authority, he deported himself in all respects as a private citizen, and strictly maintained the laws of Solon,—even appearing before the Areiopagos on one occasion to answer a charge of murder, which, however, was not prosecuted.

Notwithstanding this moderation, he did not obtain undisturbed power, but lost and regained it repeatedly. Megakles and the Alkmaionidai went into voluntary exile. Lykourgos remained in the city, making common cause with the party of Megakles, and the two factions united succeeded in expelling the common enemy. They had agreed in overthrowing Peisistratos: when, however, it came to a division of the spoils, they fell out, and confusion prevailed everywhere, in city and country. Peisistratos had withdrawn into the mountains, and lived there as an independent chief. Meantime Megakles, whose faction was the weaker of the two, sent a messenger to Peisistratos, offering to reinstate him as tyrant of Athens if he would accept his daughter as wife. Peisistratos agreed to do so. His influence was still so great in the city that when his property had been offered at public sale after his exile, but one man had ventured to bid for it.

To give more distinction to his return into Athens, Peisistratos arranged a singular ceremony, which Herodotos regards as "the most ridiculous that was ever imagined."

“In the Paianian tribe there was a woman named Phya, four cubits tall, and in other respects handsome. Having dressed this woman in a complete suit of armor, and placed her in a chariot, and instructed her how to assume a becoming demeanor, they drove her to the city, having sent heralds before to proclaim: ‘O Athenians, welcome back Peisistratos, whom Athene herself, honoring above all men, now conducts back to her own citadel!’ Thus the report was spread about that the goddess Athene was bringing back Peisistratos; and the people, believing it to be true, paid worship to the woman and allowed Peisistratos to return.”

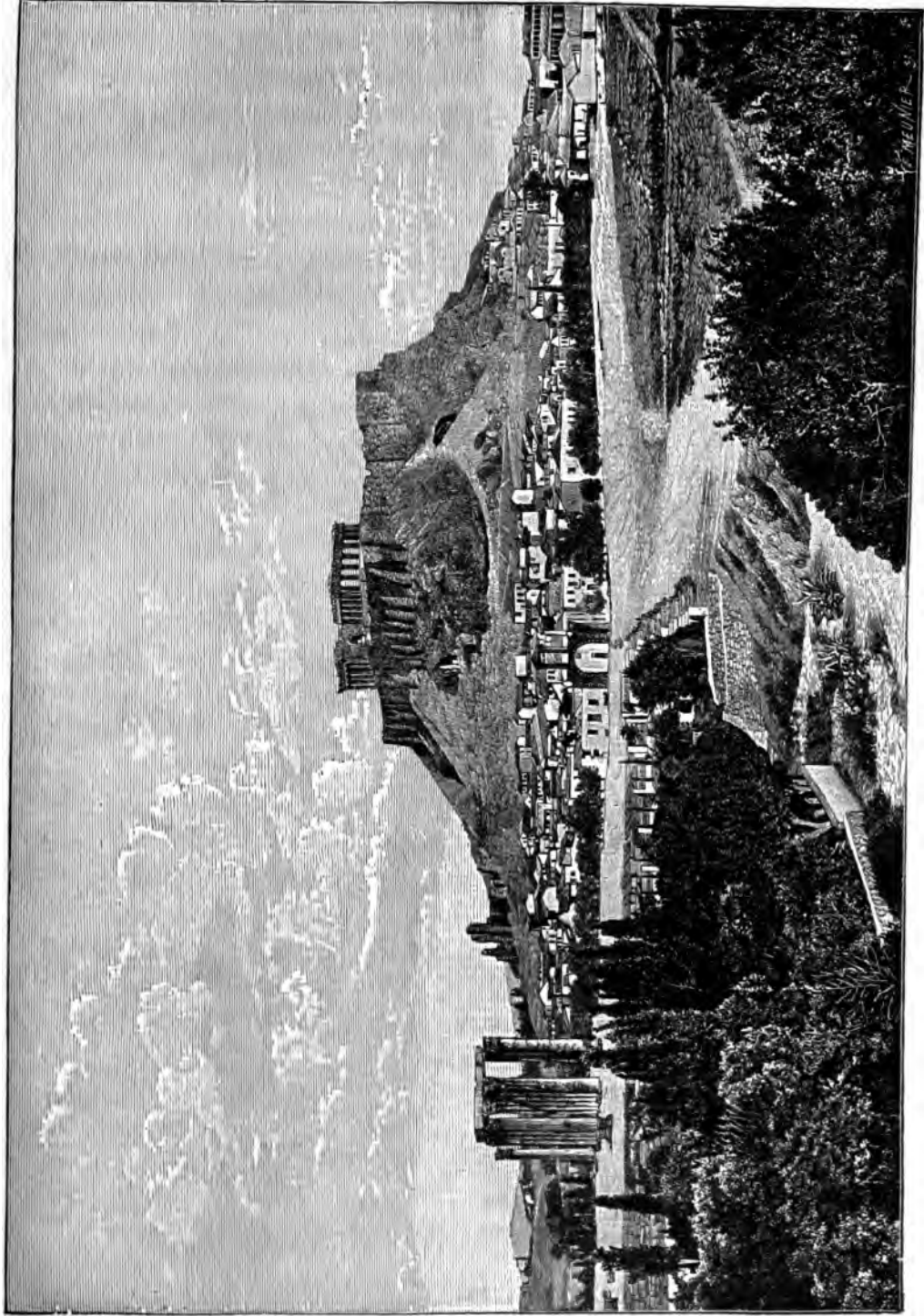


ATHENE MOUNTING HER CHARIOT.¹

He had no need, with his own influence united to that of Megakles, of this clumsy stratagem. The gates stood open to him; but to return with more solemnity he put himself under the protection of the goddess. Instead of having her statue carried, as was usual, he showed her living image; and there was so little attempt at concealment in the whole matter that he married the pretended goddess to one of his sons shortly after the conclusion of the ceremony.

¹ Vase-painting from Gerhard, *Auserles. Vasenb.*, pl. cxxxvi. Pallas Athene with the ægis, the helmet, and spear, mounting her chariot; in her right hand she holds a wreath. At the horses' heads stands Hermes; behind are Herakles and Apollo, the latter playing the kithara.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented the Akropolis of Athens, from a photograph. The view is taken from the F. S. E. In the foreground is the bed of the Ilissos, at the left the columns of the Olympieion, and farther off, in the centre, Hadrian's Gate.



THE AKROPOLIS OF ATHENS.



A marriage with a daughter of the Alkmaionids had been the condition imposed upon Peisistratos. But an alliance with that accursed race was repugnant to him; and the contempt which he manifested towards his young wife threw her father into the party of Lykourgos. Peisistratos was again driven from Athens, and this time even from Attika. He withdrew to Eretria in Euboeia, at that time one of the most prosperous cities in Greece. He was there within reach of his former clients, the people of Diakria, and in the centre of a considerable concourse of traders from all parts of the Hellenic world. Rich from the product of his mines on the banks of the Strymon, he lived like a prince, and he formed on the mainland, the islands, and even as far as Italy, close ties with cities that were jealous of Athens, such as Thebes and Argos, and



TETRADRACHM OF ERETRIA.¹

with other cities that he attracted by rendering them some service. At the desired moment they all were ready to lend large sums of money to the man who, in the general opinion, would some day repay them a hundredfold.



SILVER COIN.²

Hippias, his eldest son, and Amphilytos the seer persuaded him in 541 B. C. to make a new attempt. The Argives allowed him to raise a body of mercenaries in their territory, and the Naxian Lygdamis joined him with troops and money. The Athenians came out to oppose him, but in disorder; the victory was easy, and Peisistratos entered Athens with the fugitives, whence the Alkmaionidai again fled. He strengthened his position by promising to all amnesty and security, on condition that each man should return quietly to his own affairs. But he put his confidence only in foreign troops, whom he could keep in his pay. He moreover required as hostages children of the principal citizens, and sent them to

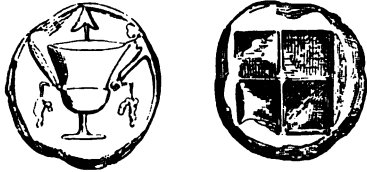
¹ Head of Artemis the huntress, with bow and quiver upon her shoulder. On the fillet binding her hair are the letters ΦΑ, initials of the name of the artist who engraved this beautiful coin. Reverse: EPETPIEON. Cow standing, with a bell on her neck; underneath, ΔΑΜΑΣΙΑΣ, a magistrate's name, surrounded by a laurel-wreath. (*Cabinet de France.*)

² The Strymon personified. Head of the Strymon, crowned with reeds, right profile, on a silver coin of Macedon *in genere*. On the reverse, a trident and the legend ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ.

Naxos, which he subjugated and gave to his friend Lygdamis to govern. Lastly, he deprived the Athenians of their weapons, which he deposited in the temple of Agraulos, and he established his residence on the Akropolis,—an inaccessible rock, except at one point easily to be guarded.

His tyranny¹ was at least intelligent and vigorous. He re-established relations of friendship with Thebes and Argos, and also with Sparta. He wished for peace in this direction, for he understood, as Solon had done, that it was not by way of the land, where Thebes or Megara barred the road, that Athens must seek fortune, but in that sea of the Cyclades over which passed

all the commerce of Greece with Asia, and of which he who should occupy it first would be the master. Peisistratos created a powerful marine, secured to Athenian traders a welcome from the kings of Thessaly and Macedon, and inaugurated the system



COIN OF NAXOS.²

which was to raise so high the name of Attika,—the establishment of colonies, namely, to serve as exterior points of support for his authority, and the formation of close ties with the Ionian cities, to bind them more firmly to Athens as their metropolis. He deprived the Mitylenians of the city of Sigeion, in the Troad, which commanded the entrance to the Hellespont.

In one of these combats the poet Alkaios lost his shield, and the Athenians suspended it as a trophy of victory in a temple in Athens. The oracle having demanded the purification of Delos, the old sanctuary of the Ionian race, Peisistratos made it his duty

to fulfil the will of Apollo. From all points of the island visible from the summit of the temple he removed the tombs, and had the remains of the dead interred elsewhere.

The new ruler opened roads uniting the city with its port,

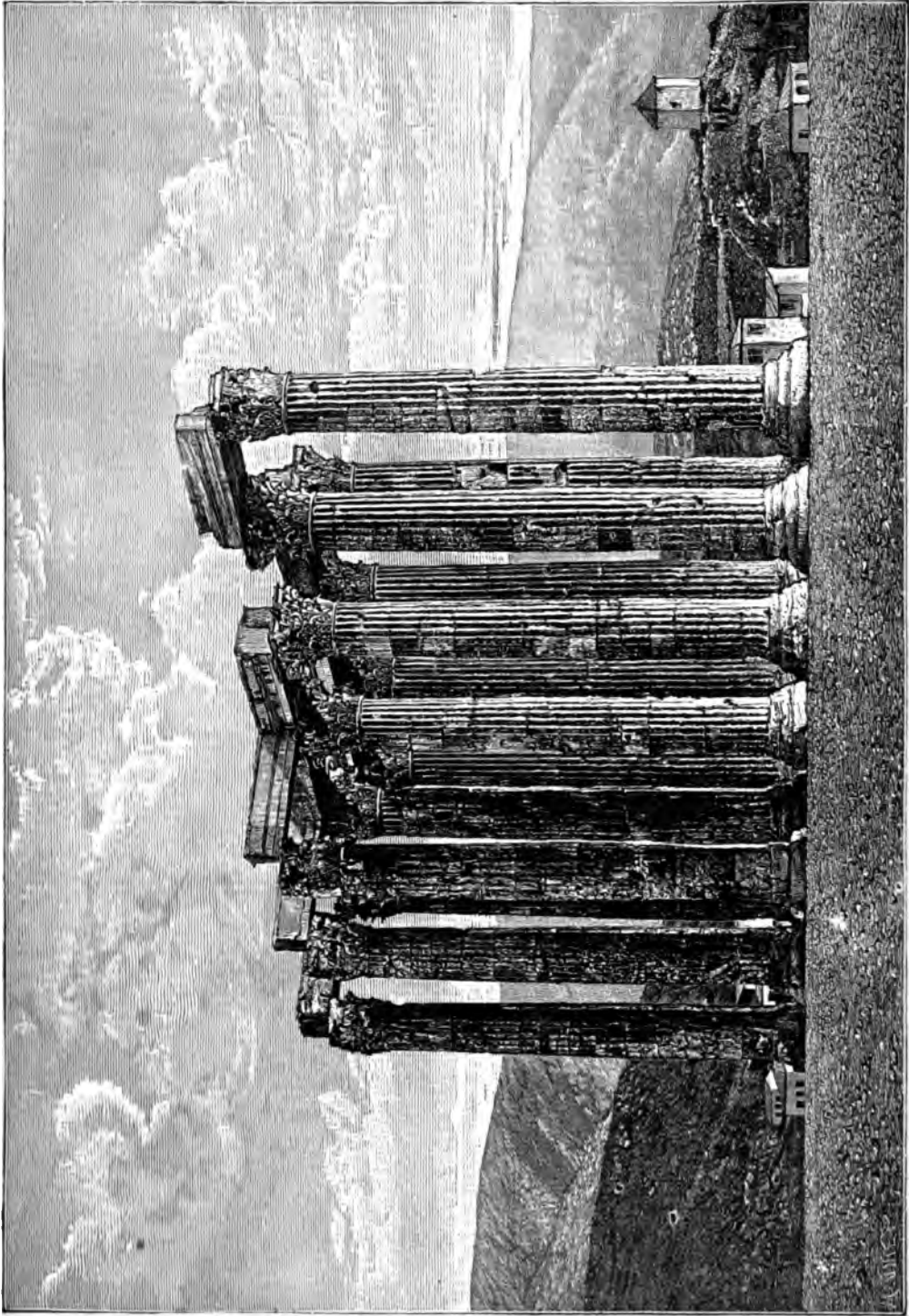


BRONZE COIN.³

¹ The Greek word "tyranny" implies no idea of cruelty, but only the seizure by one man of authority legally belonging to several or to all citizens.

² Silver coin of the Island of Naxos. Kantharis with handles; from them two bunches of grapes are suspended. Reverse, an indented square divided into four compartments. (*Cabinet de France*.)

³ Bearded head of the poet Alkaios, left profile, on a bronze coin of Mitylene. Legend: ΑΛΚΑΙΟC ΜΥΤΙΑ. The reverse of this coin bears the name Pittakos (*Cabinet de France*).



RUINS OF THE OLYMPIEION (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH).

Phaleros, and with the rural districts; these roads converged at the Keramikos, the potters' suburb,—that is to say, the quarter of the petty artisans on whom he depended; and in the centre of this quarter, northwest from the Akropolis, he built an altar to



POTTER SHAPING A VASE.¹

the Twelve Great Gods. By subterranean aqueducts which yet remain, he conducted the water of mountain-springs into the city, where they supplied the public fountains, so that the ancient spring Kallirrhoë, “the fountain of beautiful waters,” could be reserved for the use of the temples and sacred ceremonies.

He began many of the edifices which were to make Athens so magnificent,²—a Parthenon, consecrated to Athene,³ a temple

¹ Vase-painting, from Gerhard. *Festgedanken an Winckelmann* (1841), pl. ii. 3-4. The potter, with a shaping tool in his hand, is finishing a little *skyphos*. On a stage at the right, or in a furnace, are the vases already completed.

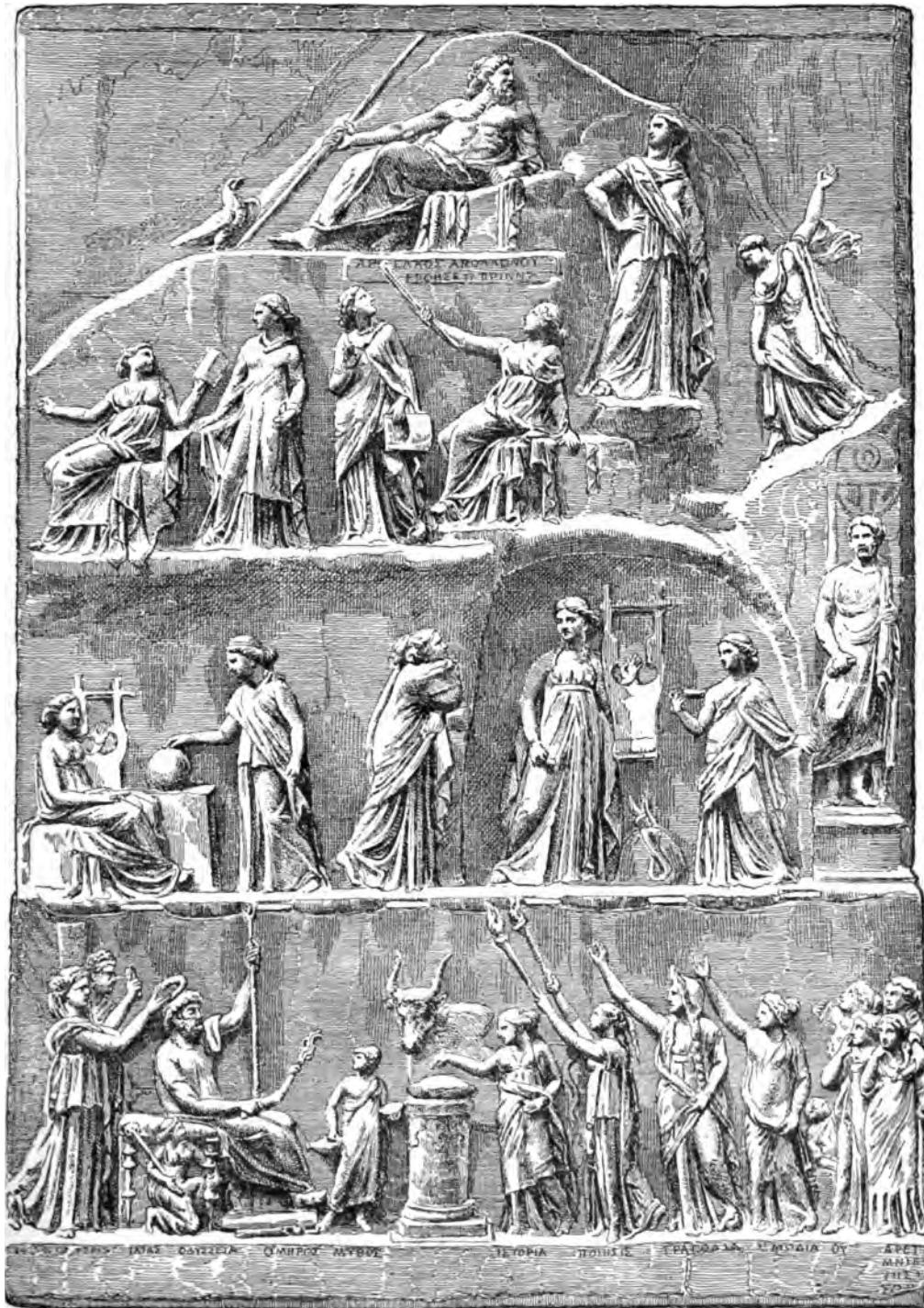
² Accordingly Aristotle (*Politics*, v. 11) reckons Peisistratos among the tyrants who subjected their people to great industrial labors, to be the more sure of their obedience. He would have no one idle in Athens, and he multiplied the olive-groves, which became a source of great wealth to Attika.

³ This first Parthenon, which the Persians destroyed, whose ruins are still visible in the

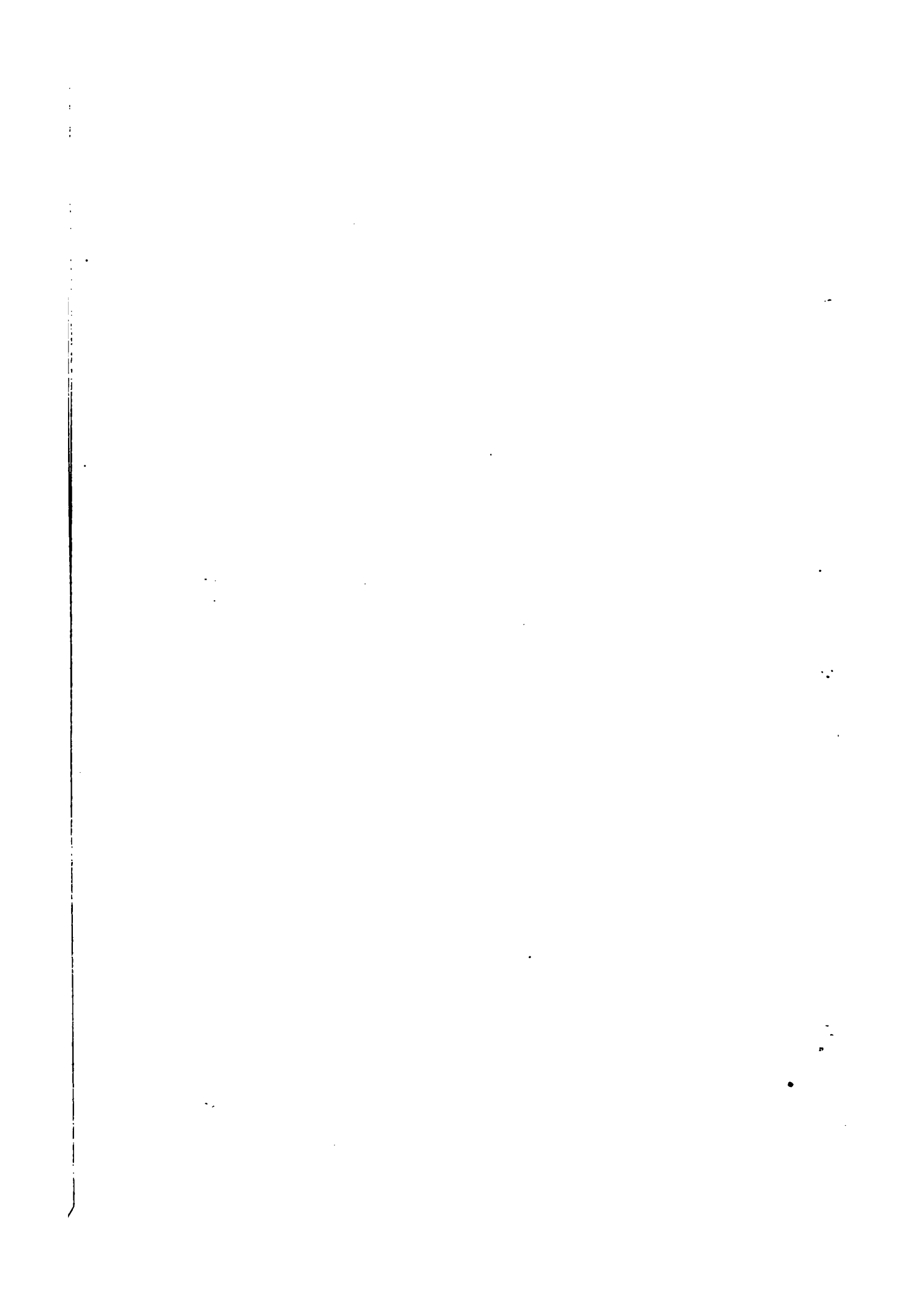
of Apollo, and the great temple of Olympian Zeus, which was planned on such a scale that for seven centuries it could not be finished, and had no equal in the Hellenic world, except the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, in the extent of ground which it covered. He also decorated the Lykeion, — a fine garden near the city, where young men exercised themselves in the palaistra, — organized the first library ever known in Greece, and opened it to foreigners as well as citizens. He even prepared what we should call a first edition of Homer, whose poems until now the rhapsodists had only preserved by tradition.¹ Onomakritos of Athens,

western wall of the Akropolis, contained the Treasury of Athene, which received at each birth and each death an obolos, a measure of barley, and one of oats.

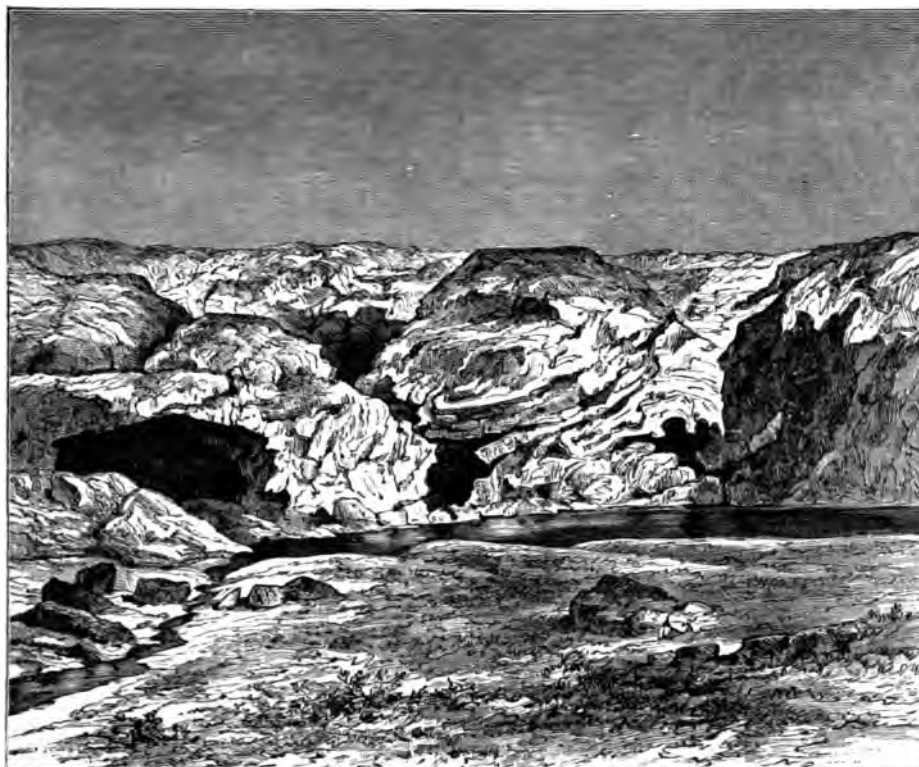
¹ The engraving on the opposite page represents the Apotheosis of Homer. It is copied from the photograph of a marble bas-relief discovered in Italy in the ruins of Bovillæ, and now in the British Museum. The work is signed; we read on the upper part of it: Ἀρχέλαος Ἀπολλωνίου ἐποίησε Πριηνεύς. Archelaos of Priene doubtless belongs to a period not earlier than the first century B. C. (See Overbeck, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, vol. ii. pp. 398 and 461, notes 53 and 59.) The bas-relief consists of two distinct portions, of which the lower part only is devoted to Homer; in the upper part are the gods and the Muses who inspired this great poet. The scene in the lower portion is represented as occurring under a portico hung with draperies; in the upper part we see the gods and the Muses upon Parnassos itself. — I. Homer (ΟΜΗΡΟΣ) at the left, upon an elevated seat; in the left hand he holds a sceptre, in the right the roll on which his poems are written. Kneeling at each side of him are the *Iliad* (ΙΑΙΑΣ) and the *Odyssey* (ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ), one holding a sword, the other the rudder of the ship of Odysseus. The artist has even made reference to the poem of the *Batrachomyomachia*: on the footstool of Homer are a rat and a frog, facing each other. Behind Homer is the Earth (ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ) and Time (ΧΡΟΝΟΣ): the Earth, wearing on her head a high modios, places a wreath on the poet's head; Time, represented with wings, holds in the right hand a roll of the poems of Homer. Before the poet is an altar, on which the fire is lighted; at the side is an animal for sacrifice. Fable (ΜΥΘΟΣ), represented as a boy, is about to pour libations. Towards the altar advance, in number equal to the Muses, the choir of worshippers: first History (ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ), Epic Poetry (ΕΠΟΙΗΣΙΣ), Tragedy (ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ), Comedy (ΚΩΜΩΔΙΑ), who will forever seek inspiration from the immortal poems; then behind a little child, personifying Nature (ΦΥΣΙΣ), are grouped Virtue (ΑΡΕΤΗ), Memory (ΜΝΗΜΗ), Faith (ΠΙΣΤΙΣ), Wisdom (ΣΟΦΙΑ), which may be considered the poet's characteristics. — II. The artist in depicting Parnassos, the abode of Apollo and the Muses, designs to show the source of Homer's divine poetry, and with it those divinities who have inspired the poet and heaped their gifts upon him. He represents the mountain, from the temple of Delphi at its foot, to the summit, where the Ruler of the gods sits enthroned. At the right, in front of the Delphic tripod, is the statue of a poet, his rolls in his hand, — this is either Hesiod or Orpheus. Next is the Korykian cave, in which stands Apollo, lyre in hand; before him is the Omphalos, centre of the world, and on it the god has laid down his bow and quiver; a woman, who perhaps represents the Pythia, advances towards him, holding in her hand a *phiale*. Then are represented the Nine Muses: Polymnia, turning towards the god, who seems to listen to her: Ourania, her hand on the celestial globe, and Terpsichore with the lyre. Above, are Kleio, Kalliope, Erato, and Euterpe with the double flute; a little higher up, at the left of Zeus and turning towards him, Melpomene standing, and Thaleia hastening down to join her sisters. The Father of gods and men sits on the summit of the sacred hill; he holds his sceptre in the right hand, and at his feet is the eagle.



APOTHEOSIS OF HOMER.



Zopyros of Herakleia, and Orpheus of Krotona, the most learned men of the time, labored with Peisistratos in bringing together the fragments, purifying the text, and replacing lines that displeased him by others which were in accordance with his ideas. The immortal poem then received nearly the form under which it has come down to us.¹ The same was done for the Cyclic



THE FOUNTAIN OF KALLIRRHÖE.²

poets and for Hesiod. When he had reorganized the great Panathenaic festival, he caused to be recited there these Homeric poems, which contained no trace of the recent democratic ideas, and celebrated only the exploits of the heroes whom Peisistratos represented as being the ancestors of himself and of the royal line

¹ There have been other revisions, of which the most famous are those of Aristotle in the fourth century B. C., and of Aristarchos in the second.

² The fountain of Kallirrhöe as now visible in the bed of the Ilissos, from Curtius and Kanpert, *Atlas von Athen*, ix. 3. — In the third cavity, at the right, are the orifices of channels in the rock through which the water passed.

whose power he re-established. In this way the common heritage of all Greece became the especial property of Athens, and Peisistratos at that early period consecrated the city over which he reigned as the intellectual capital of the Hellenic world. He sent a public galley to bring Anakreon from Teos; he called to his court Lasos of Hermione and Simonides of Keos, who at the close of his life could boast of having brought back to Athens fifty-six dithyrambic victories; finally, he encouraged Thespis, one of his Diakrians,¹ to transform the choruses of Dionysos, the god of the Attic vine-dressers, into an alternation of dialogue and singing which later developed into the tragedy of Aischylos and the whole Athenian drama (535).

ANAKREON.²

Peisistratos had not abolished the late constitution; simply, nothing whatever was done in the State except by his influence and under his direction. To all appearance, Athens

remained a republican city; in reality, she had a master, but a popular master. Nevertheless he strictly enforced the laws requiring order and industry. He extended a provision of Solon as to veterans wounded in the service, — every maimed or in-

SILVER COIN.³

firm soldier received an obolos daily (three cents). To preserve his popularity, he made distributions to the poor, and opened his gardens to the populace. Originally, at the great Panathenaic festival there were only equestrian races, in which none but the rich could take part; he instituted gymnastic exercises where the poorest citizen could strive for the crown. His expenditure of the public money for the relief of the poor was judicious; to prevent the formation of an urban proletariat, that scourge of great cities, he sent the indigent to work in the fields, and assisted them to make a beginning in husbandry by furnishing them with cattle and seeds.

¹ Thespis was a native of the village of Ikaria.

² Reverse of a coin of Teios in Ionia; Anakreon, playing on the lyre; legend: ΑΝΑΚΡΕΟΝ ΤΕΙΩΝ (στρατηγού Τιςερτίου Πεισωναίου Τηίων). On the obverse, the head of Poseidon. (Bronze of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 4,934.)

³ Gymnastic exercises (wrestlers and slingers). Two wrestlers; in the field KI, mark of the mint. Reverse: ΕΣΤΡΕΔΗΙΥΣ, name of Aspendos, in Pamphylian characters. A slinger; in the field, the triquetra. (Coin of Aspendos, *Cabinet de France*.)

It was difficult to accomplish so many labors and reforms without making the weight of public expenses very heavy; Peisistratos was obliged to establish the tax of a tenth on the products of the earth. It is related that, seeing one day a peasant driving his plough with difficulty upon the slope of Hymettos, he inquired of him what his field brought in. "Much evil," replied the man; "but Peisistratos cares not, if he gets his share of revenue." Upon which the tyrant laughed, and ordered the poor man to be relieved from the tax. He died in 527 B. C., strong enough in his position to be able to transmit the tyranny to his sons, and it thus became hereditary. Athens had already passed through that series of political transformations, whose theory Aristotle explains, which followed each other regularly in almost all the States of antiquity, — royalty with the hero-kings, aristocracy, oligarchy, democracy, tyranny. While slow and cautious Sparta stopped at the first step between royalty and aristocracy, impatient and mobile Athens ran from one extreme to the other, tried all forms, and reached the last stage of this long evolution, — tyranny; from which she was destined soon to emerge gloriously, and establish the true republican and democratic government.

LEADEN TOKEN.¹

II. — HIPPIAS AND HIPPARCHOS (527–510 B. C.).

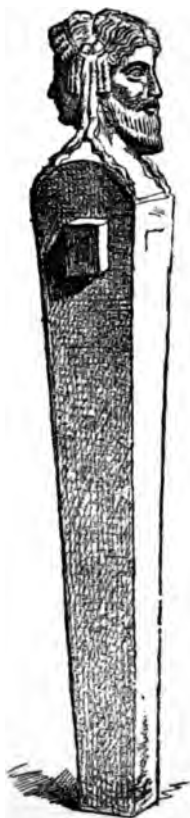
PEISISTRATOS had left three sons, Hippias, Hipparchos, and Thessalos, all men of intelligence, but, having been brought up in the midst of power, less prudent and less discreet than their father. Hippias, being the eldest, was regarded as the sovereign; union, however, prevailed among them to the degree that Hipparchos seems to have been associated in the government. Thucydides, who, being of their family, may perhaps be suspected of partiality towards them, says: —

“For tyrants, these men in the highest degree studied virtue and intelligence; and though they exacted from the Athenians only a twentieth of

¹ From the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. viii. (1884) pl. ii. No. 35. Plough, and inscription [ἄ]ΚΑΤΟΝ. Perhaps the inscription refers to the tithe levied by the temple of Eleusis on the products of the earth.

their income, they adorned their city in a beautiful manner, and carried on their wars and provided sacrifices for their temples. The State enjoyed, too, the laws which had been previously enacted in all other respects, except that the sons of Peisistratos always took care that members of their own family should hold all the offices.”¹

Thus a son of Hippias was archon. A friend of the arts, like the grandfather whose name he bore, this Peisistratos erected in the Agora an altar to the Twelve Great Gods, and in the *temenos* of Apollo, or sacred enclosure consecrated to this god, another altar, whose dedication has lately been found on the banks of the Ilissos.

HERMES.²HERMES.³

Hipparchos was the friend of Anakreon, of Simonides of Keos, and of Onomakritos, half poet, half seer, whom later he expelled from the country, having detected him making interpolations in the prophecies of Mousaios. To Hipparchos is attributed the establishment of those *hermai* which adorned the squares and street-corners in Athens, in the villages of Attika, and along the highways. He had fine moral precepts engraved on them, as: “Always take justice for your guide;” “Never violate the rights of friendship;” and the like. So that the stranger entering Attika perceived that he had come into a country where civil society was well ordered, and mental culture held in honor. One of the old writers compares the era of the Peisistratids to the Age of Gold. “It

was the reign of Kronos,” says the author of the *Hipparchos*, — mistakenly believed to be Plato; but from the pen of Plato these words would not be surprising.

¹ VI. liv.

² Hermes of Dionysos. Archaic simulacrum of Dionysos, seen in profile, placed on an altar with double vase, which probably served as a fountain; before the altar, a kantharis placed to receive the water. Legend: AINION. Reverse of a silver coin of Ainos in Thrace. On the obverse is a head of Hermes.

³ From the original in the Louvre. The hermes is double: on one side the head of Dionysos; on the other perhaps that of Ariadne.

On one occasion when the Peisistratids went down with all the people into the Inner Kerameikos to offer sacrifice to the Twelve Great Gods, they beheld suppliants seated on the steps of the altar, who announced themselves to be Plataians. They came to implore assistance from Athens against the Thebans, who seem to have attempted to effect in Boiotia the same revolution made by Athens in Attika, that Thebes might thus also become, in her own land, a metropolis and political centre. The Athenian tyrants forgot their old relations with Thebes, gladly seizing the occasion to extend their influence beyond Mount Parnes, and secure their frontier on the land side. The army which they sent conquered the Thebans, and sealed between Athens and Plataia a treaty which lasted as long as the two cities (519 B. C.).

However, at times the tyranny was manifest. Kimon, the brother of Miltiades, three times victorious in the Olympic Games, appeared because of his renown a dangerous citizen : he was assassinated. Harmodios had rejected the friendship of Hippar-

¹ Dedication of an altar by Peisistratos, the son of Hippias. From the *'Αθηναίων*, vi. 149. On this marble is the following inscription (quoted by Thucydides, vi. 54) :—

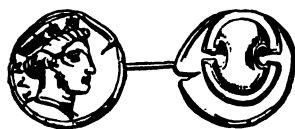
Μνήμα τὸδ' ἦς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος Ἰππίου υἱὸς
θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει.

This inscription was discovered in May, 1877, on the right bank of the Ilissos, southwest of the Olympieion. The copy given by Thucydides does not differ from it even by a letter. The inscription is written in archaic characters. It is the Attic alphabet as employed before Euclid, having no long letters, O being used for Ω, or for ΟΥ, E for Η. Η is the sign of the aspirate. The altar to the Twelve Gods mentioned in the text marked the centre of the city, where the new roads converged from the neighboring demoi. The altar represented on p. 21, from the *Mittheil. des deutsch. archäol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. iv., 1879, pl. xx., was discovered at Athens in 1877, and comes also from the Inner Kerameikos. It is of Pentelikan marble, and belongs to the good period of art. Eight figures only are left. - Zeus, seated on his throne, a sceptre in his right hand; behind him Here; then Apollo with the lyre, and Artemis; in the upper line, Athene standing before Demeter, who is seated on a bushel, with wheat-ears in her hand; next, Poseidon seated on a rock, and before him a goddess, standing.



INSCRIPTION.¹

chos, preferring that of Aristogeiton, a citizen of modest station; and the tyrant basely avenged himself. "After summoning a sister of his," says Thucydides, "to come and bear a basket in a certain



COIN OF PLATAIA.¹

procession, they rejected her when she came, saying that they had not summoned her, as she was not worthy of the honor."

Harmodios was very indignant at this, and Aristogeiton shared his resentment.

They associated with themselves a few other enemies of the tyrant, and formed a plot to assassinate him at the great Panathenaic festival,—the only day when citizens wearing arms could assemble without incurring suspicion.

"When, therefore, the festival arrived," continues Thucydides, "Hippias with his body-guard was arranging outside the walls, in what is called the Kerameikos, how the several parts of the procession were to move forward. And when Harmodios and Aristogeiton saw one of their accomplices in familiar conversation with him, for he was easy of access to all, they were alarmed, and thought that some information had been laid against them, and that they should be at once arrested. They hastened, therefore, to avenge themselves beforehand, if possible, on the man who had aggrieved them, and for whose punishment they were exposing themselves to so much danger; therefore they rushed straightway within the gates, and meeting with Hipparchos, fell on him and smote him and slew him."

Aristogeiton succeeded in making his escape from the guards, but Harmodios was killed on the spot. Hippias, being secretly informed of his brother's murder, secured his own safety by ordering all citizens to disarm, and meet him in a designated place. He betrayed no sign of emotion, and it was believed by the crowd that he had called them together to make some address to them. As soon as the weapons had been thrown down, the tyrant ordered his guards to secure them, and further to arrest certain whom he regarded with suspicion, or who were found wearing daggers.

Aristogeiton, according to later accounts, on being put to the torture, denounced the nearest friends of Hippias, and they were

¹ Diademed head of Here (perhaps after the statue of Praxiteles); behind her. ΠΛΑ (for ΠΛΑΤΑΙΕΩΝ). On the reverse the Boiotian shield. (Drachma.)

at once put to death. Being then asked if he had any other names of conspirators to give, he replied that there was no one



ALTAR OF THE TWELVE GREAT GODS.¹



ARRANGEMENT OF THE FIGURES ON THE ALTAR OF THE TWELVE GREAT GODS.

else whose death he desired, except the tyrant himself. Tradition relates that a hetaira, by name Leaina, mistress of Aristo-

¹ See note, p. 19.

geiton, was also tortured, and, fearing lest she might betray any of the conspirators, bit off her tongue. After the fall of the



ASSASSINATION OF HIPPARCHOS.¹

Peisistratids the Athenians honored her memory by a bronze statue of a lioness without a tongue. The Greeks, like the Romans, delighted in a play on names, as in the stela of Leon of Sinope.



STATER.²

Harmodios and Aristogeiton had not been impelled to this murder by any political idea; the Peisistratids had not seemed to them tyrants until they had personally felt the effects of the tyranny: the murder of Hipparchos was the revenge for a personal injury. Nevertheless, the Athenians represented the two friends as martyrs of

¹ Vase-painting from the *Archäologische Zeitung* (1883), pl. xii. Hipparchos stands between two assassins, one of whom has already struck him with his dagger. On the reverse are represented three spectators; witnesses of the crime, they flee in terror. It is not without interest to compare this painting with the group on the opposite page. Doubtless the painter was acquainted with the work of Kritios and Nesiotes.

² Stater of electron of Kyzikos (Percy Gardner, *Types of the Greek Coins*, pl. x. 4). The two monetary types representing Harmodios and Aristogeiton which are given here and on p. 26 are no doubt taken from two of the numerous statues that were erected in honor of the tyrannicides after their death.

NOTE. — The marble statues represented on p. 23 are believed to be a copy of the work of Kritios and Nesiotes, which is reproduced on the Athenian coin on p. 26. The group of Kritios was in bronze, and replaced, on the road from the Agora to the Akropolis, the statues



THE TYRANNICIDES (MUSEUM OF NAPLES).

liberty; they erected statues to them, they granted privileges to their descendants which the latter enjoyed as late as the time of Demosthenes, and on festival-days they chanted:—



LION ON THE STELA OF LEON OF SINOPE.¹

“I will carry the sword under the myrtle-branch as did Harmodios and Aristogeiton when they slew the tyrant and established equality in Athens.

“Most dear Harmodios, thou art not dead; doubtless thou livest in the Islands of the Blessed, where are, they say, Achilles the swift-footed, and Diomedes the son of Tydeus.

“In the myrtle-branch I will hide the sword, like Harmodios and Aristogeiton when at the festival of Athene they slew the tyrant.

erected by the Athenians to the tyrannicides. The latter were the work of Antenor; they were taken away by Xerxes during the Median wars, and were restored to the Athenians by Alexander.

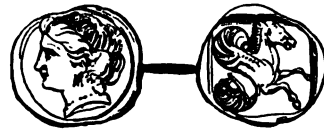
¹ Athenian bas-relief in marble, from Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage archéologique*, pl. 78, No. 2. The lion (λέων), carved in the field, refers to the name of the dead: ΛΕΩΝ. In the same way a calf (μόσχος) was carved on the tomb of a person named Moschos; a palm-tree (φοίνιξ) on the tomb of one named Phoinix. [Cf. also *St. Matt.* xvi. 18: “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church.”—ED.]

“Thy fame shall forever endure upon earth, beloved Harmodios, and thine, Aristogeiton, because you have slain the tyrant and established equality in Athens.”

The legend of the patriotic devotion of the two friends is so deeply rooted that Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle¹ vainly seek to shake it; and it had terrible results. The doctrine of political assassination gained ground in Greece, in barbaric countries, and in Rome. To kill a tyrant was an act of the highest virtue; the idea inspired Brutus, and it inspires to this day those who seek to gain, by the murder of a king, the unfounded reputation of a hero of liberty.

TETRADRACHM.²

From the time of his brother's death the character of Hippias seemed to change. Becoming gloomy and suspicious, he put to death many citizens, overwhelmed the others with taxes, and made close alliance with foreign States. His brother Thessalos was established in Sigaion, the second Miltiades held for him the Chersonesos, and he attached to himself the tyrant of Lampsakos, a friend of the king of Persia, by giving him his daughter in marriage, — “He, an Athenian, allying himself to a man of Lampsakos!” says Thucydides, with his Attic pride. But prudence silenced pride. Hippias had moreover many other friends, — Sparta, the king of Macedon, Amyntas, and the Thessalians of Larissa: what need had he to fear?

GOLD COIN.³

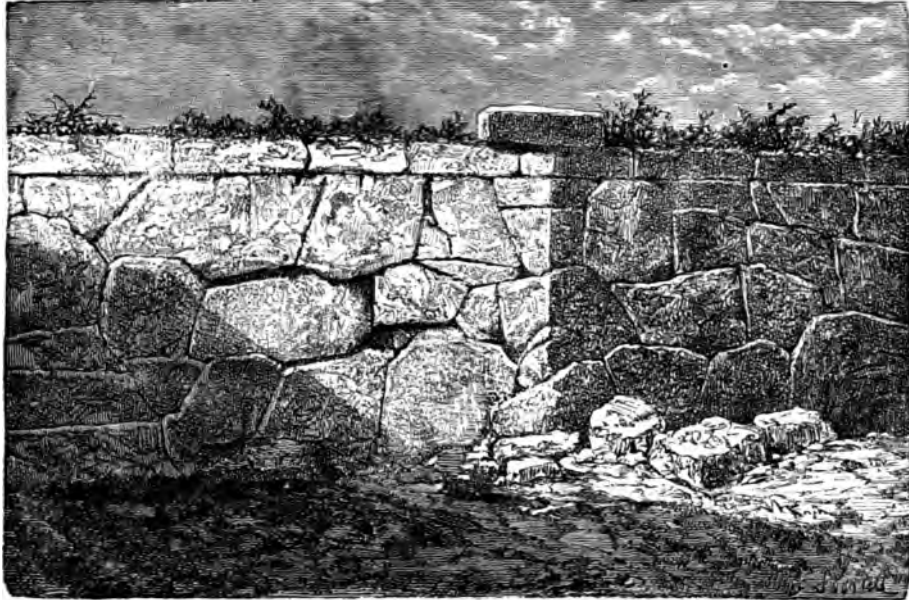
The Alkmaionidai, banished by Peisistratos, had made a first attempt to return forcibly into Attika, and had been unsuccessful.

¹ Thucydides in his *History*, vi. 59; Plato, in the *Banquet*, in the speech of Pausanias; Aristotle in his *Politics*, v. 10. A decree of the year 403 B. C. authorized any Athenian to kill the citizen who should aspire to the tyranny, should betray the republic, or should seek to overthrow the constitution. See Andokides, *Upon the Mysteries*, 95; Lykourgos, *Against Leokrates*, 126.

² Reverse of an Athenian tetradrachm, signed by the two magistrates: ΜΕΝΤΩΡ and ΜΟΞΧΙΩΝ. In the field, with the owl, the two assassins preparing to strike Hipparchos (Beulé, *op. cit.*, p. 335).

³ Gold coin of Lampsakos. Woman's head, left profile, with ear-jewels. Reverse: fore part of a winged hippocampus, galloping (Friedländer and Sallet, *op. cit.*, No. 27, p. 56).

They sought for allies. The temple of Delphi had been destroyed by fire in 548 B. C.; contributions to rebuild it were made by all the Greek States, and the Delphians were taxed for their part



PELASGIC WALL AT DELPHI.¹

with a quarter of the whole cost, — three hundred talents of Aiginetan standard (about \$600,000). The Alkmaionidai made a bargain with the Amphiktyons for the reconstruction of the temple, and executed the work with a liberality which was greatly applauded. Instead of using the coarse stone specified in the contract, they built the front of Parian marble. The Delphians were won over by this generosity, and the Pythia added to her responses, whenever the Spartans came to consult her, either on public or private affairs,



BRONZE COIN.²

¹ From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxiii. 147. This wall supports on the southern side the terrace on which stood the temple of Apollo. (See Foucart, *Mémoire sur les ruines et l'histoire de Delphes*, pp. 83 et seq.) The wall is almost entirely covered with inscriptions, especially acts of enfranchisement. (See E. Curtius, *Anecdota Delphica*; Foucart and Wescher, *Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes*; B. Haussoullier, in the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. v., 1881, pp. 397 et seq.)

² Temple of Apollo at Delphi, three-quarters view. The columns are caryatids; on the pediment, a representation of the *omphalos*: under the portico the statue of the god leaning on

the injunction to restore liberty to Athens. The Spartans were naturally disposed to favor the aristocratic party at Athens, represented by the Alkmaionids, and hostile, on the other hand, to



THE NYMPH LARISSA.¹

that democratic spirit which had raised the Peisistratids to power. Moreover, it was not without secret jealousy that they had seen the rapid advance of Athens under Peisistratos and his sons, although they had made alliance with the Athenian

tyrants. But the Pythia seeming to set them free from this alliance, they decided to send by sea an expedition, which landed at the port of Phaleron. Hippias, allied with the powerful city of Larissa in Thessaly, had received thence a contingent of a thousand horsemen, and he had taken the precaution to cut down all the trees and shrubbery in the neighborhood of Phaleron. Accordingly, when the Spartan invaders attempted to advance into the plain, they were assailed on all sides by the Thessalians, and compelled to retreat to their vessels, with the loss of their chief and a part of their troops.



SILVER COIN.²

This repulse increased their zeal; they had now a defeat to avenge. Moreover, at their head was a bold leader, Kleomenes the king, who, so long as he was in Sparta, was obliged to endure the watchfulness of the ephors and the inferior position of Spartan royalty. He delighted in war, which gave him the supreme power; he had just humiliated Argos,³ and he hoped to humiliate still another State, which for the last few years had made itself too conspicuous. At the end of these enterprises and these victories he looked for a final success; namely,

a low column. Bronze coin, with the effigy of the elder Faustina (*Brit. Mus. Catal.*, pl. iv. 22. Central Greece).

¹ Coin of Larissa. Head of the nymph Larissa, with dishevelled hair, wearing a necklet. Reverse: ΛΑΡΙΣΣΑΙΩΝ. Bridled horse. Didrachm. (Friedländer and Sallet, *Münzcabinet*, No. 198, pl. iii.)

² Coin of Trikka in Thessaly. Spearman on horseback. Reverse: ΤΡΙΚΚΑ. Woman at her toilet. (Silver coin of the Museum of Berlin.) There was in Trikka a temple of Asklepios, regarded as the most ancient and famous sanctuary of that divinity (Strabo, viii. 15).

³ See above, Chapter VIII. section iii.

the overthrow of the ephors and of the constitution of Sparta. Accordingly, he led a second army against Athens. This time the attack, made by land, was more successful; the Thessalians were routed, and the city of Athens was besieged.

“Having reached the city,” says Herodotos,¹ “accompanied by those Athenians who wished to be free, Kleomenes besieged the tyrants who were shut up in the Pelasgian fort. However, the Spartans would not by any means have been able to expel the Peisistratidai; for they had no intention of forming a blockade, and the tyrants were well supplied with meat and drink; and after they had besieged them for a few days they would have returned to Sparta, but now an accident happened, unfortunate for one party and advantageous to the other, for the children of the Peisistratidai were taken as they were being secretly removed from the country. When this occurred, all their plans were thrown into confusion, and to redeem their children they submitted to such terms as the Athenians prescribed; namely, to quit Attika in five days. Whereupon they retired to Sigeion, on the Skamander, having governed the Athenians for thirty-six years.”

BRONZE COIN.²

III. — KLEISTHENES (510).

WITH the Alkmaionidai the influence of the Spartans and the spirit of their institutions seemed likely to return into Athens. But at the head of the returned emigrants was a man who in exile had learned much,—Kleisthenes, grandson of the tyrant of Sikyon, and himself the true founder of Athenian democracy. Herodotos represents him as an ambitious man who, finding a rival in Isagoras, one of the richest and noblest citizens of Athens, resolved to rely, like Peisistratos, upon the lower classes, and to

¹ v. 65.

² Coin of Sigeion. Helmeted head of Athene, front aspect. Reverse: ΣΙΓΕ (for ΣΙΓΕΩΝ). Double owl, with one head. In the field the crescent. (Bronze of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1.841.)

destroy the influence of the nobles by breaking the ties of clientship which held a part of the population subject to them.¹ Possibly

TOKEN.²

he did no more than execute a patriotic reform, like that which had been undertaken a little earlier at Rome by Servius, — the blending of the new and the old inhabitants. Solon had in reality preserved the ancient tribes, which, narrowly defined

by religious regulations, had refused, notwithstanding the facilities he offered, to admit aliens, who were established in great numbers in Attika. The recent oppression, which had weighed upon every man, had now brought all ranks together, and destroyed all hereditary distinctions; hence this revolution, if not actually effected, was at least prepared for in men's minds when Kleisthenes accomplished it.

TOKEN.³

Appointed archon eponymos, Kleisthenes abolished the four ancient tribes, and substituted for them ten new tribes, whose

TOKEN.⁴

legendary heroes had their statues in the Agora and upon the Parthenon. Each tribe contained ten demoi, and at a later period this number was increased; for Strabo enumerates a hundred and seventy-four in all, and elsewhere a hundred and eighty are mentioned.

The demoi of the same tribe were not necessarily in the same district; of the four demoi, for example, that surround the Peiraieus, three belong to as many different tribes. From this

¹ Thucydides, after relating (ii. 15-18) the destruction by Theseus of the different States of Attika, adds: "Even after the Athenians were thus united, still from the force of habit, the generality of them, at this early period and even afterwards, having with all their families settled and lived in the country, did not remove without reluctance, but were distressed and grieved to leave their houses and the temples which, according to the spirit of the ancient constitution, had always been regarded by them as the places of their hereditary worship, going, as they now were, to change their mode of life, and each of them doing what was equivalent to leaving his native city."

² Token of the tribe Erechtheis. Demeter, holding an ear of corn and a kantharis; in the field the radiate head of the Sun. Reverse: EPEXΘ. Tripod and thyrsus. (Lead. See *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. viii. pl. i. 16.)

³ Token of the tribe Aigeis (ΑΙΓΕΙΣ). Reverse: radiate head of the Sun. (Lead. See *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. viii. pl. i. 15.)

⁴ Token of the tribe Aiantis. AIAN surrounding a jar and two kalathoi. (Lead. See *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. viii. pl. i. 12.)

resulted an advantage; namely, that the tribe, not representing any single territorial interest, never became a political faction. Each *demos*, administered by a *demarch*, had its register of citizens (*demotai*), its assemblies, its municipal revenues, its gods, and its festivals. Female children were inscribed in the *phratryai*, but not in the *demos*.¹

The *phratryai*, subdivisions of the ancient tribes, remained for civil and religious affairs, but all political rights were derived from the new organization; no man could have the privileges of a citizen without being inscribed in the *demos*. This change was destined to transform the Athenian people, henceforward animated with a new spirit. Kleisthenes withdrew them from the influence of the nobles, — an influence heretofore transmitted as an inheritance from father to son, in the *phratryai* or in the *gene*, remaining from generation to generation in the same families. Hitherto the political unit had been the *genos*, composed of citizens bound to one another by traditions and religion, and placed under the influence of hereditary chiefs; after the time of Kleisthenes it was the *demos*, composed of men united only by common interests and ties of neighborhood, and under the influence of patriotism only. To employ modern political language, this was nothing else than the establishment of universal suffrage. The citizen, changing his domicile, remained attached to the *demos* in which he had been originally registered: this was done at Rome also in respect to tribes.³



YOUNG GREEK GIRL (ATHENIAN?).²

¹ On the organization of the *demoi*, see Haussoullier, *La Vie municipale en Attique*, 1884.

² Bronze statuette of the *Cabinet de France* (*Catalogue*, No. 3,069).

³ In a suit, the author of a speech attributed to Demosthenes calls seven witnesses, of

The increase in the number of tribes made a corresponding increase in the number of senators. From four hundred it was

TOKEN.²

raised to five hundred, fifty members being appointed from each tribe, perhaps by lot.¹ This senate, representing the entire body of citizens, was in session daily,

TOKEN.³

except on festivals. It was divided into ten sections, each section in turn acting as presidents of the council and the assemblies during a tenth part of the year, and its members, maintained during that time at the public expense, were called *prytaneis*. The section was

SILVER COIN.⁴

itself subdivided into five committees of ten each, its period of office, *prytaneia*, being also portioned out into five periods of seven days each, so that ten senators presided for a week over the rest,

and were thence called *proedroi*. But of these *proedroi* an *epistates* was chosen by lot for every day in the week to preside in the senate and in the assembly of the people; and during his day of office he kept the keys of the Akropolis and the treasury, and the seal of the State. The other senators might also sit with the *prytaneis*, and no measure could pass without at least one senator from each of the non-presiding tribes taking part in the deliberation. In this way the representatives of each tribe had in turn the direction of the government.

SILVER COIN.⁵

From this time it was customary to call together the assembly of the people (*ekklesieia*) four times in every *prytaneia* (thirty-five or thirty-six days), and more frequently if it were necessary, summonses being issued by the *prytaneis* or by the *strategoï* (generals

whom six are inscribed in six different demoi (*Against Neaira*, 71). This shows how the ancient *genos* was broken up.

¹ On this question, see later, Chapter XIX.

² Token belonging to the *prytaneis*. Bearded head, right profile. Reverse: ΠΡΥΤ. in monogram. (Lead. See *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. viii. pl. i. No. 5.)

³ Token belonging to the *prytaneis*. Monogram ΠΡ. Amphora. (Lead. See *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. viii. pl. i. No. 6.)

⁴ Hoplite fighting. On a silver coin of Aspendos in Pamphylia. Reverse: legend ΕΣΙΛ and a lion, with the triquetra (Percy Gardner, *Types*, pl. iv. p. 29).

⁵ Horseman fighting. On a silver coin of Gela, in Sicily. On the reverse, the legend ΓΕΑΑΣ and the fore portion of a bull with human head (*Id., Ibid.*, ii. 12).

of the army); and the assembly was presided over by the prytaneis, the chief (*epistates*) indicating the questions on which the assembly should vote.

The forty-eight *naukrariai* were raised to fifty, and remained a division for military and financial purposes. The heliasts formed



YOUNG HORSEMAN.¹

ten tribunals,² and the same division by tens was made in most of the public bodies, with the exception of the college of archons, which remained nine in number, — probably at this time elected, and not as yet designated by lot, as they were later, after they had lost the most important of the prerogatives left to them by Kleisthenes.³

¹ Bronze of the Collection Gréau, from the original lately acquired by the Museum of the Louvre. It was found in Southern Italy.

² See above, Vol. I. pp. 546–547.

³ Schömann. iii. § 5, and Grote, chap. xiii., believe that the archons were selected by lot, from the time of Kleisthenes. Ancient writers give us no date for this change, which I believe should be placed in the time of Aristeides and Ephialtes. See later.

The new organization was also military in its character: each tribe had its infantry, its cavalry, and its general; each naukraria furnished a galley and two horsemen for the defence of the country.¹ The third archon, or polemarch, was the general-in-chief. The generals remained in service but one year. Under the democracy, however, they had a wider range of duties; while the archons were reduced to watching over public order and preparing decisions in legal cases, the generals not only directed military affairs, but all matters of foreign policy also.²

To Kleisthenes has been attributed the establishment of ostracism, which was the application in government of a religious idea. It has been seen that one of the most deeply rooted convictions of the Greeks was that which represented the divinity as jealous of human prosperity, and that this jealousy was a mixture of fear and pride. The poets had so often repeated that divine vengeance would overthrow whatever lifted itself too high that the multitude in their turn were very apt to feel against their own great men the envy which, moreover, exists in the heart of the masses everywhere and in all ages. At Athens every year, during the sixth month, this question was debated in the senate and brought before the assembly: "Does the safety of the State require a vote of ostracism?" If this necessity was recognized, the people were called to vote. No name was designated to them; each man wrote upon a tile having a coating of wax (*ὄστρακον*) the name of the citizen whom he thought it advisable to banish from the city in order to maintain the general equality and prevent attempts at usurpation. The vote was secret, and was counted by the archons. The citizen designated by the majority was banished for ten years. His reputation remained intact; his property was not confiscated, as was the case with those exiled by law, and he even enjoyed the income from it. From the time of Kleisthenes till the abrogation of ostracism, ten citizens were subjected to this measure of supreme police,—Hipparchos, a relative of the Peisistratids; Alkibiades, Megakles, and Kallias, all heads of powerful and ambitious houses; Aristides, Themistokles, and Kimon, three great citizens;

¹ In the war against the Aiginetans, Athens could oppose to them but fifty galleys furnished by the naukrariai (Herodotos, vi. 89).

² See Hauvette-Besnault, *Les stratèges athéniens*, 1885.

the elder Thucydides, the leader of a faction; Damon, one of the teachers of Perikles; and Hyperbolos, a vulgar demagogue. After this time, it fell into desuetude.

This institution has served as a text for many discussions. Plutarch seems disposed to condemn it, but Aristotle thinks it useful.¹ It appears to him a means for keeping the State in those strict proportions which suffer no man to raise himself unsuitably above the rest. "The painter," he says, "will not have in his picture a foot of disproportionate size, however admirable it may be in itself, and the chorister will compel the most beautiful voice to keep in unison with the others." It is urged that Athens had just been set free from an odious tyranny at the time when she established this measure; that the new government had no armed force for its protection; that, in fine, liberty, so often betrayed since the time of Solon, having grown suspicious, every citizen who became too great seemed an object justly to be feared; but that these fears were themselves an homage,—she honored while she struck. Ostracism was, so to speak, the seal set upon great reputations. To the judgment of Aristotle we may add that of Aristeides. "There is," he said, "but one way to restore peace to the city; it is to cast both Themistokles and myself into the *barathron*."² Athens was more sagacious; she contented herself with removing one of the two rivals. Themistokles, set free from the daily conflict, was more at liberty to serve his country, and he did in fact save Athens, while Aristeides, later returning, honored her by his virtues.

Montesquieu says, —

"There are, in States where liberty is most honored, laws violating it in the individual case, for the sake of saving it to all. . . . Cicero desires the abolition of these laws. . . . I confess, however, that the usage of the freest peoples that have ever lived upon the earth leads me to believe that there are cases when one must, for the moment, draw a veil over the face of Liberty, as the statues of the gods were sometimes veiled."³

¹ Plutarch, *Aristeides*, vii.; Aristotle, *Politics*, III. ix. Ostracism was also practised in Syracuse (*petalismos*), where it was harmful, because unregulated (Diodoros, xi. 87), and at Argos (Aristotle, *Pol.*, V. iii.).

² The *barathron* was a deep pit at Athens, with hooks on the sides, into which criminals were cast, as at Rome they were thrown from the Tarpeian rock. It was situated in the *demos* Keiriadai (Harpocration, *s. v.*, and the Scholiast of Aristophanes on *Plutus*, 431).

³ *Esprit des lois*, book xii. chapter xix. He says elsewhere: "Ostracism proves the mild-

Montesquieu was perhaps right in the case of States so small as those of Greece, and the modern governments which exile even boys are of his opinion. But Cicero was by no means wrong when he demanded that in a great State there be no law made for or against an individual (*ne privilegia inroganto*).¹ We should even be authorized in maintaining that laws of this kind, which are offensive to justice since they do not apply to a designated crime, were really not necessary at Athens. For a vote of ostracism, six thousand voters were needed; that is to say, the entire population. The majority which decreed banishment being the same that made the law in the assembly and dispensed justice in the tribunals, there would have been no possible danger in waiting till a guilty act was committed. The proof that this famous institution did not have, or had not for any length of time, the utility which learned men have attributed to it, is that it did not last. Ostracism ceased to be employed from the year 417 B. C., — the very moment when the Athenian democracy would have most needed protection against the audacity of Alkibiades.

IV. — INTERFERENCE OF SPARTA.

THE Delphian priests, partisans of the Alkmaionids, had sanctioned the reforms of Kleisthenes by designating the ten eponymous heroes of the new tribes. Their statues were erected on the Akropolis, and Athene had the divine representatives of the city as guardians for her temple. But aristocratic Sparta, in bringing back the Alkmaionids to Athens, had believed herself to

ness of the popular government that employed it." And xxix.: "It was an admirable thing in Athens." The English nation had something much worse than ostracism, — the "bill of attainder," which sent Strafford and so many others to the scaffold.

¹ *De legibus*, iii. 4. These words are translated from an Athenian law. Cf. Demosthenes, *Against Timokrates*, 59; *Against Stephanos*, ii. § 12; and Andokidos, *Upon the Mysteries*, §§ 87–89; the Scholiast of Aristophanes, upon *The Knights*, 855; Pollux, viii. 15. Grote and many learned writers maintain that there must be six thousand votes against a man, — which supposes a much more numerous assembly than Athens perhaps ever had. Böckh, Wachsmuth, and others maintain that the number of votes required for ostracism was merely a majority out of six thousand, and I am of this opinion. In respect to the small number usually present in the assembly, see Chapter XIX.

be overthrowing a tyrant and founding an oligarchy. Deceived in this expectation, she listened kindly to the complaints of Isagoras, who had been the host of Kleomenes while the latter was besieging the citadel,¹ and a Spartan herald was sent to Athens, requiring the expulsion of Kleisthenes, and with him of many other Athenians, as "under a curse." Kleisthenes felt himself not strong enough to resist, and quitted Athens. Kleomenes, however, came shortly after with a small force, drove out seven hundred families whom Isagoras designated to him, attempted to dissolve the senate, and placed the magistracy in the hands of three hundred citizens of the oligarchic faction. The senate, refusing to yield to violence, called upon the people to defend the laws, and the conspirators, who had seized the citadel, were besieged in it. Kleomenes vainly attempted to win over the priestess of Athene; rising from her seat, she stopped him as he was about to enter the temple for the purpose of consulting the goddess. "Spartan stranger, retire," she said, "nor enter within this precinct; it is not lawful for a Dorian to enter here." For two days the siege lasted, and then a lack of provisions obliged the Spartans to capitulate, and they were allowed to withdraw unmo- lested. Isagoras made his escape with them; but the other Athenians who had joined in the conspiracy were condemned as traitors and put to death. Thus again Athens expelled tyranny, and once more became free, finding new strength in her recovered liberty.

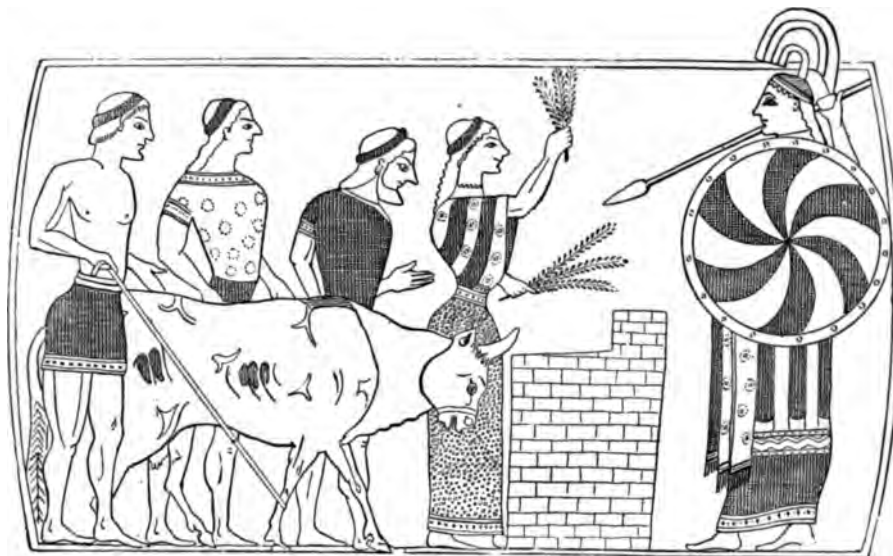
She had need of it, for the peril was great. Kleomenes assembled an army from all parts of the Peloponnesos, and prepared to involve Sparta in open war. Chalkis and Aigina, jealous of the marine power of the Athenians, now just dawning, saw with joy the opportunity to destroy it; Thebes, the opportunity to avenge herself; and Hippias thought himself already re-established. Kleisthenes ventured upon a dangerous step: remembering that his father had owed part

SILVER COIN.²

¹ It was even believed that Kleomenes had secured for his interests the partisanship of the wife of Isagoras (Herodotos, v. 70).

² Coin of Chalkis (from the *Cabinet de France*). Diademed head of Chalkis, right profile. Reverse: ΧΑΛΚΙ (Χαλκιδέων) ΜΕΝΕΔΗ (Μενέδημος; magistrate's name). Eagle and serpent fighting.

of his wealth to Croesus, he sent ambassadors to Sardis, soliciting alliance with the Persians. But Artaphernes, the governor of Sardis, had no other idea of alliance with the Great King than submission to his orders, and he made it a condition of further negotiations that the Athenians should give earth and water to king Darius. They did so; but the people of Athens, less facile than their ambassadors and possibly than their chief,



SACRIFICE TO ATHENE.¹

who by this affair lost his popularity,² rejected the treaty and prepared for war. Kleomenes invaded the territory of Eleusis, the Boiotians attacked Attika on the north, and the Chalkidians on the south.

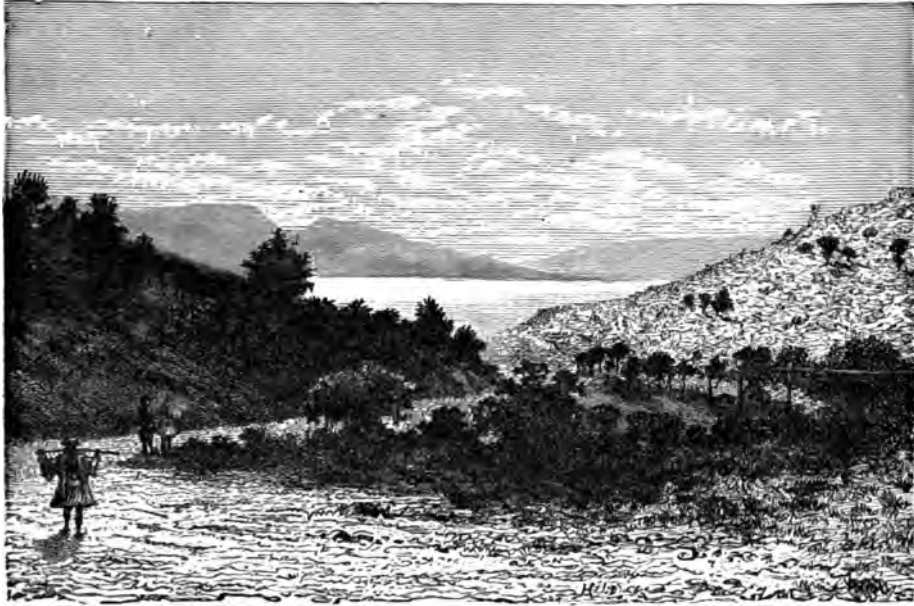
The Athenians advanced against Kleomenes as the most formidable adversary.

“When the two armies,” says Herodotos, “were about to engage, the Corinthians, being the first to consider that the war was an unjust one,

¹ Painting on a Panathenaic amphora, from O. Jahn, *De antiquissimis Minervae simulacris Atticis*, pl. ii. p. 1. Before the statue of Athene Promachos stands an altar. The three persons who are about to offer the sacrifice approach, leading the victim; before them is the priestess of Athene, who with branches in her hand sprinkles the altar.

² From this time forward Kleisthenes disappears from history. It is possible he was banished by ostracism as a punishment for this political error; so Aelianus affirms (*Historiae Variæ*, xiii. 25). It may be he aimed to secure a popular tyranny. It has been so asserted; but in the absence of facts no one has a right to maintain that this great reformer was at heart a man of vulgar ambition.

changed their purpose and withdrew; and afterwards Demaratos, the son of Ariston, who was also king of the Spartans, and had joined in leading out the army from Lacedæmon, and had never before had any disagreement with Kleomenes, did the same. In consequence of this division a law was made in Sparta that the two kings should not again accompany an army at the same time."



BAY OF ELEUSIS, FROM THE SACRED ROAD.¹

The defection of Corinth was due, not to affection for Athens, but to jealousy of Aigina, her rival, who would have gained in importance by this war; Demaratos also was indifferent to Athens, but much disturbed by the ambition of Kleomenes. The Spartan army being ingloriously dispersed, the Athenians marched against the Chalkidians, whom they attacked and defeated before their allies, the Boiotians, could join them. They killed a large number and took seven hundred prisoners, and the same day crossed over into Eubœia, where they gained so complete a victory that they were able to establish a colony of four thousand men in the island, dividing among them the lands of the wealthiest Chalkidians. Henceforward guarding for Athens the strait of the Euripos, this

¹ From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxii. 33. The present road leads towards the bay; the ancient one bore more to the right. On the horizon at the left are the Geranian mountains.

colony contributed much to the grandeur of its metropolis by the supplies it furnished her in grain and in horses, and by the influence it gave her in Eubœia (507 B. C.).

Thus the democracy gloriously inaugurated its accession to power by two important victories gained in two days. Athens

SILVER COIN.¹

had not done as much during the fifty years that the tyranny had lasted, and the Athenians now greatly rejoiced in their success. They had a good number of prisoners, whom they kept for some time in prison, but at last set

them at liberty, requiring a ransom of two minai apiece (about forty dollars). With a tithe of the amount thus received the city made a brazen chariot with four horses, and set it up on the left hand at the entrance of the Akropolis, bearing the proud inscription, which already announces the heroes of Marathon: "The sons

of the Athenians, having overcome the nations of the Boiotians and Chalkidians in feats of war, quelled their insolence in a dark dungeon; they have dedicated these mares, a tithe of the spoil, to Pallas." The fetters in which the captives had been bound were hung up in the Akropolis. Herodotos, who saw them "hanging on a wall that had been much scorched by fire by the Mede," adds the following:

SILVER COIN.²

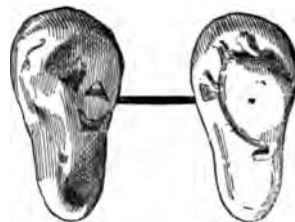
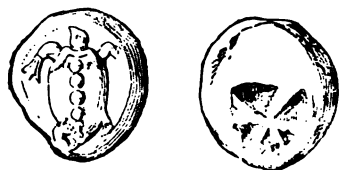
"The Athenians accordingly increased in power. And equality of rights shows not in one instance only, but in every way what an excellent thing it is. For the Athenians when governed by tyrants were superior in war to none of their neighbors; but when freed from tyranny, became by far the first: this then shows that as long as they were oppressed, they purposely acted as cowards, — as laboring for a master; but when they were free, every man was zealous to labor for himself."

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¹ Archaic coin of Corinth. Pegasus bridled, flying; beneath, the *koppa*, initial of the name of Corinth. Reverse: an incused square. (See Friedländer, No. 21, pl. i. p. 55.)

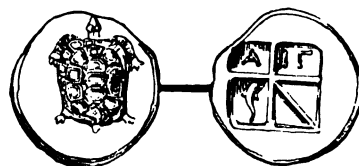
² Boiotian coin *in genere*. Boiotian shield. Reverse: ΚΑΙΩΝ, a magistrate's name. Amphora. (Silver coin of the *Cabinet de France*.)

Beside these trophies of victory were now erected those of liberty. On the sacred road leading to the Akropolis where hitherto the gods alone had dwelt, were placed the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, which said to every citizen going up to adore the Poliac divinities: "It is a noble act to kill a tyrant." Athens and Greece delighted in this sanguinary sentiment, and transmitted it to Cæsar's murderers, or at least to Brutus, the most honest among them. Meanwhile the Boiotians, to repair their disaster, had begged aid from the Aiginetans, founding a claim on the

INGOT.¹SILVER COIN.²

fact that Thebes and Aigina, daughters of the River Asopos, who had given names to the two cities, were sisters. To this argument the people of Aigina made an equally mythological reply, — they sent the statues of Aiakid heroes to the camp of the Boiotians, who, how-

ever, were none the less defeated for this, and solicited more human aid. As there was between Athens and Aigina an ancient quarrel, of which we shall shortly speak, the Aiginetans decided to take advantage of new complications in Athenian affairs; while the Thebans attacked from the north, the island armed a squadron and pillaged the coasts, even before the declaration of war. Athens immediately prepared a great expedition against Aigina, but news from the Peloponnesos prevented her from going farther at this time.

SILVER COIN.³

Sparta, always much more attached to interests than principles, had just decided to undo what she had done, and restore

¹ Monetiform ingot of Aigina. On the face, the tortoise; on the reverse, the hollow square. This ingot, which scarcely resembles coin at all, is the first silver coin of Greece. (Collection de Luynes, *Cabinet de France*.)

² Archaic coin of Aigina. This coin, with the type of the tortoise and the hollow square, represents the period of transformation in the coinage of silver. (Collection de Luynes, in the *Cabinet de France*.)

³ Coin of Aigina. The tortoise. Best style. Reverse: incused square containing a dolphin and the letters AIF (*Αἰγινήων*). (*Cabinet de France*.)

Hippias, whom she had overthrown. She had discovered the stratagem by which the Alkmaionidai had suborned the oracle of Delphi and instigated the expedition of Kleomenes. It displeased her to have been duped thus; and moreover, "taking into consideration," says Herodotos bluntly, "that if the people of Attika should continue free, they would become of equal weight with themselves, but if depressed by a tyranny would be weak



SILVER COIN.¹

and ready to obey, they sent for Hippias, the son of Peisistratos, from Sigeion on the Hellespont, to which place the Peisistratidai had retired." The Spartans then summoned the ambassadors of the confederate States, and proposed to them by common consent and with combined forces to bring back Hippias to Athens and restore to him what they had taken away. The assembly met in the city of Sparta (505 B. C.). These deputies from free States at first listened in silence to the strange proposition of reinstating a tyrant. At last Sosikles the Corinthian spoke. He recalled the evils that tyranny had inflicted in Corinth and elsewhere, reproached the Spartans with going contrary to their own history, and ended by the declaration that if they should persist in the restoration of Hippias, the Corinthians would have nothing to do with so wicked an act. The rest of the confederates with acclamation united in the decision of the Corinthians; the design was defeated, and the disappointed Hippias returned to his exile. Later he proved Sosikles in the right, never ceasing to implore from the Persians an army which would enable him to bring his own country under the yoke and place all Greece at the feet of the Great King.

We have thus seen Athens, after many disturbances and revolutions, enter rapidly upon the path of democracy and become that which Solon had desired, — an assembly of citizens amongst whom neither families nor corporations nor castes had special hereditary rights. Equality before the law, security of property and person, free access to offices, tribunals, and the general assembly; written laws which prevented arbitrary action; a public domain which truly belonged to the public, — the product of the mines,

¹ Coin of Aigina. Two dolphins swimming past each other. Reverse, an incused square. (Silver coin of the *Cabinet de France*.)

for example, being divided among the citizens when the State did not require it; but the direction of affairs reserved to the rich, who had more leisure, and were able, in case of need, to make greater



ATHENE AND THE PEOPLE OF ATHENS.¹

sacrifices; moreover, with all these innovations, a respect for the great names, the old families, and the ancient religion of the country; so that, ties with the past being not completely broken, the State was not in danger of rushing inconsiderately towards an unknown

¹ Bas-relief at the head of the accounts of the treasurers of Athene for the year 410-409: in the Museum of the Louvre. In the centre, the sacred olive-tree of the Erechtheion; at the right, Athene, holding the spear; at the left, the Athenian People, leaning on a sceptre. The People is of the same height with the goddess, and holds with the right hand one of the branches of the tree. It has been sought to recognize in this scene Athene confiding the sacred olive-tree to king Erechtheus; but we have already seen the People on similar bas-reliefs (see Vol. I. p. 549), and the olive-tree here merely designates the scene, which is the Akropolis.

future, and the Athenian nobility might remain the ornament and strength of the city, without being for it a threat and a danger. Such was the Athens of Solon and of Kleisthenes, — a government which incited the freest development of each man's faculties and

the absolute devotion of all for the common prosperity of the State.¹



HEAD OF ATHENE.²

And this grandeur was about to begin. Order once being established within, the republic had quickly increased in foreign importance, and soon became so formidable as to excite the envy of the all-powerful Sparta. Many States, many aristocracies, leagued themselves against Athens. In the design of arresting her growth, Sparta essayed means the most diverse. Now she expels the tyrants, now restores them; nothing succeeds.

Athens is victorious over all attempts, like a tree vigorous in spite of all the attempts that are made to keep down its sap and enfeeble its branches which, as in a benign climate, will soon be seen loaded both with flowers and fruit.

Sparta doubtless would never have renounced her jealous hatred, had not a great event suddenly compelled the Greek States to forget their quarrels with one another and to unite against a common foe. We are on the eve of the Median wars. Before relating them it is necessary to have in our minds a complete picture of the Hellenic world as a whole and in all its parts. We shall now speak of the lesser States of Greece, and of the numerous colonies which were the exciting cause of that great conflict in which Europe and Asia first clashed, and since which they have never ceased to be embroiled.

¹ This is the opinion of Herodotos (v. 78) and of Thucydides (i. 17, 18).

² Head of Parian marble, found on the Akropolis of Athens in 1883; from the *Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, 1883, pl. vi. The effect of the marble was heightened by color, of which traces remain on the eyes, the ear-jewels, and the diadem.

CHAPTER XI.

SECONDARY STATES OF CONTINENTAL GREECE.

I.—SECONDARY STATES OF THE PELOPONNESOS.

THE small States of Greece were numerous. Each had its history, since each had its own life; but this history is very imperfectly known. In general, as to domestic affairs, it is only a repetition of what took place in Athens and Sparta; and as to foreign policy, it is also connected, as a rule, with that of the two principal States. We discover but one fact common to all these little nationalities; namely, the slow revolution which leads them from royalty, as Homer depicts it, to an aristocratic form of government, here and there overthrown by tyrants, who in their turn give place to the democracy described by Thucydides and Herodotos.

The government of the heroic age, with its kings deriving their lineage from the gods, with its senate of nobles, their council, and the general assembly of free men who reject or approve but do not deliberate, lasted in Sparta and in Epeiros until the third century B. C. In the rest of Greece it disappeared with the causes which had brought it into existence,—incessant wars, sudden invasions, and changes of territory. A community more solidly based had less need of these kings of divine descent; and in all the cities, sooner or later, royalty was abolished. An oligarchy, dating from the conquest, took its place, and governed, by prytanies or by archons, in the interest and for the advantage of the nobles. In some cases this transition was made gradually, as at Athens, where a king was succeeded by an archon holding office for life, then by one elected every ten years, and finally by one chosen annually. In the seventh century B. C. we find this

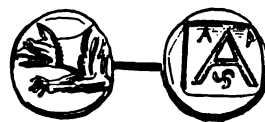
oligarchical revolution completed throughout the whole Greek world, in the colonies as well as in the mother-cities.

To this another succeeded in the years between 650 and 500; for once having shaken off the authority of the sons of the gods, Greece never stopped until she reached the opposite extreme,—democracy. The nobles, having no master above them, tolerated

TETRADRACHM.¹

beneath them only subjects; but the subjects in their turn dealt with the oligarchy as the oligarchy had dealt with the kings. At the same time still distrusting themselves too much to establish a government of the people, they placed at their head

some one of the nobles who had come over to their side, giving him power, that he might give them equality. Thus tyrants were established,—Peisistratos at Athens, Kypselos at Corinth, Panaitios at Leontini, Pittakos at Mytilene,² and others: brilliant and popular tyrannies, which gave peace and prosperity to the cities which established them.

DRACHMA.³

But not all tyrannies were thus established, and not all had this popular character. At Argos, king Pheidon threw off the shackles that limited his power, and subjected small and great to his arbitrary will. At Miletos and throughout Ionia, magistrates established by the nobles seized the absolute authority. In Sicily, the Agrigentine Phalaris usurped it, and exercised it all the more cruelly because, being the representative of no class, all were hostile to him. At Gela, Kleandros and Hippokrates obtained it by the aid of their numerous Silician mercenaries. At Cumæ, in Italy, Aristodemos seized it by violence. In the Thracian Chersonesos,

¹ Coin of Leontini. Laurelled head of Apollo between two leaves of laurel. As symbol, a leaping lion; legend written backward: ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ. Reverse: quadriga; above, a flying Victory holding a fillet; underneath, a crouching lion. (Tetradrachm of the *Cabinet de France*.)

² Most of the Greek and Latin MSS. give *Μυτιλήνη* and *Mitylene*; but coins and inscriptions have *Μυτιλήνη*, which is doubtless the correct orthography.

³ Coin of Argos. A wolf springing upon its prey. On the reverse, in an incused square, a large A, with the triquetra and the letters AP (*Ἀργείων*). (Drachma of the *Cabinet de France*.)

the first Miltiades was made tyrant, as leader of a colony surrounded by enemies.

This form of government also went by, like the oligarchies which had given rise to it; for the prolonged possession of irresponsible power had its natural consequence in abuses and acts of



AKROPOLIS OF ARGOS.¹

violence, which caused a new revolution. This had just taken place when the Median wars broke out. Such then is the internal life of Greece: at first kings; then an aristocracy, followed by tyrants, who are supported by the oppressed class or by mercenaries; finally, the State governing itself, — here giving preference to the rich, proprietors of the soil, there giving more advantage to the people. This last development was to be the most favorable; for from the rivalry of classes arose that emulation, that mental activity, which made the civilization of Greece.

¹ From a photograph. The Akropolis bore in ancient days the old Pelasgic name Larisa; only the plain and the city were called Argos.

As a sign and a result of this political revolution, another took place in the military organization, and made the former irrevocable. An equality in arms followed the equality of rights. To the warriors of the Homeric period who fought, each for himself in his war-chariot, succeeded the heavy-armed infantry, ranged in deep



SOURCE OF THE LADON.¹

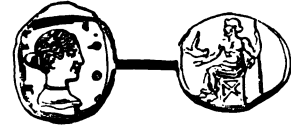
and serried ranks. Once it was only the heroes who fought hand to hand, sowing terror and death around them; now, the rank and file engage and maintain the fight. Each citizen is completely armed, and instead of the marvellous exploits of a few valiant chiefs, we have the grand spectacle of a whole city marching, calm, disciplined, and resolute, to victory or death. This democratic organization prevailed at the time of the Median invasion, and it was this which saved Greece.

We will note the more important incidents of these successive

¹ From a photograph. The headwaters of this river are a two hours' walk distant from the Lake of Pheneios. See Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*, ii. 442.

transformations in briefly reviewing the history of each of the lesser States.

Arkadia.—This country, behind its high wall of mountains, has an irregular surface where the rivers outline no basins of any size, except the valley of the Ladon; for, in their hurried course, they run in all directions, often coming upon hills whose bases they erode, or through which they make their way in underground channels.¹ The history of Arkadia, an image and, as it were, a reflection of the soil, is without unity. A multitude of villages, scattered through these innumerable valleys, live each by itself.

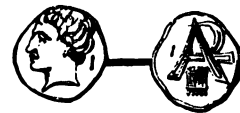


DRACHMA.²



TETRADRACHM.³

But owing to her poverty and her isolation, Arkadia escaped the revolutions which so often changed the population of the other districts of Greece. “The Arkadians,” says Pausanias, “have occupied from the beginning and to-day occupy the same country.” They called themselves *προσέληνοι*,—that is to say, older than the moon,—and spoke the most ancient dialect of Greece, the Aiolic. On the abrupt crests of their mountains here and there are remains of cyclopean fortifications,—enormous blocks of stone, which seem to have been a first and shapeless attempt at walls like those of Mykenai and Tiryns. Their principal divinity, Zeus, was adored on the top of Mount Lykaios, whence the larger part of the Peloponnesos can be seen. His altar was a mound of earth; his temple



SILVER COIN.⁴

¹ “As to its natural geography, Arkadia may be divided into two principal parts: one, the eastern portion, is the region of high basins having no outlet; the other, on the west, consists of the basin of the Alpheios and its chief affluents.”—PULLON BOBLAYE: *Expédition de Morée*, p. 138.

² Arkadian coin. Woman’s head (perhaps Kalisto, mother of Arkas). Legend: ΑΡΚΑΔΙΩΝ. Reverse: the Arkadian Zeus, father of Arkas, seated, holding a sceptre and an eagle. (Drachma of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,193.)

³ Mount Olympos in Arkadia (Lykaios). Olympos leaning upon his crook, and seated on Mount Olympos, at the foot of which is the word ΟΑΥΜ. In the field, the Arkadian monogram ΑΡ. (Tetradrachm of the *Cabinet de France*.)

⁴ Pan on an Arkadian coin. Beardless head of Pan, having two small horns on the forehead. Behind him, I, mint-mark. Reverse: the Arkadian monogram ΑΡ, with the syrinx and the letter I, mint-mark. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 2,229.)

an enclosure made by rude stones, and human sacrifices were offered to him there. To enter was prohibited, and he who should thus brave the anger of the god would surely die within the year. To make sure that this threat should be fulfilled, the offender was stoned to death at once by the other inhabitants if they could seize him. Zeus divided his honors and his temples with a divinity, very



PAN AND THE NYMPHS.¹

popular in this province, whose worship was probably still more ancient, — Pan, the protector of goatherds and of their flocks, also the god of fire, which spreads life upon the earth, ripening the harvests of Demeter; hence called by the Greeks the Follower of the Great Mother.² The Arkadians, it is true, sometimes treated their god with scant reverence: if the chase had been unsuccessful, they scourged his statue with their whips.³ Pan, the god of

¹ Bas-relief discovered at Megalopolis in Arkadia; from the *Annali dell' Inst. archeol.*, 1883, pl. l. 2. The scene is in a grotto. Before the god Pan, seated at the right and playing on the syrinx, advance, dancing, three nymphs, who hold each other's mantles. The last bears ears of corn, and a fruit in the left hand. For similar representations see A. Michaëlis, *Annali*, 1863, pp. 292 *et seq.*; E. Pothier, *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. v. (1881) pp. 349 *et seq.*

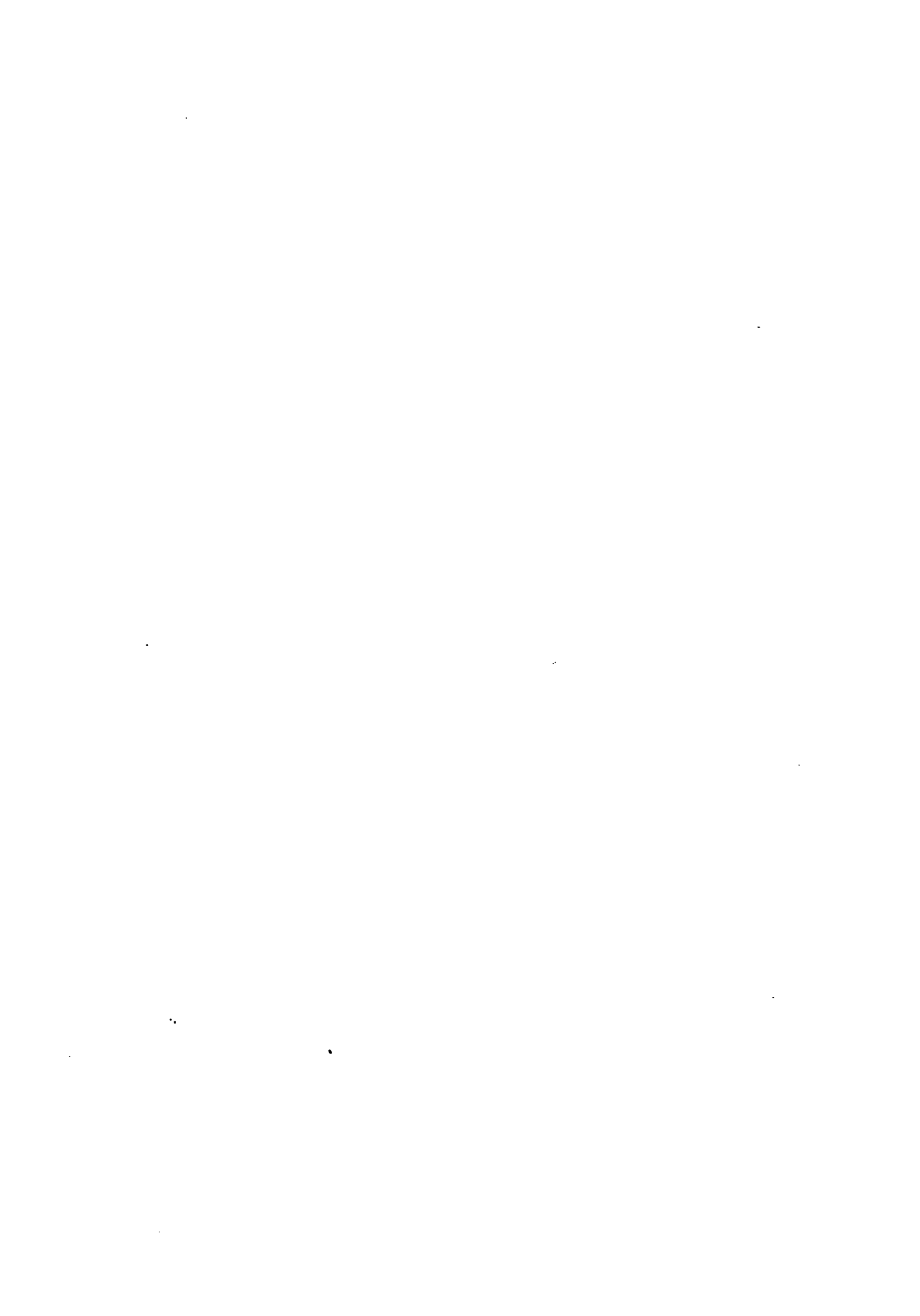
² *Ματρός μεγάλης ὀπαδός.* — ARISTOTLE: *Rhetoric*, ii. 24.

³ Theokritos, viii. 7.



Scale: 0 5 10 15 20 Kilom.

MAP OF ARKADIA.

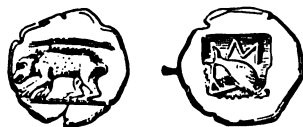


the solitary woods, which the winds fill with mysterious sounds, and where the play of light and shade causes fantastic shapes to appear, was the author of sudden and causeless alarms; hence our word *panic*.

It is said that a race of kings had ruled originally over all Arkadia, and he who gave name to the country, Arkas, was the first

TETRADRACHM.¹

of these. Kypselos reigned at the time of the invasion of the Dorians, who however made no stay in Arkadia. His successors took part in the Messenian wars. The last of them, Aristokrates II., by his treason secured the final victory of the Spartans, upon which the indignant Arkadians stoned him to death and abolished royalty (628).

DRACHMA.²

Two cities by degrees raised themselves above the other villages, — “pleasing Mantinea,” where the Argives favored democracy, and “Tegea the impregnable,” which, the nearest neighbor of Lakonia, had long wars with Sparta, and ended by becoming her ally and sympathizing in her form of government; whence arose between the two

SILVER COIN.³

Arkadian cities long rivalries and sanguinary struggles. The Arkadians, poor and robust, were the first to go in search of fortune in foreign military service. They furnished the best infantry in the Peloponnesos, but were scoffed at for their readiness to fight

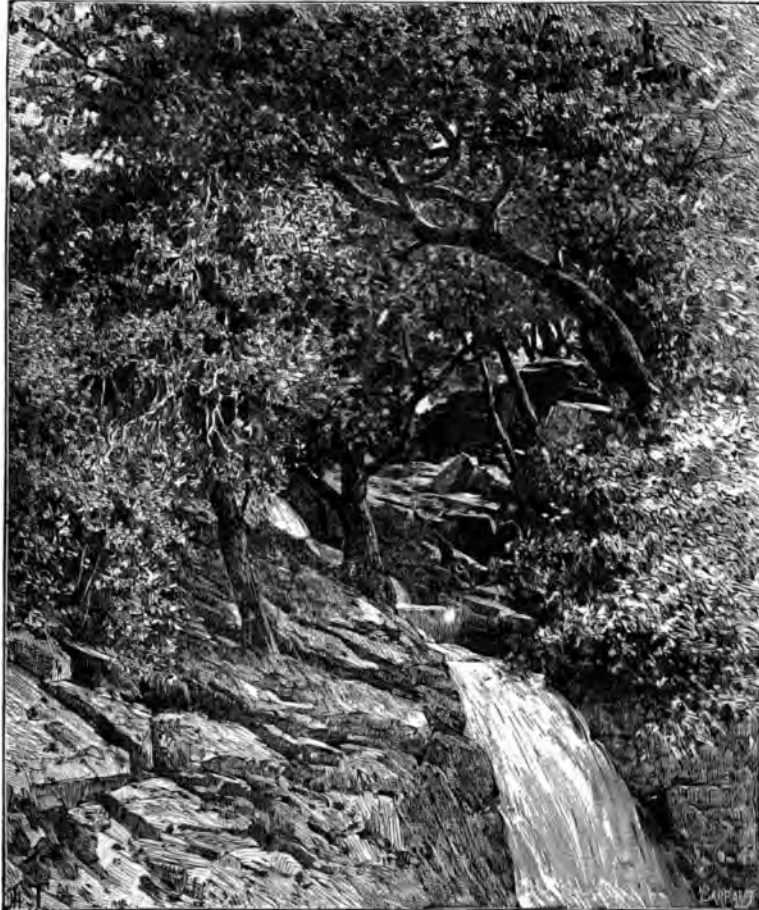
¹ Arkas, on a tetradrachm of Pheneos of Arkadia. Head of Demeter, wreathed with wheat-ears, facing right. Reverse: ΦΕΝΕΩΝ. Hermes, holding the caduceus, and wearing on his head the winged cap, carries the child Arkas on his left arm, partly wrapped in his peplos; behind Arkas his name, ΑΡΚΑΣ. (*Cabinet de France*.)

² Coin of Mantinea. The Mantineian bear, going to the left. Reverse: ΜΑ. Dolphin. Incused square.

³ Coin of Elis, *in genere*. Eagle devouring a serpent: legend, FA; initials of the archaic word ΦΑΕΙΩΝ, which later became ΗΑΕΙΩΝ. Reverse: same legend, FA; winged thunderbolt, upright in an incused square.

as mercenaries. It was common in Greece to say of those who wrought for others that they imitated the Arkadians.

Elis. — The northwestern coast, one of the most fertile regions of the Peloponnesos, formed at first three little States, because it

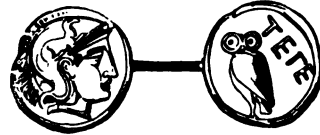


CASCADE OF THE NEDA.¹

had three valleys opening upon the Ionian Sea : between the Alpheios and the Neda, *Triphylia*, whose capital, Pylos, at the confluence of the Peneios and of the Elidian Ladon, was the city of Nestor ; *Pisatis*, containing Olympia, on the right bank of the Alpheios ; and *Elis*, whose capital city, Elis, with an akropolis built on a hill five hundred feet high, commanded the valley of

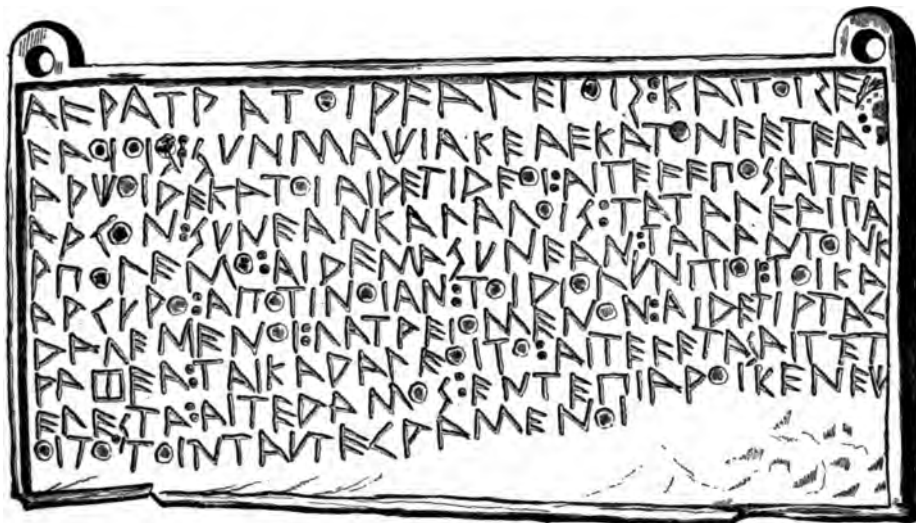
¹ From a photograph.

the Peneios. Oxylos had established himself there with Aitolians in the time of the Dorian migration. Royalty subsisted in Pisatis until the time of the conquest of the country by the Eleians, about 572, after long wars to obtain the presidency of the games, — wars marked, like all religious conflicts, with sanguinary executions.



BRONZE COIN.¹

Pisa, the city of the defeated party, was so thoroughly destroyed that not one stone is left of it, and to-day we vainly seek to determine its site. Iphitos, the most celebrated of the Eleian kings, had instituted or re-established the Olympic Games,² in which the Spartans at once took part, after having formed



TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE ELEIANS AND SOME NATION UNKNOWN.³

a close alliance with the Eleians. This institution determined the destiny of Elis; the country became every four years the meeting-place for all the Hellenes, and its territory for this reason was

¹ Coin of Tegea. Helmeted head of Pallas. Reverse: TEPE (Τεγερῶν.) Owl. (Bronze. Imitation of Athenian coins.)

² See later, Chapter XV.

³ From Röhl, *Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae*, No. 110. This treaty, the most ancient in the Greek language, is engraved on a bronze tablet discovered at Olympia; it was fastened by two nails to the wall of some temple. The following is a transcription:—

Ἄ Γράτρα τοῖρ Φαλείοις : καὶ τοῖς Εὐφαιοῖς : . συμμαχία κ' εἶ[τ]α ἑκατὸν Ἔτεα : , ἄρχοι δὲ κα τοῖ. αἰ δὲ τι δέοι : αἶτε Ἔπος ατε Φάργον : . συνε[ῖ]αν κ' ἀ[λ]λάοις : . τά τ' ἀ[λ]λ[α] καὶ πὰρ πολέμο : . αἰ δὲ μὰ συνε[ῖ]αν : , τάλαντόν κ' ἀργύρο : ἀποτίνοιαν : τοῖ Δι' Ὀλυμπίοι : τοῖ κα[δ]βαλέμενοι : λάτρεῖόμενοι : .

regarded as sacred. No war came near it; and if troops were obliged to traverse it, they passed through unarmed. Hence its fields were well cultivated and populous. Rich citizens made the region their home, never quitting it; the village tribunals were competent to decide cases, and hence the capital did not exercise that attraction which elsewhere drew too much life into the cities, and left too little in the rural territory. The governing power was vested in a close aristocracy. Two supreme magistrates at first, and later ten in number, named *Hellenodikai*, or

TETRADRACHM.¹

judges of the Hellenes, had the superintendence of the games, and kept aloof all who were not of pure Hellenic blood. The senate, composed of ninety life-members, filled its own vacancies. The three chief Olympian priests were probably designated by the god himself, that is to say, by

lot, like the chief priests at Delphi, and remained in service four years; their duties must have been laborious, for, says Pausanias, "Every month the Eleians sacrifice once upon each of the seventy altars that they have erected to the gods."

Opposite the coast of Elis, and distant from it about seven miles, lay the Island of Zakynthos (Zante), which sailors to-day

αι δὲ τῆρ τὰ γράφεια : ταῖ κα[δ]δαλείοτο ;, αἶτε *Fetas* αἶτε τελεστα[ς] : αἶτε δᾶμος ;, ἐν τ' ἐπὶ ροι κ' ἐνέχοιτο τοῖ 'ιταῦτ ἐγρα[μ]μένοι.

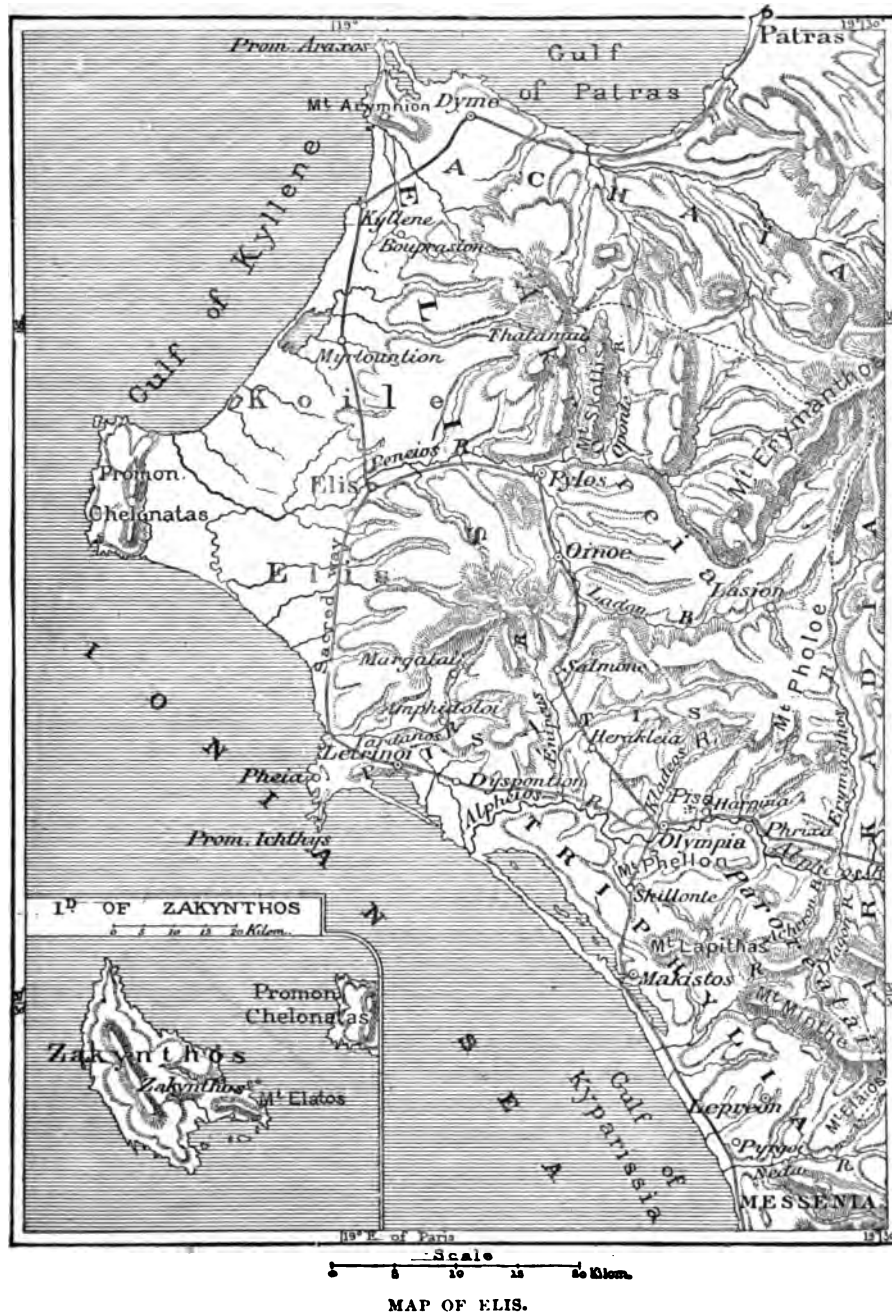
This is in the Eleian dialect. Transcribed into the Attic form, the following are the words:—

'Ἡ ρήτρα τοῖς Ἡλείοις καὶ τοῖς Εὐαίοις. Συμμαχία ἂν εἴη ἑκατὸν ἔτη. ἄρχοι δ' ἂν τὸδε. Εἰ δὲ τι δέοι εἴτε ἔπος εἴτε ἔργον, συνείεν ἂν ἀλλήλοισ τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ περὶ πολέμου· εἰ δὲ μὴ συνείεν, τάλαντον ἂν ἀργύρου ἀποτίνοιεν τῷ Διὶ [τῷ] Ὀλυμπίῳ οἱ καταδηλούμενοι λατρευόμενον. Εἰ δὲ τις τὰ γράμματα τάδε καταδηλοῖτο εἴτε ἔτης εἴτε τελεστής εἴτε δῆμος, ἐν τῷ ἐφίερω ἂν ἐνέχοιτο τῷ ἐνταῦθα γεγραμμένῳ.

"This is the treaty between the Eleians and the Eveians (?). Let alliance be made for a hundred years, and the alliance begin this year. If there is need of negotiation or legal act, let the two States unite both for business of any kind and for war; if they do not unite, let the people who have violated the treaty pay a talent of silver to Olympian Zeus. If any, whether a private individual or a magistrate or a village, do harm to this inscription, let him pay the fine here specified."

The date of this document and the name of the other State are uncertain. The treaty can hardly be later than the first half of the fifth century B. C. On the name of the second State, see Köhler, in the *Mittheilungen d. d. archäolog. Instit. in Athen*, vol. vii. (1882), p. 378, note 2. Cf. S. Reinach, *Traité d'épigraphie grecque*, pp. 14, 15.

¹ Coin of Zakynthos. Laurelled head of Apollo, facing left. Reverse: ZA (*Zakynthion*). Tripod. (Tetradrachm of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,678.)



call "the flower of the Levant."¹ Its inhabitants claimed descent from the Trojans; Thucydides, who cares less for legends than for historic probabilities, calls them Achaians. They were said to have founded Saguntum, in Spain.

¹ I have seen flowers in the open fields at the beginning of January.

At the east of Elis is *Achaia*. The descendants of Tisamenos reigned there until the time of a certain Gyges, whose cruelties caused the royal office to be abolished, at a date not known, and democracy was established in the country, which formed a confederation of twelve cities. Achaia took no part in the general affairs of Greece, and remained tranquil and happy; her constitution was much extolled, and was imitated by many States; her cities were destined to be for a moment famous in the last days of Greece.

From Achaia, passing by Sikyon and Corinth, we enter *Argolis*, — a great peninsula, without geographic unity, bristling



MAP OF ACHAIÀ.

with mountains, having neither roads nor any common centre, nor rivers rendering it fruitful. The Inachos, which traverses it, has water only in the winter. Argeia, in particular, is an arid country; the Greeks well knew why: Poseidon and Here, they said, were disputing for the possession of the country, and to put an end to the controversy they called in Phoroneus, who was assisted by the rivers Kephissos, Inachos, and Asterion. The decision was unfavorable to Poseidon, who revenged himself by drying up the streams and springs of the country. From that day forward they have had no water except what Here causes to descend to them from the sky. Thus legend borrows from every source, from nat-

ural phenomena as well as from human history, the material with which to increase her store.

Argolis is covered still with numerous ruins, which show that in this little space of territory powerful States have flourished,—



MAP OF ARGOLIS.

Mykenai, Tiryns, Mideia, Troizen, Hermione, Epidauros. Hence we may conclude that this region was long the theatre of strife between different races, and we can understand why it never became a strong and compact State, like Attika or Lakonia. There was in fact no more unity in the population than in the

land. Troizen for example, remained almost entirely Ionian. The principal divinities were Poseidon and Athene; the coins of the city bore a head of the goddess and a trident; and when Xerxes entered Attika, it was at Troizen that the Athenians sought shelter for their wives and children. Epidauros also had a substratum of Ionian race, and not all the Achaians followed Tissamenos into



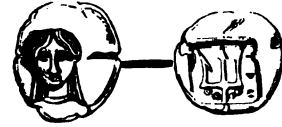
RUINS OF THE PYRAMID OF KENCHREAL.¹

Aigialeia.² Hence Argolis was never more than half Dorian, although Temenos, the chief of the family of the Herakleids, had established himself at Argos, and the Dorians of that city colonized successively Sikyon, Kleonai, Phlious, and Epidauros, which all looked to Argos as their metropolis. Hermione — where was an opening in the ground believed to be the shortest route to the infernal regions, on account of which the inhabitants were excused from putting the piece of silver in the mouth of their dead to pay the ferryman across the Styx — also owned this allegiance, and it was accepted by Nauplia and by Asine. Argos stood at the head of a

¹ From a photograph. Cf. the *Expédition de Morée*, vol. ii. pl. 55. This monument, unique in Greece, is built of enormous polygonal blocks, some of which are joined with mortar, and it has an aperture on the eastern side. It was probably an immense tomb.

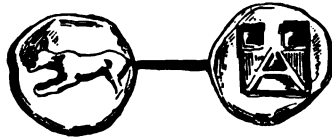
² See above, Vol. I. p. 277.

confederation which included all the Argive peninsula, and owned for its protecting divinity, not the Achaian Here, but the Dorian god Apollo, whose sanctuary stood in the Argive citadel. Thither all came, and all were bound to come, to offer sacrifice. The Argives, guardians of the temple, had the right of proceeding forcibly in the case of those cities which failed to send the obligatory offerings, and they levied a fine upon such members of the League as did not fulfil their engagements. Sikyon and Aigina having



DRACHMA.¹

in 514 given aid to the Spartan Kleomenes in his invasion of Argeia, Argos imposed on the two cities a heavy fine, and Sikyon acknowledged the justice of the penalty.



DRACHMA.²

This union of all the Dorians of Argolis under the direction of Argos gave that city for a moment the first rank in the Peloponnesos: in the time of Pheidon, the tenth in descent from Temenos, about 750, she exercised an influence which was later acquired by Sparta.

Pheidon deprived the Eleians of the presidency of the Olympic Games, and restored this honor to the people of Pisa; he subjugated all the eastern coast of Lakonia as far as Cape Malea, and also the Island of Kythera; and he was the first upon the Greek mainland to coin silver money in place of the heavy and cumbersome coin of brass and of iron employed by Sparta. The system of weights and measures established by him, known as the Aiginetan system, was adopted by the Peloponnesos, Boiotia, Thessaly, and Macedon. We see that this king, almost the contemporary of Lykourgos, had quite different ideas from those held by the Spartan law-giver, for the reason that he found himself surrounded by quite different needs.



BRONZE COIN.³

¹ Coin of Troizen. Woman's head, front face; the hair parted in front in two broad bands. Reverse. ΤΡΟ (Τροίηων). Trident. Incused square.

² First coin of Argos. Wolf running to the left. On the reverse a large A in an incused square. This drachma is probably a coin of Pheidon.

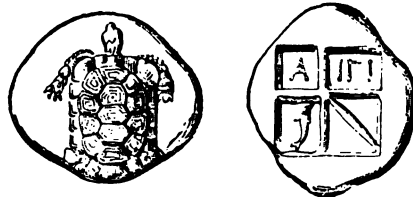
³ Coin of Hermione. Head of Demeter, with wreath of wheat-ears, facing left. Reverse: EP, and a torch in a wreath formed of ears of corn.

He urged his people to commerce and navigation with as much energy as Lykourgos had manifested in retaining his in a narrow circle of rigid and illiberal institutions. Sparta and Argos, therefore, were not Dorian in the same way. Corinth, a rich and profligate city, was even less Dorian than Argos. To the influence of places and circumstances we must ascribe much which a convenient explanation has long attributed to the influence of race and blood.

After Pheidon the Argive royalty fell back into the weakness whence he had lifted it, and was henceforth scarcely more than nominal. As was the case in all the Dorian States, the population was divided into three classes,—a higher class, which ruled the State (these were the descendants of the conquerors); an intermediate class, the conquered, who were free, like the Lakonians; and a class of serfs, corresponding to the Helots. Argos, as a Dorian and aristocratic State, must always have been an ally of Sparta; but remembering that she had once held the first rank in Greece, she could not see without jealousy the growing power of the rival city. Frequently war broke out on the question of boundaries, and Argos lost a part of Kynouria. Later, through hatred of Sparta, she became a partisan of Athens and of democracy, but employed this difficult form of government without the wise modifications which Athens early introduced. Cicero remarks that he nowhere finds mention of an Argive orator.

Eastward of Argos, in the peninsula Akte, stood *Epidaurus*, on the shore of the Saronic Gulf, opposite the Island of Aigina, which she had colonized, and over which she long held a controlling influence. As their metropolis, she had required the islanders to bring their lawsuits before her courts. In the eighth century she fell under the power of Pheidon of Argos, recovering her independence after his death. About the close of the seventh and beginning of the sixth century, Epidaurus again was subject to a foreign yoke. Prokles was at this time king, and was dethroned by Periandros, his son-in-law. It was doubtless as a result of this that Aigina threw off the authority of the mother-city. At Epidaurus also there were slaves similar to the Helots. They were called *koni-podes*, the “dusty-footed,”—referring contemptuously to their agricultural occupation.

Aigina is one of the smallest of the Mediterranean islands, containing only about forty-one square miles. Its soil is poor; its gracefully outlined shores are fringed with shoals, except at one point where there is a good harbor; and in the centre rises Mount St. Elias, whence it was easy to count the temples on the Athenian Akropolis and to see Salamis, Eleusis, Megara, the Akrokorinthos, and the nearer islands of the Archipelago. At this

SILVER COIN.¹

point it may be said that Aigina will rule the Saronic Gulf and the sea of the Cyclades on the day when this insular rock shall be held by brave and intelligent men, like those who occupy some of the islands to which the modern Greeks have attracted so much commerce, and from which so many gallant sailors have gone forth.

First Pelasgians and then Achaian Myrmidons were the early inhabitants of Aigina. The latter had for leader Aiakos, whom legend calls the son of Zeus. On one occasion, the story runs, when drought was about to destroy the harvests, deputies from the States of Greece, in obedience to a command of the Delphic oracle, visited Aiakos and supplicated him to invoke his father's aid. He did so, ascending to the top of the hill now called Mount St. Elias. At once the

BRONZE COIN.²

clouds came up, and rain fell abundantly: the Greeks were saved from famine. Their gratitude took a sombre form. They placed Aiakos in the infernal regions as judge of the dead, with Minos and Rhadamanthos. He had two sons, — Peleus, who returned with some of the Myrmidons into Thessaly, where later he became the father of Achilles; and Telamon, who was the father of Aias (Ajax), the most formidable of the Greeks after the son of Thetis. The Dorians of Epidauros occupied Aigina without giving it, at first,

¹ Coin of Aigina, belonging to the second period. The tortoise is finely engraved. Reverse: an incused square in four compartments, in which are a dolphin and the legend ΑΙΓΙ, for ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΩΝ.

² Aiakos, judge of the dead. Coin in the Cabinet of Berlin. Legend: ΑΙΑΚΟC. Aiakos, holding the sceptre, sits on a throne; before him stands a figure, and in the background is seen the Genius of Death, Thanatos, on a low column; in the field, a star.

much renown; but the favorable situation of the island promoted commerce, and with this some manufactures which assumed an



MAP OF AIGINA.

artistic character. The inhabitants modelled elegant vases, their bronze was second only to that of Delos, they coined the first Greek money, and they long sold statues of the gods to all the

cities, and statues of athletes to all the victors in the Olympic Games, from the Asiatic coasts to the shore of Sicily. Before the age of Perikles the artists of Aigina were the most famous in Greece.

Becoming rich, the Aiginetans broke with Epidauros, which had remained poor and weak, but were themselves a prey to violent quarrels between the old party of Dorian conquerors and a new party that commerce had formed and made rich. The oligarchy were successful, and the power remained with them.



WESTERN PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE OF ATHENE AT AIGINA.¹

Following her trading-vessels, Aigina sent out vessels of war; for since at that time there was no police of the seas, merchants went armed and quickly became conquerors. Aigina had her victories. In 519 she conquered the Samians; but she did not aspire to remote conquests, and founded but a single colony,—Kydonia in Krete, which is now Khania. As early as 563 B. C., in the reign of the Pharaoh Amasis, she had established a trading-post at Naukratis, in the Delta.

She had another enemy more formidable than Samos,—Athens; and this city finally destroyed her. The hatred had a natural cause in the rivalry of two nations separated only by a narrow

¹ This engraving and that on p. 67 are made from casts in the *École des Beaux-Arts*. The symmetrical arrangement of the figures, and the skill displayed by the sculptor in filling the triangular space afforded him by the pediment, are remarkable. On each side of the goddess Athene, who presides over the combat and with her divine height towers above the heroes, are five (or, according to another restoration, seven) warriors; at the angles of the pediment lie the wounded, and in the increasing space the outside combatants are kneeling. The subject represented is the struggle of the Greeks and Trojans around the body of Patroklos. (Cf. *Iliad*, xvii. 715 *et seq.*) Patroklos, mortally wounded, is falling to the ground, and the Trojans, on the right, are trying to seize his body; the Trojan archer, whose right knee touches the ground, wears the Phrygian costume,—the cap and the close-fitting garment. On the left are the Greeks, foremost among them the two heroes especially honored by the Aiginetans,—Aias, son of Telamon, and Teukros. These beautiful figures compose the most important series belonging to the archaic period. (Museum of Munich.)

sea, in which their vessels constantly met. With a fair wind, the sailor goes from the Peiraiæus to Aigina in two hours. Herodotus has, as usual, to explain this



SILVER COIN.¹

hatred between the States, an old story to tell, showing the mean rivalries, the reciprocal frauds, of these little nations, and the disposition of the women to keep alive a quarrel, preserving the memory of an injury in their ceremonies, and even in the cut of their garments.²

“ At a time of famine, the Epidaurians had received from the Pythia the advice to consecrate to Damia and Anxesia³ statues of olive-wood. As there



THE ISLAND OF AIGINA, SEEN FROM PHALERON.⁴

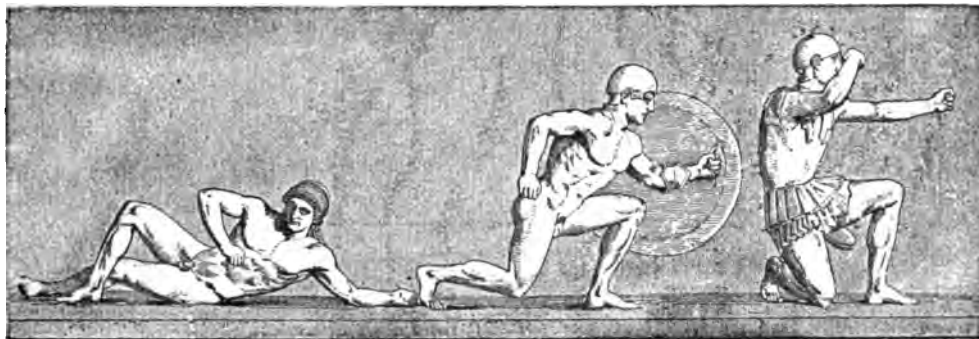
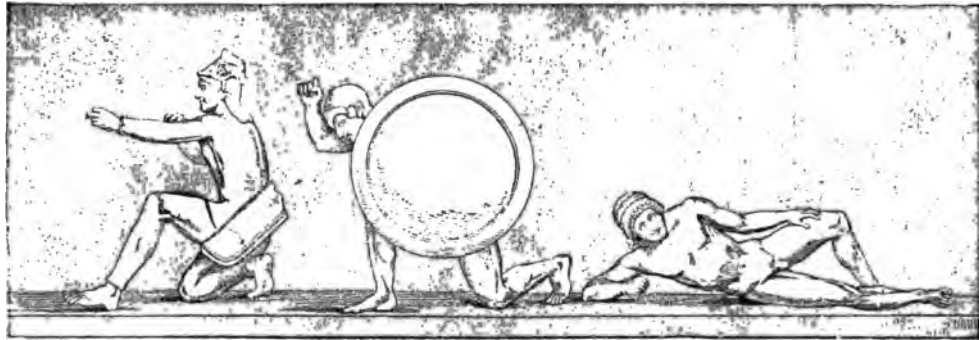
were no other olive-trees to be found but those in Attika, the Epidaurians asked permission of the Athenians to cut down one of their trees, and the request was granted, with the condition that the former should annually send sacrifices to Athene, Polias, and Erechtheus. The Epidaurians, having agreed to these terms, obtained what they asked for, and having made the statues of

¹ Coin of Kydonia. Head of a woman, facing left, crowned with flowers (probably Akakallis, mother of Kydon). Reverse: she-wolf suckling the infant Kydon, eponymous hero of the city of Kydonia. (Kydon was the son of Hermes and Akakallis, daughter of Minos.) Legend: KYΔΩΝ.

² Herodotos, v. 82-88. The story as given here is somewhat abridged.

³ [Demeter and Persephone. See Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Mythology*, i. 448. — Ed.]

⁴ From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxiv. 353. Behind the island at the right and left are seen the mountains of the Peloponnesos.



FIGURES FROM THE PEDIMENT AT AIGINA.

These figures adorned the western pediment of the temple of Athena at Aigina (see p. 71).



olive-wood, erected them; upon which their land became fruitful and they fulfilled their engagements to the Athenians. After a time, however, the people of Aigina, having revolted from Epidauros, invaded that city and carried off the statues, which they set up in the interior of their own territory. When these statues had been thus stolen, the Epidaurians refused to continue their offerings to the Athenian divinities, and Athens sent to Aigina demanding from those in possession of the statues the fulfilment of the conditions on which the olive-wood had been given. The people of Aigina refused; and an expedition sent against them, attempting to drag away the sacred statues with ropes, were seized with madness and destroyed one another, so that only one man returned alive to Athens. This man, recounting the disaster, was surrounded by the women whose husbands had been killed, and each one pierced him with the bodkin that fastened her garment, so that he died under their hands. This conduct of the women filled the Athenians with horror, and for a punishment they obliged all the women of Athens to give up the Dorian dress which they wore, and instead, to clothe themselves with the Ionian tunic, which had no need of any pin to fasten it. In memory of the event, also, the women of Aigina and Argos from that time had their bodkins half as large again as before, and made it a practice frequently to offer them in the temple of the gods. And this continues even to my time."

We have seen¹ the persistent hatred of the people of Aigina towards Athens manifested when they entered into the great league made by Thebes and Sparta in 507 to destroy at the same time the liberty and the dawning prosperity of the Athenians. From the temple which they consecrated to Athene in the time of their prosperity, there remain beautiful ruins and sculpture, which, in spite of its still archaic character, announces the advent of the great period of Greek plastic art.²

Between Argolis and Achaia stood Sikyon and Corinth.

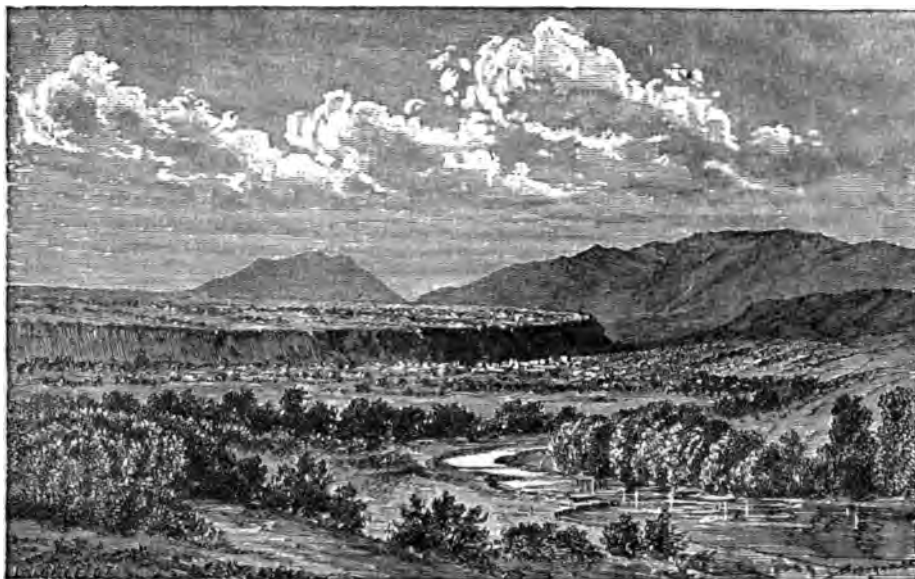
Sikyon, about two miles distant from the Corinthian Gulf, was built upon a hill bathed at its foot by two rivers. The city possessed a very fertile territory, and, with Argos, was held to be the seat of the most ancient kingdom of Greece; and she even ventured to name the kings who had reigned over her ten centuries before the Trojan war. In the legendary time of Agamemnon, Sikyon was tributary to Mykenai, and after the return of the Herakleids a son of Temenos established himself there with a Dorian colony. Below this aristocracy we catch a glimpse of a

¹ Page 37 *et seq.*

² See pp. 65, 67, and 71.

population of different origin, and of a class of serfs, called in derision "sheepskin-wearers" (*katonakophoroi*) and "stick-carriers" (*korynephoroi*).

About 670 B. C. a man of the people, Orthagoras, overthrew this oligarchy, and founded a tyranny which lasted a century. "It maintained itself so long," says Aristotle, "because these tyrants treated their subjects with gentleness, conformed their conduct to the laws, and were able to retain the popular favor."¹ Myron, suc-



SITE OF ANCIENT SIKYON.²

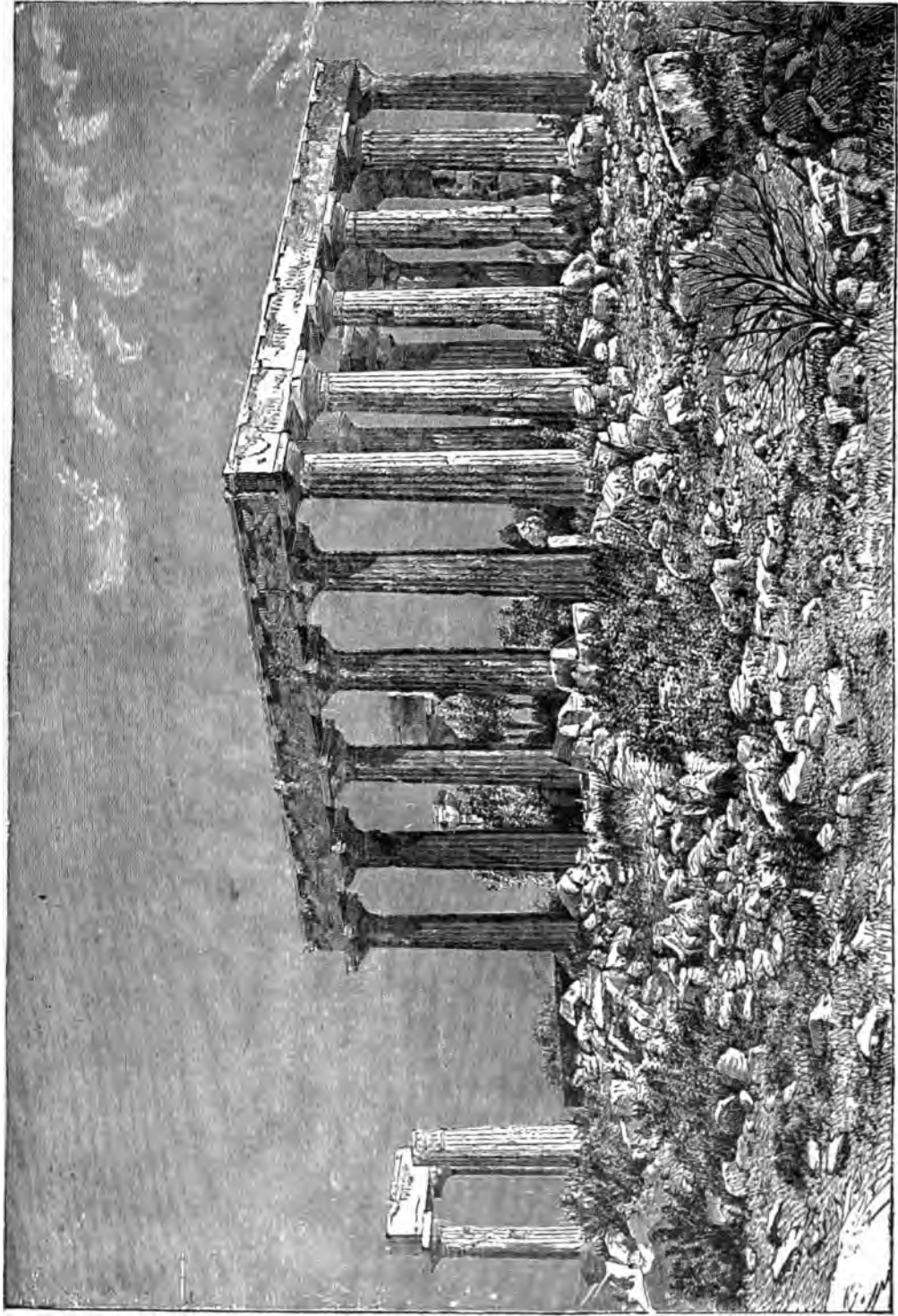
cessor of Orthagoras, is known only by a victory at the Olympic Games in the chariot-race (648): this contest, lately established, gave Sikyon many wreaths, and a great renown to her fine breed of horses. The great-grandson of Myron, Kleisthenes, seconded the Amphiktyons in the war against Krissa, and employed the spoils of that city in adorning Sikyon.³

On the subject of this king, Herodotos gives us one of those stories which he tells so skilfully, — which, however, we are not obliged to accept with complete faith.

¹ *Polit.*, V. ii.

² From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxiv. 369.

³ Kleisthenes was victorious at the Olympic Games about the year 582 B. C.



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF ATHENE AT AIGINA (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH).





“Kleisthenes, tyrant of Sikyon,” says the old historian, “a very powerful and rich man, had a daughter, Agarista, whom he resolved to give in marriage to the man whom he should find the most accomplished among the Greeks. During the celebration of the Olympic Games, therefore, being himself victorious in the chariot-race, he made a proclamation that whoever of the Greeks should deem himself worthy to become the son-in-law of Kleisthenes should come to Sikyon on the sixtieth day, for Kleisthenes had determined on the marriage in a year, reckoning from that time. Many suitors came, and Kleisthenes made inquiry as to the country and family of each. He then detained them for a year, and made trial of their manly qualities, their dispositions, learning, and morals, holding familiar inter-



CHARIOT-RACE.²

course with each separately and with all together, and leading out to the gymnasia such of them as were young; but most of all he made trial of them at the banquet: for as long as he detained them, he did this constantly, and at the same time entertained them magnificently. Of all the suitors those that came from Athens pleased him best; and of these Hippokleides, son of Tisandros, was preferred, both on account of his manly qualities and because he was related to the family of the Kypselidai in Corinth. When the appointed day arrived, Kleisthenes sacrificed a hundred oxen, and entertained the suitors and all the people of Sikyon; and when they had concluded the feast, the suitors had a contest about music and any subject

¹ ΣΙ. Laurelled head of Apollo, facing the right. Reverse: laurel-wreath; in the centre a dove with a fillet in its beak. (Gold. *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,431.)

² Scene painted on the cover of an amphora (from Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenh.*, vol. iv. pl. 267). The first chariot has nearly reached the goal, which is adorned with fillets; behind gallops a horse which has broken loose from another chariot.

proposed for conversation. As the drinking went on, Hippokleides, who had attracted much attention, ordered the flute-player to play a dance, and when the flute-player obeyed, he began dancing; and he danced probably to please



TERRA-COTTA FIGURINE.¹

damsel, to such of you as are rejected from the marriage I present a talent of silver to each, on account of your condescending to seek a wife from my family, and of your absence from home; but to Megakles, son of Alkmaion, I betroth my daughter Agarista, according to the laws of the Athenians.' ”

¹ Terra-cotta from Megaris, in the Museum of the Louvre. (Cf. L. Heuzey, *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du musée du Louvre*, pl. 36.) The Genius is leaning against a Corinthian column; on its capital is a little figure, winged and veiled.

himself, but Kleisthenes, seeing it, was not gratified thereby. Then Hippokleides, having rested a while, ordered some one to bring in a table; and when the table came in, he first danced Lakonian figures on it, and then Attic ones; after which, placing his head on the table, he gesticulated with his legs. But Kleisthenes, who had been much displeased before, and had revolted at the idea of having Hippokleides for a son-in-law, on account of the latter's dancing and want of decorum, yet had restrained himself from expressing his displeasure, could now no longer keep silent, but when he saw the young man gesticulating with his legs, cried out: 'Son of Tisandros, you have danced away your marriage.' To which the young Athenian replied: 'It matters not to Hippokleides.' And this answer became a proverb.

“Then Kleisthenes, having ordered silence, thus addressed the others: 'Suitors of my daughter, I commend you all, and if it were possible would gratify you all, not selecting one above the others, nor rejecting the rest. But as this is not possible, since I have to determine about a single

From this marriage was born a son, who, according to Athenian usage, took the name of his grandfather; and this Kleisthenes, after the fall of the Peisistratidai, ruled over Athens; and a granddaughter of Megakles was the mother of Perikles.

The old Dorian aristocracy evidently made some attempt to regain the supremacy in Sikyon; for we see Kleisthenes depriving its tribes of their rightful appellations and giving them new ones, signifying swine and asses, while to his own tribe he gave the name of *Arkelaoi*,—signifying chiefs of the people. When this dynasty fell, about the year 570, and the Dorians recovered their early supremacy, they abandoned these humiliating names, and re-

BRONZE COIN.¹

sumed those they had originally borne; and the Arkelaoi of Sikyonian ancestry were called the Aigailoi, or coast-dwellers. Argos, it appears, had attempted to support the Dorians in Sikyon; and Kleisthenes, as a punishment to the city, abolished the games

BRONZE COIN.²

where rhapsodists contended for a prize in singing the verses of Homer,—this poet having extolled the Argives. Elsewhere has been related the singular struggle of Kleisthenes against the hero Adrastos, which shows us a phase of religious life among the Greeks; namely, the cult of men whom their exploits had sanctified.³ Sikyon, which sent three thousand hoplites to Plataia, was not, however, able to recover any political importance until the last days of Greece; but she early had a school of sculpture, founded by Dipoinos and Skyllis about the year 560, to which belonged Kanachos and Lysippos. Pliny says of Sikyon: “It was the home of painting.”⁴

¹ The rock of the Akrokorinthos. Upon it, the temple of Aphrodite, and Pegasos, taking flight. At the foot of the rock, the tomb of Melikertes, near a pine-tree; at the right, the sanctuary of the nymph Peirene. Legend: CLI COR (*Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*). Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Lucius Verus (*Journ. of Hellen. Studies*, 1885, F, cviii.).

² The nymph Peirene, seated on a rock at the foot of the Akrokorinthos. Pegasos drinks at the spring which she personifies; on the Akrokorinthos is the temple of Aphrodite. Legend: CLI COR (*Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*). Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Lucius Verus (*Journ. of Hellen. Studies*, 1885, G, cxxxii.).

³ See above, Vol. I. pp. 379–380.

⁴ XXXV. ii.

The city of *Corinth*¹ had a sterile territory, but possessed the advantage of an impregnable akropolis upon a steep rock nearly nineteen hundred feet in height, and of two harbors upon two seas, the Archipelago and the Ionian Sea. The western harbor, the



ISTHMUS OF CORINTH.²

Lechaion, was connected with the city by a strong wall twelve stadia in length. The difficulties of rounding the Peloponnesos were of profit to the city, which by its two harbors gave communication between the Saronic and Corinthian gulfs, and could at will close the isthmus which bears its name. This isthmus, called by Pindar a bridge thrown across the deep, was only about three miles wide, and the ground is almost level, or at least in its lower portion has regular slopes, whereby one may rise by insensible gradations to the height of two hundred feet. Accordingly, the Corinthians were able to build a road, the



CORINTHIAN COIN.³

¹ It has been conjectured (*Gaz. archéol.*, 1885, pp. 404 *et seq.*) that the earliest city built on the isthmus — that to which the Phœnicians and Ionians brought their god Poseidon — was Ephyra, of which some traces remain near the ruins of the temple of this divinity. After the Dorian migration a new city, Corinth, was built at the foot of the akropolis, and had for its principal god the Dorian Apollo.

² From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxiv. 368. The view is taken from the summit of the Akrokorinthos. At the left are seen the houses of the city of Neo-Korinthos.

³ The hero Isthmos. Isthmos, the personified isthmus, standing, holding a rudder in each hand. Legend: CLI COR (*Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*). Reverse of a Corinthian coin having the effigy of Septimius Severus.

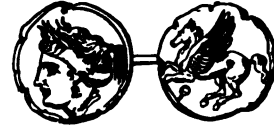
Diolkos, for vessels which, placed upon rollers, were transferred from one sea to the other. The moderns have done better; taking up Nero's plan, they have cut the isthmus with a canal.¹ At the summit and also at the base of the Akrokorinthos flows an abundant spring, the Peirene, — excellent, it was said, for tempering the Corinthian bronze; still more useful in case of siege for securing the citizens from water-famine. The prosperity of Corinth was of early date. Ancient poets, says Thucydides, called the city Corinth the rich. In her ship-yards was built, about 700 B.C., the first trireme, and thirty-four years earlier she founded two powerful cities, — Syracuse and Korkyra. To protect her commerce, she guarded the seas against pirates, and in 664 there took place between Corinth and the Korkyrans — who had early forgotten their origin — the most ancient naval combat on record in the time of Thucydides. Corinth was also the first to cast figures, and preceded the other Greek cities in the arts of design. Later the city gave her name to the richest of the orders of architecture. In her workshops were produced the finest woollen stuffs, the most famous bronzes, painted vases that were in great

POSEIDON.²

¹ See Vol. I. p. 138.

² Votive plaque of painted clay, discovered at Corinth, now in the Museum of the Louvre. (Cf. O. Rayet, in the *Gazette archéol.*, vol. v., 1880, pp. 104 *et seq.*) The god holds a trident in the left hand, and a wreath in the right. Behind, his name is inscribed (Ποτειδών); in front is the name of the person who consecrated the ex-voto: "Ευρωμαρβόκε. The characters, with the exception of the epsilon of Ποτειδών, are those of the Corinthian alphabet. — one of the most ancient in Greece. The form of the iota and that of the epsilon are particularly interesting; we have noted the koppa on Corinthian coins (see later p. 78, note 2, and, above, p. 40, note 1). In respect to these tablets see, further, M. Colignon, *Tablettes votives de terre cuite peinte trouvées à Corinthe* (Museum of the Louvre), in the *Monuments grecs, publiés par*

demand, and perfumes rivalling those of the East. But the frequent visits of her vessels to the ports of the Levant, and the crowd of strangers who gathered within her walls, developed, together with industry and extravagance, the superstitions and the shameful vices of Asiatic cities. Like the Syrian and Babylonian cities, she had her courtesan-

CORINTHIAN COIN.¹CORINTHIAN DRACHMA.²

priestesses of Aphrodite, without having the excuse of religious beliefs which had originally given rise to the institution. Pheidon, an early legislator, vainly sought to put a stop to this immorality.

The first Dorian king was the Herakleid Aletas. The dynasty which he founded furnished eleven generations of kings. After them the Bakchiadai, of the same family, two hundred in number, seized the royal power, which they abolished about the middle of the eighth century, preserving, however, the authority, which they exercised under the name of prytanies,—annual magistrates chosen from their order. The assembly of the people and the senate remained, but were both made subordinate to this powerful house.

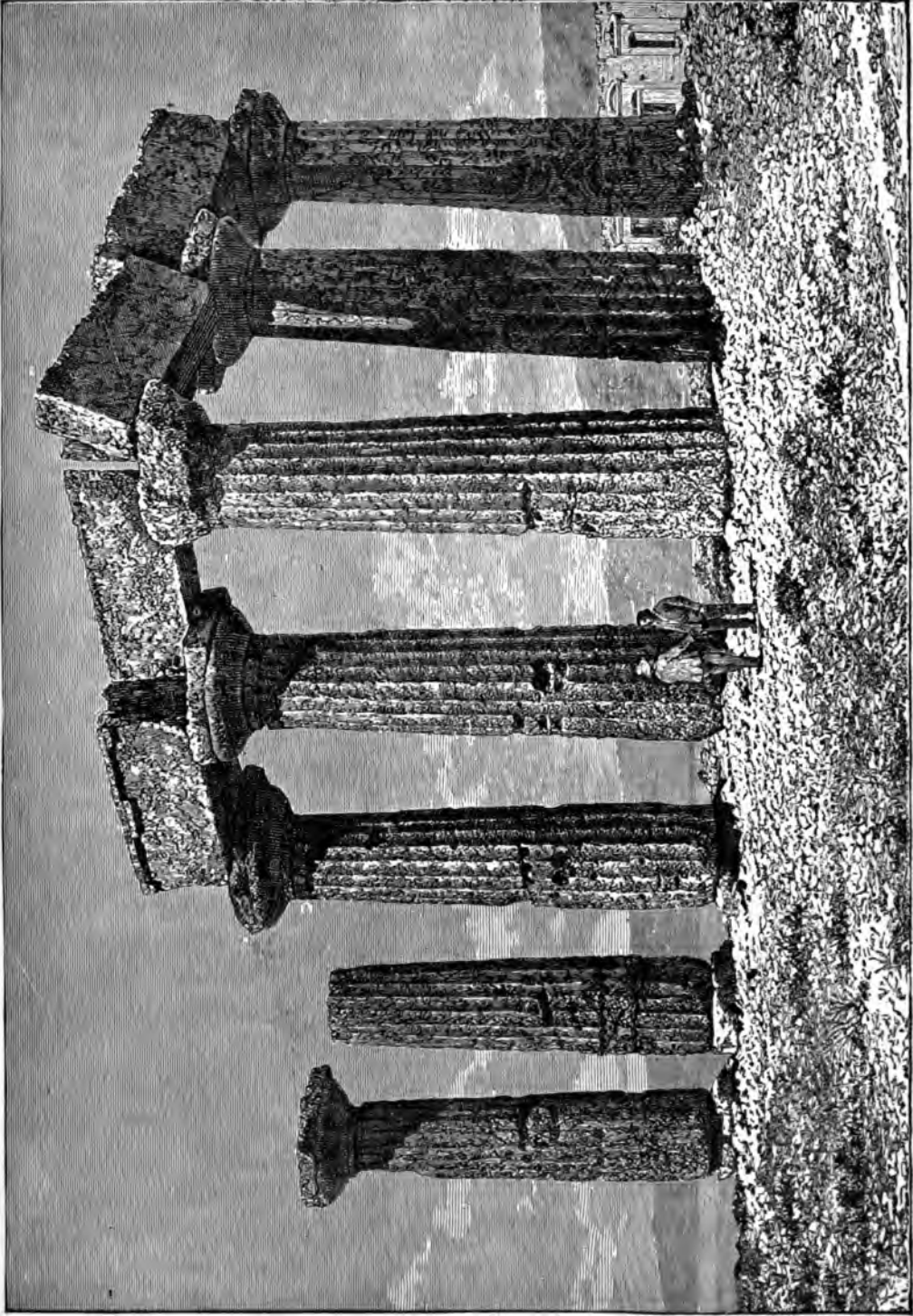
This oligarchy was overthrown in 657 by Kypselos. The Bakchiadai had prohibited to themselves marriage outside their own order; but one of them had a lame daughter, by name Labda, whom none of the nobles would accept as his wife. Angry at being thus scorned, she allied herself with Aition, a man of another race, one of the Lapithai. An oracle having made

l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques, Nos. 11-13 (1882-1884), pp. 23 et seq.

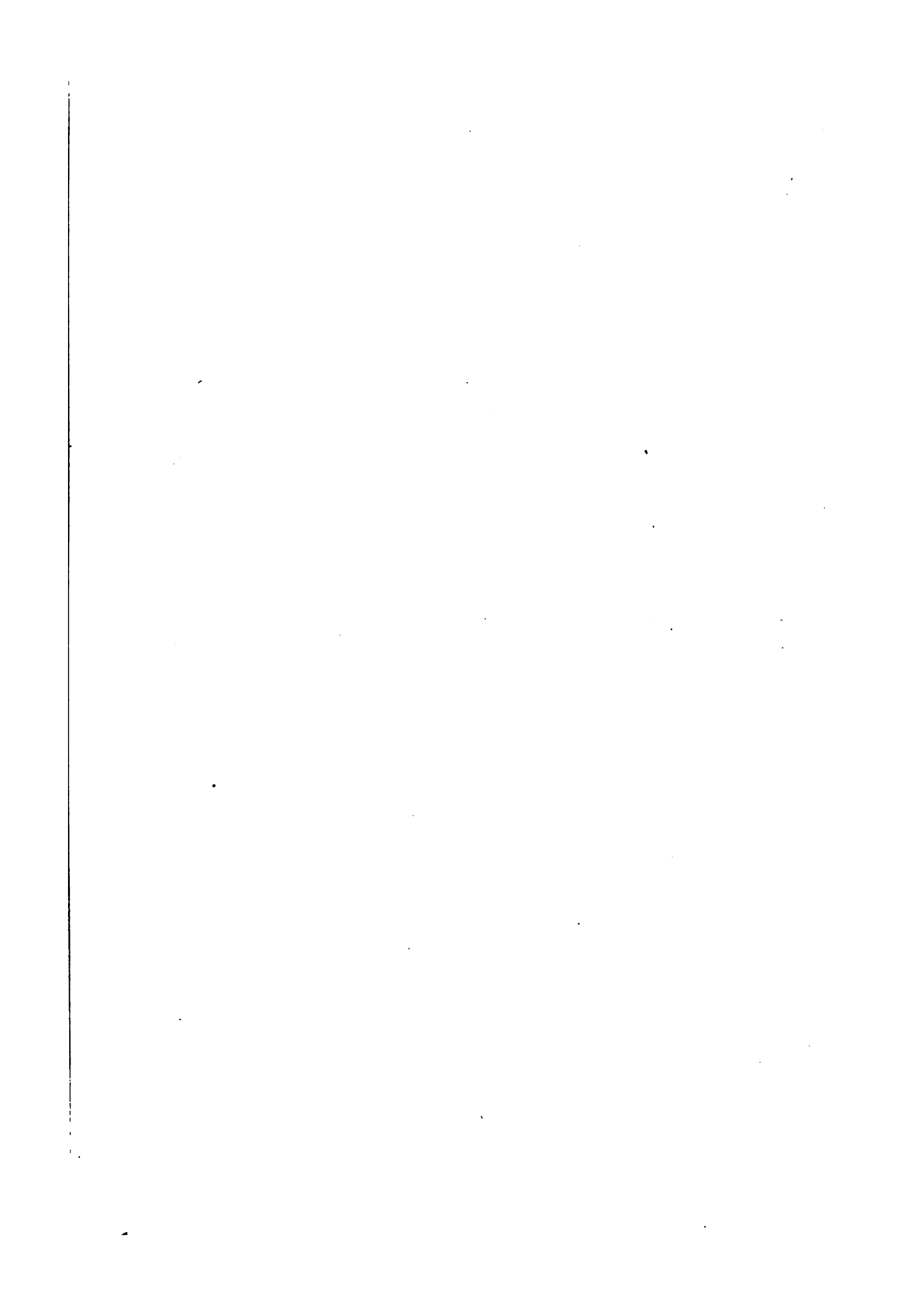
¹ Corinthian coin. The round temple of Palaimon; the cupola, adorned with dolphins that form akroteria, is supported by six columns; before the temple is the bull about to be sacrificed, and a tree. Legend: CLI COR (*Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*). Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Septimius Severus.

² Head of Aphrodite Erykina, facing left, having on her head the *kekryphalos*. Reverse: Pegasos, flying to the left; under him the koppa, — initial of the archaic name of Corinth.

NOTE. — The engraving on the opposite page is made from a photograph. It represents the most ancient Doric temple in Greece proper. The building is of stone, the columns are monoliths, their height not quite four times their diameter.



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF HERE AT CORINTH.



known to the Bakchiadai that a child of this marriage would do them fatal harm, they sought to put to death the son born to Labda.

“Ten of their number,” says Herodotos, “were sent to the district, and entering the house of Aition, asked to see the child. Labda, knowing nothing of the errand on which they had come, and supposing they asked to see the infant on account of affection for its father, brought the child out and put it into the arms of one of them. Now it had been determined by them on the road that whichever of them should first receive the child should dash it on the ground. When, however, Labda brought and gave it to one of them, the child, by a divine providence, smiled at the man who received it; when he perceived this, a feeling of pity restrained him from killing it, and, moved by compassion, he gave it to the second, and he to the third; and thus the infant, being handed from one to another, passed through the hands of all the ten, and not one of them was willing to destroy it. Having, therefore, delivered the



POTTER.¹

child again to its mother and gone out, they stood outside the door and attacked each other with mutual recriminations, and especially the first who took the child, because he had not done as had been determined; and finally, after a time, they resolved to go in again, and that every one should share in the murder. But Labda, standing inside the door, heard all that passed; and fearing that they might change their minds, and, having obtained the child a second time, might kill it, she took and hid the infant in a place which seemed least likely to be thought of; namely, in a chest, being very certain that if they should return and come back to search, they would pry everywhere, — which in fact did happen; but when, having come and made a strict search, they could not find the child, they decided to return home and tell those who sent them that they had done all that they commanded.”²

¹ Corinthian votive plaque of painted clay, in the Museum of the Louvre. (Cf. *Gazette archéologique*, vol. v., 1880, pp. 104 *et seq.*) A potter, seated on his bench, shapes with his tool a vessel which he turns with his right hand; on the wall are hung two other jugs, resembling the one he is shaping.

² Herodotos, v. 92. The Kypselidai offered at Olympia a small chest of cedar-wood, with
VOL. II.—6

The boy was named Kypselos, from the place where he had been hidden (*κυψελίς*),—or rather, we may say, the legend grew up around the name which he bore.



A LAPITH CONTENDING WITH A CENTAUR.¹

On attaining maturity Kypselos put himself at the head of the popular party and became tyrant of Corinth. He imposed heavy

carvings in relief and inlaid work in gold and ivory, of which Pausanias gives a very curious description (v. 17, 18, 19).

¹ Metope of the Parthenon, from a cast. The head of the Lapith has been lately recovered and recognized; it is now in the Museum of the Louvre. See A. Héron de Villefosse, *Tête du Parthénon appartenant au Musée du Louvre*, in the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques*, Nos. 11-13 (1882-1884) pp. 1 *et seq.*

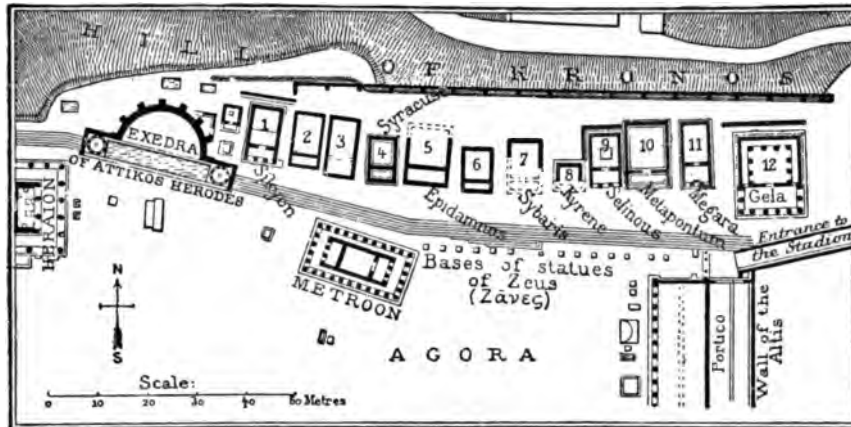
taxes on the rich, exiled the oligarchs, and during the thirty years of his reign retained the affection of the people to such a degree that he had never need of guards. Perhaps this long tranquillity may have been due to the colonies which he sent out. It was in his time that Corinth, in order to obtain a share in the commerce of Epeiros, which had hitherto been monopolized by Korkyra, and also to secure naval stations in the Ionian Sea, founded Anaktorion and Ambrakia upon the Gulf of Ambrakia, and Leukadia on a peninsula which the inhabitants later separated from the mainland by a canal.

Kypselos in 629 left the throne to his son Periandros, whose character is shown to us under widely different aspects. Doubtless he was, like his father, beloved by the people, and an object of hatred to the aristocracy. He entered into relations with Thrasyboulos of Miletos, and on one occasion sent to consult him as to the best means of consolidating his own power. Thrasyboulos led the messenger through

BRONZE PLAQUE.¹

¹ Plaque of bronze, with reliefs in the same style with those that ornamented the chest of Kypselos, discovered at Olympia, from *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, vol. iii. pl. xxiii. One of the subjects represented on the chest of Kypselos was Herakles pursuing the Centaurs with his arrows (Pausanias, v. 19, 9). The same subject is treated in the third register of the plaque of Olympia. Herakles, clad in the chiton, armed with the quiver and sword, shoots an arrow at a Centaur. The latter, as on the chest of Kypselos, has two legs of a horse, and two of a man (Pausanias, v. 19, 7). But that which most struck Pausanias was the figure of

a corn-field; and conversing meantime with him on the subject of his journey, cut off as he walked any ear of corn that he saw taller than the others, and having cut it off, threw it away; till in this manner he had destroyed the best of the corn.



PLAN OF THE TREASURIES OF OLYMPIA.¹

After this, giving no message at all, he dismissed the Corinthian messenger, who, returning to Periandros related what had happened, and expressed his wonder that he should have been sent to ask advice from a man so insane as thus to destroy his own property. But Periandros comprehended the intention of Thrasymboulos; thenceforth he sought to destroy all who were

Artemis. "I know not why," he says, "Artemis has wings on her shoulders, and holds in her right hand a leopard, in her left a lion" (v. 19, 5). It is the type of the Persian Artemis which we find on the plaque of Olympia. This plaque gives us, then, a very correct idea of the style of the figures which adorned the precious chest. In the upper registers are three eagles and three griffins. The eagle is the bird of Zeus; the griffin figures often upon Oriental monuments.

¹ The name "treasuries" is applied to buildings erected in a sacred enclosure, either by individuals or by cities, to contain works of art or objects consecrated to the gods. These edifices had usually the form of a little temple. The most celebrated treasuries were those at Delphi and at Olympia. Pausanias devotes a chapter to the latter (vi. 19), and the excavations recently undertaken at Olympia have brought to light the substructure and fragments of thirteen. (The foundations of the thirteenth were found under the exædra of Atticus Herodes.) The treasuries of Sikyon and of Gela, we are told, were brought from Sikyonia and Sicily to Olympia ready to set up, the stones having been hewn in the two countries, and merely put together in the sacred enclosure. The Syracusan treasury was also called the treasury of the Carthaginians; it was built by Gelon after his victory at Himera. In respect to the treasuries at Olympia, see F. Richter, *De thesauris Olympiæ effossis* (*Dissertatio inauguralis*, Berlin, 1885).

above the common level, he surrounded himself with foreign guards, he made sumptuary laws, which were probably also dictated by policy, — as in limiting the number of slaves, — and, to exhaust the resources of the nobles, he required from them ruinously expensive offerings to the temple of Olympia. The close of his reign was signalized by the capture of Epidaurus, whence he expelled his father-in-law, Prokles; but it was saddened by the unhappy death of his wife, Melissa, whom he killed in a fit of jealousy, and the consequent grief of his son Lykophron, who reproached him bitterly for the crime, and went into voluntary exile, where later the young man met a violent death.

After a reign of forty-four years Periandros died, in 585. His successor, Psammetichos,¹ retained the throne but four years. After him, the oligarchy, supported by Spartan troops, abolished royalty about the same time that the Dorian party regained the ascendancy at Sikyon. After this, Corinth fell from the high position to which the Kypselids had raised her. She lost Korkyra, of which Periandros had retained control until the time of his death, and her colonies of Leukadia, Ambrakia, and Anaktorion enfranchised themselves from all dependence; but she preserved the advantages which her geographical position gave her, and continued to play an important part in commerce, arts, and even in politics, as on the day when she opposed the re-establishment by the Peloponnesians of Hippias in Athens.²

II. — SECONDARY STATES OF CENTRAL GREECE.

WHAT Corinth was on the south of the isthmus, *Megara*, with its two harbors on the two gulfs, was on the north; namely, the key to the passage. Homer makes no mention of the city; it seems, however, to be ancient. Legends and heroic names are crowded in it³ as the various Hellenic peoples crowded its territory in their heroic expeditions, each leaving traces of its passage, as each wave of the Saronic Gulf leaves on the shore some fragment torn from the Skironian

¹ The nephew of Periandros doubtless derived his Egyptian name from the Pharaoh Psammetik, who was the first to open Egypt to the Greeks.

² See above, p. 38.

³ Aiakos and Minos, Telamon and Aias, Theseus and Pandion, the vindictive Tereus and

rocks. A king of Athens, Pandion, had his tomb at Megara and divine honors; and the city paid to Minos the half of that sanguinary tribute imposed upon the Athenians, — a double sign, perhaps, of some old relations of dependence between one city and the other. The royal office had been abolished at Megara before the Dorian conquest. At the latter date the city had magistrates called *Aisymnetes*, — a kind of elective and removable king. After the Return of the Herakleids Megara was subjugated by the Corinthians, and the inhabitants were required to attend as mourners the funerals of the Bakchiadai, as the Messenians those of the Spartans. Later, with the aid of Argos, she enfranchised herself, but remained sub-



SILVER COIN.¹

ject to the domination of the rich Dorian landowners until 625, when Theagenes, father-in-law of the Athenian Kylon, established a tyranny. It was doubtless during his reign that the Megarians took Salamis from the Athenians. He was, however, expelled, and violent discords broke out between debtors and creditors. Unfortunately there was no Solon here to keep reforms within the limits of wisdom and justice; creditors were obliged not merely to relinquish their claims, but even to give back interest that had already been paid them. Then followed banishment and confiscations. This took place about the year 600. The poet Theognis, a citizen of Megara and a member of the aristocratic party, has left us verses which show the animosity of factions driven to the last extreme. "This State is still a State," he says, "but its people truly are other, who aforetime knew neither rights nor laws, but were wont to wear goat-skins about their loins, and to dwell, like stags, outside the walls. And now, these are noble; but they who were best of yore, now are of low degree; who can endure to look on these things?" Like every ardent lover of the past, continually looking backward, he finds all things degenerate and all virtue lost. "The sense of shame hath perished; impudence and insolence, having mastered justice, possess the whole earth. . . . To do good to

the Amazon Hippolyta, Ino and Melikertes, Nisos, who gave his name to one of the two harbors, Adrastos, the Seven Chiefs, Skiron and the Pelopid Alkathos, Alkmene and Eurystheus, had there their altars, tombs, or consecrated places.

¹ Coin of Megara. Laureled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: ΜΕΓΑΡΩΝ. Lyre. (*Cabinet de France.*)

the wicked is to sow the foaming sea." In his fierce hatred he already sees arising the tyrant who shall avenge the aristocracy. "May he come quickly," the poet exclaims, "the man who shall tread under foot this insensate people, who shall make them feel the sting of the goad, and lay the yoke upon their neck!" For himself, he wishes that he may drink "the black blood of his enemies."¹ The poet of Megara is a despairing man, and no pessimist of our time can outdo him. "For a man," he says, "the best of all would be never to have been born, and being born, to cross the gate of Hades at the earliest moment." Yet this despair is so contrary to human nature that elsewhere Theognis says: "A man should always look for better things, and in all sacrifices Hope should be invoked first and last."² We must also commend him that he strove against the old harsh doctrine of the heredity of expiation, claiming from the gods that they should no longer punish the son for the father's fault.

VICTORY.³

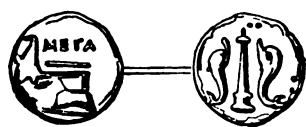
In the lines of Theognis against the Megarian democracy we find a revolution just taking place: these men in goat-skins — mark of their station in life — are the *katonakophoroi*, whom we have found at Sikyon and elsewhere; their clothing corresponds to the

¹ Theognis, lines 53, 69, 291, 349, 846. In respect to those whom the Greeks called the "handsome" and the "good," see Welcker's preface, in his edition of Theognis, p. xx.

² Lines 425 and 1143.

³ Marble discovered at Megara in 1830, and now in Athens, in front of the Theseion; from the *Mith. d. d. archäolog. Instit. in Athen*, vol. vi. (1881) pl. xi. The statue, unhappily much injured, is of great beauty.

slaves' garment of the Spartan Helots. Notice also these comparisons to the stag that lives afar from the dwellings of man, to the ox, to be guided with a goad and placed under a yoke ;

BRONZE COIN.¹

the language shows that the conquered, "the bad," were placed by the Dorian aristocracies, who called themselves "the good" and "the brave," on a level with animals.

Even among the conquerors manners were savage. "Better," says the proverb, "to be a ram than the son of a Megarian."

Notwithstanding these domestic feuds, and notwithstanding its somewhat questionable fame as to mental endowments if we may believe the Athenians, — very competent, but prejudiced, judges, — Megara seems to have held in the sixth century a power which she never again recovered. At least her remote colonies in Sicily and as far as the coasts of Bithynia and the Thracian Bos-

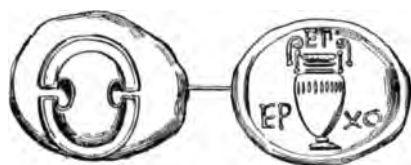
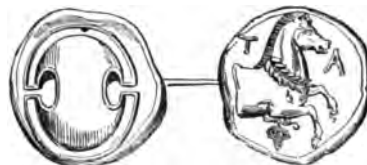
TETRADRACHM.²

poros announce a numerous population and a flourishing commerce. She strove against Athens, and once gained a victory over those who were destined to become the masters of the sea. A brazen prow suspended in her temple of Zeus perpetuated this glorious memory. To Plataia she sent three thousand hoplites. "At this day," says Plutarch, "the whole of Greece could not furnish so many." Later she originated a school of philosophy. But the base of a durable power was lacking: she had no agriculture. "The Megarians plough the rock," says Isokrates. Hence her continual temptation to encroach upon the fertile plains of Eleusis. Moreover she was, like Sparta, hostile to strangers; in offering her citizenship to Alexander, she asserted that she had never given it before except to Herakles, the hero's ancestor.

¹ Bronze prow upon a coin of Megara. Bronze prow in the temple of Zeus; legend: ΜΕΓΑ (*Megaraion*). Reverse: the obelisk mentioned by Pausanias (i. 44, 2) in the ancient gymnasium of Megara; on each side of it a dolphin.

² Coin of the Boiotians, *in genere*. Laurelled head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse: ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ. Poseidon, seated on a throne, facing left, holding in the right hand a dolphin, and in the left a trident. Under the seat of the sea-god, a Boiotian shield. (Tetradrachm in the *Cabinet de France*.)

From the territory of Megaris we pass into *Boiotia*. Adjacent to Attika, from which it was separated only by the mountain defiles of Parnes, Boiotia presents a quite other aspect. Vege-

SILVER COIN.¹SILVER COIN.²

tation is stronger there; the soil, rich, and well-watered by many little streams, clearly shows its fertility; pasture-land abounds. But in this luxuriant district we should vainly seek the harmo-

PLAIN OF BOIOTIA.³

mous lines of Attika; the contours of the mountains are less well defined, their crests less sharp. Everywhere the horizon is limited; the heavy and misty air makes one regret the light which irradiates the Athenian landscape. The contrast is as great between the two histories as between the two countries.

¹ Coin of Orchomenos. The Boiotian shield. Reverse: EPXO (*Ἐρχομενίων*). Amphora. Above it the letters EΠI, initials of a magistrate's name.

² Coin of Tanagra. The Boiotian shield. Reverse: TA (*Ταναγραίων*). A half-horse, galloping to the right, a laurel-wreath on his neck; underneath, a bunch of grapes.

³ From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxii. 49, 52. On the horizon is seen Helikon, and, more distant, the snow-covered Parnassos.

The office of king was abolished in Boiotia as early as the twelfth century B. C. The country at that time was divided into

as many little States as there were cities, — ten or twelve. Orchomenos, which soon fell from its ancient grandeur; Thebes; Plataia and Thespiæ, the only two Boiotian cities which refused to give the heralds of Xerxes earth and water; Tanagra, the birth-place of Korinna, Pindar's rival; and, lastly, Chaironeia, — were the most important. Each of these cities had its own territory and its own government, — generally oligarchical. Nevertheless, troubles broke out in Thebes among the dominant class itself, owing to inequality in the division of the land. A legislator was summoned from Corinth to prepare a code of laws. This person, Philolaos by name, one of the Bakchiadai, endeavored to organize the aristocracy in a durable manner by limiting it to a number of families invested with political rights, and by excluding from public office any Theban who, in the ten years preceding, had followed any trade. It is clear that these laws were dictated



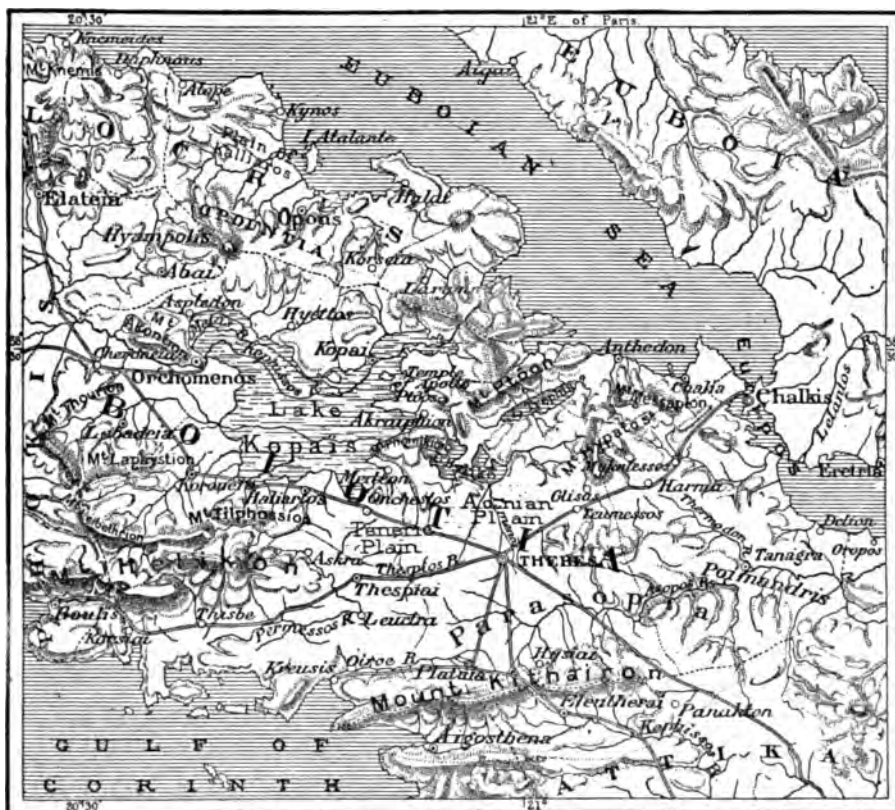
BOIOTIAN FIGURES.¹

by the purest Dorian spirit.² Another proof of the same spirit is the reluctance of Thebes to receive strangers. Here, as at Sparta,

¹ Relief of tufa, discovered in a necropolis of Tanagra (from the *Mittheil. d. d. archäolog. Instit. in Athen*, vol. iii. (1879) pl. xiv. and p. 309, note 4). This monument, one of the most ancient and remarkable specimens of Boiotian sculpture, was erected by a person of the name of Amphalkes, at the tomb of the two friends, Dermys and Kitylos. This we learn from the inscription engraved on the plinth in archaic letters: Ἀμφάλκης [ἐ]στᾶς ἐπὶ Κιτύλοι ἡδ, ἐπὶ Δέρμυι. The name of each is repeated along the right leg of the one (Δέρμυι) and the left leg of the other (Κιτύλος). They stand side by side, each passing an arm around his friend's neck; but the arm, placed much too high, seems to come from the upper plinth, which forms the capital. (See A. Dumont, in the *Gazette archéol.*, vol. v. (1878) p. 16.)

² He, however, prohibited the murder of new-born children, — a custom practised or

concessions of citizenship were extremely rare; but Thebes differs from Sparta in the character of her domestic disturbances, which were due alternately to an oligarchy and to an unbridled democ-



MAP OF BOIOTIA.

racy.¹ At Thespiai it was also regarded as degrading for a free-man to practise any manual industry.

The cities of Boiotia formed among themselves a league, at the head of which was Thebes; but this pre-eminence ended by becoming an absolute domination. Many cities, among others

tolerated almost everywhere, even at Athens; he allowed the poor citizen to carry his child to the magistrate, who sold it to another citizen. The latter took obligation to rear it, but the child remained his slave (Aelian, *Variae Historiae*, ii. 7).

¹ "Homicide is frequent at Thebes," says Dikearchos (*Ἡερὶ τῶν πόλεων*, ap. *Fr. H. G.*, ed. Didot, ii. 258). Redemption was allowed in the case of prisoners of war, unless they were Boiotians, in which case they were put to death (Pausanias, ix. 15. 4).

Plataia and Thespiæ, endeavored to throw it off; hence wars arose, which ended in the destruction by Thebes of the two cities. The affairs of the country were decided in four councils, held in the four districts of which Boiotia is composed; they chose eleven Boiotarchs, who were, as supreme magistrates, at the head of the confederation and had the military command. The office was



COIN OF THEBES.¹

annual, with penalty of death if any man should seek to retain it longer. The city of Thebes appointed two of these officers, one of them being the president. Solemn festivals brought together the members of the league in the fields of Koroneia,

around the temple of Athene. The Boiotians, from the extent and population of their territory, would have been able to play the first rôle in Greece, had it not been for their unfortunate organizations and for their jealousy of Thebes.

All antiquity scoffed at the stupidity of the Boiotians. Nevertheless they gave to Greece her most famous lyric poet, Pindar, his rival, Korinna, and Hesiod, the great poet who has been ranked next to Homer. Many quotations from Hesiod have already been given; the fol-



DIONYSOS.²

¹ Boiotian shield. Reverse: ΘΕΒΑΙΟΝ. Herakles bending his bow. Fine archaic style. (Silver coin in the British Museum, *Central Greece*, pl. xi., No. 2.)

² Front face of Dionysos, with wreath of vine-branches and ivy, on a coin of Thebes. Legend: ΘΕ (Θηβαίων). Reverse: the Boiotian shield.

NOTE. — The Muses. Sarcophagus of Pentelikan marble, almost intact. It was discovered early in the eighteenth century not far from Rome, and from the Museum of the Capitol has passed to the Museum of the Louvre. (See Fröhner, *Notice de la Sculpture antique au musée national du Louvre*, No. 378.) The Nine Muses are represented in the following order, beginning from the left: Kleio, the Muse of history, reading from a scroll; Thaleia, the Muse of comedy and bucolic poetry, carrying a comic mask in her left hand, and with her lowered right hand holding a shepherd's crook; Erato, the Muse of erotic poetry; Euterpe, the Muse of lyric poetry, holding two flutes; Polyhymnia, the Muse of hymns, in the meditative attitude made familiar to us in the Apotheosis of Homer (see above, p. 13); Kalliope, the Muse of epic poetry, holding in one hand wax tablets, and in the other the stylus; Terpsichore, the Muse of choral dance and song, holding the plectron and the lyre, and resembling in attitude Apollo Musagetes, or the leader of the Muses (see the Apotheosis of Homer, p. 13, and a vase-painting, Vol. I. p. 326); Ourania, the Muse of history, with a staff pointing to a globe on the ground at her feet; and lastly, Melpomene, the Muse of tragedy, the tragic mask pushed back from her forehead, wearing buskins and clad in the long theatrical robe. On the frieze, which has a masque of young satyrs at each end, is represented a Dionsysiac festival.

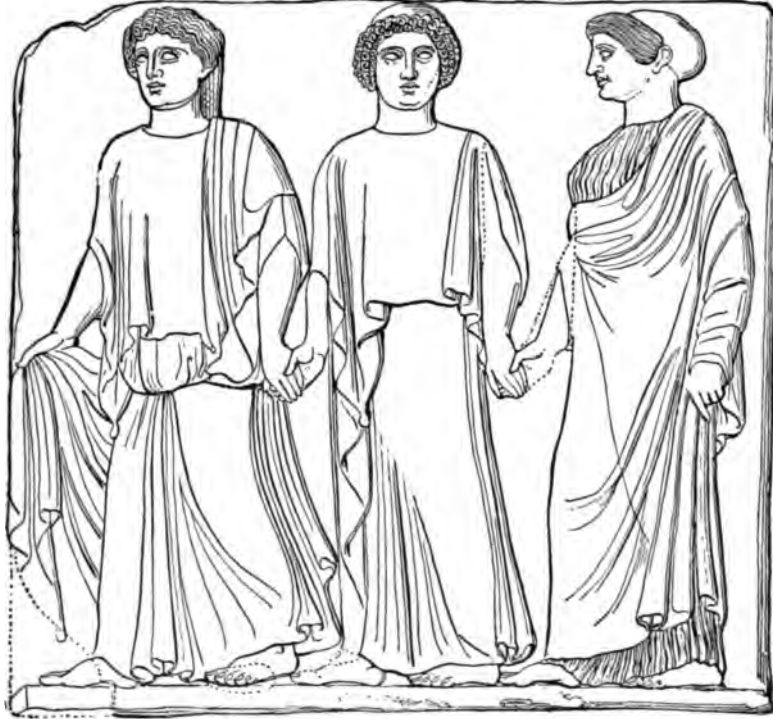


THE MUSES.





lowing are remarkable from another point of view: "Before virtue the immortal gods have set exertion, and long and steep and rugged at first is the way to it; but when one shall have reached



THE THREE GRACES (CHARITES).¹

the summit, then truly it is easy, difficult though it be before." "Gain not base gains; base gains are equal to losses." "Love him that loves thee, and be nigh him that attaches himself to thee; and give to him who has given." "Put not off till to-morrow or

¹ Bas-relief in marble, in the Vatican (Museo Chiaramonti); from the *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1869, pl. xxii. 1 (O. Benndorf). The three Graces, Thallo, Auxo, and Hegemone, are represented walking towards the left. Severely clad, they have neither the diadem nor the bracelet which is given them by the artist of the celebrated bas-relief of Thasos, represented later, and they have not the long curling hair of that representation. They hold each other by the hand, and the first and third, with the hand that is free, grasp their garment. The bas-relief of the Vatican is part of a series of which there are five copies exactly alike, — two are at Rome, and three at Athens. Of the latter, two were discovered upon the Akropolis itself, where, as we know, the Charites were worshipped. But Pausanias teaches us further (i. 22, 8; ix. 35, 3 and 7) that Sokrates, who in his youth had practised the art of his father, the sculptor Sophroniskos, was the author of a group of clothed Graces placed on the Akropolis behind the pedestal of Athene Hygieia. The severe style of these bas-reliefs suiting well the

the day after; for not if he works sluggishly, or puts off, doth a man fill his garner: but diligence increaseth the fruit of toil." And everywhere he commends the protection of the feeble, the suppliant, the guest, the orphan. Zeus is personified justice, morality is his law, and he punishes those who violate it. To the upright man Hesiod promises the great Hebraic recompense, — a prolonged and happy old age, children who shall be like himself, and all things to be desired here below; after this life, an abode in the Islands of the Blest; for the wicked is Tartaros, with brazen threshold guarded by Kerberos.

We may note that it is in the country lying between Parnassos and Attika that the final phase of the Hellenic religion originated. There were established the worship of Apollo and the Eleusinian Mysteries; there the legend of Herakles began; there Dionysos, youngest of the Great Gods of Hellas, took complete possession of his divinity on Parnassos near Delphi, on Kithairon near Thebes, and in the neighborhood of Orchomenos, where his disorderly cult was celebrated, and women, clad in the fawn-skin of the Bacchantes, filled the mountains with the noise of their wild dances, and lighted up the woods with the fire of their torches as they ran to meet the god.

Nor do we forget that the Muses descended from Olympos, stopped upon Parnassos, and that Helikon in its picturesque recesses held the fountain of Hippokrene; and, finally, that, according to tradition, Eteokles founded at Orchomenos the cult of the Charites: the Graces, therefore, as well as the Muses, are Boiotian. Certain is it that the arts were honored in this country; its school of painting, late, but not inglorious, is honored by the names of Nikomachos and Aristeides; and music was a national taste: the wall of Thebes was built to the sounds of Amphion's lyre; Theban flute-players were famous throughout all Greece; and the reeds best suited for making the flute grew on the shore of Lake Kopais. Boiotia was not, therefore, the disinherited land that her bad name would lead us to believe.

fifth century, we may admit Benndorf's supposition, who regards one of the marbles of the Akropolis as the work of Sokrates, or at least believe, if that work is lost, that it did not differ from these bas-reliefs. See the article of Ad. Furtwängler, in the *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* of W. H. Roscher, s. v. "Charis," pp. 880 et seq.

Across the Euripos stretches a narrow and mountainous island, *Eubœia*,—a land famous for its cattle (*Εὐβοία*).¹ Its eastern coast is rugged and destitute of harbors; the other, on the contrary, easily accessible at innumerable points, opens in the centre into



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE ON MOUNT OCHE, EUBOIA.²

a broad and fertile plain, where stand the two principal cities, Eretria and Chalkis: the latter, built on the slope of a hill, had a good harbor at its foot. In both cities predominated an oligarchy of rich landowners, called *Hippobatai* (feeders of horses). Eretria had its epoch of power, when she ruled over Andros, Tenos, and

¹ The ox was the usual type on the coins of this island. Its population was a mingling of Kretans (Kourites), Phœnicians, and Greeks from all parts of the mainland, but especially of Ionian race. (Cf. J. Girard, *Mémoire sur l'Eubée*, in the *Archives des Missions*, ii. 635.) Homer praises its wines (*Iliad*, ii. 537). It is ninety miles in length, and in its extreme breadth thirty; in one part, however, not over four. Eubœia gave its name to a metric system, differing from that of Aigina, which was adopted by Athens and the Ionian cities.

² From the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. iii. pl. xxvii. 1. (Cf. the article already quoted of J. Girard, pp. 708 *et seq.*) This temple occupies a small plateau on the higher and more southern of the two summits of Mount Oche, also that nearest to Karystos. It is a construction of the Cyclopean order, although the irregularly arranged masses of rock of which the walls of it are made, tend to form lines of layers. The edifice consists of a cella $41\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, and $25\frac{1}{2}$ in width; the cella has a door in one of the long sides, and a window on each side of the door. The door and the roof are particularly remarkable. The doorway, towards the south, is formed of four stones; two great stones, thin and as broad as the wall is thick, serve as sides, and two others form the lintel. The roof is composed of great plates of rock, which, resting on the four walls, overlap each other and rise in a gentle slope. They all end at a vacant space; and if we admit that such was always the case, this structure would be the earliest example we have of a hypæthral temple.

Keos, and could bring into the field three thousand foot-soldiers, six hundred horse, and sixty chariots of war. The two cities were long hostile, the quarrel being as to the ownership of certain mines. These struggles, in which Chalkis represented the aristocracy, and Eretria the democracy, interested for this reason the



MAP OF THE ISLAND OF EUBOIA.

whole of Greece. They were the occasion of the first league between cities distant from each other: Miletos entered into alliance with Eretria; Samos, with Chalkis. This was, in the opinion of Thucydides, the war which most agitated Greece between the fall of Troy and the Persian invasion. A singular and honorable agreement was made between the two States; namely, that on neither side should arrows or any form of projectiles be used in war. The idea could not be tolerated by them that the coward from a distance might be able to kill the brave man. Euboea, fertile and rich, could not preserve her liberty; she became, as it were,

the farm of Athens. But contact with the city of the wise goddess did not stimulate these dull minds; Eubœia never produced philosopher or poet. Often the country which has wealth, has nothing else; God is charitable towards the poor: he gives them courage or genius.

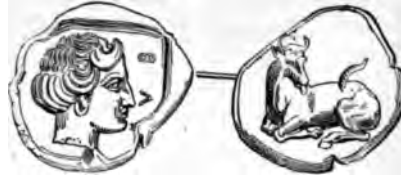
The most ancient Greek colonies in the West, those of Cumæ in Italy, were sent out by Chalkis

in the eleventh century B. C.; again, in the eighth century, they were the first to effect a lodgment in Sicily, and, later, entered

into relations with Korkyra. In the northeast, on the coast of Thrace, they went as far as the peninsula which, from their name, was called Chalkidike, and here built thirty-two cities,—a clear proof of their ancient importance.

But the defeat of 508 ruined them.³ In the Median wars they were compelled to borrow vessels from Athens.

From Boiotia the road into *Phokis* traverses, near Chaironeia, the chain of Parnassos and the famous defile which the ancients called the "cleft road," leading into Delphi along the deep valley of the Pleistos. In place of a great central basin like Lake Kopais, round which are grouped the Boiotian cities, Phokis has a central mountain mass, which crowded its cities towards the frontiers,—on the north, in the upper valley of the Kephissos; on the south, along the Corinthian Sea, which pene-



SILVER COIN.¹



TETRADRACHM.²



SILVER COIN.⁴

¹ Coin of the Eubœians, *in genere*. Head of the nymph Eubœia (*Εὐβοία*), right profile; legend: ΕΥΒ (*Εὐβοίων*) Reverse: bull, lying down.

² Tetradrachm of Eretria. Ε (*Ερετριέων*). Bull turning to the right, and licking the right hind foot. Reverse: Ε (*Ερετριέων*). Octopus. The Eretrians, according to Pausanias, dedicated a brazen bull to Olympian Zeus.

³ See above, Vol. I. p. 401.

⁴ Coin of Karystos in Eubœia. Cow suckling her calf. Reverse: ΚΑΡΥΣΤΙΩΝ. Cock standing.



trates far into the land with its gulfs of Krissa and Antikyra. Phokis even, by its city Daphnous, between the two northern Lokrids, touches upon the Euboian Sea. This division of ancient Greece



BANQUETING SCENE.¹

contained twenty or thirty confederated republics, whose general assembly was held in a great building called the Phokikon. Delphi, supported by its temple, chose to remain outside of this union, and was aided by Sparta in doing so. The Delphic government,

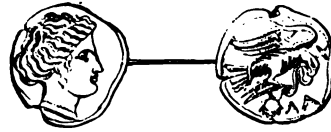
¹ Painting inside a cup from Tanagra; from the *Mittheil. d. d. archäol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. ix. (1884) pl. i. (U. Köhler). "A bearded man, having on his head a wreath of wild celery, and draped in a chlamys, lies upon a bed; his side and his left arm are supported by a cushion; his head is thrown back; from his parted lips escape the words: *ὦ παιδῶν κάλλιστε*. In his left hand he holds castanets; the right hand, hanging, caresses a hare. In the field is hung a basket. The inscription indicates the character of the person. The hare is often represented in scenes of this kind" (Collignon, *Catalogue des Vases peints du Musée de la Société archéologique d'Athènes*, No. 469). Köhler makes a happy conjecture as to the verses sung (Theognis, 1,365, 1,366):—

*ὦ παιδῶν κάλλιστε καὶ ἡμεροῖστατε πάντων,
στῆθ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μου παῦρ' ἐπάκουσον ἔπη.*

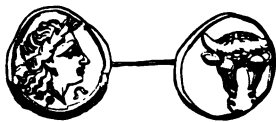
The banquet is ended, the *symposion* has begun, and the person represented is singing.

rigorously aristocratic, was in the hands of families to whom belonged the charge of the temple. In very ancient days the first magistrate was called king; later, he had the title *prytanos*. A council of five persons of the family of Deukalion managed the affairs of the oracle.

Delphi had not always enjoyed this independence. In the most ancient times she was a dependency of Krissa, — a city which, built upon a detached mass of Parnassos, above the Phaidriades, “the brilliant rocks,” commanded the deep ravine of



DRACHMA.¹



DRACHMA.²

the Pleistos. As it nears the sea, this little river, hitherto closely hemmed in, traverses a fertile plain, whose sea-coast is deeply eroded by the waters of the Corinthian Gulf. Like all founders of cities in the heroic age, the men of Krissa had sought

security in the interior upon a precipitous rock, and later, for needs of commerce, had established a seaport at Kirrha. In the upper valley of the Pleistos vapors issued from a fissure in the rock.³ Struck with wonder, they consecrated here a temple to Apollo, the god who reveals the future.⁵ Thus they were half way between their harbor on the one side, and their sanctuary on the other. But it was inevitable that both seaport and sacred place should increase at



TETRADRACHM.⁴

¹ Drachma of Chalkis. Head of the nymph Chalkis, right profile. Reverse: XAA (*Χαλκιδέων*). Eagle devouring a serpent; underneath, a laurel-wreath. (Silver).

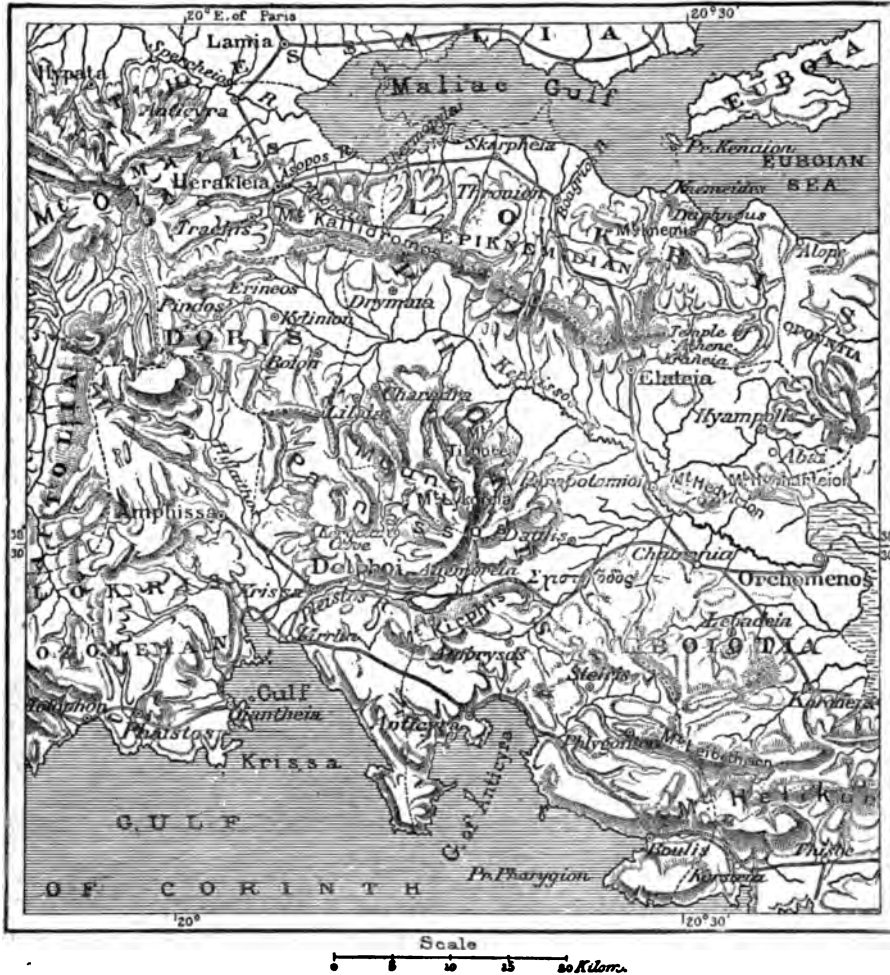
² Drachma of the Phokidians, *in genere*. Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile; legend: ΦΩ (*Φωκίων*). Reverse: head of an ox.

³ This natural phenomenon no longer occurs.

⁴ Archaic tetradrachm of Delphi. Obverse, two rams' heads *affrontées*; behind them, two dolphins; legend: ΔΑΑΦΙΚΟΝ. Reverse: incused square, in each compartment a dolphin.

⁵ An examination of the ruins of Krissa and of Delphi makes it clear that the Pelasgian walls of the former are of earlier date than the foundations of the latter, which are made of blocks irregular in shape but carefully hewn. The village of Kastri, seen at the left in the picture, is built for the most part on the terrace where once stood the Delphic sanctuary. This temple stood entirely above the city, and the Phaidriades were higher still. From the temple,

their expense, so great was the crowd of pilgrims who came by sea to consult the oracle. By degrees the population of Krissa fell away, and its inhabitants went to seek their fortune either

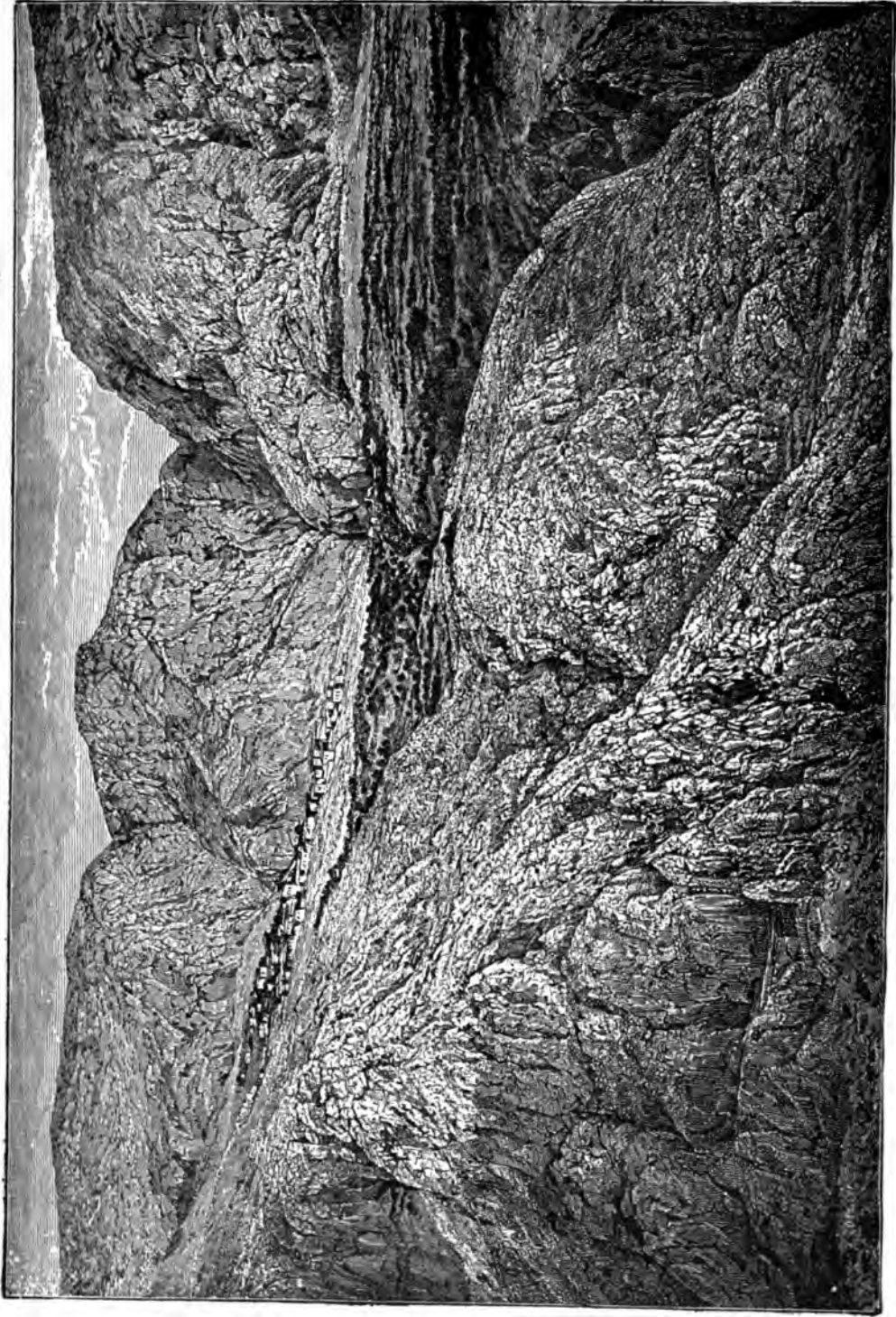


MAP OF PHOKIS AND THE LOKRIDS.

at Kirrha, whither came the worshippers of Apollo, or at Delphi, where they left their gifts to the god, and much silver to their entertainers. When the Cyclopean walls of Krissa, which may still be seen, became deserted, a struggle began between the inhabi-

the road led down passing near the fountain of Kastalia (at the right, and below the lowest houses). Above the fountain was the rock Ilyampeia, whence the Delphians hurled Aisop.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a view of Delphi, from the *Tour du Monde*, xxxiii. 149.

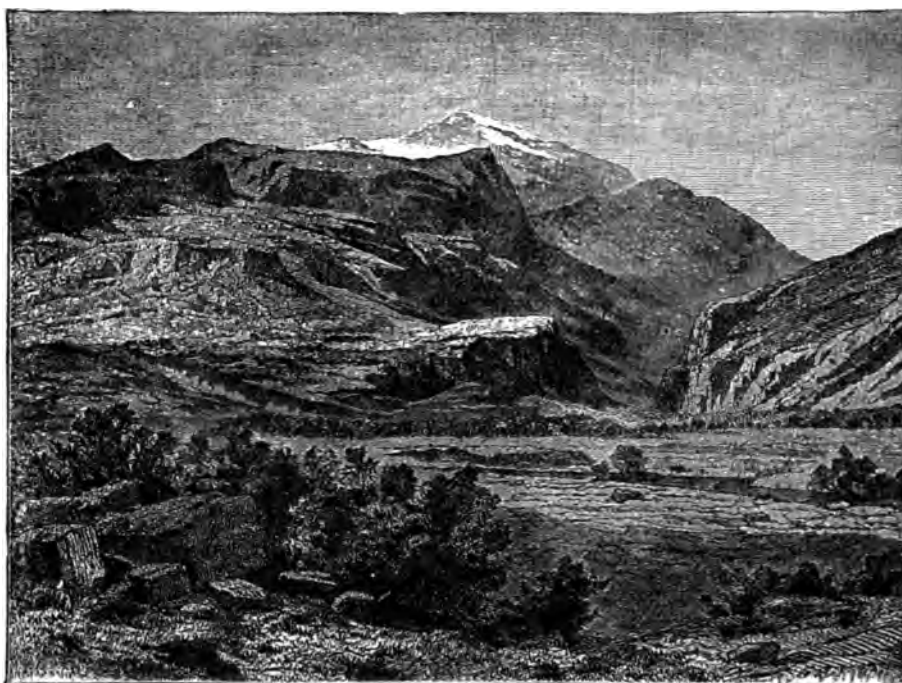


VIEW OF DELPHI.



tants of the port and those of the sanctuary, the former committing acts of violence and extortion against the pilgrims, which it was for the interest of the Delphians to prevent. This hostility brought on the first Sacred War, 600 B. C., ordered by the Amphiktyons and carried on by the Thessalians, Sikyon, and Athens, which resulted in the destruction of Kirrha. This also we call an Homeric, that is, a legendary, war; the siege of Kirrha, like that of Troy, lasted ten years.

Pausanias in his *Travels*, and Frontinus in his *Stratagems*, relate that, by the advice of Solon, the allies threw hellebore into the spring whence the besieged drank, and that

BRONZE COIN.¹THE PLAINS OF KRISSE AND PARNASSOS.²

the latter, enfeebled by the use of this drugged water, finally laid down their arms. A spring possessing the qualities of helle-

¹ Symbols of the worship of Apollo. The agonistic table, surmounted by a laurel-wreath, a *præfericulum*, a raven, and some apples. Legend: ΠΥΘΙΑ. Reverse of a bronze coin struck at Delphi, with the effigy of the elder Faustina.

² From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxiii. 151. In the foreground is the plain, overlooked

bore, flowing near the city, gave rise to this story. As to the length of the siege, it was important — since the question was of a religious vengeance — that the current accounts should show to all men what perseverance the worshippers of Apollo had manifested in avenging his wrongs. The truth probably is, that dur-

GOLD ORNAMENT.¹

ing a period of years; periodical raids were made into the territory of Kirrha, as later the Spartans ravaged Attika in the Peloponnesian War. In the lack of machines with which to batter down their walls, cities with Cyclopean ramparts remained impregnable so long as provisions held out.

The course pursued by the Delphic priests, after this sanguinary vengeance had been executed, manifested great skill. First the spoils of Kirrha were employed in establishing the Pythian Games, which rivalled in splendor those of Olympia, and were an immense source of profit to the temple and its ministrants. Then, to make sure that no other city should be built on the site of the one now destroyed, they consecrated the territory to Apollo, thus dooming it to remain, on pain of sacrilege, uncultivated and uninhabited; but it might serve as pasturage, for victims were needed to be offered in sacrifice by the pilgrims, since the oracle would not make answer until a sacrifice had been offered, of which the priests had their share. Thus the comic poets, to indicate that the Delphian lived in the midst of festivals and sacrifices, represented him with a crown upon his head and a knife in his hand.²

BRONZE COIN.³

We shall say nothing of *Doris*, a small and gloomy region, having four small villages honored with the name of cities. — which, however, Lakedaimon honored as her metropolis; nor of the three *Lokrids*, countries of no importance.

at the left by the modern village of Krissa; at the right is the valley of the Pleistos; in the distance rises Parnassos.

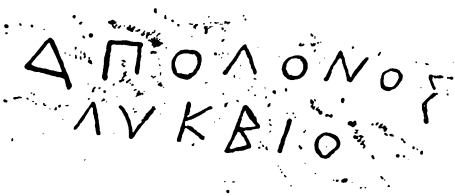
¹ Gold ornament (flower of the hellebore) discovered in the tomb of a priestess of Demeter at Kertsch (Pantikapaia); from Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, fig. 879, p. 748.

² Tripod of the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi; above it, a laurel-wreath. Legend: ΔΕΛΦΩΝ. Reverse of a bronze coin struck at Delphi, with the effigy of Caracalla.

³ Athenæus, iv. 74.

North of Phokis extends *Thessaly*, divided into four districts, —Thessaliotis, Pelasgiotis, Phthiotis, and Histiaiotis. The Thessalians, properly so called, seem to have been a rude and violent people, possibly not kindred to Hellenic race, although they spoke a dialect of the Aiolian language.

Their cavalry was renowned, for their nobles served always on horseback, and they had a race of horses small and patient, but muscular and capable of great endurance. Their infantry was



INSCRIPTION.¹

poor; they had only light troops, ill armed and not very brave, since they fought only in obedience to their masters. This inferior class were called Penestai; that is to say, “laborers,” — descendants of the old Pelasgic inhabitants of Thessaly proper, who, like the Helots of Lakonia, kept the numerous herds of the Thessalians, cultivated their lands, attended their



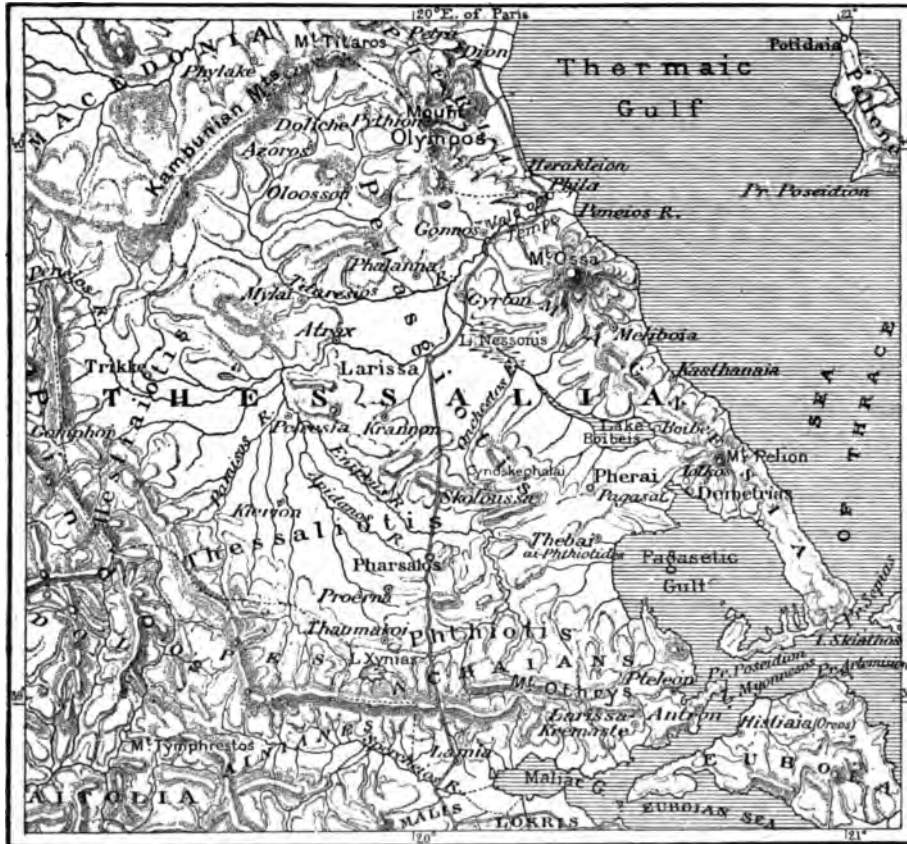
BRONZE COIN.²

masters in the city or accompanied them to battle, but could neither be sold out of the country, nor despoiled, without legitimate cause, of the farm which had been given them, nor deprived of legal marriage and the ownership of property. Consequently some of them became richer than their masters. In the city the Penestai occupied a quarter apart, and never must the agora, where their masters assembled, be polluted by the presence of the slave. Like so many other military aristocracies, the Thessalians were profligate and violent, vain and ostentatious. But elegance of mind and manners was lacking; Simonides could not gain their attention. Another sign of the uncultivated condition of this people was their confidence in magicians, who abounded in Thessaly, while in enlightened Athens they were punished with death.

¹ Inscription on a sacred mile-post. The inscription, Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκείου, is engraved on a rough stone, which was discovered at Mazi, in Megaris. (See Lebègue, *De oppidis et portibus Megaridis*, p. 37; Röhl, *Inscr. Graecae antiquissimae*, No. 11.) This stone is clearly a sacred milestone, set up on land belonging to the god, and the inscription declares his right of ownership. (See Foucart, in the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. ii. (1878) pp. 515, 516.)

² Thessalian horseman, on a coin of Pelinna, in Thessaly. Veiled head of Demeter, right profile; reverse: ΠΕΛΙΝΝΑΙΩΝ. Horseman wearing the petasos, armed with the spear, galloping to the right; under the horse the letter Δ, mint mark.

If the Thessalians had been a united people, they might have had a great career; but this haughty and turbulent aristocracy enfeebled itself by continual dissensions. Not only were the principal districts independent one of another, but they were themselves subdivided. Thus the country of the Oitaians was divided among fourteen tribes, who were independent in questions of peace and



Scale:
0 10 20 30 Miles

MAP OF THESSALY.

war. In some cities there were dominant families,—at Krannon, the Skopadai; at Larissa, the Aleuadai, who called themselves descendants of Herakles, and for notoriety rather than from any poetic enthusiasm, caused their fame to be sung by Simonides and Pindar. Sometimes, however, the whole country was united under a *tagos*,—a magistrate not unlike the Roman dictator. Two generations before the Persian War one of these

seized the supreme power at Larissa, but held it for a short time only. This old Pelasgic city, the richest in Thessaly, was famous for its bull-races. In its neighborhood a festival was observed, somewhat like the Saturnalia of Rome, where on a certain day in every year the slaves were served by their masters.¹



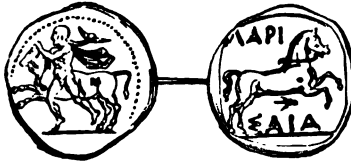
FUNERAL STELA FOUND IN THESSALY.²

We merely mention the *Osolian Lokrians*, the *Aitolians*, — a robber race, only half-civilized, whose language was not understood by Thucydides, — and the *Akarnanians*, whom Corinthian colonies at Anaktorion and Leukadia were not able to civilize. Of these three peoples Thucydides says that they preserved the manners of the heroic age, the habit of making predatory expeditions, and that

¹ Athenæus, xiv. 44 and 45; he reminds us that the same custom was observed in Krete and at Troizen. The price of a slave at Athens was 200 drachmas.

² Bas-relief in marble, found at Pharsalia and brought to the Louvre by Heuzey (*Mission archéol. de Macédoine*, by L. Heuzey and H. Daumet, p. 415). This is a funeral stela; two women are interchanging gifts. The one at the right holds a flower; the other holds out to her a purse resembling that which the figurines of Tanagra often have in the hand. The work cannot be later than the early part of the fifth century B. C., and belongs to the Ionian school. (Cf. O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique. Fragment de stèle en marbre, trouvé à Pharsale.*)

of being constantly armed. Farther north is Epeiros, which, having no harbors, gave no footing for Greek colonization; but already we are outside the Greek world and among Barbarians.¹

DIDRACHM.²SILVER COIN.³SILVER COIN.⁴

What appears from this picture? First, this singular fact, that civilization and power, which were almost equally distributed in all the provinces of Homer's Greece, have accumulated, and concentrated themselves in the eastern part of it. The peoples of the North and West have sunk in the scale; some are now completely separated from the common life. The second fact

SILVER COIN.⁵

is that never was country so agitated as Greece has been. The Greeks have lived long, since Homer, but above all they have lived much. We seek in vain a corner of Greece proper buried

¹ Thucydides, i. 5. The Thesprotians — whose territory contained Dodona and the cavern of Acheron, where the dead were evoked — and the Molossians are considered by Herodotus as Hellenes; Plato gives this designation to the Athamans. In all these nations Thucydides and Strabo recognize only Barbarians. North of Epeiros the Albanians, or Skipetars, speak a language which, to this day, has never been reduced to writing. See above, p. 158, note 3. As to the practice of brigandage, it existed in some degree everywhere in the Greek world. See Egger, *Les Traités publics dans l'antiquité*, pp. 20–21. Even at Athens, in Solon's law as to legitimate associations we find included *ἐνὶ λείαν*.

² The hero Aleuas. Head, front view, beardless, wearing a conical helmet; at the right the two-bladed axe. Legend: ΑΛΕΥ. Didrachm of Larissa in Thessaly. On the reverse an eagle, with the legend ΑΛΠΙΣΑΙΑ. (See J. de Witte, in the *Revue numismatique*, 1842, p. 77.)

³ Didrachm of Larissa. A man mastering a bull, which he seizes by the horns; his petasos and his peplos flying loose from his shoulders. Reverse, legend: ΑΛΠΙΣΑΙΑ. Bridled horse galloping to the right; underneath, a thyrsos.

⁴ Akarnanian coin. Apollo seated on a rock and holding his bow; before him a lighted torch. Legend: ΜΕΝΝΕΙΑΣ, a magistrate's name. Reverse of a silver coin of the Akarnanians, *in genere*. The obverse has a head of the River Acheloös personified.

⁵ Coin of the Epeirotes, *in genere*. Busts *acolées* of Zeus and Here; the god wears a wreath of oak-leaves; the goddess a diadem. In the field are two monograms of names of magistrates. Reverse: ΑΗΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ. Bull threatening with his horns. Oak-leaf wreath surrounding.

in repose and apathy. Everywhere are passions, ambitions, struggles, revolutions. Such a life was a rude training both for minds and bodies. When the Persians arrive, these mighty sentiments of liberty, emulation, love of fame, germinating on every hand, these healthy and vigorous frames, trained in combats and exercises, will quickly get the better of the Asiatic multitude, idly dragging its long robes, or scourged forward by the master's whip.

¹ Tetradrachm of Larissa. Head of the goddess Larissa, daughter of Pelasgos, turned three quarters towards the left, diademed, and with dishevelled hair. Reverse: ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ. Bridled horse, turned towards the right.



TETRADRACHM.¹

CHAPTER XII.

FOUNDATION OF THE GREEK COLONIES.

I. — COLONIES OF ASIA MINOR.

WE have seen how life had multiplied in continental Greece. It is still the prodigious activity of this people that we are now about to meet on the shores and islands of those seas which communicate with one another from the Pillars of Hercules to the Palus Mæotis.

Causes innumerable urged the Greeks to emigration, — religion, character, geographical position, revolutions in the mother-city, excess of population, and later, the desire of extending the political relations of the mother-country, and occupying, in her interests, outposts to serve her commerce or her sway. Bold and confident, the slightest sign from heaven, the obscurest oracle, made them take ship and set forth upon the open sea. Let the Oriental, trembling before his formidable divinities, prostrate himself upon the ground; the gods of Olympus inspire no such terror. See in Homer how their worshippers converse familiarly with them. Their attitude of supplication is that of the child playing with its father, the hand upon the knees and on the chin of the divine image. The Greek is bold, and his gods are kind; under their auspices he abandons himself to this ocean, which, with its countless gulfs and bays, seems to come far inland seeking him, and the wind bears him whither it will. The divinity also guides him, for the Powers above are, like himself, fond of these remote expeditions, which multiply their altars and their honors. “For Phoibos ever delights to lay out cities, and himself lays their foundations.”¹

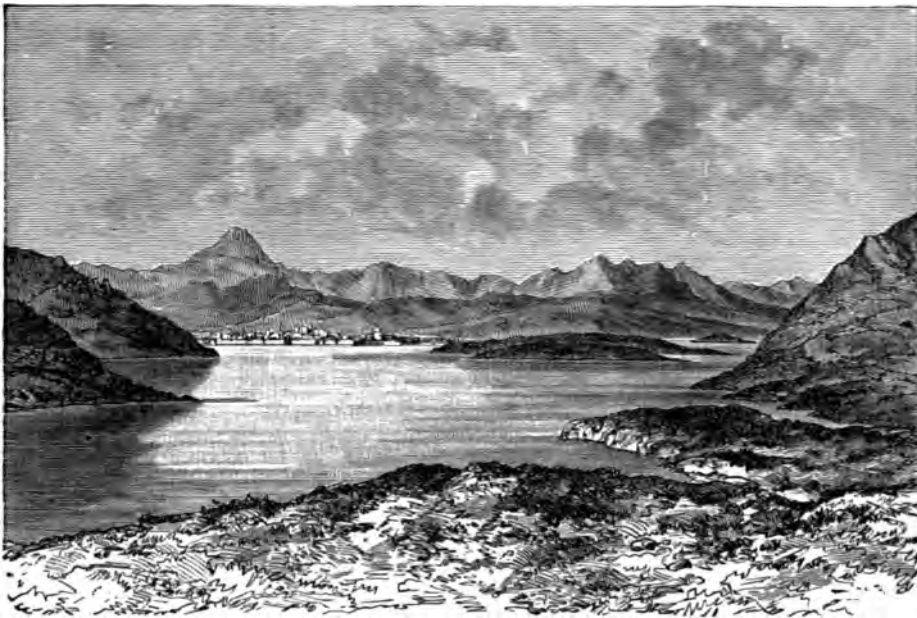
¹ Kallimachos, *Hymn to Apollo*, 55. Cf. Seneca, *Consol. ad Helviam*, 6 and 7.

GREEK COLONIES OF ASIA MINOR.
AND THE EGEAN SEA.



This expansive tendency, which the modern Greeks still retain, shows itself even in the legends of the primitive times, which represent the Argonauts and the chiefs returning from Troy as twice making the circuit of the world known to those ancient heroes.

In what we have to say of the colonies there will be no attempt to go back into legendary history. We shall not mention

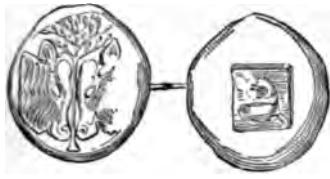


VIEW OF THE HARBOR OF AULIS.¹

the Pelasgians who are found in so many places; nor Danaë whom Vergil leads to Ardea in Latium; nor Minos and his expedition into Sicily; nor the dispersion of the Greek chiefs after Troy. We shall speak only of the great movement of emigration which followed in the twelfth century B. C. the establishment of the Thessalians and the Dorian migration, when these two conquering tribes, pressing at once, on the south and north, upon the populations who had taken shelter in Central Greece, obliged them to go back across the Ægæan Sea, over which their fathers had sailed westward to Greece.

¹ From Stackelberg, *La Grèce*. In the background is the city of Chalkis.

This sea is a Greek lake. Periodical winds, blowing in the morning from the north, and from the south in the evening, rarely tempestuous, bear the sailor easily from Athens to Miletos, and bring him back from Ephesos to Aigina. Numerous islands offer temporary harbor, and at the end of this easily made voyage is the other half of Greece, — Ionia, with its soft name and pleasurable climate; a golden belt clasp

TETRADRACHM.¹

side of the great Asiatic peninsula.

This peninsula projects into three seas its immense plateau, arid in the middle, fertile along the edges, especially on the west, where it descends with easy slope towards the Archipelago, as if to invite to land the adventurous colonists whom winds and waves have driven that way. The natural harbors cut out in this shore, the projections

TETRADRACHM OF KYME.²

of the coast which afford numerous gulfs and bays, and the islands protecting it from the storms of the open sea, all predestine these regions to become the abode of active and enterprising populations.

SILVER COIN.³

The first colony was that of the Aiolians (about 1054). Driven out by the Thessalians, they united with other tribes, and under the leadership of the Pelopid Penthilos, embarked at the port of Aulis, whence sailed the expedition for Troy. Following the same direction, they landed on the northwest coast of Asia Minor. This route being once laid out, emigration continued under the son and grandson of Penthilos, and spread by degrees over all of Mysia,

¹ Coin of Lesbos, *in genere*. Two calf's heads *affrontées* and separated by an olive-tree. Reverse, an incused square. Archaic tetradrachm of globulous form.

² Diademed head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse, a bridled horse, turned to the right, and raising a foot; under him a vase. Legend: ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ, magistrate's name, and ΚΥΜΑΙΩΝ, surrounded by a laurel-wreath.

³ Drachma of Assos. Helmeted head of Athene, left profile, with a star above the helmet. Reverse: ΑΣΣΙΩΝ. Skull of an ox.

whence the Dardanians, former masters of the country, were driven back into the mountains of the interior. From the summit of Ida the new-comers perceived lying off the coast, under a soft sky, a splendid island with broad harbors, separated from the shore by a narrow



I. — Herakles fighting with a Triton.



II. — Banqueting Scene.

BAS-RELIEF FROM ASSOS.¹

channel. This was Lesbos; they crossed over to it, and occupied also Tenedos and Hekatonnesos. On the mainland the coast from the Hellespont to the River Hermos took the name of Aiolis; Kymé was its chief city. In the time of the Peloponnesian War these colonists still regarded Thebes as their metropolis. A colony from Methymna or from Mytilene, Assos, on the Adramyttian Gulf, has

¹ Fragments of the frieze of a very ancient Doric temple at Assos; from the originals in the Museum of the Louvre. The frieze is of a black and very hard stone. I. An encounter between Herakles and a Triton. The latter holds a fish or a shell in his hand. On the left, six Nereids, alarmed, make their escape. II. Banqueting scene. Two figures recline upon a couch, each holding a kantharos in the left hand; a servant boy standing near a large *krater* is pouring wine for them. These, with the statues of the Branchidai (see later) are the most ancient sculptures we possess from Asiatic Greece. The subject of the first plaque is entirely Greek, and the scene is treated as on the most ancient vases painted with black figures; at the side are belts of fighting animals (lions and bulls), which suggest, on the other hand, Assyrian monuments.

remained very obscure in history, but offers the traveller remarkable ruins.

The Aiolians of the mainland devoted themselves to agriculture much more than to commerce. Those of Kyme, the ancients said,

had no idea that their city was a seaport. They had brought from the rich plains of Boiotia that short-sightedness of the peasant who can see nothing beyond his furrow. Accordingly, the scenes of the great Homeric struggle remained for them without interest.¹ But the Aiolians of Lesbos related the legend that after the Mænads had killed the marvellous Thracian singer, the head and the lyre of Orpheus, driven by winds and waves to their shores, had brought thither poetic inspiration. Later we shall see great poets



MÆNAD, OR BACCHANTE, IN ECSTASY.²

give warrant to this legend, or rather give occasion for it to spring up, by the fame of their verses and the sweetness of their songs.

The Ionian emigration, the most important in Greek history, took place about 1044 and in the subsequent years. Driven from Aigialeia by the Achaians of Argolis, the Ionians had dwelt in Attika for more than fifty years, when famine—inevitable in so small a country, overcrowded with population—made

¹ We should remember, however, that the plain of Troy was over a hundred miles distant from the city of Kyme.

² Bas-relief in marble, from the Museum of the Louvre. In one hand the figure holds a thyrsus ending in a pine-cone, and ornamented with a fillet; in the other the head and fore-quarters of a deer. Cf. Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, vol. ii., 1st part, p. 431, No. 135.

emigration necessary. A leader presented himself, Neleus, the son of Kodros, who, after disputing the supreme authority with his brother Medon, had been excluded from it by the Pythia. The

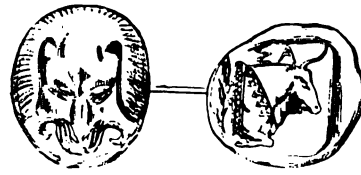


DOUBLE-BLADED AXE.¹

emigrants were not Ionians merely; the reputation of the chiefs drew around them, or incited to imitate them, the Abantes from Euboia, the Minyai of Orchomenos, Thebans, Phokideans, Dryo-



TETRADRACHM OF CHIOS.²



TETRADRACHM OF SAMOS.³

pians, Molossians, Epidaurians, and even Pelasgians of Arkadia. Hence it was that, according to Herodotos, not less than four different dialects were spoken among the Asiatic Ionians.

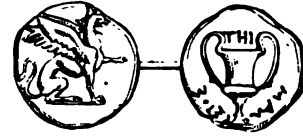
The colonists, gathered under the auspices of Artemis, set out from Athens, which they regarded as their mother-city. The voy-

¹ Cow's heads of gold, with the double axe, discovered at Mykenai (Schliemann, *Mycenae*, figs. 329-330). This double axe was the symbol of the great Karian divinity Zeus; the Karians, Lydians, and Mysians possessed in common a sanctuary of Zeus near Mylasa. These axes furnish U. Köhler an additional argument in favor of attributing to the Karians the objects discovered in the tombs of Mykenai (*Mittheil. d. d. archäol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. iii., 1878, p. 9).

² Sphinx, looking to the left; before her an amphora and a bunch of grapes. Reverse: HPIΔANOS, magistrate's name, on a horizontal band which intersects at right angles another band; in the field, parallel lines.

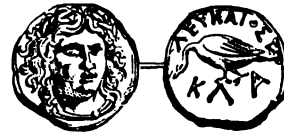
³ Lion's head, front view. Reverse: ox kneeling; behind him a branch of laurel. Legend-ΣΑ(Σαμίων). The whole in an incused square.

age was long, for they stopped in the Cyclades, forming settlements there; hence it followed that almost all these islands in the end considered themselves to be Ionian. Up to this time the new-comers on the Asiatic coasts had met with no very active opposition, since there existed no longer in this region any great power interested in prohibiting access to it, and, on the contrary, there were there populations of Hellenic blood, to whom the immigrants were a reinforcement against surrounding Barbarians. But those landing at the mouth of the Kaystros had to maintain

STATER.¹TETRADRACHM OF LEBEDOS.²

a long struggle with the Karians, the Leleges, and the Mygdonians, becoming masters of the soil only after exterminating a large part of the male population. The Karian women, whom the Greeks took as

wives, "on account of this massacre," says Herodotos, "established a law and imposed on themselves an oath, and transmitted it to their daughters, that they would never eat with their husbands, nor even call them by the name of husband." Similar acts of violence were common in the foundation of colonies; the emigrants, accompanied by no women of their own race, having to found a family as well as a State, took wives in the same way that they took lands. The first grief being passed, domestic peace was soon established, only certain usages being left, which, like those mentioned by Herodotos, attest not so much the women's regret as

STATER.³

¹ A griffin, with lifted paw, looking to the right. Reverse: Dionysiac *kantharos*; above it THY (for *Τηίων*); under it, ΜΑΛΟΥΣΙΟΣ, magistrate's name. (Gold coin of Teos.)

² Helmeted head of Athene, right profile. Reverse: ΛΕΒΕΔΙΩΝ. Between two cornucopias full of fruits an owl, standing on a club placed horizontally. Underneath a magistrate's name: ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΣ. Outside, a laurel-wreath.

³ Laurelled head of Apollo, front view, with dishevelled hair. Reverse; ΚΑΑ (for *Κλαζομείων*). Swan walking; above, two names of magistrates, — one a monogram, the other in full; ΑΕΥΚΑΙΟΣ.

the haughty attitude of the men, treating these foreigners as slaves rather than as wives.

The Ionians occupied, southward of the Aiolian colonies, the whole coast, from the Hermos to the Maiandros, and even beyond. Their twelve cities, most of which were of earlier date than their own arrival, were, going from south to north: Samos and Chios, in the islands of those names; Miletos, with its four harbors, since filled up by alluvial deposits of the Maiandros, a city believed to have been founded by Neleus; Myous, Priene, Ephesos, — built, it was said, by Androklos, brother of Neleus, whose descendants in consequence enjoyed great privileges there: this, among others, that they filled the hereditary office of chief priest of Demeter;¹ Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Erythrai, Klazomenai, and Phokaia, — a city not admitted to the Panionion, says Pausanias, until she had accepted rulers of the blood of Kodros; lastly, Smyrna, on the shore of the splendid bay into which falls the little River Meles, — the city where Ionians and Aiolians mingled races, traditions, and genius, to produce those marvels of the Greek language and Greek poetry, the *Iliad* and the *Odysey*.

At the other extremity of Ionia, near the Carians, was the little city of Herakleia, near Mount Latmos, where was said to be the tomb of Endymion, nightly kissed by the soft rays of the goddess Selene.²

Most of these cities were unfortunately situated, on the banks of rivers whose alluvial deposits gradually destroyed the harbors of the earlier period; so that it is extremely difficult, in examining their sites, to understand their ancient prosperity. The ruins of Ephesos are now quite remote from the sea; the Maiandros has filled up the Latmic bay, and the lean horses of the Turcomans feed where once the galleys of Miletos touched the land. Priene, which had had two harbors, as early as the time of Strabo was forty stadia from the shore. These cities lived by the sea;

¹ The temple of Artemis at Ephesos was one of the most venerated in Asia, and the centre of an extensive commerce. When the Ionians arrived at the mouth of the Kayster they established themselves on a promontory seven stadia distant from the sanctuary, which remained independent of the new city, and was still, in the Roman period, in possession of its right of asylum (Herodotos, i. 26; Pausanias, vii. 2, 8).

² Endymion was the image of the Sun falling asleep in western mists, and visited nightly by Selene, the Moon.

the river has killed them. The alluvions of the Skamandros make the Trojan plain unrecognizable; and unless human industry shall intervene, the Hermos will make Smyrna, the finest seaport of Asia Minor, an immense marsh.



ARTEMIS FINDING ENDYMION ASLEEP.¹

Near these cities dwelt powerful peoples; their danger came, therefore, from the interior of the country. Accordingly they had been built on the islands of the coast, or upon peninsulas easily defensible, so that the new Ionia, a long and narrow strip of sea-

¹ Statue in the Vatican (*Braccio Nuovo*, No. 50). What the artist intended this statue to represent, is doubtful.

coast, was pledged by its situation to maritime commerce, although back of it the way lay open to traffic with the rich countries of Anterior Asia. Coined money is one of the important factors of civilization; if the Lydians were the first to have a coinage, as



APOLLO.²

Herodotos (i. 94) asserts, the Ionians must have early appropriated the fortunate invention, to escape from the embarrassments of barter, and the delays of using metal by weight as a circulating medium.¹



ARTEMIS.²

The Greek cities coined gold and silver according to the metric system of the Babylonians; and the value of the coins being thus guaranteed by the Government, commerce made a great leap forward. But in sailing the seas from Thrace to Africa, and from the Euxine to the Spanish coasts, their sailors not merely trafficked in useful commodities, they gathered also much information and a knowledge of many arts which developed their minds and added to their wealth.

In Ionia Greek civilization threw the first splendor of its radiance; there temples were erected to Poseidon, who appeased the tempest; to Apollo, the god of light, of poetry, and of divine inspiration; to his sister Artemis, in Greece the indomitable virgin, in the Tauros a savage divinity, at Ephesos the many-breasted goddess,—personification of the productive forces of Nature.



SILVER COIN.⁴

The first Dorian emigrants who settled in Asia were Minyans,

¹ "It is only between two almost brother peoples, two peoples of the Helleno-Pelagic race, that there could be a serious dispute as to the honor of having invented coinage. This invention, so great and so fruitful, whether Sardis or Aigina were its cradle, after having been unknown in Egypt and to the more ancient civilizations of Semitic or Aryan Asia, sprang up amid the culture which was developed around the Ægean Sea."—FRANÇOIS LENORMANT: *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, i. 136.

² The Tauric Artemis. The goddess is seated upon a bull; her head is surmounted by a crescent, and she has a bow and quiver upon her shoulder. (Chalcedony in the *Cabinet de France*, 13 millim. by 10. *Catalogue*, No. 1,501.)

³ Bust in profile, with curls confined by a fillet. (Cornelian of the *Cabinet de France*, 15 millim. by 13. *Catalogue*, No. 1,450).

⁴ Coin of Tarsos. ΤΕΡΣΙΚΟΝ. Head of a divinity, Aphrodite or Here, with a tall diadem. Reverse: a naked Herakles, kneeling, strangling the Nemean lion; at his feet, his club. (Silver.)

whom the Lakonian Dorians had earlier welcomed into their territory, but finally had driven out as hopelessly barbaric. The



MAP OF THE ISLAND OF CYPRUS.

Spartans gave these colonists two leaders, Polis and Delphos, and promised to retain relations of patronage to them. At other epochs

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a tomb, in the city of Xanthos in Lykia, of which the bas-reliefs are preserved in the British Museum, designated the Monument of the Harpies. (See Chas. Fellows, *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia*, 1840, p. 170, and O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique, Tombeau de Xanthos*, called *Monument des Harpyes*.) The bas-relief here represented, from a cast in the Museum of the Trocadéro, decorates the northern side of the monument. "A seated personage, divinity or king, gives a helmet to a young warrior standing before him, whose accoutrements are entirely Greek, with the exception of one piece, the long single-edged knife, of which the handle is ornamented with a bird's head. Under the throne is an animal which Braun and Friederichs believe to be a bear, but which appears to me only an uncouth representation of a dog. The two extremities are occupied by birds with head, breasts, and arms of women, and the body shaped like an egg, which are flying away and carrying in their hands and claws small female figures. The gestures of these women thus carried away alive indicate terror and supplication. A third small female figure is seated on the ground at the right; her head in her hands, her eyes lifted in an attitude of resigned despair, she seems to be awaiting her turn" (O. Rayet). No satisfactory explanation has been given of these bas-reliefs: critics agree only as to the name of these women-birds, who are no other than Harpies. They appear here as divinities of death. These sculptures are among the most ancient of the Ionian school, to which we owe the statues of the Branchidai (see below) and the primitive Here of Samos (Vol. I. p. 317).



BAS-RELIEF FROM THE MONUMENT OF THE HARPIES (LYKIA).

Dorians from Argos, Troizen, and Epidauros followed in their track. The islands of Kythera, Krete, Kos, Rhodes, and all the southwest coast of Asia Minor, were occupied by them, and the name of Doris remained in this part of the Asiatic continent. The principal city of this region was Halikarnassos, the birthplace of Herodotos, and under Persian rule the capital of a dynasty which the names of Mausolos and Artemisia have rendered famous.

At what epoch Lykia received Greek colonists is unknown. The legend of Bellerophon shows that this country had relations with Argos at a very early period, and it is believed that men of different races dwelt there, — Semites, who formed the tribes of the Solymoi; and Kretans, who worshipped the hero Sarpedon. Near Patara stood the first great temple of Apollo, in his character of god of the light; thence his surname of Lykian, which passed over to his worshippers.

Nor is our information more exact as to two cities of Pisidia, Selge and Sakalassos, which claimed to be of Spartan origin; or as to Aspendos and Side in Pamphylia, or Tarsos in Kilikia, an ancient Assyrian or Phœnician city, Paphos, Salamis, and Kition in Cyprus, through whose agency the greater part of the island went over from the Phœnicians to the Greeks. But the latter, in taking possession of this land, adopted also some of the cruel and licentious rites of the Punic cult.

The Greek cities of Cyprus laid claim to no less antiquity than the date of the Trojan war. This claim was also made



TEMPLE OF PAPHOS.¹

¹ Temple of Paphos, on a coin of Cyprus (enlarged). From Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, vol. iii. fig. 58, p. 120. In the edifice whose façade is here represented all critics agree to recognize the famous temple of Paphos as existing at the Roman epoch. This coin may be compared with the gold ornament of Mykenai represented above, Vol. I. p. 183.

by many cities of Italy. Cumæ dated her origin from the century following the return of the Herakleids, placing her foundation by the inhabitants of Chalkis in Euboia, and of Kyme in Aiolis about 1050.¹ Her prosperity was great from the eighth to the sixth century B. C.* United with Rome against the Etruscans and the Samnites, she many times repulsed their attacks. The tyranny of Aristodemos and cruel internal dissensions enfeebled her. She conquered, however, in 174 B. C., with the aid of the Syracusan Hiero, a great Etruscan and perhaps also a Carthaginian fleet. But the conquest of Capua by the Samnites, and the continual hostilities of these turbulent neighbors, caused her final decline and ruin.

II. — NORTHERN, WESTERN, AND SOUTHERN COLONIES.

WHEN the impulse given by the Dorian migration had ceased to be felt in Greece, and the country had cast forth, during several generations, its superfluous population, no emigrants were seen to set out in search of a new home for many hundred years. In the seventh century B. C., the population being much increased by reason of long-continued peace, and an active commerce having developed prosperity in the different States, a new current of emigration began, which this time directed itself towards the north and the west.

The principal *rôle* in this second period of Greek colonization was filled by Eretria, Chalkis, Megara, and Corinth, at that time the richest cities of European Greece. The aristocracy, supreme in these four cities, regarded with favor the removal of the poorer citizens, who went away to occupy, to the great advantage of the mother-city, territories fertile or profitable for commercial relations.

The peninsula surrounded by the Thermaic and Strymoniac gulfs is rich in metals, like the neighboring coast of Thrace, and, like it still further, had fine forests, which furnished an ample supply of wood for smelting and forging processes. Famous

¹ Fr. Lenormant (*La Grande-Grèce*, i. 255) and Helbig (*Das Homerische Epos*, p. 321) ~~place~~, with reason, the foundation of Cumæ in the eighth century B. C.

throughout all Greece for their skill in working copper, which metal their island furnished abundantly, the Chalkidians had directed all their colonizing strength towards a country containing the elements of their prosperity. They went thither in such numbers that the whole peninsula took their name, Chalkidike,



MAP OF CHALKIDIKE.

and thirty-two cities owned as their metropolis¹ Chalkis, “the city of brass.”² Deserted shafts and heaps of scoriæ attest to this day the activity of the mining industry in this region.

Of the two cities, however, in Chalkidike which became most famous, one, Potidaia, was founded by Corinth; and the other, Olynthos, by the Thracian tribe of Bottiaians. Later, Greek influence predominated in this city, and the Barbaric element disappeared.

¹ Methone in Pieria, Mende, and five other cities in the fertile peninsula of Pallene, were founded by Eretria; Sane, Akanthos, Stageira, and Argilos, on the Strymoniac Gulf, owed their origin to Andros, itself a colony of Eretria. From Chalkis were directly derived eight cities on the peninsula of Sithonia.

² The Greek word for brass is χαλκός.

East of the River Nestos began the colonies of the Asiatic Greeks, who covered with their trading houses all these shores as far as the Bosphoros, and thence to the mouth of the Danube. Megara made her way, however, through these colonies of Asiatic Greeks, and in the middle of the seventh century B. C. founded Byzantion



GOLD BRACELET.¹

on the spot where was to stand Constantinople,—one of those cities made regal by the advantages of their position.²

The two islands on the coast of Thrace, Samothrace and Thasos, were captured, the first from the Pelasgians by the

¹ From the *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, Atlas, pl. xiii. No. 1; text, vol. I. p. 85, and Introduction, p. xi. This bracelet, found at Kertch (Pantikapaia), is in shape a rope ending with sphinx's heads. These figures have a collar on the neck, and spring from a ferule ornamented with filigree and a border in blue enamel; in their claws they hold a knot of gold thread which fastens the bracelet.

² Selymbria on the Propontis, Chalkedon, "the city of the blind," opposite Byzantion, and Pontic Herakleia, whose inhabitants reduced the native population of the neighborhood, the Mariandynoi, to the condition of the Helots of Sparta, were also colonies of Megara.

Ionians, the second from the Phoenicians by colonists from Paros. Archilochos calls Thasos an ass's backbone covered with wild



COIN OF BYZANTIUM.¹



COIN OF THASOS.²

forests. But under these forests were gold mines. Still richer mines were found on the neighboring coasts, especially at Scaptê-



AKROPOLIS OF THASOS.³

Hylê. The Thasians, notwithstanding some defeats, in one of which Archilochos lost his shield, took these mines from the Thracians,

¹ Helmeted head of the hero Byzas, right profile. Legend: **ΒΥΖΑΣ**. Reverse: vessel under sail; underneath, **ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ**; in the field, the date **ΕΘΥΑ** (490). Bronze. (See Eckhel, *Doctr. num. vet.*, ii. 27.)

² Head of Dionysos, wreathed with ivy, left profile. Reverse: **ΘΑΣΙΩΝ**. Herakles, with the lion's skin on his head, kneeling, and drawing the bow; at his feet a lyre. (Tetradrachm.)

³ From A. Conze, *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres*, pl. ii. and p. 10, note 2. In the distance is the little island of Thasopoulo and the coast of Macedon.

and found them so rich that in good years the net receipts amounted to three hundred talents (\$360,000).

Corinth, anticipated by Chalkis and Eretria, had on this coast only two cities,—Potidaia and Aineia; she compensated herself,

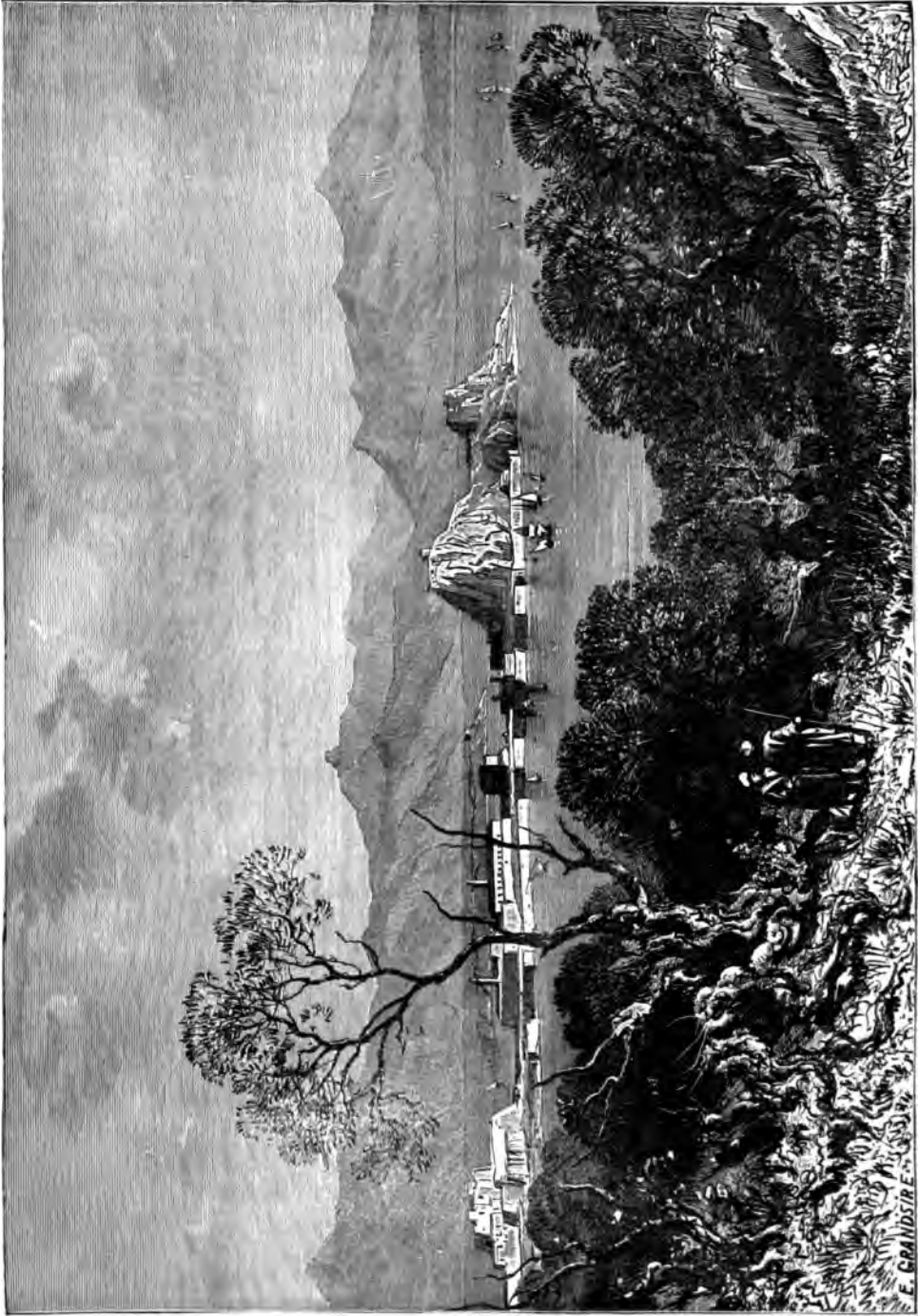


KORINTHOS AND LEUKAS (CORINTH AND LEUKADIA PERSONIFIED).¹

however, by forming in the Ionian Sea and in the Adriatic a group of colonies exclusively Corinthian,—Korkyra, in the island

¹ Greek mirror, engraved. This was discovered in Corinth, and is now in the Museum of the Louvre. Korinthos (ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ), eponymous hero of the city, is represented as a man in middle life, holding in his hand a sceptre. He is seated on a kind of throne, and turns towards a young woman, who personifies Leukadia, a Corinthian colony (ΛΕΥΚΑΣ). The latter is placing a wreath on the hero's head. (See Alb. Dumont, in the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques*, 1873.)

NOTE.— On the opposite page is a view of Corfu, from the S. S. W. In the centre is the rocky peninsula and the citadel; behind it the Island of Vido and the coast of Epeiros appear.



CORFU (ANCIENTLY KORKYRA).

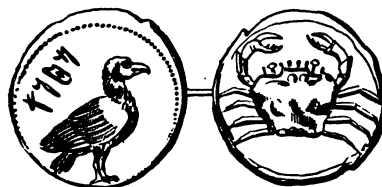


of that name; and at the entrance of the Gulf of Ambrakia, or along its coasts, Leukadia, Anaktorion, and Ambrakia; farther northward, Apollonia, at the mouths of the Aous, and Epidamnos (Dyrrachium), in the territory of the Taulantians.



COIN OF NAXOS.¹

These cities carried on commerce with Epeiros and Illyria. From these countries they obtained materials for ship-building, — woods, metals, and tar; also cattle and slaves; and the simples of the Illyrian mountains were transformed at Corinth into precious essences. Korkyra had another advantage, — it was on the highway into Italy. The strait separating it from the Italian coast is not as wide as the channel between Kythera and Krete, and from the Chaonian mountains the crest of the Apennines is clearly seen. Accordingly, all vessels crossing the Ionian Sea anchored in its harbor. But for all that, Korkyra never took the lead in Western colonization; that belonged to the active and industrious Chalkis.



TETRADRACHM OF MOTYA.²

The ravages of the Tyrrhenian pirates who scoured the seas of Sicily and Italy, and alarming traditions made current by the Homeric poems as to the gigantic size and ferocity of the Sicilians, long kept the Greeks out of the Western lands. A happy accident destroyed this bugbear. The Athenian Theokles, driven by the winds upon the Sicilian shore, observed that, far from corresponding to the alarming representations that had been made of them, the inhabitants were extremely feeble and an easy prey. On his return he described what he had seen, and also the beautiful climate, the wealth, and the exuberant fertility of this island. A colony of



APHRODITE.³

¹ Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile; behind, a laurel-leaf. Legend: ΝΑΞΙΟΝ. On the reverse, a seated Silenos. (Silver.)

² An eagle, standing. A Phœnician legend, פִּיבַי, the city's name. On the reverse, a crab. (Carthaginian coin.)

³ Aphrodite Erykina, seated upon her throne, holding a dove in her right hand; before her, Eros, extending his arms to her. Legend: ΕΡΥΚΙΝΟΝ. Tetradrachm of Eryx. On the other face is a quadriga crowned by a Victory.

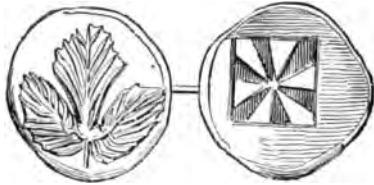
Chalkidians, with some of the men of Naxos, agreed to accompany him thither. They landed on the eastern coast of Sicily; and



TETRADRACHM OF SYRACUSE.¹

on the bank of the Akelines (now called the Cantara), at the foot of the hill on which later stood Tauromenion, they founded the city of Naxos (735). The altar of Apollo which they erected on the shore was for centuries a kind of sanctuary for all the

Greeks in Sicily, because at that point Greece began her occupation of Western Europe. Along this hospitable shore, where the pilot had the flames or the snows of Ætna for a landmark, the



COIN OF SELINOUS.²



COIN OF GELA.³

Naxians easily made their way from the Straits of Messina to the Syracusan territory, and marked their road with the cities of Catana and Leontini.

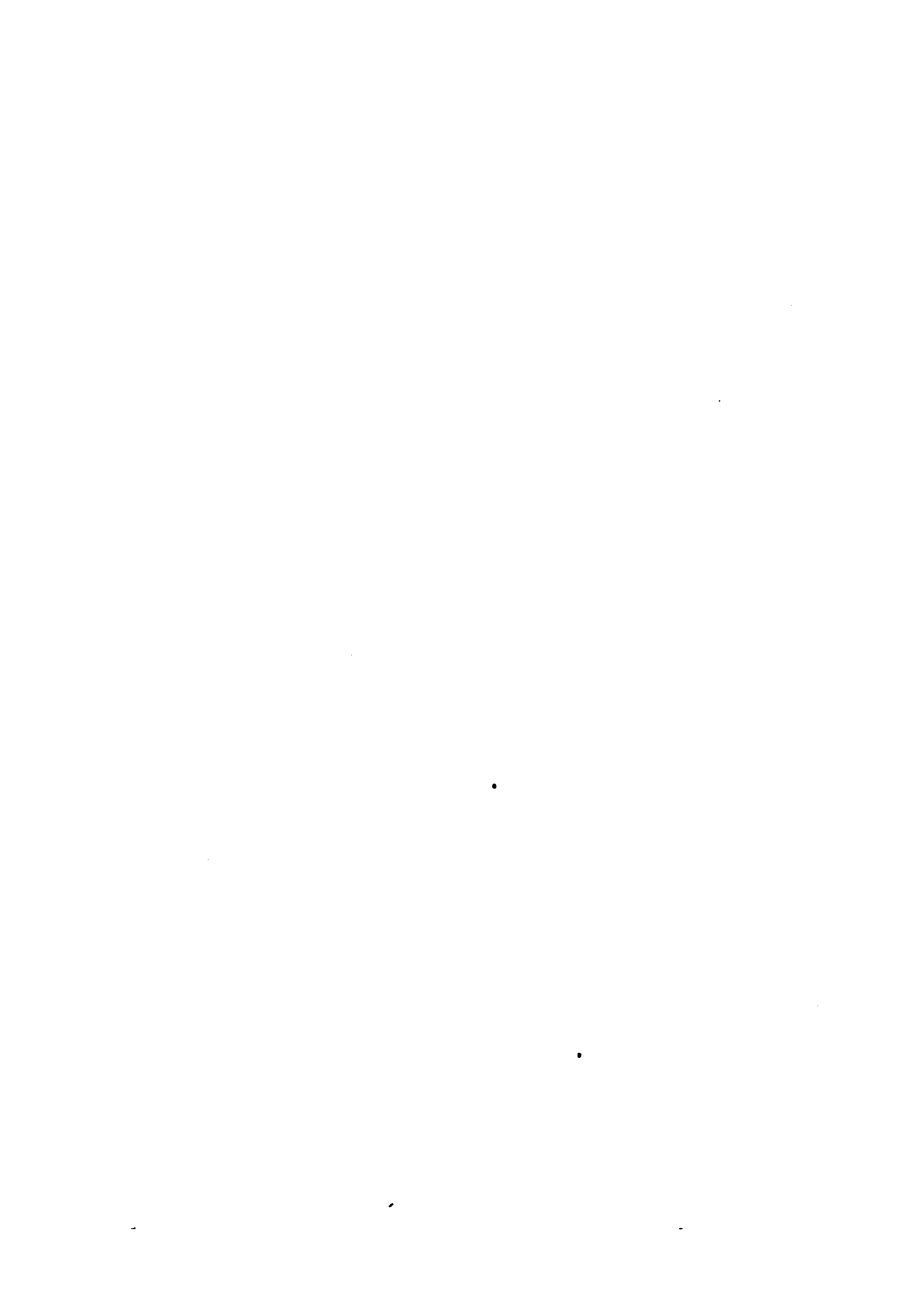
There were in Sicily four distinct populations, — the Sikanians, an Iberian or Keltic tribe; the Sikeloi, probably of Pelasgic origin; the Phœnicians, who occupied some points on the sea-coast; and lastly the Elymoi, who claimed to be of Trojan origin, but in whom the Barbarian element prevailed. The Elymoi, masters of the western point of the Sicilian triangle, dwelt in the cities of Egesta and Eryx, — the latter famous on account of the temple,

¹ Woman's head, probably the nymph Arethousa, surrounded by dolphins; right profile. Legend: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. The hair of the nymph is concealed under a kekryphalos of a very peculiar form. Reverse: a bearded figure in a chariot drawn by three horses, above which hovers a Victory. Very beautiful execution.

² A parsley-leaf, spread out. Reverse: incused square divided into twelve compartments, of which six are in relief. (Silver.)

³ The River Gelas, personified under the form of a bull with bearded human face. Legend: ΓΕΛΑΣ. Reverse: woman, wearing a long chiton, in a biga passing before an Ionic column. (Tetradrachm.)





built on a rocky height commanding the city, which Aineas, it was said, had erected in honor of his mother, Aphrodite; for which reason, also, it was a sanctuary highly esteemed by the Romans. Before the Greeks the Sikeloi fell back into the interior of the island and towards the western coast; the Phœnicians, who by degrees became blended with the Carthaginians, occupied Motya, Solous, and Panormos (now Palermo), the best harbor of the entire island.

The Dorians quickly followed in the track of Theokles. In 734 B. C. a pestilence ravaged Corinth, and the Pythia, being consulted, ordered a descendant of Temenos, Archias by name, to go into exile. This man had committed an act of brutal violence against Aktaiion, a Greek youth, and the father of



DECADRACHM OF AGRIGENTUM.¹

the victim, being unable to obtain justice on his son's murderer, had killed himself at the Isthmic Games, calling upon Poseidon to avenge the crime. The Bakchiadai, fearing the result of this curse, compelled Archias to obey the oracle, and he departed, taking with him a band of Corinthians. A part of his companions he left on the way in the Island of Korkyra, and with the others landed on the eastern coast of Sicily. Here he discovered the Island of Ortygia, not quite two miles in circumference, lying at the entrance of a vast harbor, which the sea had excavated behind it, and so close to the land that, at a later day, it was possible to build a bridge across. In after ages a pure and abundant spring of water in this island, — the fountain Arethousa, — inspired poets with graceful legends. Archias founded a city here, which was called Syracuse (Syракousai, or, according to Thucydides, Syrakosios), from the name of a neighboring lake or marsh, Syrako. Its admirable position soon made it the most important city of

¹ Two eagles tearing a hare which they hold under their claws. In the field a grasshopper. Reverse, legend: ΑΚΡΑΓΑΣ. The eponymous hero, Akragas, son of Zeus and Asterope, in a quadriga; above, an eagle holding a serpent in its claws; underneath, a crab on its back. This superb medallion weighs an ounce and a half.

Sicily. Two generations had scarcely passed when it was able to throw out in turn its superabundance of population, and found



ARCHAIC METOPE OF SELINOUS.¹

upon the southern coast new cities to drive the Phoenicians from those shores.² The door was now open, and from all parts men

¹ From a cast. Perseus has seized Medousa by the hair, and is decapitating her. The Gorgon is kneeling, and holds in her arms Pegasus, who has just been born from her blood. Behind Perseus is a female figure, perhaps representing Athene. This metope, one of the most ancient monuments of Greek sculpture, dates from the early part of the sixth century. (See O. Benndorf, *Die Metopen von Selinunt*, pp. 44 and 63.)

² Akrai in 664, Kasmenai in 644, and Kamarnia in 599. The fact that colonists were summoned from every side explains how one city could establish so many colonies. Thus the



hastened into this new world. As some modern State might now buy territory from a king on the African coast, so the people of Megara negotiated with a Sikeloian chief the cession of a site for a new city between Leontini and Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia, which in 628



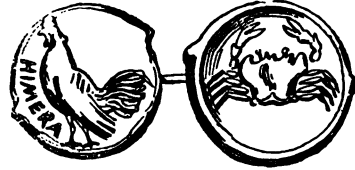
RUINS OF SELINOUS.¹

gave birth to Selinous, "the city of the parsley." The skilful sailors of Rhodes did not abandon to the insular and continental Greeks the commerce of the Western seas. Uniting with some Kretan colonists, they built Gela (690 B. C.); and this city in its turn founded, a century later, upon a rock whose foot is bathed by

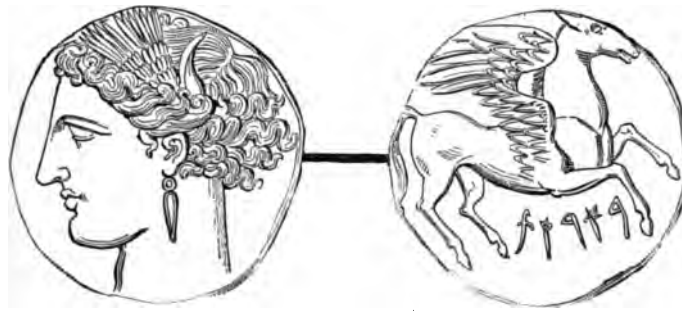
people of Zankle, wishing to build a city in Sicily, sent into Ionia, and doubtless elsewhere, to announce their intention and call others to join them (Herodotos, vi. 22).

¹ From a photograph. See E. Renan, *Vingt jours en Sicile*, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Nov. 15, 1875. "Seven temples, of which five are enormous, lie there upon the ground; the diameter of the columns is sometimes as much as eleven feet, and everywhere those wonderful Doric capitals, the most beautiful thing ever invented by man. Nowhere better than here can one see, step by step, the progress of those divine curves attaining perfection. Every attempt, every repeated trial, is visible."

the Akragas, and in a region the most fertile of all Sicily (the Val Mazzara), Agragas, the Agrigentum of Roman history, now Girgenti, which soon became the rival of Syracuse. Thus, from the promontory Pachynos to that of Lilybaion, the southern coast was covered with Hellenic cities, neighbors to Carthage, across the Maltese channel; so that the commercial rivalry between the Greeks and the Phoenicians, beginning far eastward in the Archipelago, was

COIN OF HIMERA.¹

continued in the west, in the other basin of the Mediterranean. We must, however, observe that this southern coast of Sicily, loaded

COIN OF CARTHAGE.²

with mountains, furrowed by torrents, and having but few harbors, is less hospitable than the northern and eastern coasts. The prosperity of Agrigentum, of Gela,

and of Selinous were exceptions which have never since been repeated.

In the north of the island there were, until the time of Thucydides, but two Greek settlements, — Zankle, “the Sickle”³ (Messina), founded by the inhabitants of Cumæ and Chalkis; and Himera, which Syracusans, together with colonists from Zankle, audaciously built in close vicinity to the Phœnician settlements at Solous and Panormos. It is fair to add that Phœnicia, at this

SARDONYX.⁴

¹ Legend: HIMERA. Cock looking to the left. Reverse, crab. (Didrachm.)

² Head of Tanit, the Punic Demeter, with a wreath with wheat-ears, left profile. Reverse, in Punic characters, the name of Byrsa (בַּרְסָא), or Bozrah, the ancient city at whose side Carthage grew up. Pegasus, flying to the right. (Electrum.)

³ So called from the shape of its harbor.

⁴ Odysseus and Diomedes, kneeling, facing each other; both are helmeted, and carry a buckler on the left arm. The two heroes have the same attitude as on a vase-painting which represents them at the moment they are about to seize upon the Palladion. (Scarabæus of sardonyx in the *Cabinet de France*, 9 millim. by 11. *Catalogue*, No. 1,832.)

time assailed by the kings of Nineveh, was not able to bring aid to her remote colonies. Her decline was beginning, and the time of Carthaginian greatness had not yet come. Between these two



ODYSSEUS OFFERING THE CUP TO POLYPHEMOS.¹

periods occurred the easy seizure of Sicily by the Greeks, the western extremity being excepted, whence the Carthaginians never allowed themselves to be dislodged. There, they held only the edge of the island; but they held it so well that it required the heavy blows of Rome to make them let it go four centuries later.

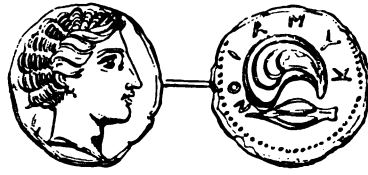
¹ Archaic cylix, in the *Cabinet de France*. Polyphemus at the right is seated on a rock, holding in his hands two human legs. Odysseus, standing, presents to him the cup, and at the same time, with the aid of three of his comrades, drives a stake into the eye of the Cyclops. The serpent above and the fish below these figures serve merely to fill the space.

From Lilybaion the African coast where stood the city of Carthage can be seen, and around this promontory pass all vessels entering this interior sea, if we may so call it, which lies within the opposite coasts of Africa, Sardinia, Italy, and Sicily. Greek colonization had always great difficulty in making its way through this special domain of the Carthaginian navy.

The history of the Greek colonies in Italy divides itself into two periods: the one beginning in the eighth century B. C. can be the object of no doubt; the other, going back as far as the twelfth, has all the historic probabilities against it. Doubtless it may be the fact that in the time following the Trojan war, after that great shock to Greece, bands of Hellenes, driven out by the revolutions which were taking place in the mother-country, made a landing on the Italian coasts. But the story of the settlement of Diomedes and his companions in Daunia or among the Veneti, who as late as Strabo's time continued to sacrifice to him a white horse; of the companions of Nestor at Pisa; of Idomeneus at Salentina (although Knossos in Krete showed his tomb); of Philoktetes at Petelia and at Thurii; of Epeios at Metapontum; of Odysseus at Scylacium; of Evander, of Tibur, of Telegonos, sons of Odysseus, in Latium, at Tusculum, Tibur, Præneste, Ardea, etc.,—these legends can be regarded as nothing but poetic fictions, invented by the rhapsodists to give these cities an illustrious origin.

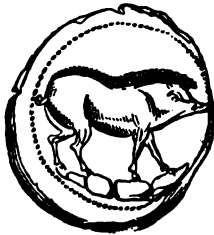
Nothing was lacking that could add credibility to these illustrious genealogies, neither the songs of the poets, nor the blind or self-interested credulity of the historians, nor even the venerated relics of the heroes. On the banks of the Numicius the contemporaries of Augustus visited the tomb of Aineias, worshipped as Jupiter Indiges, and Roman consuls and pontiffs offered annual sacrifices there. Circeii showed the cup of Odysseus and the tomb of his comrade Elpenor; Lavinium, the indestructible vessel of Aineias and his Penates; Thurii, the bow and arrows of Herakles, given by Philoktetes; Macella, the tomb of that hero; Metapontum, the iron tools used by Epeios in the construction of the horse of Troy; Luceria, the armor of Diomedes; Maleventum, the head of Kalydon's wild boar; Cumæ, the tusks of the Erymanthian boar. Similarly, the Armenians to this day believe that the remains of the Ark may be seen on the summit of Mount Traza.

No one now believes in these fabulous origins; and even were we to regard as authentic these early settlements of the Greek race in Italy, no historic importance could be attached to them; for, remaining without relations to the mother-country, they lost the character of Hellenic cities, and when the Greeks arrived in the eighth century B. C., they found no trace of these colonies.



SILVER COIN.¹

To this class of legendary narratives belong the traditions as to the Trojan Antenor, founder of Padua, and Aineias, bringing into Latium the palladion of Troy. The Roman nobles made it a point to date from the Trojan war, as those of Europe from the Crusades.



ETRUSCAN COIN
(POPULONIA).²

According to Herodotos, the first Greeks established in Iapygia were Kretans, driven by a tempest upon those shores. Delighted with the fertility of the soil, he says, they burned their vessels and built Iria, in the interior. But the most ancient Greek colony whose settlement is

thoroughly historic is that of the Chalkideans, founders of Cumæ. Led by Hippokles and Megasthenes, they made their way, says tradition, across unknown seas, guided in the day-time by a dove, and in the night by a mysterious sound of brass.³ Attracted by the splendid bays of Misenum and Puteoli, and by the fertility of the volcanic lands of Campania, "the happy," they founded the city of Cumæ, without taking account of the rumors current as to the giant Typhaon, whom Zeus had hurled down to Tartaros, where his immense body stretched from the Phlegræan Fields as far as Sicily, and his mouth vomited flames at Etna.⁴ Built on a promontory overlooking the sea and the neighboring plains opposite the Island of Ischia, Cumæ had a

¹ Coin of Cumæ. Head of nymph, right profile. Reverse: KYMAION, in retrograde letters. Shell and a grain of barley.

² Wild boar. The reverse of this coin is a smooth surface, without stamp of any kind, or any form of the incused square.

³ Strabo, v. 4, 4: *πασῶν ἐστὶ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν τε Σικελικῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν.* With the Chalkideans were also emigrants from Kyme, in Asia Minor, near Homer's birthplace.

⁴ Pindar, *Pythics*, i. 29-50.

prosperity so rapid that she became a metropolis in turn,¹ and was able to aid, in the time of Porsenna, Rome and the Latins in throwing off the yoke of the Etruscans of the North, and also, in her own quarrel, struggle with those of Campania. The naval battle of the year 74 B. C., fought by the Italiot and Sicilian Greeks against the Etruscans and Carthaginians, was heard of in Greece, where Pindar celebrated it in verse:—

“Grant, I beseech thee, son of Kronos, that the Phœnician and the army of the Tyrrhenians, since they have seen the lamentable disgrace of their ships that befell them before Cumæ, may remain

ΒΙΑΡΟΜΟΔΕΙΝΟΜΕΜΕΟΣ
 ΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ
 ΤΟΙΔΙΤΥΡΑΝΑΓΟΚΥΜΑΣ

INSCRIPTION ON THE HELMET CONSECRATED BY HIERO.²

in a peaceful home; such sufferings they endured, overpowered by the leader of the Syracusans, who from their swift-sailing galleys cast their youth into the sea, freeing Greece from bitter slavery.”

Hiero, the king of Syracuse, made an offering to Olympian Zeus of the helmet of one of the Lucumons killed in this battle, after having engraved upon it the following inscription: “Hiero and the Syracusans have consecrated to Zeus the Tyrrhenian arms taken at Cumæ.”³

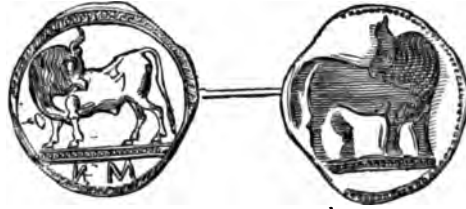
But in 420 B. C. the Samnites entered the great Campanian city. Notwithstanding the Barbarians, however, and remote though she was from the mother-country, Cumæ long remained Greek in speech, manners, and traditions; and every time that danger menaced Greece, she saw the statues of her gods shed tears,— a fitting return of gratitude for Pindar’s songs.

¹ Cumæ founded Dikaiarchia (Puteoli), which served as her seaport, and Parthenope (Neapolis), which eclipsed her. Naples counted also among her founders Athenians and Eretrians. The latter were first established in the Island of Ischia, whence they were driven by a volcanic eruption (Strabo, v. 4, 9).

² From Röhl, *Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae*, No. 510. In Greek letters this is: Ἱέρων ὁ Δεινομένηος καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι τῶ Δι Τυρ[ρ]άν’ ἀπὸ Κύμας. By the word Τυράν’, for Τυρρηνά. we should understand the Tyrrhenian weapons.

³ Pindar, *Pyth.*, i. 136 *et seq.* This helmet was found in 1817 in the bed of the Alpheios, and is now in the British Museum.

Upon this volcanic soil, near the Phlegræan Fields and the gloomy Avernus, the Greeks felt themselves at the gates of hell. Cumæ, where, according to Homer, Odysseus had been able to call up the dead, became the abode of one of the most renowned sibyls and female magicians in Italy; yearly, numerous and terrified pilgrims visited the holy place,—to the great profit of its inhabitants. Here also in this outpost of Greek civilization, amid these Ionians so full of the Homeric spirit, were elaborated the legends which brought into Italy so many of the heroes of Greece.



COIN OF SYBARIS.¹

The Dorians, powerful in Sicily, were not numerous in Italy; but they possessed Tarentum, on a gulf where the murex, which furnished the famous purple dye of the ancients, was more abundant and of better quality than elsewhere in European seas.² This city rivalled Sybaris and Krotona in power and wealth, and preserved its independence longer than



COIN OF KROTONA.³

they.⁴ Rich offerings placed in the temple of Delphi, in the time of Pausanias still attested her victories over the Iapygians, the Messapians, and the Peucetians. Also she erected to her gods, to symbolize her courage, statues of colossal height, and always in attitudes of fighting; but they could not defend her against Rome, and the conqueror, razing her walls, left her in derision these images of her warrior gods. A Tarentine Archytas ranks with the Greek philosophers. As a general he more than once led his countrymen to victory; he was the contemporary and friend of Plato, and a man of high integrity in public and private life. He

¹ In retrograde letters: ΣΥ, initials of the word *Συβαριῶν*. Bull turning his head. Reverse, same animal incised. (Silver.)

² On the founding of Tarentum, see Vol. I. p. 486; and p. 173 the murex.

³ Head of the Lakinian Here, front face, the head adorned with a tall *stephane*, or crown. Reverse, ΚΡΟΤΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ. Herakles, holding a vase, seated on a rock; at his feet, his club and lion's skin. (Silver.)

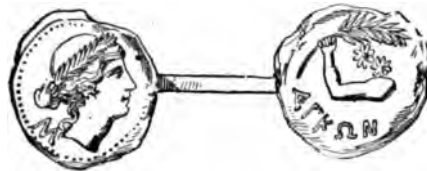
⁴ Livy, xxvii. 16. Strabo says (vi. 3, 4): *ἰσχυσαν δὲ ποτε οἱ Ταραντῖνοι καθ' ὑπερβολήν*. The wealth of Tarentum came from its fisheries, its fine woollen manufactures, and its harbor.—the best on the southern coast.

was also famous as a mathematician, and solved the problem of the doubling of the cube; his wooden flying dove was the object of great admiration. We have sixty fragments that bear his name, but the authenticity of them all is not certain.

Ancona, founded about 380 B. C. in Picenum by Syracusans who fled from the tyranny of the elder Dionysios, was also Dorian.

Of the Achaian colonies, the most flourishing was Sybaris, whose inhabitants at first had not the characteristics by which they were

later known. Their activity corresponded to the fertility of their soil; they made many conquests, plunged boldly into the depths of the Sila, the much-dreaded forest which covered the southern Apennines, and crossed the



COIN OF ANCONA.¹

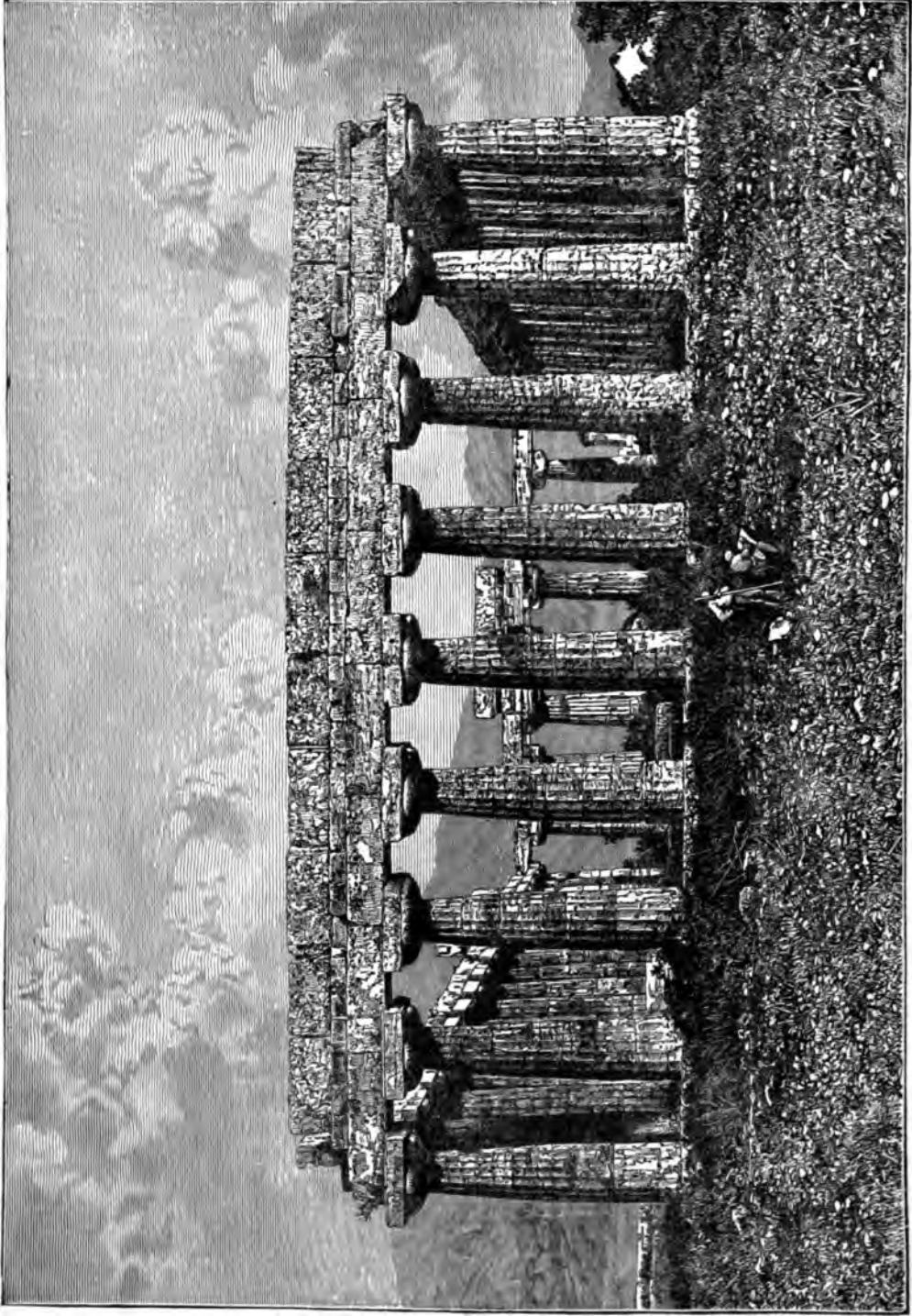
Tyrrhenian Sea, to found, on the opposite coast, twenty-five colonies. It was said that Sybaris could arm three hundred thousand combatants, — a statement manifestly much exaggerated. But in 510 the city was taken and destroyed by the men of Krotona. All Ionia, which had trading relations with her, wept her downfall, and the Milesians put on garments of mourning. The territory of Sybaris once gave back a hundred-fold;² but it is now only a desolate and marshy sea-shore. Laos, which the Lucanians destroyed after a great victory over the confederated Greeks, and Poseidonia, whose stately ruins have made famous the now deserted city of Pæstum, were colonies of Sybaris. “Being conquered by the Lucanians,” says Athenæus,³ “the Greeks of Poseidonia by degrees lost their Hellenic character; they even forgot their language, and became like their masters. However, they preserved a Greek festival. Every year they met together to recall the past and their lost nationality; then separated, weeping,” — a sad and touching custom, and one attesting the harshness of their servitude.

Other Achaians had settled at Metapontum, which owed great wealth to its agriculture and to its harbor, which is now only

¹ Laurelled head of Aphrodite, right profile; behind it, the letter M. Reverse: ΑΡΚΩΝ. Right arm holding a palm; above, two stars. (Bronze.)

² Varro, *De Re rust.*, i. 44.

³ xiv. 31.



TEMPLE, CALLED THE BASILICA OF PAESTUM (ANCIENT POSEIDONIA). FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

a lagoon.¹ Fifteen columns, still united by their architraves, mark the site of its akropolis. Krotona had a prosperity as rapid as that of Sybaris, its rival, but of more durable character. Its walls enclosed a space twelve miles in circuit,—twice that of Sybaris: a fact indicating a corresponding superiority in population; and the fame of its athlete, Milon of Krotona, leads us to believe that



REMAINS OF A TEMPLE AT METAPONTUM.²

its inhabitants were more active than the Sybarites. Six miles distant from the city stood the famous temple of the Lakinian Here; of this edifice one Doric column alone remains standing, and the promontory bears, like Cape Sounion, the name of *Capo delle colonne*. To have access to both seas which bathe Southern Italy, Krotona crossed the Apennines and established colonists on the Terinaian Gulf (*Hipponiates Sinus*), who found there abandoned copper mines of ancient date. One of her citizens, Phayllos, was in command at Salamis of the only galley sent from the

¹ Lago di Santa Pelagina. At low water remains of ancient constructions can be seen under the sea. (See p. 149.)

² From *Métaponte*, by the Duc de Luynes, pl. iii. These ruins are now called *Tavola dei Paladini*.

western seas to the great battle for liberty. The tyrants of Syracuse three times captured Krotona, and she had lost all importance when she finally fell into the hands of the Romans.

COIN OF TERINA.¹

The Ionians had only two cities in Magna Græcia, — Eleia, famous for its school of philosophy, and Thurii (Thouroi, or Thourion), founded chiefly by the

Athenians. Hostile to the Lucanians and to Tarentum, Thurii, like its metropolis, early became an ally of Rome.

The Lokrians founded Epizephyrian (or western) Lokris, almost at the extremity of Bruttium. They early attacked and plundered the original inhabitants, with whom they had sworn to preserve peace; some, however, of the native Ænotrians were admitted into the new city, and in turn the people of Lokris accepted and preserved many of their customs. To obtain har-

COIN OF THOURION.²

mony after long-continued dissensions, the new city consulted the oracle of Delphi, and was ordered to find a legislator. The shepherd Zaleukos³ was the person selected, and it was asserted that Athene inspired him, and dictated the laws to him in a dream. These he wrote out and promulgated in 644 B. C., forty years before Drako; and the code had all the

COIN OF LOKRIS.⁴

severity of the Greek law-maker's. It began with a magnificent preamble upon the Divinity. "The construction of the world," he said, "proves the divine existence;" and he indicated the virtues

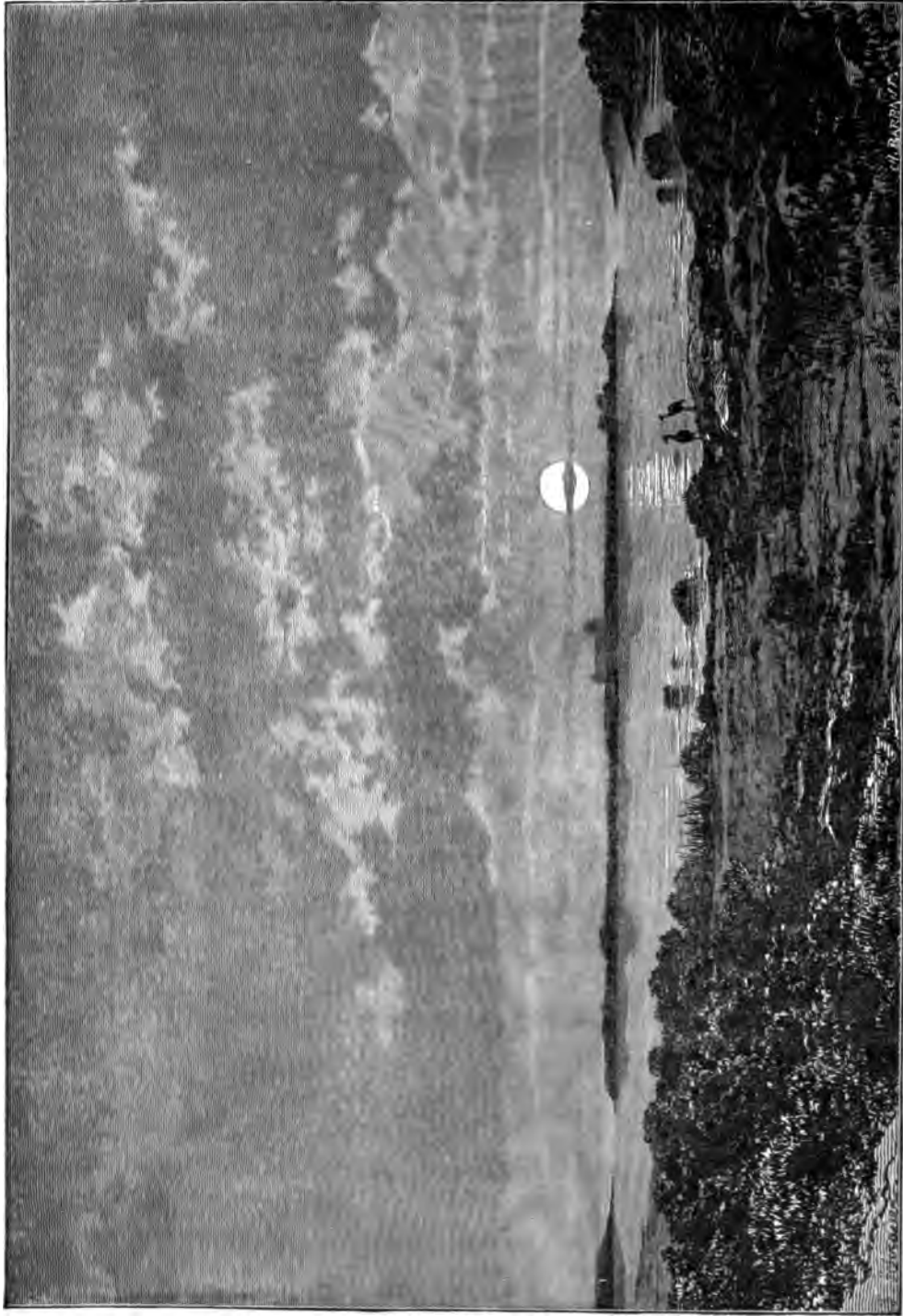
¹ Woman's head, perhaps Terina (Tercine), right profile; legend: ΤΕΡΙΝΑΙΩΝ. Reverse: a seated Victory, holding a dove on her right hand. (Silver.)

² Helmeted head of Athene, right profile, the helmet adorned with a figure of the monster Skylla. Reverse: ΘΟΥΡΙΑΙΩΝ. Bull threatening with his horns; in the exergue, a fish. (Silver.)

³ This is the version of Suidas, s. v. Diodorus (xii. 20) represents him as a man of distinguished origin, — which is more probable.

⁴ ΖΕΥΣ. Laurelled head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse: ΛΟΚΡΩΝ. Peace seated, facing left, holding a caduceus. In the exergue, traces of the legend ΕΙΡΗΝΗ. (Drachma.)

NOTE. — The engraving opposite is from *Métaponte*, by the Duc de Luynes, pl. ii.



HARBOR OF METAPONTUM.

which the gods demand of citizens and of magistrates. The principal magistrate of the city bore the name *kosmopolos*, to remind all men that social life consisted in order and harmony. It was this people who, according to Demosthenes, remained so much attached to their ancient laws that the citizen wishing to propose any change presented himself in the assembly with a rope round his neck.

If his proposition was accepted, his life was saved; but if rejected, he was put to death on the spot.



BRONZE COIN.²

The Chalkidians had founded Zankle;¹ and to be entirely masters of the strait, they built on the other shore a

city, whose name shows that they comprehended the former union of island and mainland,—Rhegion (Rhegium), “the city of the bursting asunder.” The date is that of the First Messenian War, and men who had been followers of Aristodemos were among the colonists of Rhegion. The city accepted laws from Charondas, who was also legislator for Katana, and a contemporary of Zaleukos, and,



COIN OF RHEGION.³

like the latter, begins his code with a preamble of great moral dignity. But it may be feared that this declaration as to the duties of the citizen is the work of some Pythagorean of a later age.

The great Achaian goddess Here, the Roman Juno, had on the Lakinian promontory, in the territory of Krotona, six miles south of the city, a famous temple, the chief sanctuary of Magna Græcia; and here were celebrated the festivals which sealed the alliance of the new-comers with the former masters of the country.

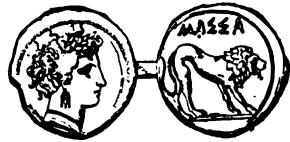
It is noteworthy that all these cities grew very rapidly, and in a few years became States, counting their fighting men by the hundred thousand. It was not merely the favorable climate of

¹ See, Vol. I. p. 497, how Zankle became Messina.

² Coin of the Messenians, *in genere*. ΜΕΣΣΗΝΙΩΝ. Veiled and turret-crowned head of Kybele, right profile. Reverse, Zeus of Ithome, standing, holding a thunderbolt in his raised right hand, and on his extended left arm an eagle; before him, a tripod; behind him, a wreath.

³ Heads of Apollo and Artemis, *accolées*. Apollo wears a wreath of laurel, and Artemis a diadem. Reverse: ΡΗΓΙΝΩΝ. The tripod of Apollo. (Bronze.)

Magna Græcia, or the fertility of the soil, — which in the valleys and plains of the two Calabrias surpassed that of Sicily, — nor even the wisdom of their legislators, Charondas, Zaleukos, Parmenides, and Pythagoras, which wrought this marvel, but the sagacious policy which freely admitted to rights of citizenship all strangers,¹ and transformed for several centuries the Pelasgic

DRACHMA.²

populations of Southern Italy into a great Greek people. Doubtless distinctions established themselves, and there were probably in the capitals plebeians and nobles, in the country serfs of the soil, and in the conquered cities subjects; these differences, however, for long years did not prevent union and strength. By this means it was — by this assimilation of victors and vanquished — that Rome also grew. But Rome preserved discipline; while the cities of Magna Græcia, threatened by Carthage and Syracuse, by the Sicilian tyrants and the Epeiroi kings, incessantly disturbed by the Italian Gauls and the Samnites, and especially by the Lucanians, did not escape from domestic dissensions, — the endemic ill to which Greek cities were subject, and

COIN OF EMPOREION.³

¹ Polybius, ii. 39; Diodorus, xii. 9. Sybaris held dominion over four neighboring peoples and twenty-five towns, says Strabo (vi. 1, 13). There must be great exaggeration in his statement of three hundred thousand fighting-men, but the number of the inhabitants must have been very much greater than in the cities of Greece Proper. At certain festivals Sybaris gathered no less than five thousand horsemen, — four times as many as Athens ever had (Athenæus, xii. 17 and 18; Diodorus, fragm. of book viii.; Scymnos, 340). The same was true of Krotona. The Pelasgians of Lucania and Bruttium showed as much readiness as did those of Greece in allowing themselves to be absorbed by the Hellenes, in adopting their language and manners, and for the same reasons; namely, a community of origin, or at least close kinship. This Hellenic influence was so strong that, notwithstanding later Roman colonies, Calabria, like Sicily, long remained a Greek land. As late as the beginning of the fourteenth century of our era the Greek language was still spoken there. In respect to the prosperity of these cities, it was due, more than has been usually supposed, to the same causes which were favorable to Greek colonies in general. Masters of all the shores of the great Mediterranean basin, the Greeks held in their hands the commerce of three continents. Their cities were united by constant relations, and every point in this immense circle profited by the advantages of all the others. The prosperity of Tarentum, Sybaris, and Syracuse corresponded with that of Leontini, Smyrna, Miletos, and Cyrene.

² Head of Artemis or of Chloris, right profile, with ear-jewels and a wreath of olive-leaves. Reverse: lion standing; legend, ΜΑΣΣΑ (for *Μασσαλιωτών*). (Drachma of Massalia.)

³ Head of Demeter, right profile, surrounded by dolphins. Reverse, Pegasus galloping.

still further were enfeebled by rivalries with one another, which prepared for Rome an easy victory.

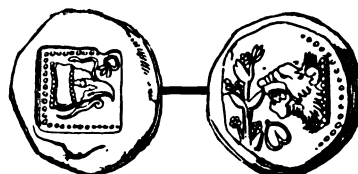
The settlements established by the Greeks in Italy and in Sicily opened to this people, at once rapacious and bold, the western basin of the Mediterranean. About 629 B. C. a Samian



COIN OF KYRENE.¹

vessel, driven by storms beyond the Pillars of Hercules, landed at Tartessos, at the mouth of the Betis,— a country rich in silver mines, and one of the great markets of Phœnicia. “Returning home,” says Herodotos (iv. 152), “these men gained

from their cargo profits so immense that, having set apart a tenth of their gains, amounting to six talents, they made a brazen *krater*, ornamented with heads of griffins, and dedicated it in the temple of Here, having placed under it three colossal kneeling figures of brass seven cubits in height (ten feet).” But the Samians did not know how to profit by this discovery. The Phokaians,



COIN OF KYRENE.²

less timid as sailors, in their turn reached Tartessos, and found a welcome from the king of that city, who was probably hostile to the Phœnicians. This king, Arganthonios, who lived a hundred and twenty years, says Herodotos, “solicited them to abandon Ionia and settle in any part of his territory they should choose; finding, however, that he could not persuade them to accept his offer, and hearing from them of the increasing power of the Median king, he gave them money for the purpose of building a wall around their city; and he gave it unsparingly, for the wall is many stadia in circumference, and is entirely built of large and well-compacted stones.”

The head is formed by a Kabeiros seated, his hands touching his feet; underneath a strigil. Legend, two Keltiberian letters. (Drachma.)

¹ The tree of the Hesperides, loaded with fruit; on the right, Herakles, standing, covered with the lion's skin; his left hand resting on his club; at the left a nymph, standing, with hands extended. Reverse, a branch of silphium. (Archaic tetradrachm.)

² Eagle's head, holding a serpent in the beak; above, an ornament shaped like a finial; the whole in an incused square. Reverse, branch of silphium; before it a lion's head. (Archaic tetradrachm.)

In one of these expeditions towards the west the Phokaians were driven towards Corsica, and thence to the Gallic coast, where they founded Massalia (Marseilles), about 600 B. C. The Greeks tell a graceful story of the origin of this city. A Phokaian merchant, Euxenos by name, visited the territory of the Segobriges, on the east bank of the Rhone. The chief of this people, Nann, welcomed the stranger, and bade him to a feast given on occasion of his daughter's marriage. At the close of the repast the young girl appeared, bearing a cup of wine, which she was, according to custom, to offer to that one of her suitors whom she preferred. For some reason, or perhaps by chance, the girl stopped before the Greek stranger and offered to him the cup. The Segobrigian chief accepted Euxenos as his son-in-law, and gave him as dowry the shore on which he had landed. Occurrences of this kind were probably not rare. Marseilles sprang up around this natural harbor; from that remote day its prosperity has constantly increased, and it is now the richest of the surviving colonies of ancient Greece. This city in its turn threw out settlements along the coasts of Gaul and Spain, of which the most important was Emporeion, — a double city, with the Greek town on the coast, and an Iberian settlement on the inland side; the two being separated from each other by a wall. In Spain also a colony from Zakynthos founded Sagounton (Saguntum) at an unknown date.

The Greeks also had important settlements in Africa, so that none of the Mediterranean shores escaped their colonizing genius. We have seen that the Dorians had occupied the volcanic Island of Thera (Santorin). Grinos, king of the island, says Herodotos, went to Delphi, carrying a hecatomb to offer to Apollo, and being accompanied by several citizens, among others Battos, son of Polymnestos. As the king was consulting the oracle on other affairs, the Pythia suddenly interposed, admonishing him to build a city in Libya. But he answered that he was too old and heavy to undertake the task, and directed attention to Battos as a more suitable person. This was all that passed at the time, and the Therans departed; they paid no attention to the oracle, neither knowing in what part of the world Libya was, nor daring to send

NOTE. — The illustration on the opposite page is from a photograph taken during the eruption of December, 1866.

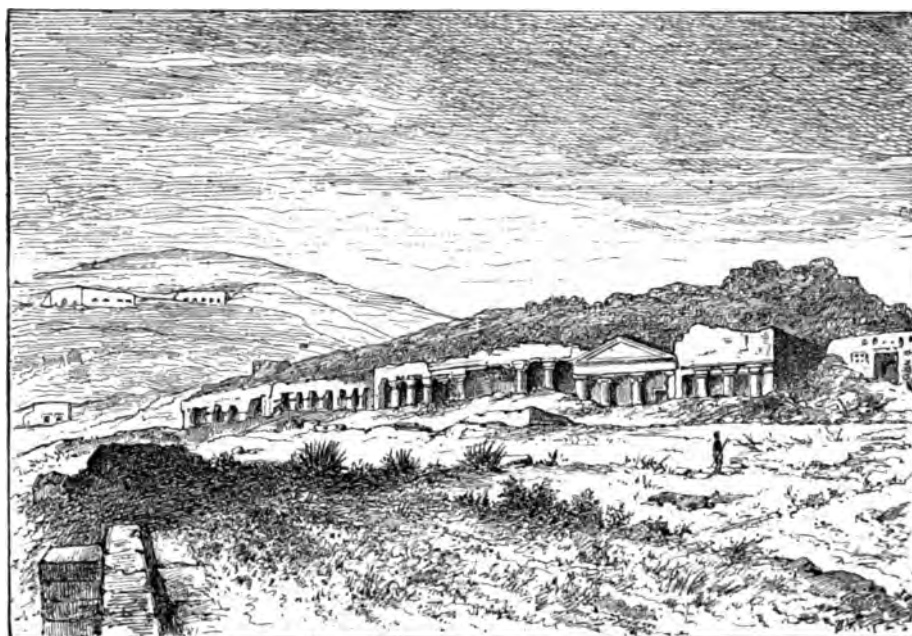


VIEW OF THE ISLAND OF THERA (SANTORIN).





out a colony on an uncertainty. But for seven years after this no rain fell in the island, and every tree except one was withered up. Then the inhabitants again consulted the oracle, and the Pythia reminded them that they had been disobedient to the will of Apollo. Upon this the people of Thera set themselves in search of some man who could tell them where Libya was; and obtaining information in Krete, they sent out two fifty-oared gal-



TCMBS IN THE NECROPOLIS OF KYRENE.¹

leys under Battos. Thus was founded the city of Kyrene (632 B. C.), in one of the most fertile and delightful regions of Africa. Four other settlements were soon made, — Apollonia, the port of Kyrene, Barke, Taucheira, and Hesperis. These cities subjected to their influence the surrounding nomads over an extent of three degrees of longitude, from the frontiers of Egypt to the Greater Syrtis. This period is much later than the purely legendary age; but still the poets created from this event a myth which was current throughout the Greek world. Their story was that

¹ From Smith and Porcher, *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene* (1864), pl. xvi. This row of tombs is in the necropolis north of Kyrene.

Kyrene was a beautiful young girl of Thessaly, beloved by Apollo, and transported by him upon a golden chariot into Libya. The creative power of the popular imagination is never arrested by the twilight of history, and in the seventh century before Christ we are not yet in full day.

About the year 650 B. C. adventurers from Karia and Ionia took service with Psammetichus, one of the chiefs who divided Egypt after the expulsion of the Ethiopian dynasty. They had

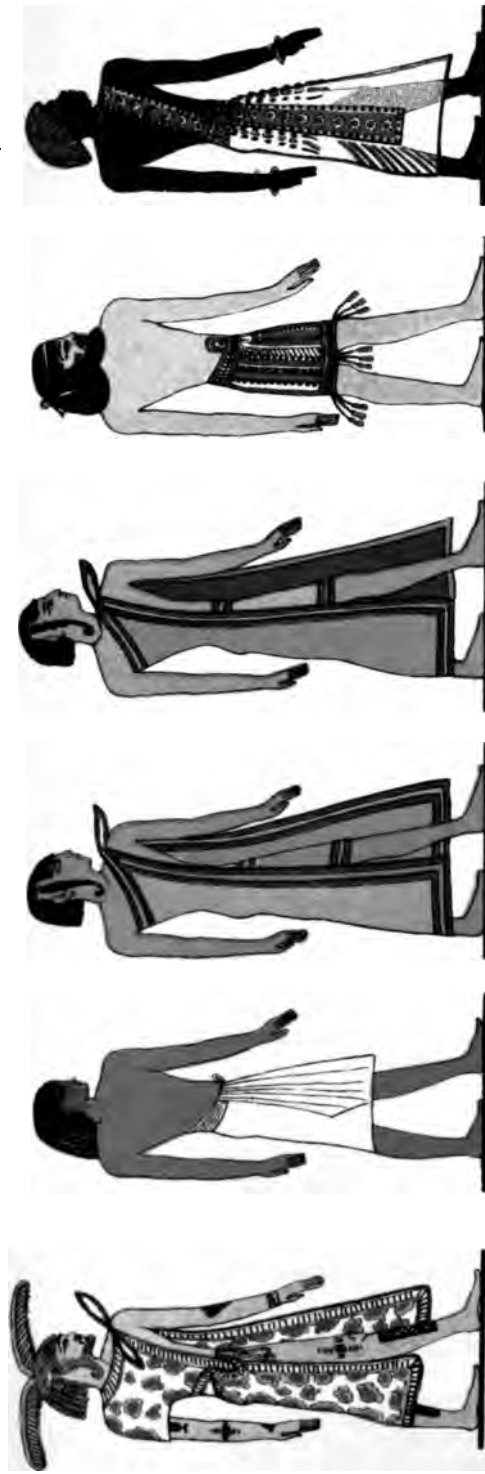
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INSCRIPTION ENGRAVED AT IPSAMBOUL IN HONOR OF PSAMMETICHUS.

assisted him in overthrowing his rivals, and as this king, of Libyan origin, did not feel the hatred of foreigners characterizing the ancient Pharaohs, he recognized the services of the Greeks by freely admitting them to his country. A crowd of Greeks hastened thither, and when a band of warriors emigrated from Egypt to avoid the obnoxious strangers, Psammetichus led a Greek force against them; we read at this day at Abou-Simbel (Ipsamboul),¹ in Nubia, the inscription that was engraved on the thigh of the Colossus of Rameses in memory of this expedition. He gave them lands in the Delta, at the west, on the Canopic branch, where they founded a city which, in memory of their first victory upon the Nile, they called Naukratis; he also estab-

¹ See p. 159, the Colossi of Ipsamboul, from Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, vol. i. fig. 248, p. 421. (Cf. Élisée Reclus, *Nouvelle géographie universelle*, vol. x. pp. 459 et seq.) We give a part of the Greek inscription from Röhl, *Inscript. Gr. antiq.*, No. 482. It is as follows: Βασιλεὺς ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἐλεφαντίναν Ψαμ[μ]ατίχου, ταῦτα ἔγραψαν τοὶ σὺν Ψαμματίχῳ τῷ Θεοκλ[ε]οῦς ἔπλεον. Ἦλθον δὲ Κέρκιος κατύπερθεν [εἰς] ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνίη. Ἄλλ[λ]ογλώσ[σ]ους δ' ἦχε Ἡορασμιτὸν, Αἰγυπτίους δὲ Ἀμασις. Ἐγραφε δ' ἀμὲ Ἀρχων Ἀμοιβίχου καὶ Πέλερος Οὐδάμον. "The king Psammetichus having come to Elephantine, this is written by those who sailed with Psammetichus, son of Theokles. They went beyond Kerkeos (?), as far as they found the river navigable. Potasimto (?) had under his orders foreigners; Amasis, Egyptians. Archon and Pelikos wrote our names." Three names follow, — those of a Teian, of an Ialysian, and of a Kolophonian. (Cf. Wiedemann, *Rheinisches Museum*, 1880, p. 364, and S. Reinach, *Traité d'épigraphie grecque*, p. 8.)

Dunay History of Greece

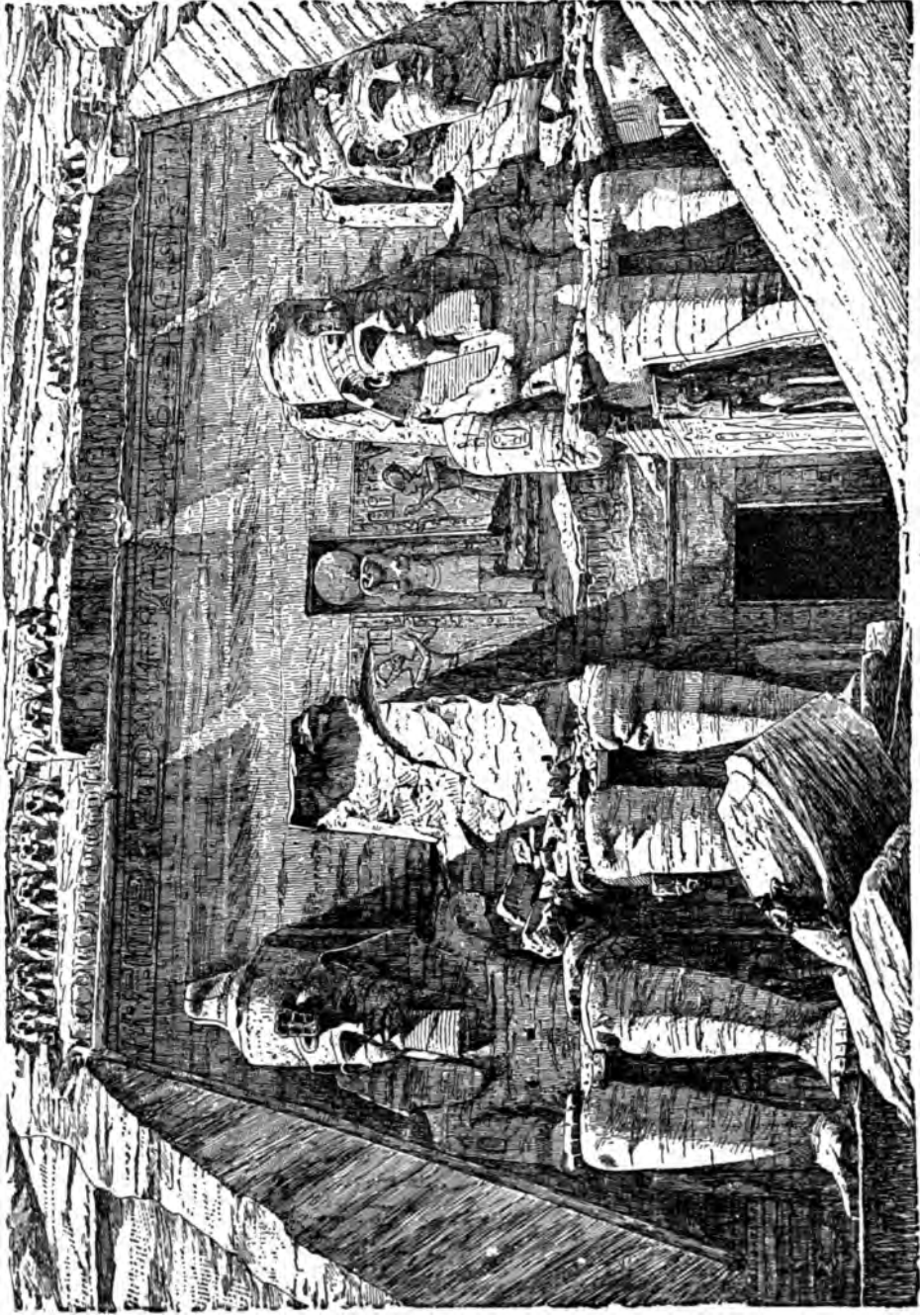


Dunayevskiy chromolith.

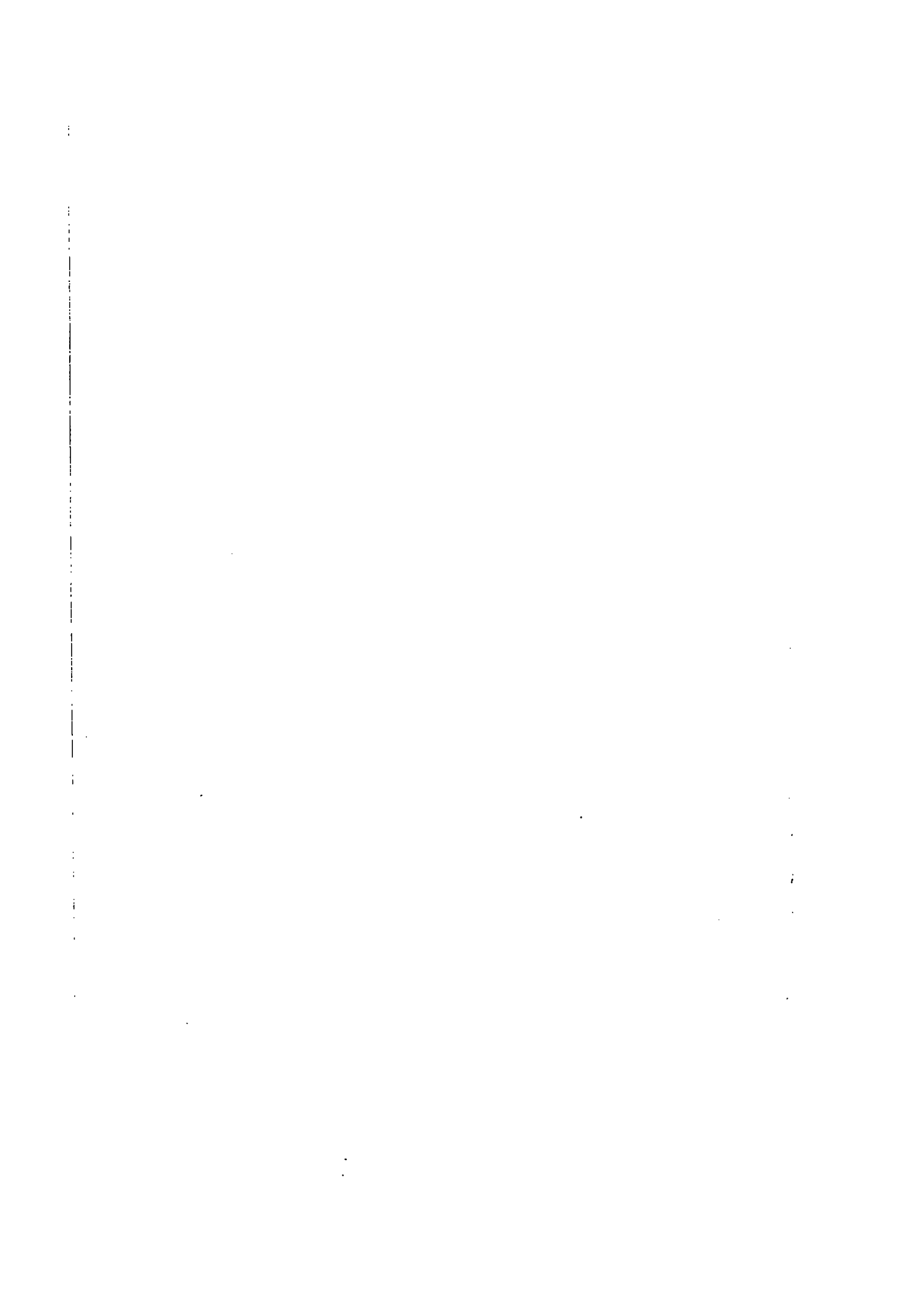
ASIATIC AND AFRICAN TYPES
From Egyptian Paintings (Rosellini)

Imp. Dufrenoy. Paris.





THE COLOSSI OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF IFSAMILBOUL.



lished them on the east, all along the Pelusiac branch, on the side where he apprehended an invasion.¹

Traders followed the soldiers in such numbers that it became necessary to establish a class of interpreters. All the commerce



EGYPTIAN BAZAAR.²

of Egypt, and in consequence that of Arabia and a part of India, thus came into the hands of the Greeks. To increase it still further, Necho projected a canal between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, which was to meet the Nile in the midst of the Greek

¹ The great bulk of the water of the Nile at this time flowed through the Pelusiac and the Canopic branches. Naukratis was to the Greeks exactly what the "factories" of Bergen, Novgorod, etc., were in the Middle Ages to the Teutonic Hanse, and in our times Canton and Hong-kong are to European commerce.

² Painting on the pillars of a tomb contemporary with the fifth dynasty, from the *Gazette archéologique*, vol. vi. (1880), pl. xvi. (G. Maspéro). I. The Upper Register, beginning at the right. A trader is seated on the ground before a great basket placed on a support, and containing three vases. "Here is sweet *sat* for you," he says to the buyer; and the latter, who has in his hand a fine pair of sandals, says, "There are good strong sandals for you." A second buyer comes up, bringing a little coffer. In the next two scenes the purchaser is a woman. One stands before a dealer who is busy opening and preparing a large river-fish, and in the net placed on the ground before him are four more fish. The woman has on her shoulder the square coffer containing that which she proposes to give in exchange. The second woman holds out two white wide-mouthed vases to a man seated on the ground before a vase of perfumes which he seems to be turning round. II. Lower Register. At the right are two purchasers, standing before the stall, which is always a large basket placed on a support. The basket contains vegetables. "Let us see it; let us have the equivalent," the vendor says to the first pur-

settlements. Amasis was anxious on account of this foreign element which was gaining ground in Egypt, and to control it he made regulations concerning it, giving the Greeks the exclusive right to commercial transactions. Any foreign merchant coming



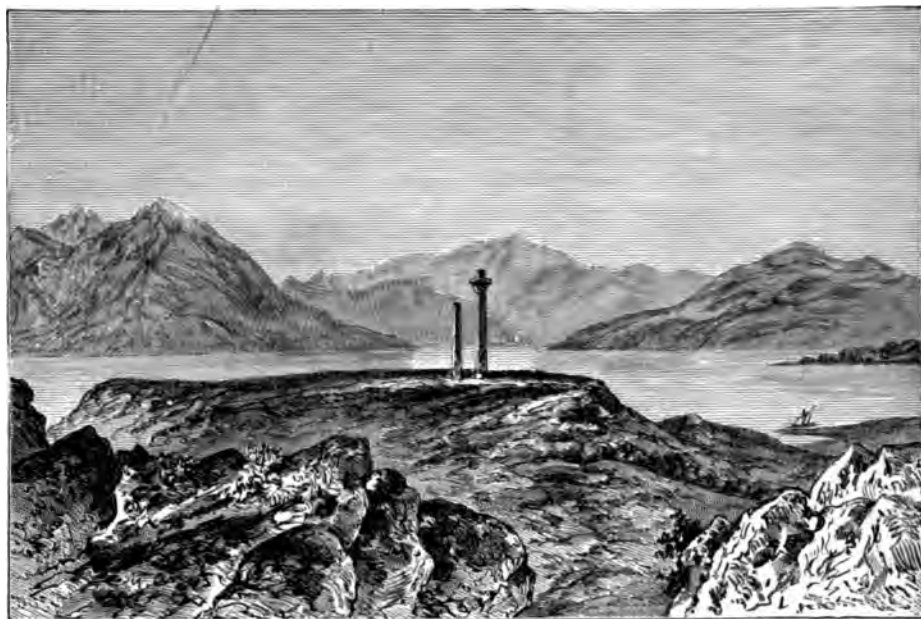
VIEW OF HALIKARNASSOS.¹

in elsewhere than at Naukratis was obliged to swear that he had done so only to escape from storm; and having taken this oath, he was required to go round with his vessel to the Canopic branch,

chaser, who has a money-bag under his left arm, and holds in his hand two strings of glass beads. "Here is a fan for you; fan yourself," says the second buyer to the dealer; he holds in the right hand a fan, and in the left a poker. Two men, standing, are discussing some matter; one holds three fish-hooks in his right hand. The woman behind him, who carries a coffer, chatters, about some objects which we cannot determine, with a man seated on the ground before a basket-stall of peculiar shape. Thus, as Maspéro says, metal appears to be entirely absent from this scene of traffic; but the learned Egyptologist believes that the coffer was a kind of purse in which the buyer placed his securities, and that it contained metal, either wrought into small objects, or in bars already weighed.

¹ From C. T. Newton, *History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ*, frontispiece. The view is taken from the hill on the north, overlooking the city. The whole town of Boudroun is seen, with its two harbors, defended by the castle of St. Peter.

unless the wind was absolutely contrary, in which case he must transport his merchandise unopened by the canals of the Delta to Naukratis, the only place where he was allowed to exhibit and sell them. The Greeks of this city formed a community called the Hellenion, having chiefs chosen by itself and a temple and sacred enclosure built at the common expense by four Ionian



VIEW OF AIGINA.¹

cities, — Chios, Teos, Phokaia, and Klazomene; four Dorian, — Rhodes, Knidos, Halikarnassos, and Phaselis; and one Aiolian, — Mytilene. The advantages were such to all the members of this community that many cities, in order to share in them, claimed to have aided in building the temple of the Hellenion. Samos, Aigina, and Miletos, too rich and powerful to unite with the others, each formed its own “factory,” having also its temple and its judges.

Naukratis was at that time what Alexandria became later, —

¹ From Cockrell, *The Temples of Jupiter Panhellenius at Ægina and of Apollo Epicurius*, (1860), p. 40. The view is taken from the ruins of the temple of Aphrodite northwest of the city and harbor. At the left is the peninsula of Methana; at the right, the Island of Pityonesos; and in the background are the mountains of Epidauros.

one of the richest and most effeminate of cities, the point of contact of the Hellenic world with Oriental civilization.¹ Hence came without doubt the legends which Herodotos repeats, showing Egypt as the mother-country of the religion, arts, science, and even of some of the ancient chiefs of Greece.

Athens took no part in this first establishment of the Greeks in Egypt; but when later she sent her fleets and armies to the Delta of the Nile, it was not merely to support the revolt of satraps or of the aboriginal inhabitants against the Great King, it was also to secure to herself the commerce of the South and of India, as in the Hellespont she had grasped that of the North and of Scythia. The Greeks were more far-sighted than we have been accustomed to believe.

Thus we have completed the journey which the Greek colonists made along the coasts of the Euxine and of the Mediterranean.



HEAD OF MEDUSA.²

Let the reader figure to himself these cities, these temples crowning every promontory; the soil drained and cultivated; the ameliorated manners; the barbaric peoples brought to civilization. What efforts, what courage and skill, these daring settlements must have cost! How many a Vasco da Gama or a Cortez, unknown to fame, came from these little cities! And what gratitude do we not owe to this enterprising race, which furrowed with its vessels' prows so many seas,—began in truth for mankind the conquest of the earth by intellect and liberty, and kindled all around the Mediterranean so many beacon-fires, whose light has illuminated the world!

¹ The English have quite recently (1884–1885) made interesting excavations at Naukratis, and the results of the first field work have been published in the third paper of *The Egypt Exploration Fund, Naukratis*, part i., 1884–1885, by W. M. Flinders Petrie. A great part of the ancient city has been cleared, — the sacred enclosure of the temple of the Dioskouroi, of the temple of Apollo, of the temple of Here, the potters' quarter, a manufactory of scarabæi; and in these ruins have been found a great number of interesting fragments, especially of vases dedicated to Apollo and the Dioskouroi (pl. xxxii.–xxxvi.), and weights (xxi.–xxiv.). Unfortunately the plans joined to the text are very imperfect, and the author notifies us that they are as yet incomplete; the results of the second field work have modified them in more than one point. On the completion of the English work we may therefore expect a more exact plan of the ruins of Naukratis.

² Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*. (Agate of two layers, 2½ centim. by 3.) *Catalogue*, No. 110.

CHAPTER XIII.

GREATNESS AND CIVILIZATION OF THE GREEK COLONIES.

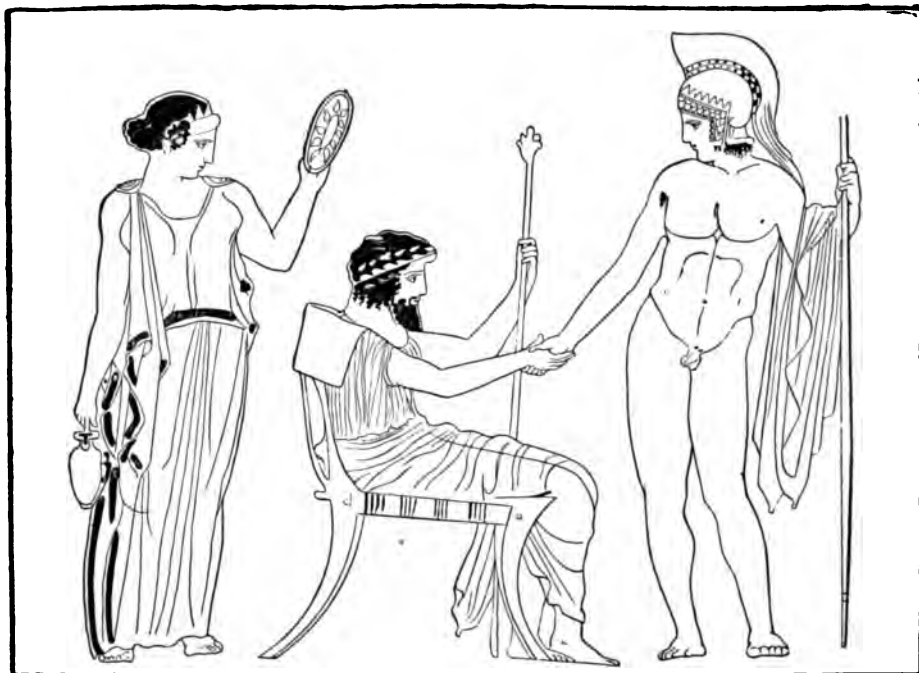
I.—RELATIONS OF THE COLONY WITH ITS METROPOLIS; COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY OF THE ASIATIC GREEKS.

AS regards the relationship of the colony with its metropolis, Greece and Rome represent two different policies. The former obeyed the spirit of liberty, and gained fame; the latter the spirit of command, and gained power. And although the Greek colony early separated from the mother-city and governed itself freely, it was not relieved from all obligation towards her. There still subsisted, as between a young wife and her mother, the family tie and sentiments of affection, deference, and veneration.¹

These relations vary according to the time and circumstances of the founding of the new State. The earliest colonies are usually those driven out by an invading race who make conquest of the home country, or by a hostile faction obtaining control; in such cases they break completely with their metropolis, which loses them from sight and forgets them. At a later period it is usually in obedience to an oracle that the colony goes forth. It leaves home peacefully, and remains attached to the mother-city by ties of religion and filial piety; it carries her gods, her form of worship, her government, frequently her name, and sometimes her priests and a symbol of eternal union, like that sacred fire which the Ionians took from the Prytaneion of Athens, which if it became extinguished could only be re-lighted on the altar of the mother-country. In urgent danger the colony sends home for a leader, a soothsayer, priests, or succor of troops and ships. When the colony aspired to found a new city, ordinarily the mother-

¹ Plato, *Laws*, book vi., *initio*.

country furnished a leader to the emigrants (*οικιστής*). To festivals at home the colony sent deputations and offerings; at their own festivals they reserved a place of honor for citizens of the metropolis, and to these honored guests was offered the sacrificial food. At a still later period, after the Median wars, the State claimed rigorous rights over the colonies which it sent out. The



SCENE OF DEPARTURE.¹

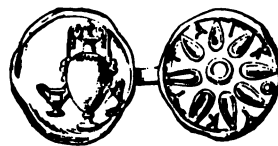
early relations of reciprocal good-will were no longer esteemed sufficient; the new cities were held to be only military or commercial outposts, destined to extend the commerce of the State and make its power secure. This is the mode of colonization adopted by Athens in the age of Perikles, by Carthage, and, more strictly still, by Rome, the great city, which was to be the heiress of all the ancient world.

¹ Painting on a vase in the Biscari Museum in Catania; from O. Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*, pl. xxxix. 2. A youth at the right takes leave of an old man, who sits in a high-backed seat. At the left, a young girl is about to pour wine for the departing hero.

The relations of the colonies among themselves, where one had sprung from another, were like those of the colony with the metropolis; thus Epidauros had the same duties towards Korkyra that Korkyra had to Corinth. Between colonies

COIN OF KROTONA.¹

of remoter kinship, the character of the relations depended on the less or greater affinity of race. When the affinity was very close, it gave rise to confederations resembling in general the Amphiktyonies. But these confederations did not occur except among the Asiatic colonies,—which seems to prove that at the time those colonies were founded, the Amphiktyonic institution was in all its vigor, and that later it lost its influence, since the later colonies did not carry away the impression of it. The eleven Aiolian cities had probably a common temple,—that of Apollo in Grynceia. The twelve Ionian cities sent deputies periodically, not only for games and festivals, but to discuss national interests at the Panionion, held at the temple of Poseidon on Mount Mykale, opposite the Samian Sea. How-

DRACHMA OF KORKYRA.²

ever, even among the Ionians the tie was more religious than political; and it was only on rare occasions, when all Ionia was menaced, that these cities opposed to a common peril a common defence. The Dorians had a similar confederation, also more religious than political, which had as its central point the temple of Apollo Triopios; but they admitted to membership only six cities,—Lindos, Ialysos, and Kameiros in Rhodes, Halikarnassos and Knidos on the coast, and Kos in the island of the same name. It was a Dorian hexapolis, which became a pentapolis on the exclusion of Halikarnassos for violating the laws of the association. From 408 B. C. Lindos, Kameiros, and Ialysos united as a single State, of which Rhodes was the capital.

The Asiatic colonies preceded their metropolis in the paths of civilization. For this fact many explanations might be found;

¹ Archaic legend: ΟΙΚΥΜΤΑΜ (*Oikourds*), surname of Herakles, founder of Krotona. The young Herakles, sitting on a lion's skin, his bow and helmet placed on the ground, rests his left hand on his club; in his right is a branch; before him, a lighted altar.

² A large amphora; at the right, an oinochoë; at the left, a kantharos. Reverse, star with eight rays; between the rays, the word ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙ[ων].

the most obvious is that the colonists did not fall among Barbarians whom it was necessary to conquer and then exterminate or hold in control by severe legislation, but arrived among people of the same blood and race, who covered all the coast and had already developed social life. Organized as a military force, as a



THE CHIMAIRA, ON A VASE OF KAMEIROS.¹

colony must be which goes to seek its fortune at a distance, the new-comers either persuaded or compelled the earlier inhabitants to share with them. Very rarely there was recourse to violence, and soon occurred that speedy and peaceful blending of races so favorable to the progress of civilization. Afterwards, while Greece was agitated with domestic convulsions resulting from the

¹ Vase or dish from Kameiros, in the Museum of the Louvre; from A. de Longpérier, *Musée Napoléon III. Choix de monuments antiques pour servir à l'histoire de l'art en Orient et en Occident*, pl. iii. The Chimaira consists of a lion's body, on the back of which is fixed a deer's head, the tail being a serpent. From the mouths of the three issue flames. This corresponds exactly to the description given by Homer (*Iliad*, vi. 181). In the lower register is a great fish, perhaps a sword-fish, swimming to the right. (See above, Vol. I. p. 203, the Chimaira on a coin of Corinth.)

Dorian migration, or remained motionless under jealous oligarchies, heirs of the royalty of the heroic age, her colonies found upon new shores the independence which genius demands, and favorable conditions for its development, — namely, peace amid fruitful activities of every kind, and the honors that a free and intelligent community lavishes on the arts that give it pleasure.

Another cause of intellectual emancipation, upon which we shall soon have more to say, was the vicinity and contact of civilizations which were, it is true, about to perish, but were at that time the most advanced in the world, — in Lydia, at Tyre, in Egypt, even in Babylon and Nineveh, where French explorations have brought to light an art whose grandeur had never been suspected. To this we must add

TETRADRACHM OF KOS.²DIDRACHM OF KAMEIROS.¹

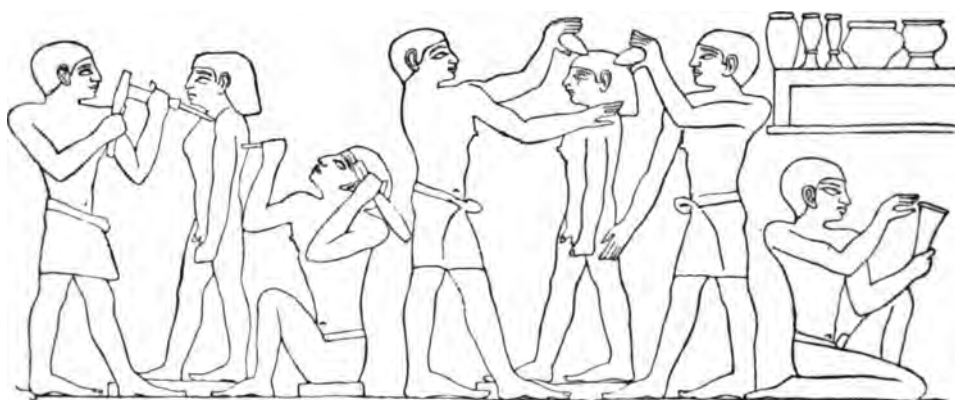
the influence of an admirable conformation of the land and of an enchanting climate which seems made to render the human mind mature and fruitful, when evil institutions do not bring torpor and death to the soul in lands where Nature has so abundantly sown life.

Watercourses descending from the mountainous central mass of Asia Minor fertilize its western coast, which opens in countless harbors upon a sea abounding in islands. Established at the foot of each promontory, at the outlet of every valley, on the shore of every bay, the Greek colonies were, by their very position, invited to serve as carriers by sea from one country to another of the products of each. They did not neglect the agriculture which supports, but they especially devoted themselves to the commerce which enriches, to the navigation which opens the mind to new ideas as it shows new aspects to the eyes. Rivals of the Phœnicians, they drove the latter from the Ægean Sea and from the

¹ Large fig-leaf. Reverse: rectangle divided into two sections.

² Apollo holding the tympanon above his head, and dancing before the tripod, after his victory over the Python; as legend, ΚΟΣ. Reverse, a crab in an incused square cut by diagonals and milled on the edge.

Euxine, and their numerous vessels went from point to point, carrying the wool of Phrygia, skilfully woven and dyed in Miletos and throughout Ionia; the oil harvested on the Asiatic coast, the innumerable objects so ingeniously made by Asiatic artists, the papyrus of Egypt, the fruits and wines of Greece, with which to-day Southern Russia is supplied; the building woods of Thrace, its corn and skins; the resins, wax, and linen of the Tauric Chersonesos and adjacent regions; the salted fish of the Euxine, the gold-dust of Kolchis, the metals of Armenia and the Oural; the incense

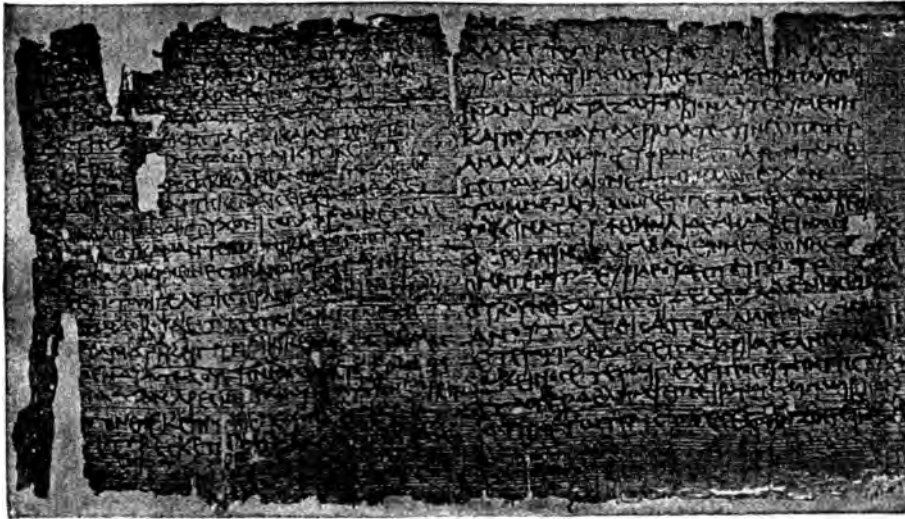


ATELIER OF EGYPTIAN SCULPTORS.¹

and perfumes of Arabia, and the ivory of Africa, warehoused at Tyre and Sidon; the precious stones, pearls, and silk of India and of China, brought by caravans to Dioskourias on the Euxine, or by sea to the Assyrian cities of the Persian Gulf; the amber which the trading-vessels of Korkyra brought from the remote shores of the Adriatic; the silphium (*laser*) of Kyrene; the pottery of Athens; and the thousand products of Lydian, Phœnician, and Babylonian industry. Nor should we forget the commodity in those days most in demand, — man, the slave, — which was obtained everywhere.

¹ Bas-relief from an Egyptian tomb, representing the making of funereal statues; from Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, i. 755. "At the left two workmen are occupied in roughing out a statue; each holds a long, slender tool, which can be nothing else than a chisel; he strikes upon it with a hammer. Two other workmen are polishing the head of a statue where the chisel has already finished its work; it is impossible to say whether the ovoid tools which they hold by the handle are of stone or of wood."

Two cities outran all the others in this commercial activity, — Phokaia and Miletos. While the first extended itself westward, explored the shores of Italy, Corsica, Gaul, and Spain, and passed through the Pillars of Hercules, the second, enriched by its fine woollen stuffs and brilliant rugs, took for its domain an eastern sea, and called its name, although the navigation was perilous, the

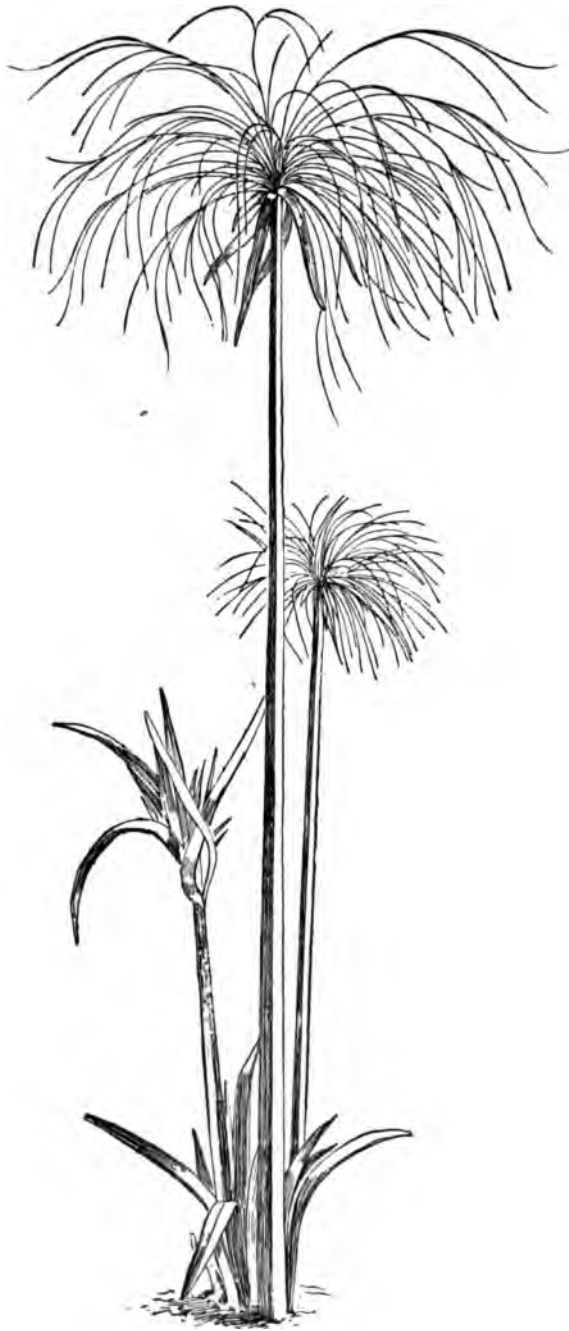
FRAGMENT OF PAPYRUS.¹

Hospitable Sea (Pontus Euxinus), as the Portuguese gave to the Stormy Cape the name Cape of Good Hope. Over the northern shores of this sea rested heavy fogs, and its winters were severe; but there also were inexhaustible slave-markets, the richest lands in Europe for cereals, and vast pasture-lands for herds of cattle, while on the east and south were woods suitable for ship-building,

¹ From the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques*, 1879 (H. Weil). The papyrus of which we give a fragment was obtained from the Serapeion at Memphis, and dates, it is probable, from the second century B. C. It contains, among other fragments, forty-four unpublished lines from Euripides. We give in Greek characters the following lines, which are at the beginning of the second column:—

ἄλλ' ἔστ' ἐμοὶ μὲν χρηστός, ἠπόρηκε δέ.
 σὺ δ' ἀνδρὶ μ'. ὡς φῆς, ἐκδίδως νῦν πλουσίῳ,
 ἵνα μὴ καταζῶ τὸν βίον λυπουμένη.
 Καὶ ποῦ τοσαῦτα χρήματ' ἐστίν, ὦ πάτερ,
 ἂ μᾶλλον ἀνδρὸς εὐφρανεῖ παρόντα με;

It is the entreaty of a woman, imploring her father not to separate her from a husband whom she loves, to marry her to a richer man.

PAPYRUS-PLANT.¹

and everywhere the waters teemed with fish. Annually in the spring the tunny-fish comes down from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean. This fishery, one of the earliest and most important industries of the ancients, supplied the principal food for all the dwellers on the sea-coast, and was perhaps the lure that led the Phœnicians on from point to point, and after them the Greeks, in this gloomy

¹ G. Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, i. 579. See also a paper by Dureau de la Malle, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions*, xix. 140-183 (*Mémoire sur le papyrus et la fabrication du papier chez les anciens*, with two plates). Dureau de la Malle translates and comments upon the two chapters of Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xiii. 22 and 23. The method of the ancients in obtaining the precious product called by the Greeks βίβλος was as follows. They first divided the triangular stem of the papyrus into thin coats or pelli-
cles, and then, plaiting them, laid them on a table moistened with water. When the mucilage in the papyrus was ex-

tracted by the action of the water, it served to gum the whole sheet together. After this the layers were passed under a heavy roller, then dried in the sun, and so the papyrus was ready for use. (The illustration was drawn from a specimen in the Garden of the Luxembourg.)

and stormy sea, which has no islands, few harbors, and "is so large that all Hellas, from Olympos to Cape Tainaron, would easily float in it." To the southern shores, by way of Armenia, came the commodities of India and Assyria; and the waters of the Phasos, furrowing the mountain sides, brought down flakes of gold, which

MUREX SHELL.¹TETRADRACHM.²

were caught in fleeces stretched at the bottom of its bed. Still richer were the nuggets from the Ural Mountains, brought down by the Scythians on the northern side.

This commerce at first had been in the hands of the Phoenicians; Miletos deprived them of it, and lined these coasts with more than eighty trading-posts: on the south, Sinope (an old Assyrian city), Trebizond and Amisos, on the Euxine; Kyzikos,³ and Prokonnesos, one of the marble islands which gave its modern name to the Sea of Marmora; Abydos and Lampsakos upon the Hellespont, affording shelter to ships endangered by the violent current of the Dardanelles; farther north, Istros and Tyras,

COIN OF PHOKAIA.⁴

¹ Murex (the shell which furnishes the purple dye). From Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, iii. 880. See, above, the murex painted on vases of Ialysos, Knossos, and Spata, Vol. I. pp 151, 155.

² Head of Jupiter Ammon, front face. Legend: ΑΚΕΣΙΟΣ, name of a magistrate. Reverse: ΒΑΡΚΑΙΟΝ, in retrograde letters. Three branches of silphium from a common stem; in the intervals an owl, a chameleon, and a jerboa, — creatures belonging to the fauna of Kyrenaika. (Tetradrachm of Barke.) See also p. 153.

³ I note in passing that Kyzikos, like modern States, had a special register for mortgages.

⁴ On the obverse, a seal (*phoca*). On the reverse, an incused square.

in the delta of the Danube (*Istros*) and at the mouth of the Dniester (*Tyras*); Odessos and Olbia, near the mouths of the Hypanis (Bug)

SILPHIUM.¹

and of the Borysthenes (Dnieper), which the ancients compared to the Nile on account of the purity of its waters and the richness

COIN OF KYZIKOS.²DRACHMA OF TREBIZOND.³

of its banks; and on the inhospitable coasts of the Tauris (Crimea), Theodosia (Caffa), and Pantikapaia (Kertsch), which with Phanagoria,

¹ From Smith and Porcher, *Recent Discoveries at Cyrene*, p. 87, pl. 60. The *Thapsia Garganica* has been identified by many travellers and botanists with the silphium of the ancients; it grows abundantly in the environs of Kyrene, and bears striking resemblance to the plant represented on coins of Kyrenaika. The silphium was at once an article of food and a valued remedy. The root, prepared with vinegar, was edible, and the stem a delicate vegetable. It was used also to season other food. In medicine the juice was given as an antidote against poison, bites of serpents, scorpions, and mad dogs. These statements are made by Theophrastus, Dioskorides, and the elder Pliny.

² Head of Demeter crowned with wheat-ears, the hair covered with a kekryphalos. Reverse, lion's head, with lolling tongue; underneath, the tunny-fish, special emblem of Kyzikos; behind, a bunch of grapes. Legend: KYTI (for Κυζικηνών). (Tetradrachm.)

³ Laurelled head of Apollo, left profile. Barbaric style. Reverse: four-legged table (τράπεζα), covered with pieces of money.

situated opposite the peninsula of Taman, close the strait of the Cimmerian Bosphoros. Lastly, far off upon the Sea of Azov, in the



ATHENIAN POTTERY.¹

delta of the Tanaïs, a city of the same name; and, on the eastern shore of the Euxine, Phasis and Dioskourias, which, placed at the extreme limit of the Hellenic world, were like two wedges driven by civilization into Oriental barbarism to cleave it asunder.

The commercial prosperity of the Asiatic Greeks reached its apogee in the seventh and sixth centuries before Christ.



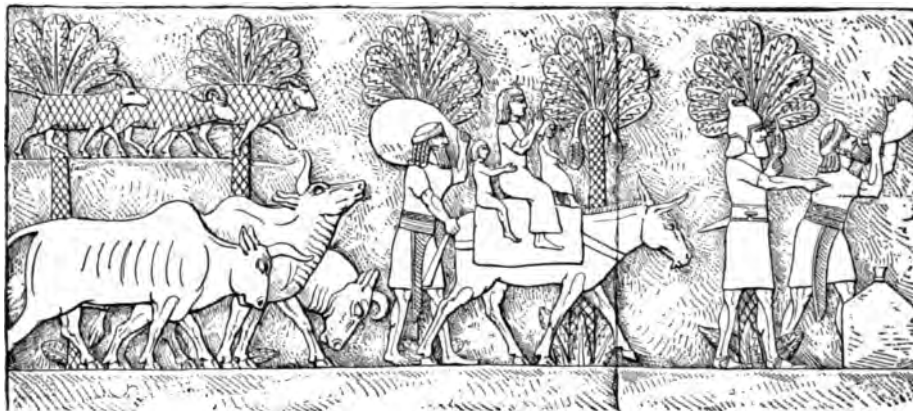
DRACHMA.²

In 704 the Samians had only one trireme, and before 631 not a Greek vessel had seen the Libyan coast. Two generations after this the

¹ Little Athenian lecyth and lamps, in the Museum of the Louvre. The pottery of Athens (*κέραμος*) is still renowned. The potters occupied a quarter of the city to which they gave their name, the Kerameikos. The form of the lamps (*λύχναι*) is the most simple and common. The wick comes out of a little beak, and the oil is poured into the top of the lamp through a round hole; a smaller hole admitted air as the liquid was drawn off in burning.

² Drachma of Prokonnesos. Laurelled head of a woman, right profile, hair covered by a *kekryphalos*; behind, *ΑΝΑΣΙΓΕΝΗΣ*, name of a monetary magistrate. Reverse: *ΠΡΟΚΟΝ* (for *Προκονησίω*). Stag couchant; before it, an amphora; underneath, a little prow.

Ionians are supreme upon the Ægæan Sea; Korkyra and Corinth upon the Ionian; Southern Italy has become Magna Græcia; Sicily is Hellenized; Massalia supplants the Phœnicians; and, in Africa,



ASSYRIANS CARRYING OFF PRISONERS.¹

Kyrene and Barke are flourishing cities, and Naukratis is the market of all Greece and of the valley of the Nile. Just as these cities had attained their maximum of population and wealth,



DRACHMA.²



SILVER COIN.³



two important events took place, — the opening of Egypt to Greek commerce, about 630, and the overthrow of the Phœnicians, at this period subjugated by the Assyrians. Thus, owing

¹ Bas-relief of Kouïoundjik, from Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, ii. 111.

² Coin of Abydos. Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: eagle standing; legend: ΜΟΑΠΑΣ, magistrate's name, and ΑΒΥ (Ἀβυθηνῶν). Silver.

³ Drachma of Amisos. Woman's head, left profile, with a high stephane, wearing ear-jewels and a necklace. Reverse: owl, front, displayed wings; legend, ΜΥΑΑ, initials of a magistrate's name, and ΠΕΙΡ[αίων] ethnic of the city of Amisos, which, according to Strabo (xii. 3, 14), was called Peiraieus by its Athenian colonists. (See Friedländer, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, ii. 30).

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented an ear-jewel discovered at Kertsch. (From the *Comptes rendus de la Commission archéol. de Saint-Petersbourg*, 1865, pl. ii. 2.) This jewel was discovered in the tomb of a priestess of Demeter, with many other objects of the



JEWEL FROM THE BOSPOROS.



to a fortunate coincidence, at the same moment when a rich country opened its doors voluntarily to foreign enterprise, the immense difficulties into which the perpetual rivals of the Greeks had fallen left to them a free field. At the same time also the Italiot Greeks were at the height of their prosperity; and so it was that, from one shore of the Mediterranean to the other, active relations were formed, and the prosperity of Sybaris corresponded to that of Miletos, the fortune of Krotona to that of Phokaia.

The subjugation of Ionia by the Persians,¹ the incessant attacks of the Sabellians upon the Italiot Greeks, and lastly the dangers of the mother-country, menaced herself in her liberties, arrested this brilliant advance. But the fruits of so much prosperity had already been gathered.

II. — INFLUENCE OF ASIATIC CIVILIZATION UPON THE GREEK GENIUS.

THE civilization of commercial peoples is more rapid than that of agricultural or pastoral nations, especially where their vessels and their traders touch civilized countries. Visiting many lands as they do, they gather from every quarter all that seems to them useful in making life comfortable. While they are acquiring the wealth needful for the encouragement of the arts, their minds are broadened and stimulated by the great variety of objects presented to their notice, and their curiosity leads them to examine novelties with pleasure, rather than to turn away from them. Now, the young civilization of Greece had much to learn from the Egyptians and the Assyrians, — those eldest born of the Western world, — and it received much from them, not only through its traders, but also through its exiles and its travellers. More than one Greek before Herodotos was inquisitive about the affairs of Asia; more than one soldier before Xenophon went to offer his

highest value, among them the bracelet represented on p. 128. On the disk to which the chains are attached is chiselled the figure of a Nereid bearing one of the pieces of the armor of Achilles.

¹ For the subjugation of the Asiatic Greeks by the Lydians, and later by the Persians, see later, Chapter XIV.

services to those kings who had gold enough to recompense all. Alkaios of Mytilene, who himself visited Egypt, celebrates his



ALKAIOS AND SAPPHO.³

brother, "returned from the ends of the world, with a sword whose ivory handle is ornamented with gold." Each one of these cities was, therefore, a point of contact of the Greek world with the old civilizations of the East; each one also obtained from the countries lying beyond it, at first their commodities, then some of their customs, beliefs,¹ and artistic methods.

Herodotos, Diodoros, and Pausanias maintain that all Greek art and religion² came from Egypt. Recent discoveries

of Assyrian art, and what we know of the science, manufactures, and religion of Babylon, Phœnicia, and the Lydians, lead us to refer much more to Asiatic influence in the formation of Greek civilization.

¹ The wheat and barley cultivated in Greece are the same found in the tombs of the Egyptian kings. These two cereals are natives of the East. The other two, rye and oats, are of Northern origin, and were not cultivated in Greece (Moreau de Jonnès, *Statistique des peuples d'antiquité*, i. 441). There even were intermarriages between the races. A Greek, tyrant of Ephesos, was brother-in-law of Cræsus, and Cræsus himself was the son of an Ionian woman; Amasis married a Greek of Kyrene (Herodotos, ii. 181). So many Greeks lived in Egypt that it was necessary to create a class of interpreters (*Ibid.*, 154). But these relations between the two countries date only from the epoch of the Saitic kings, — that is to say, the second half of the seventh century, and especially from the sixth. Homer knows almost nothing about Egypt. Cf. a very interesting article by Paparrigopoulos, *Grèce et Égypte aux temps préhomériques*, in the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.* vol. v. (1880), pp. 241-250.

² We know now the names of the Egyptian divinities. They have nothing in common with those of the Hellenic gods, which are all derived from the Indo-European tongues (Guignaut, *Religions de l'antiquité*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 1056, and A. Maury, iii. 363).

³ Plaque of terra-cotta of unknown manufacture, in the British Museum, from a photograph. Alkaios stands before Sappho, and grasps her lyre with the right hand. He leans towards her, and the two are conversing. The scene recalls Aristotle's anecdote, related in his *Rhetoric*, i. 9, 20. "Alkaios, who loved Sappho, said to her, 'Violet-crowned, pure, sweetly-smiling Sappho, I wish to tell thee something; but shame prevents me.' To which the poetess replies, 'If thou hadst noble or worthy desires, if thy tongue had no ill to say, shame would not be seen in thy eyes, but thou wouldst speak as is befitting.'" (Cf. Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, 3d edit., part iii. p. 887, fr. 29; p. 948, fr. 55.)

The Phœnicians, whose vessels visited every coast of the Mediterranean, were the first, and long the principal, intermediaries between East and West. Having no national art, they copied for exportation the models they had seen in Egypt and in Assyria, — sometimes without understanding them,¹ — and spread everywhere forms and types which were quickly acclimatized in their adoptive countries.

An influence probably more important was that of Assyria,

¹ See the Cup of Palestrina, in the *History of Rome*, i. 173. Even in the time of the great prosperity of Hellenic commerce the Phœnicians had trading-houses in many Greek cities. They had a cemetery at the Peiraieus (*Corp. inscr. Semit.*, No. 116), and at Marseilles has been found, on a stone brought from Carthage, the table of sacrifices made in the Phœnician city (*Ibid.*, No. 165).

² From the *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum*, vol. i. No. 115, tab. xxi. and xxiii. 115 a. Funereal stela found at Athens. The name of the dead person and of him who erected the stela are given in a bi-lingual inscription. Greek and Phœnician, engraved on the upper part. The Greek is as follows: 'Αντίπατρος



STELA WITH PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTION.²

'Αφροδισίου 'Ασκαλ[ωνίτης]. Δομσάλως Δομανώ Σιδώνιος ἀνέθηκε. The Phœnician inscription is thus translated in the *Corpus*: *Ego Schem, filius Abdastarti, Ascalonites. Quod erezi ego Domsillehus, filius Domhannonis, Sidonius.* Under these two inscriptions is carved a bas-relief: in the centre a man is lying upon a bed; a lion, on the left, is attacking him, while on the right a second man is endeavoring to protect the corpse. In the background is discern-

where rich and powerful monarchies had arisen. This was a centre whence civilization radiated far beyond the frontiers of Mesopotamia, on the one side crossing the Libanus, and on the other the Tauros. The sculptures of Kilikia and Kappadokia have certain traits of resemblance with those of the Assyrian artists. The peoples of Asia Minor, masters of the commercial routes which led through Komana and Tarsos to Nineveh and Babylon, and those Hittites of whom we have but recently found traces, must have served as intermediaries between Asia and

THE GORGON.¹

Greece.² It is impossible not to recognize the influence of the great Oriental nations

THE CHIMAIRA.³

“in these representations of fabulous animals, fantastic hunts and combats, in these grotesque ornaments formed of plants, accompanied by evidently Asiatic symbols, which we discover on a whole class of the most ancient painted vases and on many other carved and engraved objects. . . . The Chimaira, the Gorgons, Centaurs, and griffins, the Sphinx (woman and

lion), the winged horse Pegasus, — both of which have been found in the Assyrian sculptures of Nimroud, — are thus borrowed, and pass from tradi-

nible the prow of a vessel. The scene is explained in a metric inscription on the lower part of the stela. This is as follows: —

Μηθεῖς ἀνθρώπων θαυμάζετω εἰκόνα τήνδε,
ὡς περὶ μὲν μελέων, πέρι δ' ἠ πρώρη, κτεάνυσται.
Ἦλθε γὰρ εἰς χρολέων τὰ μὲν θέλων σποράσαι,
ἀλλὰ φίλοι γ' ἤμυναν καὶ μοι κτέρισαν τάφον οὔτη,
οὓς ἔθελον φιλέων. ἱερᾶς ἀπὸ νηὸς ἰόντες.
Φοινίκην δ' ἔλιπον, τήδε χθονὶ σῶμα κέκρυμμαι.

“Let no one be surprised at this representation, seeing near me on one side a lion, on the other the prow of a ship. A lion fell upon me (upon my dead body), wishing to devour me. But leaping down from their ship, my friends came to my aid, and it is they who buried me here. Thus have I left Phœnicia, and in this land my body reposes.” Of all explanations proposed, the most probable seems to be that which maintains that Antipatros of Askalon, who died on a journey, perhaps in Libya, was rescued by his friends from a lion, that they brought his body to Athens, and buried it in the cemetery of the Keramikos. The stela is not of earlier date than the second century B. C.

¹ Head of Medousa. (Cameo in agate, of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 111 of the *Catalogue*.)

² G. Perrot, *Mélanges d'archéologie*, pp. 39 and 67, and *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 15, 1886: *Une civilisation retrouvée*.

³ The Chimaira, on a coin of Tarsos. Under a portico is seen a statue, said to be of Sardanapalus, standing upon a chimaira, resembling that which we find represented upon Assyrian cylinders of a much earlier date. He bears on his shoulder the bow and quiver; on his head,

tions on to monuments, also sometimes from monuments into traditions. The most ancient Greek coins, those of Aigina, Corinth, and Athens, which



PHŒNICIAN PATERA OF DALI.¹

date from the first Olympiads, offer in their symbolic types traces of these ideas borrowed from Asia Minor, Phœnicia, and Assyria, as later, in the

a modius; he holds in his left hand a notched crown, and extends the right hand. (A statue of this king is described by Strabo, xiv. 5, 9). Legend, ΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΜΗΤ[ροπύλεως], and in the field, the letters Α·Μ·Κ·Γ·Β. (Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Gordian the Pious.)

¹ Patera of silver-gilt in the Museum of the Louvre. Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, vol. iii. fig. 546, and Clermont-Ganneau, *L'Inagerie phœnicienne et la mythologie iconologique chez les Grecs*, pp. xviii et seq. In the central medallion a personage with mythological attributes, completely Egyptian in style, standing in profile, brandishes in the right hand a mace, and extends his left hand, armed with a bow, over a group of three men, who are partly kneeling and are struggling against him. Clermont-Ganneau shows in his remarkable paper how this scene, borrowed by the Phœnicians from the Egyptians, is in turn borrowed by the Greeks from the Phœnicians, and becomes in Hellenic mythology the combat of Herakles with the three-headed Geryon. The Phœnician image was spread through the whole Greek

heroic scenes sculptured in ancient style on the temples of Aigina and Selinous, in the massive proportions of the figures, their muscles so strongly



HERAKLES CARRYING OFF THE KERKOPES.¹

brought out, their ornaments, their head-gear, and their costumes, one is tempted to suspect again the same source of imitation, whence came so many

world by these cups and metallic vases, which Phœnician commerce carried for sale all along the Mediterranean coasts. Upon the exterior frieze are twelve groups, corresponding to the diverse episodes of a double struggle,—that of the Phœnician Herakles with the lion, and of another hero with the lion and the griffin. In the interior frieze are griffins and winged sphinxes, each with a paw on the head of a prostrate man.

¹ From a cast. The Kerkopes, mischievous and malicious demons, had teased and robbed Herakles while he was asleep; he chains them, and carries them to Omphale. (Archaic metope of Selinous.)

engraved stones and scarabæi, of which the subjects and the execution so strikingly recall the Babylonian cylinders.”¹

By sea and by land came this Oriental influence, and it is further attested by what we may call the successive enlightenment of the countries speaking the Hellenic language. Upon the coasts of Asia Minor the light first appeared; later, it touched the Cyclades; and finally, the European mainland. Poets and philosophers are born eastward of the Ægæan Sea; the first schools of art are founded there, and the first temples built there. The Greeks received, therefore, from unknown artists of the East their first initiation. But, like that hero of legend who changed into gold all that he touched, they transformed all that they received from other races.



HERAKLES CARRYING OFF THE KERKOPES.²

The Greek letters, like the Latin and Etruscan alphabets, are characters borrowed by the Phœnicians from Egypt, not only as to form, order of succession, and value, but sometimes even as to name; as *bêta* for *beth*, *thêta* for *tet*. But “if the Phœnicians gave writing, it was the Greeks who wrote.”³

The most ancient metric system that has been traced in Hellas,

¹ Guignaut, *Notes à Creuzer*, ii. 1063-64. The figure carved in relief on the great Phœnician sarcophagus of the Louvre resembles both the heads of Khorsabad and the most ancient Greek sculptures, especially certain figures of terra-cotta representing Ge, which are found in ancient Hellenic tombs. This, at least, is the opinion of De Longpérier (see his *Notice des antiquités du musée du Louvre*, 2d edition). Euripides had already said that the walls of Mykenai were built with a Phœnician rule (*Herakles Raging*, v. 945). The gate of the Treasury of Atreus at Mykenai, of pyramidal form, certainly reminds one of that of a cyclopean city in Phœnicia, Oum-el-Awamid (the Mother of Columns), four leagues southward from Sour (De Vogüé, in the *Athenæum* of Dec. 30, 1854).

² Fragment of a vase-painting which it is interesting to compare with the metope of Selinous (from Gerhard, *Auserles. Vasenbl.*, pl. cx.).

³ Havet, *Origines du christianisme*, p. 22. As to the Greek alphabet, see Emmanuel de Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'origine égyptienne de l'alphabet phénicien*, 1874.

HIERATIC EGYPTIAN.	PHENICIAN.
𐀀	𐤀
𐀁	𐤁 𐤂
𐀂	𐤃 𐤄
𐀃	𐤅 𐤆
𐀄	𐤇 𐤈
𐀅	𐤉
𐀆	𐤊
𐀇	𐤋 𐤌 𐤍
𐀈	𐤎
𐀉	𐤏 𐤐
𐀊	𐤑 𐤒
𐀋	𐤓
𐀌	𐤔
𐀍	𐤕
𐀎	𐤖 𐤗
𐀏	𐤘
𐀐	𐤙
𐀑	𐤚
𐀒	𐤛
𐀓	𐤜
𐀔	𐤝
𐀕	𐤞 𐤟
𐀖	𐤠
𐀗	𐤡
𐀘	𐤢
𐀙	𐤣 𐤤
𐀚	𐤥
𐀛	𐤦
𐀜	𐤧 𐤨
𐀝	𐤩
𐀞	𐤪 𐤫
𐀟	𐤬
𐀠	𐤭
𐀡	𐤮
𐀢	𐤯 𐤰
𐀣	𐤱
𐀤	𐤲
𐀥	𐤳 𐤴
𐀦	𐤵
𐀧	𐤶 𐤷
𐀨	𐤸
𐀩	𐤹
𐀪	𐤺 𐤻
𐀫	𐤼
𐀬	𐤽
𐀭	𐤾
𐀮	𐤿
𐀯	𐥀 𐥁

PHENICIAN ALPHABET.¹

PHENICIAN.	KADMEIAN GREEK.	
𐤀	Α	Α
𐤁 𐤂	Β	Β
𐤃 𐤄	Γ	Γ
𐤅 𐤆	Δ	Δ
𐤇 𐤈	Ε	Ε
𐤉	Υ	Υ
𐤊	Ι	Ι
𐤋 𐤌 𐤍	Θ	Θ
𐤎	Ζ	Ζ
𐤏 𐤐	Σ	Σ
𐤑	Χ	Χ
𐤒	Λ	Λ
𐤓	Μ	Μ
𐤔	Ν	Ν
𐤕 𐤖	Ξ	Ξ
𐤗	Ο	Ο
𐤘	Ζ	Ζ
𐤙	Ν	Υ
𐤚 𐤛	Φ	Φ
𐤜	Α	Ρ
𐤝	Μ	Μ
𐤞	Τ	Τ

GREEK ALPHABET.²

¹ Egyptian origin of the Phœnician alphabet. Table prepared by De Rougé (from the *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, fig. 230).

² Phœnician origin of the Greek alphabet. Table prepared by F. Lenormant (*Ibid.*, fig. 231). More exact tables will be found in the *Traité d'épigraphie grecque* of S. Reinach, pp. 180-181, and 186-189.

that of Aigina, with its divisions into talents, minas, and obols, is identical with the Babylonian and Phœnician systems. The word



MINA (A WEIGHT).¹

mina (*mna*), unit of the Greek, is even of Chaldæan origin.² Thence came also the duodecimal division of the day, the use of the celestial globe and of the sun-dial, measuring the hours by the shadow which a solid body casts upon a flat surface. Egypt gave practical geometry, and Chaldæa astronomical observations;⁴ but it was Greece which founded science, by creating veritable scientific methods. Of the three kinds of Greek music, one is Lydian, another Phrygian. The flute is Phrygian, like Hyagnis who invented it, and like Marsyas who



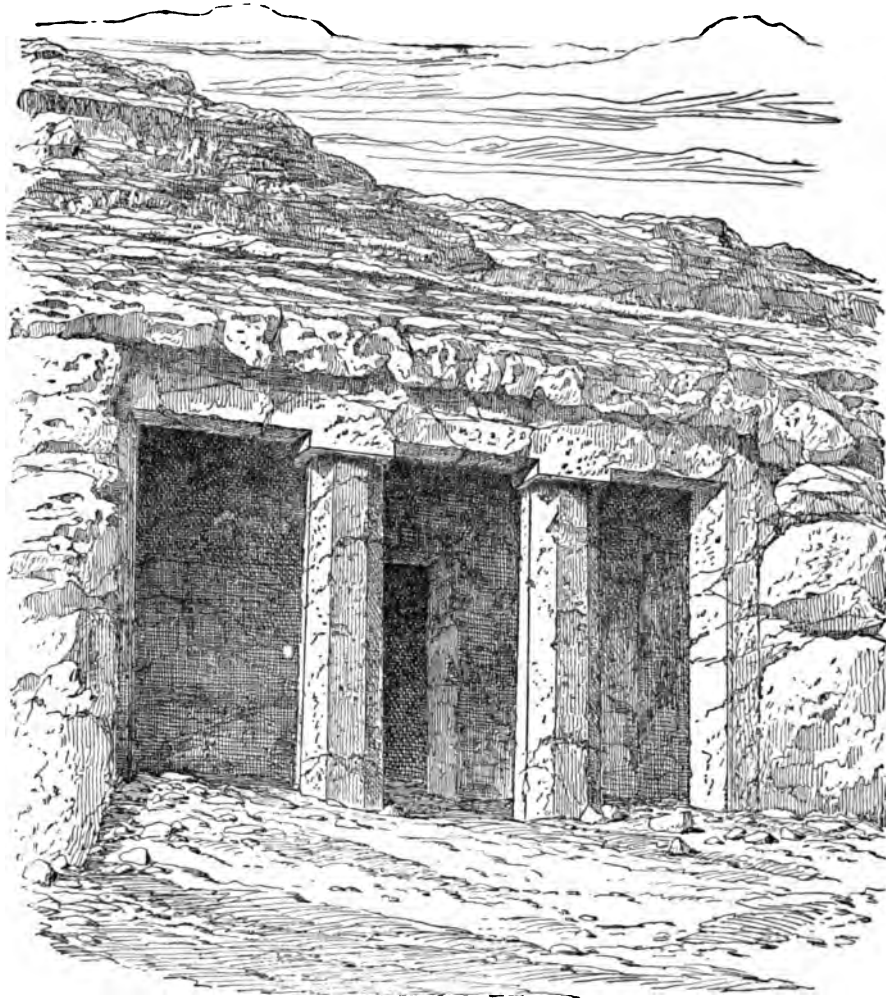
BRONZE COIN.³

¹ Athenian lead, from Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage archéologique, Monuments figurés*, pl. 106, iv. Sphinx on an amphora, placed horizontally; in the field, MNA. The mina was a weight of about 22 oz.

² Böckh, *Métrologie*, ch. iv., v., vi. Cf. Vasquez Queipo, *Essai sur les systèmes métrique et monétaire des anciens* (3 vols., Paris, 1859).

³ Phœnician coin of Arados. Above a prow, the monogram of the city, AP, and a palm-tree. The prow ends in a figure of Pallas, with helmet and shield. On the obverse, a head of Kybele.

⁴ Ptolemy gives thirteen astronomical observations of the Chaldæans. They and the Egyptians had determined with sufficient accuracy the duration of the solar year. In a



FAÇADE OF A TOMB AT BENI-HASSAN.¹

dared, the Greeks said, to rival Apollo; and Olympos was a Mysian. It was, however, in Greece that music had its place in the training of children and in the social institutions of the community.

Two of the three orders of architecture were known on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates before they appeared in

paper by Grotefend, read Jan. 10, 1854, before the Syro-Egyptian Society of London, on the astronomy of the Egyptians and the Babylonians, the author shows that the zodiac is of Assyrian, and not of Egyptian origin, for it contains no Egyptian animals. The Greeks, according to this authority, derived their astronomy from Assyria by way of Asia Minor, as is also proved by the poems of Homer and Hesiod, in which the constellation of Hercules and other groups of stars are described exactly as the marbles of Nimroud represent them.

¹ From Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, vol. i. fig. 166, pp. 255, 549.

Greece. Champollion has discovered triglyphs and columns, decorating the entrance to the tombs of Beni-Hassan, which are by many centuries anterior to the use of Doric columns in Greece. Layard and Botta found the Ionic volute at Nineveh in the palace of Sargon, which belongs to the eighth century B. C.¹

In all the East, statues had been made, art had begun, but it was the Greeks who added to it beauty. With a religion which weighed so lightly on the soul, they had not the ideal which transports the mind into the regions of the infinite, or casts it prostrate at the feet of idols which say nothing to the mind because they aim to say too much. They had

CAMEO.²OLYMPUS.³

neither the sometimes monstrous forms of Indian or Egyptian art, which above all things represents strength, and is imposing only by its bulk, nor the naïve and transparent forms of Christian, which aims chiefly to show the soul. Under the inspiration of a fortunate genius and a mild and gentle nature they completed in harmonious proportions that which the artists of Nineveh and Memphis began in majestic proportions, but without grace or beauty. They possessed the free, laïc art; that is especially the human art, — the most perfect equilibrium of form and thought.

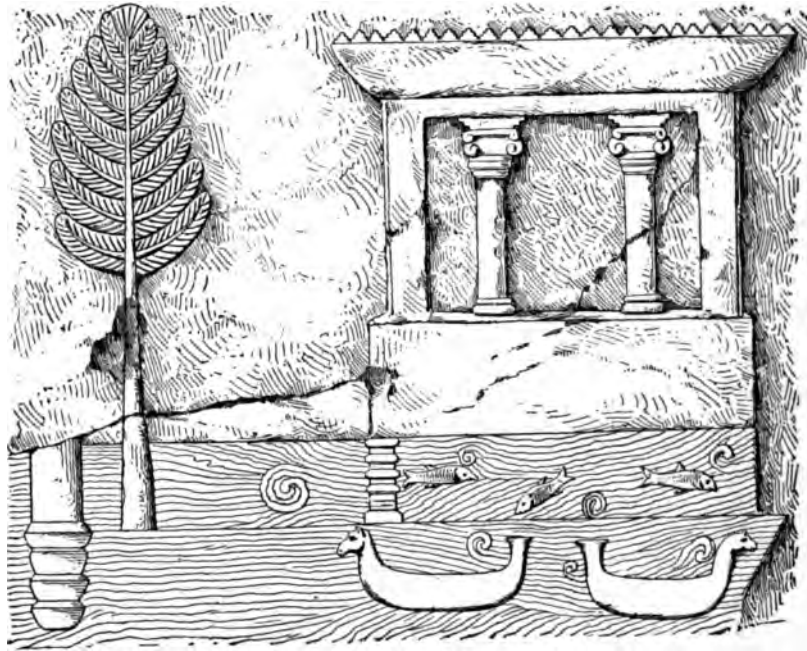
¹ Ker Porter saw the Ionic volute in Persepolis. But in this Achæmænid sanctuary it was a foreign importation, — a rebound of Greek art into the heart of Persia. This is one of the facts which have been brought into clear light by a learned work entitled *L'Art Antique de la Perse*, material for which was bravely sought in Persia by M. and Mme. Dieulafoy amid great and sometimes formidable difficulties.

² Apollo and Marsyas. Apollo, standing, holds his lyre in the right hand. He refuses the pardon of Marsyas, for which the latter's pupil, the young Olympos, begs, kneeling before him. The imprudent Marsyas, who has ventured to dispute with the god for the prize in flute-playing, is bound by the hand to a dead tree. He is seated upon his fawn's skin (*nebris*), and beside him is his double flute. (Cameo on sardonyx of two layers, 42 millim. by 35, *Cabinet de France*, No. 14.)

³ Olympos, playing on the syrinx, seated on a rock, his shepherd's crook placed on the ground; behind him Pan, recognizable by his horns and his goat's feet, appears to listen attentively; in the distance, Pan's grotto above a rock. (Cornelian of the De Luynes Collection in the *Cabinet de France*, 15 millim. by 14.)

III. — THE ARTS AND POETRY.

EGYPT and Assyria had built temples to their gods, and palaces and tombs for their kings. Among the Greeks of the historic period, who no longer had kings, the monumental art was



VOLUTES ON AN ASSYRIAN MONUMENT.¹

at first used only in the service of their gods, and only in later ages was it employed in the decoration of cities. Coming into

¹ Bas-relief of Khorsabad, from Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, vol. ii. fig. 41. Temple on a river bank.

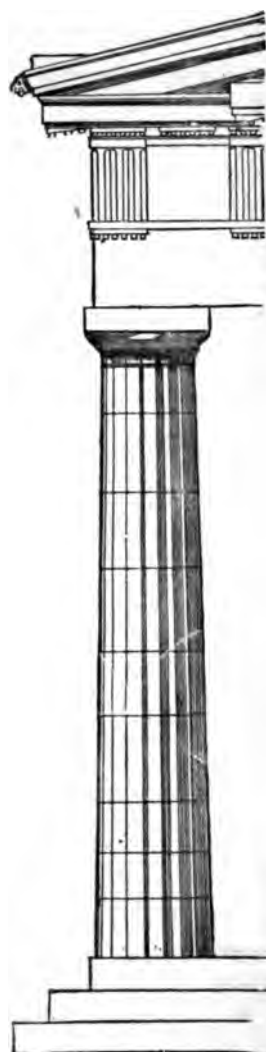
NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a sarcophagus discovered near the Tuscan frontier, now in the Louvre. (Cf. Fröhner, *Notice de la Sculpture antique*, No. 85.) I. Between the two competitors, both standing and playing, one upon the lyre, the other on the double flute, a woman, seated on a rock under an oak, appears to listen attentively. This is the Muse, or Nymph, who is to judge in the trial, whose event cannot be doubtful, for Apollo is already crowned with laurel, and a Victory is flying towards him. Athene, standing at the left, and the River Marsyas, reclining on the ground at the right, also a young man seated beside the Victory, witness the contest. II. Marsyas, defeated, is fastened to a pine-tree by a Phrygian slave, while another person, kneeling, sharpens a knife on a stone. The attitude of this figure and that of Marsyas were doubtless suggested by celebrated statues of which there are many replicas.



APOLLO AND MARSYAS. — I. DEFEAT OF THE SATYR. II. HIS PUNISHMENT.

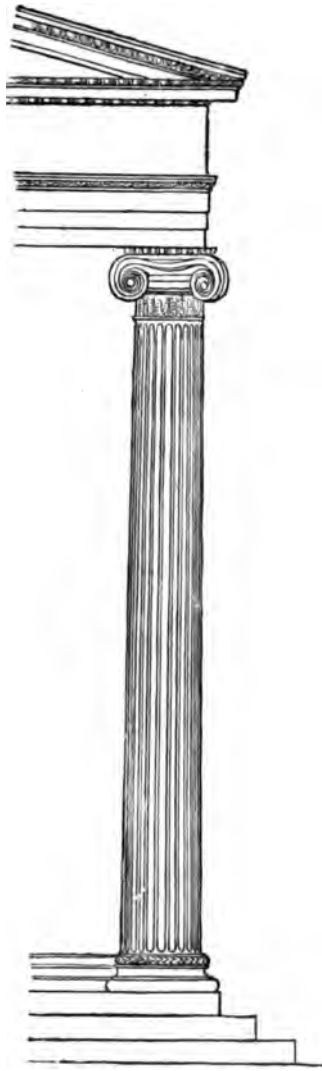


Hellas, the architectural science of the East was modified and ennobled. With technicalities that were the same, the general design was very different, because religious beliefs and social conditions did not resemble each other. Nothing suggests less the religious edifices of Egypt or Assyria than the Greek temple,—the realization in stone of a simple idea; namely, the dwelling-place of the god raised above the abodes of men, but of a god always visible through the opening in the cella, who from out his sanctuary beholds his people, and communicates with his worshippers through the sacrifices they offer to his divinity. At the present time the words “Doric” and “Ionic” are employed to designate two different orders of architecture,—one severe, the other more elegant, although still severe,—which were formed in Asiatic Greece,¹ their canon or fundamental rules being determined by the Greeks, and always since followed, with certain allowable variations. As early as the seventh century B. C. the Samians erected in honor of Here the largest temple Herodotos had ever seen. The sanctuary of the Ephesian Artemis was after this the most extensive. It was erected at the expense of all the Greek cities in Asia, and was esteemed one

DORIC ORDER.²

¹ Athene had but two Ionic temples,—the Erechtheion, and the temple of the Wingless Victory, both very small, but of wonderful beauty. Upon the entire subject of Greek art, the reader is referred to the work of Perrot and Chipiez, the *Histoire d'art dans l'antiquité*, where all these questions are treated with signal ability.

² We call “order” (*ἐργασία* or *κατασκευή*, *ratio*) the whole scheme of rules and proportions applied to the various architectural members which constitute the Greek temple. As the different orders are especially characterized by the colonnade, the same word (*κόσμος*, *ordo*) has been also employed to designate the colonnade. Properly speaking, there are two orders,—the Doric and the Ionic; the Corinthian is not a distinct order, its proportions being equally applicable to Doric or Ionic temples. The most perfect Doric order is that of the Parthenon, here represented; if we compare it with that of the temples of Pæstum and of Corinth, represented above (pp. 145 and 71), we shall at once observe the great progress made by architects between

IONIC ORDER.²

of the seven wonders of the world. Two hundred and twenty years were occupied in its building.¹

Three other temples on the Asiatic coast united grandeur and majesty to the grace of the Ionic art,—that of Magnesia, on the Maiandros, the temple of Artemis Leukophryne, of which many fragments are in the Louvre; at Priene, that of Athene, of more recent date; and in the territory of Miletos that of the Didymaian Apollo, the rival of the Artemision of Ephesos in its rich ornamentation, its columns sixty-five feet in height, and its façade one hundred and sixty-four feet long. This oracle was consulted by all the Asiatic Greeks, and later by the Romans; it was of this Apollo that Diocletian inquired to know whether the Christians should or should not be tolerated.

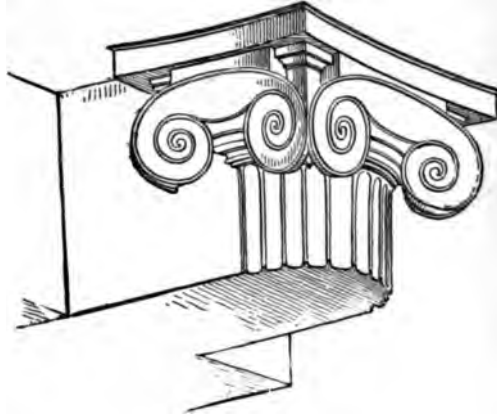
The Greeks, who loved to place a graceful myth at the beginning of all things, related that a young Corinthian girl, bidding adieu to her lover, who was about to depart on a long journey, noticed the shadow of his head thrown clearly upon the wall by the light of a lamp, and to preserve this precious image, drew with a pencil the outlines of it; and so the art of drawing began. Aristotle, who has no love for stories of this kind, comes nearer the truth

the seventh and the fifth centuries B. C. The proportions of the columns and the architrave are more graceful; the column swells almost insensibly (*ἔντασις*), and the curve of the spine of the capital is less marked and more elegant. See C. Chipiez, *Histoire critique des origines et de la formation des ordres grecs*, pp. 187 *et seq.*

¹ Its length was 425 Roman feet (413 English), its width 220 (214 English). It had in all a hundred and twenty-eight columns of the Ionic order, 60 Roman feet, or 52½ English, in height. Clarac describes this temple in his notes on the *Voyage dans le Levant* of the Comte de Forbin, p. 114.

² The Ionic is no less ancient than the Doric order. We here represent a column from

in saying that the first painter was Eucheir, a relative of that Daidalos who, for the mythographers, represented the genius of invention in the arts. Daidalos was acquainted with Egypt, for his Kretan labyrinth was said to be a copy of the Egyptian labyrinth. The truth is, that on the banks of the Nile temples and tombs were covered with paintings. It is not, therefore, strange that the first Greek painters should have appeared in Ionia. It is said that a

IONIC CAPITAL.¹

battle-scene painted in colors by Boularchos was bought by king Kandaules at a high price. But we have seen that the employment of colors in mural painting in European Greece was anterior to the war of Troy.²

BRONZE COIN.³

It was to be expected that sculpture would attain perfection in the only country in the world which ever had institutions designed to develop and strengthen the body, — where, the better to direct his blows, the better to find the necessary poses, attitudes, and gestures, the athlete, the runner, the pugilist, exercised naked in the gymnasium and fought naked in the lists. But two things long denied it full scope, — imperfections in technical processes, and the superstitious respect of the

the Erechtheion of Athens, — one of the richest and most elegant structures of the ancient world. It differs from the Doric in resting upon a base, in being more slender, and in having more numerous and deeper flutings, which do not end in sharp edges. Also the capital, simply ornamental, is characterized by spiral volutes, and the entablature is more or less decorated with mouldings.

¹ Ionic capital of the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai, near Phigaleia. From the *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, fig. 1,758, at the word *Columna*. The temple of Bassai was built by Iktinos, the architect of the Parthenon. It will be observed that the spirals of the volute are connected differently in the two instances represented. See C. Chipiez, *op. cit.*, pp. 270 *et seq.*

² Page 155, and note 2.

³ Temple of Here at Samos. Legend, ΕΜΙΩΝ. The goddess is standing under a temple with four columns. (Reverse of a coin of the Empress Etruscilla.)

people for the shapeless objects of their adoration. Long there was nothing to represent the gods but a rough-hewn tree-trunk, a rude stone, and later, plates of iron or bronze riveted together, producing only ungraceful images.¹ In the seventh century, Theodoros of Samos, who engraved the famous emerald thrown by Polykrates into the sea, was the first to invent the art of casting in bronze. A little later, Glaukos of Chios invented the art of soldering metals. Finally,

BRONZE COIN.²BRONZE COIN.³BRONZE COIN.⁴

about the middle of the sixth century, two Kretan artists, Dipoinos and Skyllis, established at Sikyon, brought into general practice the use of marble for statuary. A very modest and yet important invention insured to the temples a longer duration: an architect of Naxos had the ingenuity to protect the joints of the roofing by marble tiles, — thus preventing the injury done by rains. This service was esteemed so important that a statue was decreed to the inventor.

Art was now provided with all its means of action; it needed only to enfranchise itself from theocratic control, to be free in its

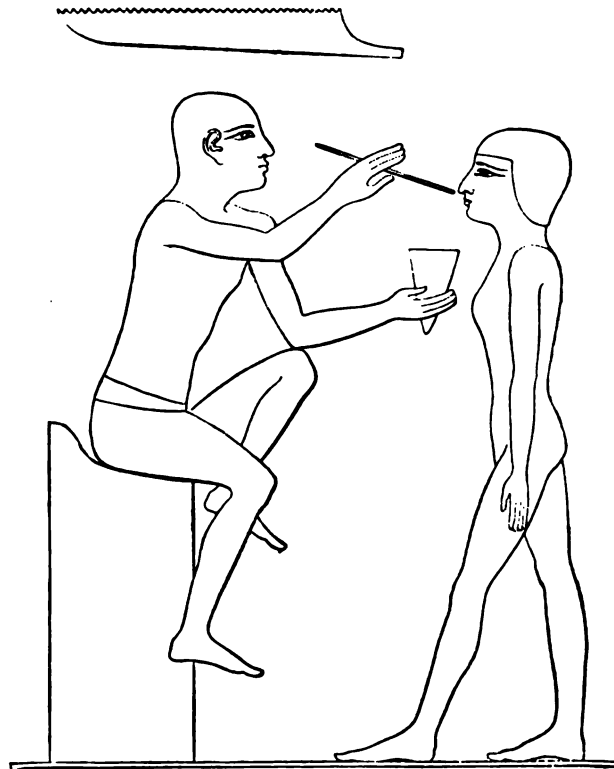
¹ "Before the Trojan war," says Pausanias, — and he might have added, "long after," — "they did not know how to make brass statues all in one piece" (viii. 14).

² Artemis Leukophryne, at Magnesia. The goddess is standing, with chained hands and the attributes of Artemis of Ephesos; two Victories, flying near, crown her; at her feet are seated the rivers Maiandros and Lethakos. Legend: ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ. (Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Lucius Verus.)

³ Temple of Artemis at Ephesos. Legend: ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ. The statue of the goddess is standing under a temple of six columns. The akroteria and the ornaments on the edge of the roof are plainly visible, as well as some of the figures of the pediment and the ornaments and figures at the base and capital of the columns. (Reverse of a bronze coin of the Emperor Hadrian.) Mr. Wood has discovered and brought home to the British Museum many important fragments from the sculptures of this temple. See the statue of Artemis later.

⁴ Temple of the Didymaean Apollo at Miletos. Under a tetrastyle portico, Apollo, his head crowned with rays, stands upon a pedestal. He holds a little stag in his right hand, and his bow in the left; at his feet is a lighted altar; on each side of the temple are two standing figures armed with lances. Legend: ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧ. ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔ[ΟΥ] ΜΙΑΗΛΙΩΝ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ. (Coin minted by authority of the archon Sekoundos, with the effigies of the Emperors Balbinus, Pupienus, and Gordian the Pious.)

conceptions. Piety forbade to change, even for the purpose of making them more beautiful, the images of the gods, which had still their stiff and graceless outlines. But laic art, reproducing for cities the forms of those who had been victorious in the national games, reacted upon religious art, and it became by degrees less



EGYPTIAN PAINTER COLORING A STATUE.¹

severe. While still retaining for certain ceremonies the shapeless representations of the old divinities, the devout were not unwilling that grace and beauty should be given to the heroes of human birth, and even to the gods. Then schools were formed,—that of Naxos, among others, very flourishing from the seventh to the fourth century before Christ,—and true artists were produced. Bathykles, of Magnesia on the Maiandros, made for the temple of Amyklai, near Sparta, a work of considerable magnitude, where the old, shapeless image of Apollo was surrounded by statues of the Seasons and of the Graces; and the throne upon which the

¹ From Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, vol. i. fig. 54. p. 85.

ancient figure stood was decorated with bas-reliefs representing the history of gods and heroes.¹ Before Pheidias, Athens had also a school of sculptors, whom Quintilian likens to the primitive Etruscans.² At Sikyon, Kanachos made an Aphrodite of gold and ivory, and an Apollo, of which the British Museum and the Louvre possess each a copy in bronze. Cicero reproaches this master with not being sufficiently enfranchised from the archaic stiffness and immobility.³ His Apollo had, however, more suppleness in the limbs

and more expression in the face than has the Apollo of Tenea. But at Argos, at Aigina, life at last came to animate the marble and the bronze.



VICTORIOUS ATHLETE.⁴

Ageladas of Argos, born about 540 B. C. (?), made many statues of conquerors in the Olympic Games, also a Herakles Ἀλεξίκακος, or the Tutelary, and a Zeus, for the Messenians at Naupakte. He was an eminent artist, for he was the master of Pheidias, Myron, and Polykletos; he therefore opens the epoch of the great sculpture. His contemporary, Onatas of Aigina, was famous for his bronze statues and trophies of Olympic victors, and even for a

painting on the wall of the temple in Plataia consecrated to Athene Areia (the Warlike), where the Plataians, through hatred for Thebes, had caused to be represented the expeditions of the Argive chiefs against that city. The famous marbles of Aigina have been sometimes attributed to Onatas. About 548 the practice was established of placing in the Altis of Olympia the statues of those who had gained prizes in the national games, and this became an immense encouragement to the sculptor. As at these games there were also chariot-races, it became common to represent horses,

¹ See above, Vol. I. p. 471.

² xii. 10, 2.

³ *Brutus*, 18.

⁴ Marble discovered at Athens; from the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques*, 1877 (O. Rayet). By the ears deformed by blows, swollen and flattened against the head, we recognize the head of a pugilist.

and the frieze of the Parthenon shows to what a degree this was successful.¹

About the middle of the sixth century art had emancipated itself from the necessity of reproducing invariable forms; instead of servile imitation, there was an aspiration towards the ideal, and the gift of liberty became for the artist the gift of genius, having, as he did, the most beautiful race in the world before his eyes. "The Ionian figure," says Dion Chrysostom, "unites all the characteristics of beauty," and Hippokrates declares that the Ionian blood was the purest in Greece.² One fact shows what an influence the vicinity of the Asiatic cities had on the development of the arts in European Hellas, namely, — that there are artists only on the eastern coast; northwestern Greece produced not one.

The Greek religion had replaced the gods of the East — abstract and symbolical, like Brahma and Ormuzd, or else coarse and material, like Apis — by beings moral and personal. This change laid open an immense field for poetry. Quite naturally the epic was its first outgrowth, but an epic where the supernatural nowhere crushes



STELA.³

ΑΧΧΝ ΜΟΡ ΜΠΙΜΙ ΣΕ ΝΗΟΝΑΧΣ ΙΟΣΑΠΡΕΣΙΑ Ε ΣΑΝΚΕΤΣ

¹ It is proper to say that much uncertainty attends these dates, though many efforts have been made to make clear the chronology.

² The system of education, in which gymnastics held so large a place, tended to develop the physical system. See Vol. I. pp. 467-468, what Xenophon says of the Spartans. Concerning the public hygiene of the ancients, so admirably conceived and so well worthy of the imitation it has never had in modern times, Littré says, in his *Hippocrate*, iv. 662: "It was perfectly well understood just what was necessary to form a soldier or to train an athlete, and in particular a wrestler, a runner, a leaper, a pugilist."

³ Stela in gray Boiotian marble, discovered near the ruins of Orchomenos; from a cast

the human. This poetry is native to Ionia. Smyrna and Chios are the two cities which claim with most probability the honor of Homer's birthplace. After him who sung of Achilleus appeared a crowd of poets. The names of twenty or thirty have survived, but almost nothing of their works. They are called the Cyclic poets because their productions, taken collectively, formed a complete history of the traditions of the heroic age. They celebrated the exploits of the ancient heroes, or those incidents of the Trojan war on which Homer had not touched, and gathered up, as says Aischylos, the fragments from the greater poet's table.



APOLLO OF TENEA.¹

The epic poets had celebrated the heroic and religious past of Greece. Their singing ended when the Greek mind, in part set free from the bonds of the old belief, began to question itself, and to be less concerned with the gods, and more with humanity,—less with bygone days which the imagination had embellished with its fictions, more with the present life, which passion was now filling with its loves and hates. To the epic Muse succeeded the lyric and elegiac Muse, the latter beginning to sing in the same land where Homer had appeared, and continuing it for three centuries, from the eighth to the fifth, with a splendor that is still manifest in the slender fragments of this verse that remain to us.

in the Museum of the Trocadéro (Körte, *Die antiken Sculpturen aus Boeotien*, in the *Mittheil. d. d. archäolog. Instit. in Athen*, vol. iii., 1878, p. 315, No. 8). The dead man, clad in the himation, the right shoulder bare, leaning upon a knotty stick, which he holds in the left hand, offers a grasshopper to his hunting-dog. The scene is pleasing, and the work carefully finished, to its smallest details. An inscription engraved on the lower part of the stela tells us the sculptor's name, — Alxenor of Naxos. 'Ἀλέξηνωρ ἐποίησεν ὁ Νάξιος· ἀλλ' εἰσίδεσ[θε]: "I am the work of Alxenor of Naxos; look at me!" We have already said that the school of Naxos was one of the most ancient in Greece, and have represented (Vol. I. p. 336) a very remarkable statue of Artemis, due to an artist of the same school, but of greater antiquity than the stela of Alxenor.

¹ Marble statue discovered on the site of Tenea in the Korinthia; now in the Museum of

The list of these precursors of Pindar is long, but we have only a very small remnant of their works. Terpandros, a native of Lesbos, the country whither, it is said, the head and the lyre of Orpheus were borne by the waves, and where the nightingales sing sweetest, added three strings to the lyre, which hitherto had had but four. He was victorious in the first contests in singing established at Sparta, about 676 B. C., for the festival of the Karneian Apollo, and seems to have been the founder of Greek music, reducing to rule the different modes of singing, and forming a connected system. Three or four fragments of his poems remain, which are devotional hymns.¹

Arion of Methymna was another famous singer. He is reputed to be the inventor of the dithyramb, or poem in honor of Dionysos, and he accompanied his singing with the kithara. Terpandros had captivated the Spartans; Arion did even more than this,—he charmed the monsters of the deep. At least Herodotos gravely relates that when Arion was cast into the sea by his treacherous sailors, a dolphin, allured by the sweetness of his sing-

DIDYMAIAN APOLLO.²

Munich; from a cast. The statue was found under a tomb, and the name of Apollo has been justly disputed. It marks a sensible progress since the Apollo of Thera; the anatomy is truer, the proportions are more correct, the forms more slender, but the attitude is the same, and the stiff, motionless figure has no life.

¹ Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, p. 537.

² Bronze statue discovered at Piombino, in Tuscany, and now in the Louvre. The eyes were of silver, the lips of red copper, and on the left foot is the inscription: 'Αθανία θεάρα.

ing, saved his life. To him is attributed, but probably without good reason, a fragment of a hymn to Poseidon, in which he thanks the



APOLLO OF NAXOS.³

god and his leaping monsters. "It was you who took me upon your sloping back, and bore me to the land of Pelops on a road which no path furrows. Perfidious men had thrown me from the vessel's deck into the surging waves."¹ The ancients believed in the power of music over animals and men: the fable of Arion was current among them in proof of its efficacy; and sailors could not doubt it when, rounding the Peloponnesos, they saw on Cape Tainaron the bronze figure of a man upon a dolphin's back.²

In poetic Lesbos were born also Alkaios, "of the golden plectrum," as Horace says, who often imitated him, and Sappho, both renowned in Mitylene and throughout Greece. Unlike the Roman singer, Alkaios was a soldier, although he too had his moments of weakness; as once, when still a youth, he left his weapons behind him on the field of Sigeion (612). "Men," he said, "are the State's best rampart;" and he thus describes a soldier's dwelling: "Everywhere is the glittering brass; from the walls hang the long plumed helmets,

the woven linen cuirasses, the shining greaves, with many shields and war-tunics."⁴ But "in the midst of arms, or when he had moored

"Dedicated to Athene, from the product of the tithe." In this remarkable bronze is recognized a very ancient copy of the Didymaean Apollo, — a celebrated work of the Sikyonian sculptor Kanachos. The Apollo is represented standing, holding in the left hand a bow, and in the right a stag; he is similarly represented in the coin on p. 196.

¹ Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, p. 566.

² This statue was there in the time of Herodotos (i. 24).

³ Bronze discovered at Naxos; from the *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 1879, pl. vii. It is interesting to compare it with the similar statues represented earlier in this work, and notably the Apollo of Ptoös (Vol. I. p. 132). The god holds in his right hand an *aryballos*.

⁴ Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, iii. 573.

his vessel to the bank, he sang of Bacchus and the Muses, and of Venus with the boy who follows her.”¹

Of Sappho, some years younger than Alkaios, and beloved by him, what shall we say? Was she a virtuous maiden and then an honored wife, or was she the courtesan that the comic poets of a later age represent her? Questions like these we may ask, but cannot answer. It is at least certain that, by the verdict of all antiquity, Sappho was a great poet; none of her works remain to us, however, except a few, for the most part inconsiderable fragments.

COIN.²

Alkman was a Lydian by birth, but lived at Sparta, where his verses emancipated him from slavery, and gave him the honors of citizenship. While rejoicing in this prosperity he still remembers his native land, —

“Sardis, venerated home of my fathers, had I been suffered to remain in thee, I should have become a priest of Kybele, and, clad in garments of woven gold, should strike the sacred drums. But my name is Alkman, and I am a citizen of Sparta; I know the Greek Muses, and they have made me greater than Dasakles and Gyges.”

Stesichoros of Himera, the contemporary of Alkaios and Sappho, deserves more attention. By the introduction into his lyric poems of the epode, in which he sang the praise of the heroes, protectors of cities, he prepared the way for an innovation of great importance, namely, the recitation of a legend by one of the chorus, — action, in a word; the drama added to the singing. This was tragedy in the germ. Quintilian says of him that, “a singer of great wars and of illustrious chiefs, he with the lyre supported the burden of the epic; and if he had been less diffuse, no poet

ARION.³

¹ Horace, *Odes*, I. xxxii. 6-10.

² Coin of electrum, in the British Museum; from the *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 1879, p. 27. A stag feeding, and in the field the Ionian inscription, *Φαινώδης εἰμὲ σήμα*. Fränkel recognizes in the word *Φαινώ* an epithet of Artemis, like the more common epithet *Φωσφόρος*; and thus translates the legend: “I am the mark, the coin of Artemis.” The coin evidently then must have been struck in a temple of the goddess. Cf. a coin minted in the temple of the Didymaean Apollo, with the legend *ἐκ Διδύμων ἰέρη*, and on the obverse the head of Apollo, crowned with laurel (Millingen, *Sylloge of Ancient Unedited Coins*, p. 80, pl. ii. 47).

³ Reverse of a sextans of Brundisium. Arion, or, it may be, Taras, holding his lyre and

would have come nearer Homer.”¹ We have too little left of his poetry to give the opportunity for verifying either this praise or this censure, and we must accept the opinion of antiquity. Horace, often sharp in his criticisms, calls Stesichoros “the disciple of severe Muses.”²



ORPHEUS.³

The new Muse was very near the epic when, with the lyric poets, she sang of heroes; she was the elegiac when she expressed more personal sentiments. Kallinos of Ephesos, who invented elegiac verse, used it, as did Tyrtaios, for martial songs; after him Mimnermos, of Smyrna or of Kolophon, employed it for the expression of grief or of pleasure. A contemporary of Kallinos and Tyrtaios, Archilochos of Paros, invented the iambic about 680 B. C., and employed it in his bitter satires. Notwithstanding

a little Victory, is borne on a dolphin's back. Legend: BRVN. Below, the two balls which are the special mark of the sextans on coins of Italy and Sicily. On the obverse there is a head of Poseidon.

¹ Quintilian *Inst. or.*, x. 1.

² Horace, *Odes*, IV. ix. 8.

³ Painting on a Boiotian vase, from A. Dumont and Chaplain, *Les Céramiques de la Grèce propre*, pl. xiv. Orpheus, seated, plays on the lyre; around him are three of his companions, and all are clothed in rich barbaric garments.

his vindictive speech and his vices, and even his disgrace on the battle-field, where he shamelessly abandoned his shield, the Greeks, intoxicated as they were with poetry, and worshippers of intellect, were won by his admirable verses to place him at the side of their favorite poet.¹ Hipponax, an Ephesian, with like poetic fervor, made a similar use of his poetry in the service of his revenge.

The sixth century ended with a group of poets called Gnomics, or utterers of sentences, prologues, and apologues, among whom were Phoklydes of Miletos, Solon of Athens, Theognis, the aristocratic poet of Megara, and Æsop (Aisopos), who was born on the Thracian coast, but spent his life at

SAPPHO.²

Samos. These poets mark the new tendency of the Greek mind towards philosophic observation and abstraction. There is scarcely a trace of poetry in the very moral sentences of Phoklydes. One

¹ *Maximus poeta aut certe summo proximus* (Val Max., VI. iii. 1). This opinion appears singular after reading the severe language of Pinlar in respect to him (*Pythics*, ii. 100). The Emperor Julian prohibited the reading of his works. In the verses which are so much to his discredit he says that a Thracian now is proud to be the possessor of his shield, which he threw down behind a bush, preferring greatly to live without it rather than to die in its defence. [He fell in battle, however, by the hand of a Naxian, and the Delphic oracle pronounced a curse upon the man who had killed him, because he had slain "the servant of the Muses." — ED.]

² Double hermes in the Museum of Madrid; from the *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 1871, pl. 2. (Cf. 1872, pp. 83 *et seq.*; K. Bötticher, E. Hübner, *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid*, 1862, p. 100, No. 148.) The figure on the left is generally regarded as Sappho, whose head is reproduced on many coins of Mytilene, — among others upon the one photographed with the hermes; the figure at the right is considered by Bötticher to be Phaon, and by Gerhard (quoted by Hübner, *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 1872, p. 87) to be Korinna. But the head is certainly that of a man.

step farther in this road, and written prose, free from all restraints of rhythm, will be reached: after the language of the gods the speech of men.

We must mention also Anakreon of Teos, a lyric poet of high repute, who is praised by ancient writers as "the honey-



SAPPHO WITH HER COMPANIONS.¹

tongued," "the swan of Teos," "the glory of Ionia;" Simonides of Keos, the rival of Pindar and the friend of the Peisistratid Hippiarchos, who makes his usurpation excusable by his love for

¹ Athenian vase from A. Dumont and Chaplain, *Les Céramiques de la Grèce propre*, pl. vi. Sappho, indicated by her name in the genitive (ΣΑΠΦΩΣ), is seated. She holds in her hands a manuscript folio, of which the letters are legible and present almost complete sense: Θεοί, ἡριῶν ἐπέων ἄρχομαι ἀλλ[ω]ν? On the margin at the right is ἔπει; on the left, Comparetti proposes the conjectural reading, πτερὰ ἔχει, which he compares with the Homeric locution ἔπει πτερόεντα, and with the word ἡριῶν, which has the same meaning. "At the right, in front of Sappho, two young girls in the *himation* stand listening with respectful attention. One of them holds a lyre; the other rests her hand on her companion's shoulder. A third young girl, standing behind Sappho, . . ." extends a wreath over the head of the poetess. (Collignon, *Catalogue des vases peints du musée de la Société archéologique d'Athènes*, No. 517. Cf. D. Comparetti, *Saffo nelle antiche rappresentanze vascolari*, in the *Museo italiano di Antichità classica*, vol. ii., 1886, pp. 41-80, with four plates.)

letters; Bakchylides, his nephew, a pure and graceful poet, whom Horace has sometimes imitated,¹ and whose verses might find favor



SAPPHO.²

with some of the pessimists of our time,—as, for example, these: “There is but one road which leads to happiness, namely, that we do not let our souls sink exhausted under excess of suffering, nor be beaten down by the woes which besiege our lives.” These



STESICHOROS.³

poets are not wholly dead, although but a few fragments of their works have been saved; but while they are interesting to the history of literature, they afford nothing to political history, wherefore we salute them and pass on.⁴

Thus all the poetical sap of the period rises in flower and leaf on the coasts of Asia and in the islands. The



TETRADRACHM OF HIMERA.⁵

colonies of Sicily can show only Stesichoros and Epicharmos, the inventor of comedy, who, though born at Kos, spent most of his life at Syracuse. Upon this roll of honor we may further inscribe Hesiod, who, ancient authors tell us, was a native of Kyme in Aiolis, whence his father emigrated to Boiotian Askra. But what is this Boiotian poet in comparison with the divine bard for whom Chios and Smyrna dispute? The Asiatic colonies had thus received all the gifts of the Muses,—the epic, the elegiac, and

¹ Notably in the fine ode (I., xv.): *Pastor cum traheret per freta navibus.*

² Naked figure of Sappho, the left leg wrapped in the peplos; she is seated on a rock, her lyre placed on the ground beside her. (Cameo, not hitherto described, of the Collection de Luynes, in the *Cabinet de France*. Sardonyx 25 millim. by 18.)

³ A standing figure, leaning on a staff and holding a roll. Legend: ΘΕΠΜΙΤΩΝ ΙΜΕΠΑΙΩΝ. Reverse of a bronze coin of Thermai-Himera. On the obverse is a head of Here, right profile.

⁴ We shall again refer to some of these in Chapter XXII., “The Age of Perikles in Greece.”

⁵ The nymph Himera, standing, draped in a long peplos, and sacrificing on a lighted altar. Behind the nymph, a fountain, of which the orifice is formed by a lion’s mouth; a naked Silenos, approaching, receives the jet of water on his breast. In the field a grain of barley. Reverse, a figure in a biga, crowned by a Victory which is flying above the horses. In retrograde legend: ΙΜΕΠΑΙΩΝ.

the satiric verse, the fable, and music, that inseparable companion of poetry, which she disciplines and reduces to rhythm and measure. But they still lacked the drama, one of the glories reserved for Athens,—a form of poetry whose elements were prepared in the worship of heroes, the religion of the dead, and a belief in the virtue of expiation.



ARCHILOCHOS OF PAROS.²

While the colonies shone with the lustre cast upon them by those of whose works for us are only splendid fragments, the mother-country had but three poets,—Tyrtaios, Solon, and Theognis;¹ four, if we assign Pindar to this period, to which he belongs by the nature of his genius, but who as a matter of age is contemporary with another school, that of the great tragic poets of Athens. Time, so harmful to all his rivals, has been more favorable to him, and we have enough of his works to enable us to fix his place in Greek letters. His odes gave him in his lifetime both fame and fortune, and the

unusual honor of a seat in the temple of Apollo.³ After his death his popularity continued, and it has lasted to our time; we do not always comprehend him, but we respect the opinion of the ancients concerning him.⁴ He was a fortunate man, loving

¹ For Tyrtaios, see Vol. I. pp. 487-488; for Solon, *Ibid.*, p. 581; and for Theognis, pp. 86-87.

² Marble bust from Visconti, *Iconografia greca*, pl. ii. No. 6. No inscription indicates Archilochos, but the hermes is double, and on the other side is the head of Homer. Now the ancients so often coupled the two that Visconti feels himself authorized to designate the second figure as that of Archilochos.

³ "Not far from this altar," says Pausanias (x. 24), "is the iron chair of Pindar, on which it is said he used to sit and sing hymns to Apollo whenever he came to Delphi." And Pindar himself confirms this in one of his Odes: "I supplicate thee, O divinity, with the golden crown, utterer of wonderful predictions, receive me within thy divine walls,—me, famous priest of the Muses!"

⁴ They placed him on a level with Homer (Cic., *De orat.*, 1).

his age, his religion, the assembly of old men who rule peacefully in the State, and even those whom Athens called tyrants, and whom he refers to as "the rulers of cities." His sympathies are with the gods, and he accepts all legends concerning them except



ΑΙΣΟΠΟΣ.¹

those which do them discredit; and he also honors the kings, whose power seems to him useful in restraining the crowd. He is a believer in religion and a partisan of monarchical and aristocratic power. "To shake a city," he says, with truth, "is easy, even for the viler sort; but to restore it to its place is difficult indeed."² He admires Sparta, and he speaks the Doric dialect. We should

¹ Marble in the Villa Albani, from Visconti, *Icon. greca*, pl. xii.

² *Pyth.*, iv. *ad fin.*

note this double character of Pindar, which makes him more ancient than the age in which he lived; for if it was, as is believed, the



LESSON IN POETRY AND MUSIC IN AN ATHENIAN CLASS.¹

period from 522 to 442, he must have seen poetry begin to separate herself from the old mythology, and free governments replace the rule of the Eupatrids.



ΛΙΣΟΠΟΣ.²

As a result of relations growing daily more frequent with Egypt, the use of papyrus becomes more common; writing finds it a convenient material, and works in prose, more difficult to remember than those in poetry which can be sung, will soon be numerous. Also from the colonies come the first prose-writers. Pherekydes of Syros³ writes, about the year 550 B. C., a Theogony, of which frag-

¹ Cup, signed by the painter Douris, discovered at Cære, and now in the Museum of Berlin (A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung*, etc., No. 2,285); from the *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 1873, pl. i. and p. 1 (A. Michaelis). At the right sits, cross-legged, the paidagogos, who has just brought in his pupil. The boy stands before the teacher of poetry and recites his lesson. The master, in a chair, holds in his hand a roll which he is unfolding, upon which we read this line,—

Μοῖσά μοι ἄ(μ)φὶ Σκάμανδρον εὐρρων [= εὐρροον] ἄρχομαι ἀείδειν.

Above these three figures are hung on the wall a cup, a lyre, and the leather case of flutes. To the bag is attached the small box containing mouthpieces of different kinds for the flute (γλωττοκομείον). Farther on the pupil is receiving a lesson in music; master and pupil are both seated on seats without backs. The master, with head erect, looks at the pupil who, bent over his lyre, seems absorbed in his playing. Above are hanging a basket, a lyre, and a cup. In the field, the inscription: Ἰπ[π]οδάμας καλός.

² Bearded head, right profile. (Engraved stone, chrysoptase, of the *Cabinet de France*, 8 millim. by 6, *Catalogue*, etc., No. 2,041.)

³ There are two islands of nearly the same name, — Syros (Syracuse), one of the Cyclades,

ments remain. Kadmos of Miletos compiles a history of his native land; Hekataios, also of Miletos (510–490), Hellanikos of Mytilene,



ANAKREON.¹

and Pherekydes of Leros, all precede Herodotos, who, born about 484, was to write, or rather to recite, the triumph of Greece over Asia in the Median wars.

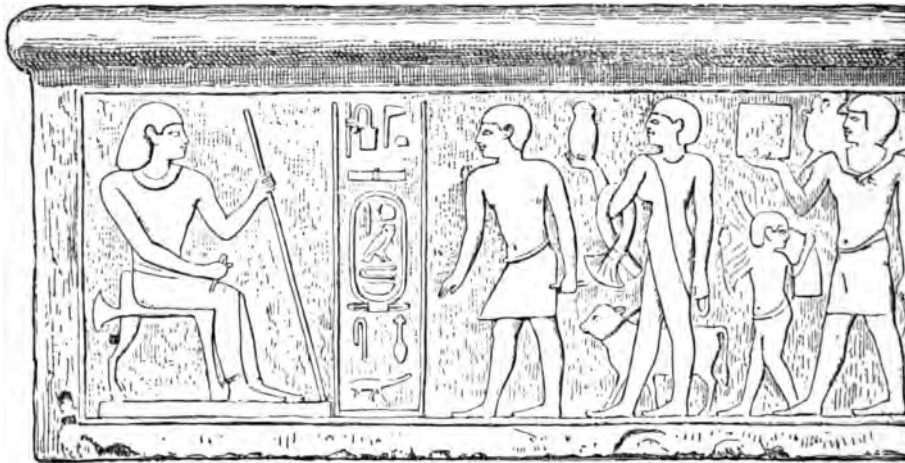
IV. — PHILOSOPHY.

THIS mental activity, which impelled the Asiatic Greeks into all the paths of art and of thought, inevitably led them to explore the great problems of Nature and of humanity, of God and the world, which the human mind always asks, and tries to answer by the light of its own reason when it is no longer content with the solutions presented by the popular religion. This research, this study, we call philosophy, and Asia Minor was its cradle also.

and Skyros, one of the Sporades, where Achilleus was hidden by Thetis, and where Theseus died.

¹ Cup from Vulci, in the British Museum (*A Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, No. 821), from O. Jahn, *Ueber Darstellung griechischer Dichter auf Vasenbildern*, in the *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. iii. (1861), p. 699, and pl. iii. No. 1. Anacreon, his head crowned with leaves, plays the lyre in the presence of two young men who approach him with acclamations. Before and behind the poet are the words: 'Ανακρέων καλός. Also for the first of the two young men: Νύμφης καλός. Cf. a vase in the Museum of Berlin, A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung in antiquarium*, No. 2,351.

Greece not having, like Egypt, a sacerdotal class, which held as its own, far from the profane crowd, both religion and science hidden in hieroglyphics, every man could freely quench his thirst at the sacred spring; and from this spring leaped forth the free development of the philosophic mind. In the East science was indissolubly united to religion; in the West, it separated itself therefrom. Like literature and the arts, it found that independence without which civilization would never have attained maturity.



EGYPTIAN BAS-RELIEF.¹

In its first steps we find philosophy held in restraint by religion and by poetry; nor could this be otherwise. But in the sixth century religion already was losing its influence over the few men who sought to look to the bottom of things. The need of representing to one's self the Divinity under a human form,—a tendency to which has been given the name “anthropomorphism,”—had again materialized the gods, but otherwise than had been done by naturalism. These humanized gods were surrounded with legends from day to day more complicated and marvellous, and also less pure. Their lives were filled with gross incidents and sensual fictions, which poets and artists rendered more dangerous by adding to them all the charms of art.

¹ Offering to a hierogrammatos. Bas-relief of Memphis, from Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, vol. i. fig. 485. To the hierogrammatos, who is seated, holding a long wand and a fillet, are presented by a scribe, men, women, and children, who bring various offerings.

The crowd worshipped these licentious divinities with all the more devotion because their example made every form of sensuality legitimate. But the few who held themselves upon a higher level sought underneath these fables for the concealed truth. This first effort of the mind began in confused reflections upon man and Nature, with a proclivity, singularly audacious, towards creating conjectures and systems embracing the entire world. At its beginning philosophy proposed to be the universal science.

Some of these philosophers were called Sages; these were occupied specially with practical ethics. Their number, as well as their names, is variously stated. This is a legend by which the Greeks mark the beginning of moral observation. Thales of Miletos, Bias of Priene,



THALES OF MILETOS.¹



BRONZE COIN.²

Pittakos of Mytilene, and Solon of Athens, are the only names generally recognized. To them are usually added Chilon of Sparta, Kleoboulos of Lindos, and Periandros of Corinth, who was, however, a cruel tyrant. Some of their maxims have been preserved, which Plato in his *Protagoras* calls "The first-fruits of Greek wisdom," — "Know thyself;" "Moderation in all things;"³ "Misfortune follows man closely, but most miserable is

¹ From Visconti, *Icon. gr.*, pl. x., a. This hermes bears no inscription; but it is double, and Visconti, who recognizes Bias in one of the figures, proposes to give the other the name of Thales. Both were Ionians, one from Miletos, and the other from Priene; and we know that the ancients took pleasure in associations of this kind.

² Pittakos of Mytilene. Head of Pittakos, left profile; legend; ΠΙΤΤΑΚΟΣ. On the reverse of this coin is the head of Alkaios. Greek manuscripts and also many inscriptions spell the name generally Mitylene; but coins have always Mytilene.

³ The *μηδὲν ἄγαν* of Chilon, which, with the *γνώθι σεαυτόν*, was engraved in the temple at Delphi, is still to be read on a stone in a little sanctuary of Apollo built at Oia (the Island

he who knows not how to bear misfortune ;” “Listen much, and speak little ;” “Experience gives wisdom ;” “True liberty is a pure conscience ;” and the great precept : “Do not yourself that which displeases you when done by others.” Bias, who esteemed the



PERIANDROS OF CORINTH.¹

treasures of the mind to be the only things of real value, escaping naked from his native city, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, said : “I carry all things with me.” The temple of Leto at Delos bore these words of Theognis : “Justice is the most beautiful of things.” Pythagoras taught that the gods had given two great gifts to men, — truth, and benevolence ; and he loved to repeat the two salutary maxims : “Preserve moderation,” and “Respect thyself ;” that is to say, honor the intellect that has been placed within thee by showing thyself worthy of the gift thou hast received. Kant has made, and very justly, this sentiment one of the foundations of morality.

In the *Golden Verses* which are attributed to Pythagoras, and at least must belong to his school, we find this excellent rule for moral improvement : “Before sleeping, ask thyself

thrice each night what thou hast done during the day. Say to thyself : Of what fault have I been guilty ? What duty have I failed to do ? Question thyself thus as to each action. Thus wilt thou attain truth and happiness.” And elsewhere : “Blush before thyself rather than before any other. Honor thy parents,

of Santorin), in a grotto whence escapes a puff of warm air mingled with carbonic-acid gas, — doubtless similar to that at Delphi, which is now no longer perceptible (*C. R. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* for 1866, p. 278).

¹ From Visconti, *Icon. gr.*, pl. ix. The inscription is as follows : Περὶανδρὸς Κυψέλου Κορίνθιος. — Μελέτη πᾶν. “Study is all.” See also note 2, next page.

and choose for thy friend him who shall most help thee to a virtuous life."

Perhaps to them also may have been due the inscription engraved over the entrance to the temple at Delphi: "Thou art," — which is like an echo of Genesis, recognizing absolute existence in the Divinity alone. If we arrange their maxims in methodical order,¹ we find that these Wise Men were at that early date aware of all that goes to make up individual and social morality. They recommend the cultivation of the mind, temperance, and courage, which are the sum of individual morality; to the negative principle that a man should not do to others what he would not have done towards himself, they join the positive duty of serving one's family and friends and country; to the obligations of duty they even add those of charity, — thus completing the social ethics; and lastly, in commanding reverence towards the gods and a public worship of them, they bring forward the elements of religion.



BIAS OF PRIENE.²

These sages gave yet another proof of their wisdom. From Bias we have this maxim, not very metaphysical, it is true, but eloquent in its conciseness: "On the subject of the gods, say: The gods exist." Twenty-five centuries have taught us no more than this.

¹ This has been done by Garnier in his article upon *Les Sages de la Grèce*.

² Marble hermes of Roman work, from Visconti, *Icon. gr.*, pl. x. This hermes was found in 1780 near Tivoli, in the villa of Cassius, with that of Periander (p. 214), and fragments of those of Thales, Pittakos, and Kleoboulos. (See Visconti, *Museo Pio-Clem.*, vol. vi. pl. xxii., xxv.) The inscription, in archaizing characters, bears the name of the sage: Βίας Πρήνηεύς. and one of his maxims which we do not include in our maxims of morality: Οί πλείστοι άνθρωποι κακοί. "Most men are wicked."

The founder of the first school of Greek philosophy, that of Ionia, was Thales of Miletos, born about the year 640 B. C., of a family originating in Phoenicia. This sagacious observer inaugurated a great revolution when he taught men to substitute for empirical knowledge that abstract science which, under the facts, discovers the constant relations of things. Thus he found that the angles

PYTHAGORAS.¹BIAS.²

angle were equal, that the three angles of a triangle were equal to the sum of two right angles, and that equiangular triangles have

SATYRS, AFFRIGHTED, FLEEING AT SIGHT OF THE SUN.³

their homologous sides proportional. This last theorem permitted him to measure the height of the Egyptian pyramids by the shadow which they cast.⁴ His reputation was so great as to cause

¹ Pythagoras, seated; legend: ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ. Reverse of a contorniate Roman medallion; on the obverse, radiate head of the Sun (Sabatier, *Médailles contorniates*, xv. 1).

² Bearded head of Bias, right profile; legend: ΒΙΑΣ. Obverse of a bronze coin of Priene, the birthplace of Bias. Reverse: the legend ΠΙΠΗΝΕΩΝ, with a standing figure holding a sceptre.

³ Vase-painting, from the *Monumenti dell' Instit. archeol.*, vol. ii. pl. iv. In the centre the radiate disk of the sun, with the image of Helios, the god of light. The sun shines in all its splendor, and the satyrs, who love silence and darkness, flee away. It has been conjectured that the thirty-six rays surrounding the disk (thirty-six broad rays, and also thirty-six narrower) correspond to the three hundred and sixty days which, according to the ancient system, compose the annual cycle of the sun (*Annali*, x. 270).

⁴ In his *Examen* of a posthumous article by Letronne (1854). Th. H. Martin establishes

it to be said that he announced the eclipse of the sun, at which the Lydians and the Medians, then at war, were so alarmed. It is also said that he induced the Ionian sailors to take for their guide at sea no longer the Great Bear, too remote from the pole, but the polar star, called at that time "the Phœnician star," because the Phœnician sailors were accustomed to direct their course by it.

The mathematical discoveries of Thales are, it is true, very modest, but they opened a new road. The Greek mind entered upon this road, and by degrees, separating geometry from the metaphysics which at first enwrapped it, strove to substitute for the mere observation of phenomena that search after the laws producing them which was destined in the end to set men free from theological fetters. It was a great thing, therefore, that had happened at Miletos in the advent of mathematical science, —destined to be the powerful ally of the other sciences when they also should be born.

Although thus superior to the age in which he lived, Thales was enough a man of his time not to pass by with indifference the

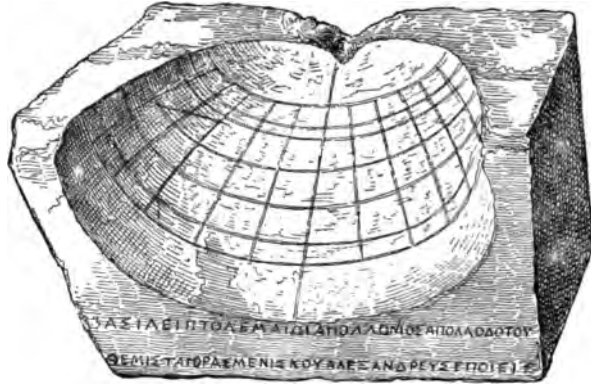
that the mathematical knowledge accredited to the Egyptians is entirely chimerical; that practical geometry, or the measurement of land, was an art which they possessed; but that speculative and demonstrative geometry is an entirely Greek science. Plato long ago said: "The Greeks have minds curious and eager for science (*τὸ φιλομαθές*); the Phœnicians, for lucre (*τὸ φιλογρήματον*)." (Ed. Didot, vol. i. p. 74.)

¹ Statue in the Vatican, from Visconti, *Museo Pio-Clem.*, vol. i. pl. xxv. Cf. Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, vol. iii p. 288, No. 1,098. Statue of Greek marble, discovered in the olive-grove at Tivoli. "It was found much broken, but could easily be restored, as the portions lacking were only intermediary fragments. . . . The globe itself is antique."



OURANIA, THE MUSE OF MATHEMATICS.¹

question of the origin of life, which was then and has ever remained, outside of the religions, an unanswerable enigma. We know now that every living creature was the offspring of a living creature, and that life is not a property of matter. But man—to his honor be it said—cannot rest contentedly in ignorance. Thales abandoned the world of legends; he saw natural forces where Hesiod and



CONICAL SUN-DIAL.¹

Homer saw gods. Some few simple observations upon humidity, and the general belief in a mighty river, Okeanos, flowing round the land, were, according to Aristotle, the elements from which the chief of the Ionian school composed his cosmogony. He, like the Orientals, considered water as the primal element, since, having no form itself, it could take all forms. "All things came thence," he said, "and all return thither." The Bible tells us that "the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters;" Homer calls forth from it all beings, even the gods,² and Aphrodite Anadyomene, the

¹ Marble dial discovered by O. Rayet at Latmian Herakleia. "It was placed on a ledge in a square hypæthral hall near the agora; the hall served perhaps as a meeting-place of the senate; the dial is now in the Louvre, in the hall of the Marbles of Miletos" (G. Rayet, *Les Cadrans solaires coniques dans l'antiquité*, in the *Annales de chimie et de physique*, fifth series, vol. vi. 1875). The following inscription, in characters of the Macedonian epoch, is legible on the south face of the dial:—

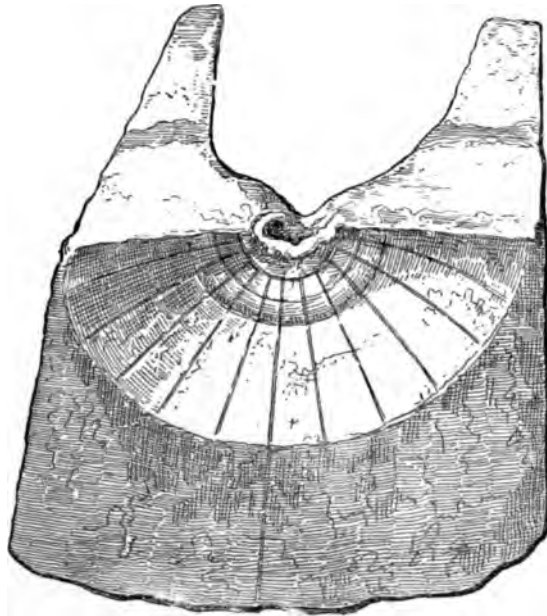
Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλοδότου.
Θεμισταγόρας Μενίσκου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐποίησεν.

This dial was constructed by Themistagoras and dedicated to king Ptolemy by Apollonios. Perhaps we should see in this personage "the great mathematician Apollonios of Perga, who, according to Vitruvius, invented many sun-dials, and enjoyed great favor at the Ptolemaic court in Alexandria" (G. Rayet). For a geometrical description, see G. Rayet.

² *Iliad.*, xiv. 201, 246.

goddess sprung from the white foam of the waves, represented also the generative power springing out of the sea.

In thus determining the forming principle, Thales did not, however, separate from it the creative power. Simply a physicist, he dared not rise above the material world to seek for God. He believed that the world was a living organism, and the gods to his mind were the forces of Nature, the causes producing the phenomena. "Everything is full of gods," he said.¹



CONICAL SUN-DIAL.²

It was natural that after this philosopher, who saw the *kosmos* with the eyes of the body, should follow one who would see it only with the eyes of the mind. The Greeks were too intelligent not to look about them in the world of matter, and too great reasoners not to subordinate their observations to dialectics. With Anaximandros, metaphysics begins. This philosopher, the friend and fellow-countryman of Thales, who first in Greece constructed a gnomon, or sun-dial, a globe, and a map of the world, and calculated the inclination of the ecliptic,³ placed at the head

¹ Aristotle, *Of the soul*, i. 5: πάντα πλήρη θεῶν εἶναι.

² See note on the preceding page.

³ See Strabo, i. 7, and Diogenes Laertius, ii. 1. Herodotos (v. 49) relates that Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletos, carried with him to Sparta a brazen tablet on which was engraved the

of his system, in his book *Περὶ φύσεως*, the axiom that from nothing, nothing comes, and instead of the primitive element of Thales, refers all phenomena to an infinite and eternal principle,

whose essence was to produce, in virtue of his own power, all that is. Instead of a principle of physics he placed a principle of logic, and substituted pure reasoning for observation, which, however, had at first served him so well.

Anaximenes, perhaps a pupil of Anaximandros,¹ returned to the methods of Thales, with this exception, that instead of water he preferred air, which envelops the earth and seems to be the source of life: rarefied, it becomes fire; condensed, it forms clouds, water, earth, and rocks.

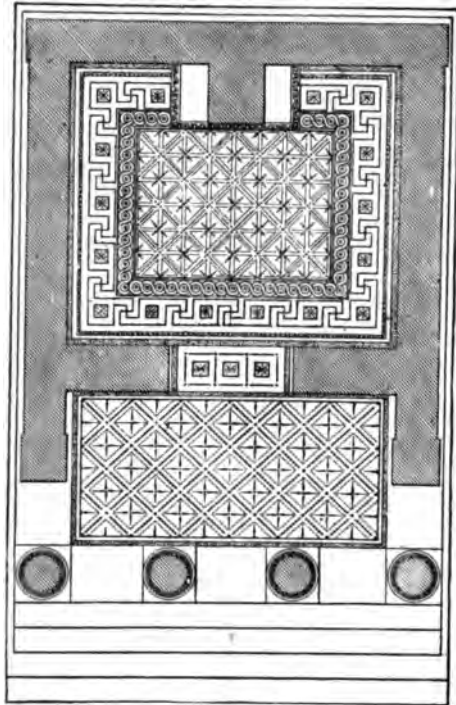
Herakleitos of Ephesos, who flourished about 500 B. C., took

another primordial agent,—fire,—and he denied the existence of a supra-sensible being; but he conceived the memorable idea of the permanence of general laws, notwithstanding the infinite variety of forms: *πάντα χωρεῖ, οὐδὲν μένει*. (“All moves, nothing rests.”) The variations of matter were to him temporary changes,—a perpetual “becoming,” as Hegel says; an endless flowing, under

circumference of the whole earth, and the whole sea, and all rivers. Later, the Athenians placed a map of Greece under one of their porticos, and Sokrates called Alkibiades to look at it, as a rebuke to his vanity, saying: “Show me now where are these great estates you boast of possessing” (*Ælian*, iii. 28).

¹ According to Diogenes Laertius, Anaximandros died about 547, Anaximenes about 500 B. C.

² From J. J. Hittorf, *Restitution du temple d'Empédocle à Sélinonte, ou l'architecture chez les Grecs* (1851), pl. i. Cf. text, p. 759. This little temple, on the akropolis of Selinous, supposed to have been dedicated to Empedokles, is twenty-five feet long from the first step to the first column, behind the rear wall of the cella, and about fifteen wide. It is prostyle-tetrastyle; that is, has columns four in number, and only on the main façade. Hittorf supposes the floor covered with a layer of stucco, on which are painted ornaments.



PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF EMPEDOKLES.²

changing forms, as say the evolutionists.¹ Generation and destruction signify to Herakleitos nothing more than union and separation; and the order of Nature is the equilibrium of opposing forces. Modern science claims to have discovered two fundamental laws,—the conservation of matter, and the conservation of force. It seems possible, with a little indulgence, to find these ideas in embryo in the perpetual movement of Herakleitos.² The Ephesian philosopher refused, it is said, to give laws to his country,—which has caused to be represented as a solitary and hopeless misanthrope the resolute thinker who would not be turned away from his deep meditations by the importunate care of transitory interests, and the haughty intellect that dared to say: “They pray to statues,—as if men could speak to a stone!” or again, “Zeus amuses himself, and the world is made.” He made no distinction between the divine soul and the human; to him mankind seemed made with divine fire. This, Hesiod had already said; but to Herakleitos the divine was the elevation of the soul above the senses.

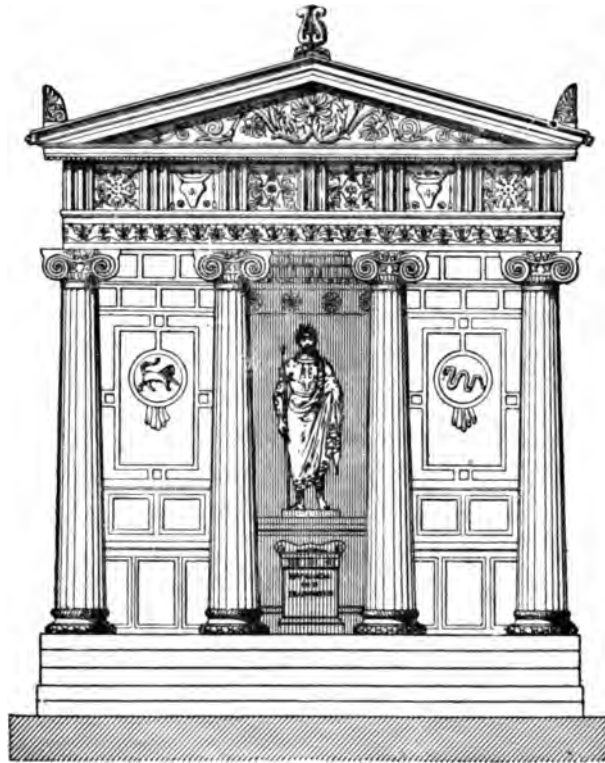
Fifty years later a great man lived in Sicily,—Empedokles of Agrigentum, philosopher, poet, and man of science. To the philosopher his fellow-citizens erected a veiled statue,—an image of the obscurity of his writings; but the scientific man established a theory which lasted to the close of the eighteenth century,—that of the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water. They are imperishable, he said, and mingle or separate incessantly, the substance remaining under perpetual change of aspect. In these doctrines it has been thought that the system of evolution was contained in embryo.³ These Greeks with their penetrating minds had presentiments of everything; and if we isolate certain of their

¹ . . . οἷον ῥεύματα κινεῖσθαι τὰ πάντα (Plato, *Theaitetos*, c. 15, p. 160 D). Hence Plato called his disciples *ῥεῖνες*.

² Berthelot, in his learned book on the *Origines de l'alchimie*, quite recently published, says of the ideas of Herakleitos: “They are strangely like those which now serve as the foundation of our theories in physics as to the incessant change of elements in all compounds, as to the transformation of forces, and as to the mechanical theory of heat. In the same way, the atomic theory of Leukippos and Demokreitos, adopted later by the Epicureans, has persisted to our time, and is now adopted by most chemists” (pp. 252 and 262). If Empedokles, who bound all organized nature together by intimate ties, had lived in our days, he would doubtless have been one of the founders of the modern school of physical science.

³ We shall refer to Empedokles later, in Chapter XXII.

thoughts we should take them to be the precursors of modern science. But they looked into the depths of their own minds rather than into the depths of Nature; for the great weapon of scientific warfare, the experimental method, was unknown to them. They flung broadcast their ideas, as the sower who scat-



FAÇADE OF THE TEMPLE OF EMPEDOKLES.¹

ters alike good seed and bad. The latter grew up and choked the former, and a harvest came only after twenty centuries.

It was not, however, by their writers and their artists only that the Greeks led the van of civilization. In being the first to suspect that the universe is governed by laws, they made a beginning in some of our sciences. We still admire the researches of Aristotle in natural history; and the *Elements* of Euclid, who

¹ From J. J. Hittorf, *Restitution du temple d'Empédocle à Sélinonte*, I. ii. The height of the temple from the ground to the top of the ornament surmounting the pediment is about 21½ feet; the height of the columns is about 11½.

was almost his contemporary, form the basis of our geometrical teaching.¹

The Greeks essayed, we have seen, to solve the great problem of natural science,—namely, the constitution of matter; and its



EUCLID.²

solution has not to this day been attained. The imponderable fluids were only a passing conjecture; the æther of physicists, the chemists' atom, the unity of matter, are all hypotheses which will perhaps have the fate of



BRONZE COIN.³

so many others,—true to-day, false to-morrow. And now a recent theory offers motion as the great explanation; but this idea is nothing new, for it dates from Herakleitos, and was adopted by Descartes, who says: "Give me matter and motion, and I will re-make the world."

The problem with which metaphysics deals is still more difficult,—the search for the principle of things. Anaximandros, as we have just seen, sought it.



DRACHMA OF KOLOPHON.⁴

The school of Elea and that of Pythagoras strove to discover it; but it was more than



COIN OF ELEA.⁵

a century after the time of Thales that, Aristotle tells us,⁶ Anaxagoras of Klazomenai, born about 500 B. C., clearly set free (*φανερῶς*) from matter the First Cause, or Divine Ruler of the world; and for this sublime effort

merits to be himself called *ὁ Νοῦς*,—the Intelligence, or Cognitive Power.⁷

¹ Euclid (Eukleides), the great geometer, lived from 323 to 283.

² Bearded and veiled head of Euclid, on a coin of Megara. Legend: ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ. Reverse, Artemis Phosphora, standing. (Bronze.) The legend and the head have been touched by the engraver's tool at some recent period.

³ Anaxagoras, seated upon a globe, holding perhaps a *rotunda* in his left hand, and extending the right. Legend: ΚΛΑΖΟΜΕΝΙΩΝ. (Reverse of an autonomous bronze coin of Klazomenai.)

⁴ Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile; behind, the monogram of a magistrate's name. Reverse, in a hollow square, ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΟΝ, and a lyre. (Silver.)

⁵ *Metaphys.*, i. 3.

⁶ Helmeted head of Athene, left profile. Reverse: ΕΛΛΙ (*Ἐλευσίω*), in a laurel-wreath. (Silver.)

⁷ See Chapter XXII.

The Eleatic school, which took its name from the Italian city Elea, founded by the Phokaians, opposed to the multiple of the Ionic physicists, for the explanation of the world, the principle of



ZENO OF ELEA (?).¹

unity. Xenophanes of Kolophon came to Elea about 536 B. C., and Parmenides was born in the colony soon after. Their powerful dialectics, turning them away from exterior observation, and forcing them to attend only to what they believed to be pure reason, became the weapon of an austere school, whose tendency was to absorb all things in a Being without beginning or end,—infinite in space as in time, so that there was neither space nor time, and the Being and the universe are the same; immutable, so that there were neither changes nor movements; always the same, so that there could be nothing new take place, either act or thought. But this invariable, eternal Principle, which was not a spirit, and had

none of the attributes of the God of monotheistic religions, was confused with the laws of the universe. One thing is true, Parmenides said boldly, and that is, metaphysics; all else are but deceitful appearances and illusions of the senses. Thus Reason, not yet mistress of herself, in this first moment of awakening was lost in her own abstractions, and dragged down with herself the gods of the common multitude. The religion of the poets was rudely handled by these metaphysicians. "If oxen and lions could paint," said Xenophanes, "they would represent gods like themselves;" and he reproaches Homer and Hesiod for celebrating the criminal deeds of the Olympian divinities.²

Parmenides was a poet, like Xenophanes. In the imaginative flight which carries him above the world of realities he throws over his austere philosophy a veil of poetry in which, as in the robe of

¹ From Visconti, *Icon. greca.*, pl. xvii. The name engraved on this marble was borne by several philosophers, and the reasons deciding Visconti to recognize Zeno of Elea are insufficient.

² Bergk, *Poetae lyr. Graeci*, ii. 356.

Isis, Pantheism gladly hides itself. Such is the fragment in which he relates the journey, "beyond the trodden footpaths of humanity," which brings him to the celestial dwelling where Justice holds the double keys.

Zeno of Elea, his disciple, plunges yet deeper into the sophisms of the school of Elea. On one occasion he is said to have denied the reality of motion,—upon which his hearers arose and walked ;

but this practical demonstration was not enough to prevail in his mind over abstract speculations. The mind, intoxicated with its power since it had shaken off the old ways of thinking, lost its foothold. The philosopher closed his eyes, and became content with

PYTHAGORAS.¹PYTHAGORAS.²

a jingle of words; nor is this a habit absolutely lost in our own time.

However, to this school of Elea, with its strange affirmations condemned by good sense, belong, in a degree, powerful intellects of later times, who took up also the problem of Being, which became, according to the period and the system, the Substance, the Absolute, the Idea.

Pythagoras, who was born at Samos about the year 570 B. C., or a little later, founded another school, which is called by his name. He emigrated into Italy, abandoning his own country, it is said, through hatred of the tyrant Polykrates, and established himself at Krotona. He is said to have travelled in the East, or at least in Egypt and Babylonia,³ and thence to have brought that taste for mathematics which characterizes his school. But it was not necessary for him to visit so many countries in order to gather ideas. We know that ideas travel widely, and are often found far

¹ Pythagoras, seated, touching with a wand a globe placed before him on a low pedestal. Legend: ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ ΣΑΜΙΩΝ. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Samos, with the effigy of the Emperor Commodus.)

² Engraved cornelian, signed Koimos (KOIMOY), from Visconti (*Icon. greca.*, pl. xvii. No. 2), who considers it to represent Pythagoras. The sage is seated, his left hand placed upon a globe. Cf. the coin of Samos.

³ The latest historian of Greek philosophy, Zeller (i. 301) doubts as to these journeys, which were, however, easily made at that time.

from their point of departure, like veins of precious metal which, rising from the remote depths of the earth, appear near the surface. But communication between Samos, Egypt, and Syria was at



PHEREKYDES OF SYROS.¹

that time easy. It is therefore possible that Pythagoras may have visited these lands, which attracted many Greeks, and that he heard by report concerning others which he did not personally see. We know that the brother of Alkaios gained brilliant military rewards at Babykon, and that Hekataios of Miletos and Herodotos of Halikarnassos were great travellers. In any case we find that Pythagoras was influenced by certain ideas which do not seem to have been native to Samos. His reputed master, Pherekydes of

¹ Marble bust, in the Museum of Madrid (E. Hübner, *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid*, No. 176): from a photograph. The head does not belong to the bust, on which is the inscription *Φερεκῦδης*, but is notwithstanding a portrait, and an extremely interesting archaic fragment.

Syros, was said to have obtained much important knowledge from the secret books of the Phœnicians.¹

In the Pythagorean philosophy we can certainly distinguish two portions, — one Greek in its character; the other more suggestive of the East. As belonging to the latter we may regard the



MAXIMS OF PHILOSOPHERS AND SAGES.²

following points. The principle of things is the central fire, or the sun, the soul of the world, the god of life; the souls of spheres revolving around this are inferior gods, and from them emanate gods of the third order. The souls of men and animals also emanate from the central fire, — immortal rays from the divine immortality; they enter into the body at its birth, and leave it at death, to animate a new body, ascending or sinking, according to their merits, in the scale of being. The following is the Greek

¹ Clement of Alexandria ranks Pherekydes among enigmatical writers; and we leave him there. He is mentioned here only for the sake of a few lines of prose, the most ancient ever written in Greece, or at least the most ancient we possess. We may also add that, according to Cicero, he taught the immortality of the soul, — a doctrine which doubtless to him was what metempsychosis was to his pupil Pythagoras.

² Inscriptions engraved on three headless busts, which were discovered near the busts of Bias and Periandros, represented above, pp. 214, 215; from Visconti, *Museo Pio-Clem.*, vol. vi. pl. xxii. and xxii. a. No. 1. Κλεόβουλος Λίνδιος: Kleoboulos of Lindos. Μέτρον ἀριστον: "Moderation is the greatest virtue." — No. 2. Σόλων Ἐξηκεστίδου Ἀθηναῖος: Solon, son of Exekestides, Athenian. Μηθὲν ἄγαν: "Not too much." (See above, p. 215.) No. 3. Πιττακὸς Ὑρρα Μυτιληναῖος: Pittakos, son of Hyrras, of Mytilene. Καῖρόν γνῶθι: "Know the favorable moment." We read that Hipparchos, the son of Peisistratos, had thus caused moral sentences to be engraved on the hermes which served as guide-posts. (Cf. Plato, *Hipparchos*, p. 228, and *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum*, vol. i., No. 522.)

side, — the soul is twofold, part of it is in the brain: this is the *νοῦς*; the other part is in the breast: this is the *θυμός*. The former is reasonable, and immortal; the latter is the principle of life, and perishable. Animals have the latter only; man has both, but



METEMPSYCHOSIS AND IMMORTALITY: MEMNON CHANGED INTO A BIRD.¹

it should be his aim to subordinate the latter to the former. Still more Greek are the discoveries of Pythagoras in geometry, in astronomy, and in music; although his theory of numbers and his doctrine of metempsychosis are the basis on which is founded his reputation.²

¹ Vase-painting from the *Museo Etrusco*, pl. xlvii. 2 a. Memnon, at the right, lies dead upon a pyre, in a grove of myrtles. Standing near the corpse is his mother, Eos or Aurora; behind her, the hero's arms. His mother laments and weeps; she had, however, obtained immortality for her son, on condition that his soul should pass into the body of a bird. The bird is perched upon a branch over her head. The tears of the inconsolable mother became, according to the legend, the dew with which the earth is covered every morning.

² Plutarch relates that Pythagoras sacrificed an ox on finding the geometrical diagram, either the one relating to the hypotenuse, that the square on it is equal to the sum of the squares on the sides, or that relating to the problem concerning the application of an area. To him or to his school are due the idea of incommensurable quantities and the theory of musical proportions and intervals. In astronomy he discovered that the morning star and the evening star are the same, that day and night are produced by the earth's rotation on its axis, etc.

This theory of numbers, at first so strange, is, however, not without relation to the doctrines of the Ionian school. The point in geometry is like the unit in arithmetic and the molecule in matter; these are the three generating elements, subject to the same laws. But to explain the physical world two things are needed, — matter, and the organizing principle. This idea, applied to numbers, leads to regarding the monad as the active principle, the dyad as the passive, and the action of the first upon the second gave the triad; hence this consequence, — the unequal is



COIN OF TARENTUM.¹



COIN OF KAUNONIA.²

the type of perfect things, and the equal, of imperfect. This conclusion was also applied to religion — which according to Pythagoras rests on the dogma of divine unity, represented by the primordial monad — and to the moral sci-

ences; the good, the beautiful, and the true consisting in the harmony which results from unity, as the ugly results from the lack of accord and harmony, and the bad and the false from the multiple and the indeterminate.

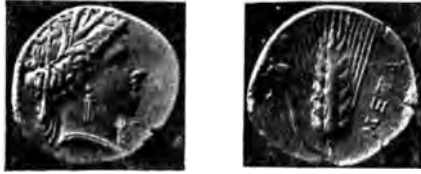
The successors of Pythagoras went farther; they maintained that numbers, instead of being the numeric symbol of a real fact, were themselves the substance of things.³ The number three, type of the

¹ The hero Taras, holding a bow and an arrow, seated upon a dolphin. Above, ΤΑΡΑΣ; beneath, a little elephant and the mint-mark ΔΙ. Reverse: a youth on horseback; in front of the horse a hero seizing the bridle and lifting his right hand to stop the horse; in the field, ΑΡΙΣΤΙ and ΓΥ, initials of magistrates' names. (Silver.)

² Apollo, standing, turning to the right, in the attitude of lustration; with the right hand raised above his head, he holds a branch of laurel; on his extended left arm is the Genius of lustration (*ἀγνισμός* or *καθαρός*) running, and also holding a branch of laurel. Before Apollo, the stag for sacrifice. Legend: ΚΑΥΑ. On the reverse the same in intaglio, without the accessories. Archaic style. (Silver.) For the explanation of this type, see Raoul Roclette, *Mémoires de numismatique et d'antiquité*, Paris, 1840, pp. 25 *et seq.*

³ Ἀριθμὸν εἶναι τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπάντων (Aristotle, *Metaph.*, i. 5). "To make of a numerical quantity the substance of things, is a manner of thinking which to us appears very singular; but we must consider the effect which must have been produced on the minds of men by the first discovery of a profound and immutable mathematical regularity in the heart of all pheno-

perfect; four, the first square; ten, the sum of the first four numbers, — had, according to them, great mystic properties, especially the triad, which was to become the Platonic and Alexandrian trinity



COIN OF METAPONTUM.¹

(the universal law of being, according to Plotinus and Proklos), and was to be applied by the Christians to their fundamental dogma. Out of all this arose many reveries, to which the Pythagorean school abandoned

itself, while proclaiming, however, one great truth; namely, the harmony of the universe, called in its own language no longer τὸ πᾶν, the whole, but κόσμος (in Latin *mundus*), the Order, — and both the word and the idea have remained to our time. The same harmony in heaven which Pythagoras called the music of the spheres he sought to introduce into the State by concord, into the family by affection, and into the human soul by virtue.

The Pythagorean theory of metempsychosis is one of the most ingenious attempts ever made to solve the insoluble enigma of existence beyond the tomb, to dissipate the terror caused by apprehension of annihilation, and to give to life a moral sanction. After death the soul, according to its merits or demerits, passed into a new body, placed either higher or lower in the scale of being, so that the living world is the theatre of perpetual migrations, which will end only when the soul, having reached perfection, is finally absorbed in God. As a natural result of his doctrine, we find Pythagoras forbidding almost absolutely sacrifices of living creatures on the altars of the gods, and deterring his disciples from the habitual use of meat. As he had purified the conception of the Divine Being and of life, he purified morals, which depend always on this twofold conception, and he arrived, on certain points, at an elevation which is very like Christianity. He taught not only justice, which seemed to him the

mena, — we can then understand how numbers came to be adored as the cause of all order and all direction, as the principle of all knowledge, as the divine power that rules the world." — ZELLER (vol. i. p. 339, [French] translation by Boutroux).

¹ Head of Demeter, right profile; the goddess wears a wreath of wheat-ears, ear-jewels, and a very light veil falling back from her head; before her, a mark of the mint. Reverse: META. An ear of wheat, and a blade upon which a mouse is climbing; in the field, the letter Φ, mint-mark. (Silver.)

chief of virtues, but also temperance, chastity, and simplicity of life. It is easy to see underlying his philosophy the principle which has become the axiom of modern science: all changes, nothing perishes. Among his disciples are the two men who left the purest names in all the ancient world,—Archytas of Tarentum and the Theban Epaminondas; and we may perhaps also add Aischylos.

Pythagoras did not limit himself to mere speculations. To give them authority and to propagate them, he founded a kind of monastic order, formed of communities, where a novitiate in three degrees prepared the pupils to receive their master's revelations. By means of this organization, which was half sacerdotal and half political, Pythagoras hoped to make wisdom and virtue supreme in the State, as reason should be supreme in the individual. The discipline and enthusiasm of his disciples gave their master, in Krotona, Lokris, Kaulonia, Tarentum, and Metapontum, an authority which enabled him to effect in those cities a moral and political revolution. But the principles of aristocratic government contained in his doctrines developed themselves; the Pythagoreans seized upon power and public office, and showed themselves, probably like every triumphant association, intolerant towards their opponents. A theocracy was becoming established,—that is to say, something absolutely contrary to the Greek genius. It provoked a reaction; and when, on occasion of a victory over Sybaris, the Pythagoreans of Krotona sought to monopolize all the spoils, a revolution broke out. The school was broken up, and many of its adherents were killed (505 B. C.); its doctrines, however, survived, and dying Paganism combined them with those of Plato for a last encounter with Christianity. Pythagoras himself is believed to have died at Metapontum some time after the dispersal of his

HEAD OF GRIFFIN.¹

¹ From *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, vol. iii. pl. xxiv. a. Very archaic bronze (discovered at Olympia), having engraved on it scales and spirals; at the base of the neck are three nails, which served to attach the ornament to the vase of which it made part.

school. He was regarded, even by his contemporaries, as a being almost supernatural, and closely connected with the gods. The legend which grew up around his name was increased, like that of the mediæval saints, in each generation, by new marvels. It is said that at Olympia in Greece he exhibited a golden or ivory thigh, and that with his gaze he fascinated an eagle that was swooping down upon him. He is represented to have visited, while yet alive, the infernal regions; also, after his death, to have appeared to his friends. He prophesied future events, had power to command the tempests and to heal at once those suffering from contagious diseases. Similar legends recur at the most diverse epochs, for the reason that public credulity and the popular imagination are much more likely to exist at all times and in all places than is cool reason.¹

All these philosophies had one radical fault,—they were conceptions *à priori*. Starting at the unknown and proceeding to the known, they were the exact opposite of the scientific method. At the same time, although many of the doctrines of Thales, Xenophanes, and Pythagoras were but the babblings of the reason still too much in subjection to the illusions of the imagination, their three schools opened a new era for the Greek mind and for the human intellect of every age. For the pantheistic polytheism of Homer and Hesiod,—this Nature all moulded of divinity, whose diverse elements in their thousand aspects were personified as so many divine beings,—they substituted a material world regulated by fixed laws, *κόσμος*, which it was possible for the intellect to grasp. This divine world, this ancient Proteus of changeful form, was now loaded with fetters, and required to render account of itself; it was a moral revolution setting free the human mind. Doubt and investigation succeeded to blind and timid faith; the scientific search after causes, to a servile adoration of phenomena;



INTAGLIO.²

¹ Much uncertainty prevails in respect to Pythagoras and his doctrines. The most ancient writings of this school are those whose authenticity has been proved by Böckh,—not the *Golden Verses* of Pythagoras, but the fragments of Philolaos, contemporary of Sokrates. (See Denis, *Histoire des théories et des idées morales dans l'antiquité*; Janet, *Histoire de la philosophie morale et politique*. The best and most recent history of Greek philosophy is that of Zeller.)

² Bust in profile of an unknown Greek philosopher, with bristling beard and hair. Intaglio in nicolo (13 millim. by 10). *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,042.

the historic and rationalist age, to the age of myth and legend. Thus, listen to Xenophanes, already in despair of the reasoning forces: "No man attains certainty; none can know the gods nor the world. In all these things there are only opinions." From its first hour we see philosophy beginning its destructive work against positive religion.¹

We have sought to show, in this rapid sketch, with what ardor the Greek colonies, especially those of Asia, advanced in every direction where the human mind can hope to find the true and the beautiful. They opened broad roads of which Greece, properly so called, quickly availed herself, making them still broader as she advanced. The colonies have a right, therefore, to the gratitude of Greece and of the world; for without them, without their work of all kinds, — which was often inexperienced, but almost always splendid, — the age of Perikles, whose many masterpieces we shall shortly examine, either had never come at all, or had remained far beneath its actual development.

¹ See Chapter XXVII. and XXX.

² Engraved stone, from C. W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings* (1872), pl. xxxv., iii. 5.



ASTRONOMER TAKING MEASUREMENTS ON A GLOBE.²

CHAPTER XIV.

SUBJUGATION OF THE GREEK COLONIES BEFORE THE MEDIAN WARS.

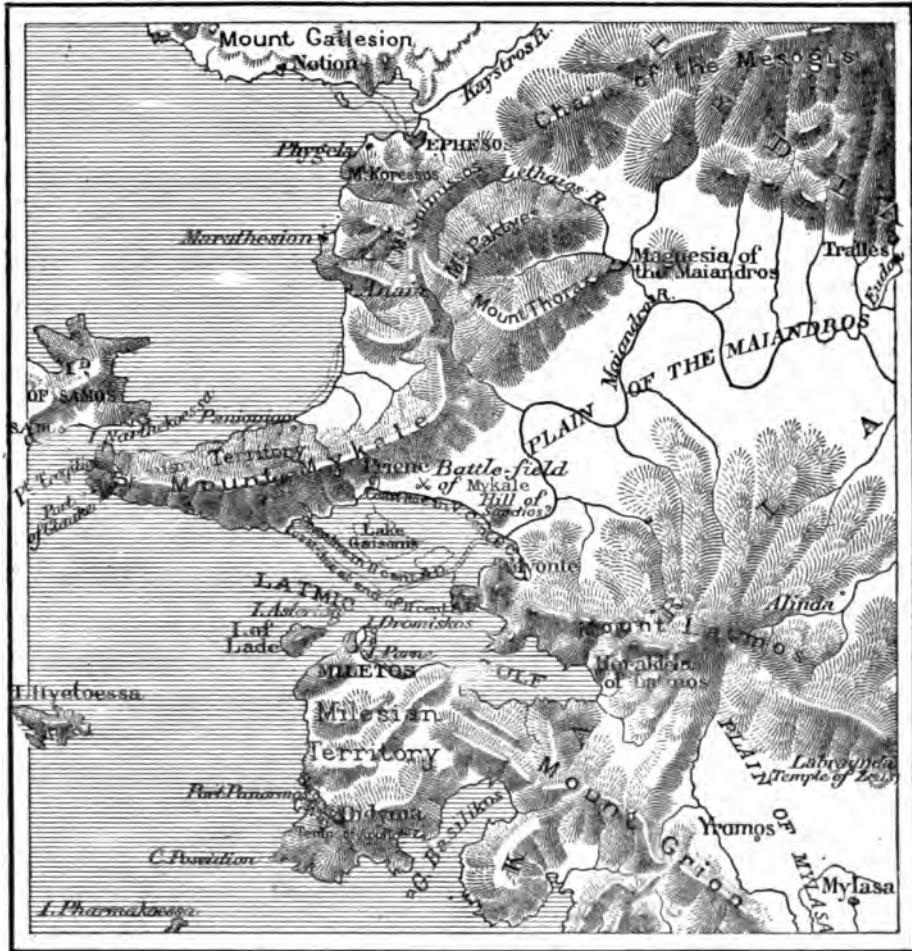
I. — CONQUESTS OF THE LYDIANS AND THE PERSIANS.

THE Greece of Asia would have been the true Greece if she had had the Thermopylai behind her. But Nature, lavish of gifts towards this region, had done nothing for its defence, and its populations were not capable of that strong military organization which might have served them in the place of natural ramparts. The spirit of union was lacking; and in their unwillingness to sacrifice a part of that liberty they used so well, they lost all. Also, they had too much wealth; "their trailing garments, artistically wrought, their long, perfumed hair,"¹ reveal the effeminacy of a life which was not disturbed by anxieties as to the future. Their subjugation by the barbarian peoples around them had for consequence their moral decadence. We will glance rapidly at this sad story.

The Ionian colonies were long governed by princes of the house of Kodros, whose descendants, as late as the time of Strabo, enjoyed at Ephesos prerogatives which bring to mind their former dignity; but in these cities, with a commercial population composed of very diverse elements, it was inevitable that democracy should have a rapid growth. Royalty was abolished among them only a few generations later than their arrival on the coasts of Asia. As in the mother-country, an aristocracy sought to take the place of the kings, and prolonged strifes distracted the State. Herodotos mentions a war at Miletos which lasted two centuries.

¹ Lines by the philosopher Xenophanes, who was himself an Ionian (*Bergk, Poetae lyr.*, ii. 357).

The liberal party in the end triumphed; and this was well. But independence should have been protected by making common cause for defence; and not one of these brilliant cities dreamed of relinquishing her selfish isolation.



MILETOS AND THE LATMIC GULF.

Still, it was easy to see that behind them was a great danger. Having occupied all the western coast of Asia Minor and built three great cities,—Ephesus, Smyrna, and Miletos, at the mouths of its rivers, the Hermos, the Kaystros, and the Maiandros, they prohibited to the Lydian kings all access to the sea. When, in the course of the seventh century B. C., these kings became powerful enough, they turned their arms against the strangers thus

established on their territory. These Lydians have been thought to be Semites; Herodotos, their neighbor, comes very near calling



COIN ATTRIBUTED TO GYGES.¹

them Greeks, — at least he assigns to them Herakleids as their first kings, and shows us their second royal race in constant communication with the oracle of Delphi. He himself saw and touched in the temple

the rich gifts sent by them to Apollo. It was, however, the very king who had been most generous towards the Hellenic sanctuary,



VIEW OF PRIENE.²

Gyges, who began the war against the Asiatic Greeks; he seized Kolophon, and Priene fell into the hands of Ardys, his successor. But about this time the barbaric world was shaken by a great movement north of the Euxine, the Caucasus, and the River Oxus. The nomads who wandered through these vast solitudes flung themselves from two sides at once upon Asia. While the Scythians

¹ Striated surface, without stamp. Reverse: incused square, resulting from the imprint of three stamps. (Stater of electrum; globulous.)

² The city and akropolis of Priene, on Mount Mykale: source of the Gaisson. From O. Rayet and A. Thomas, *Milet et le golfe Latmique*, pl. 5. See map on preceding page.

advanced across the countries of the Medians and Assyrians as far as Egypt, the Kimmerians penetrated into Asia Minor and ravaged all its western portion. Sardis was taken, and Ionia itself suffered from disasters whose sad echo comes down to our own times in the verses of Kallinos. This poet was a native of Ephesos, and was regarded by the ancients as the inventor of elegiac poetry. To revive the courage of his fellow-countrymen, he addressed them in martial lines of great beauty.²



STATER OF ELECTRUM.¹

Sadyattes and his son Alyattes resumed the projects of their predecessors against the Greek colonies. The latter especially manifested persistent hostility towards Miletos. Failing in his attempts to capture the city by force, he sought to reduce it by famine. This was his method of invasion. Says Herodotos:—

“Every summer when the harvests were ripe he led his army into their territory, attended in his march with pipes, harps, and flutes, masculine and feminine. On his arrival he neither demolished nor burned their houses, nor forced off the doors, but let them stand as they were. Then, when he had destroyed their trees, and the fruits on the ground, he returned home; for the people of Miletos were masters of the sea, so that it was of no use to besiege the city. And the Lydian king would not destroy their houses for this reason, that the people, having these habitations, would come out to

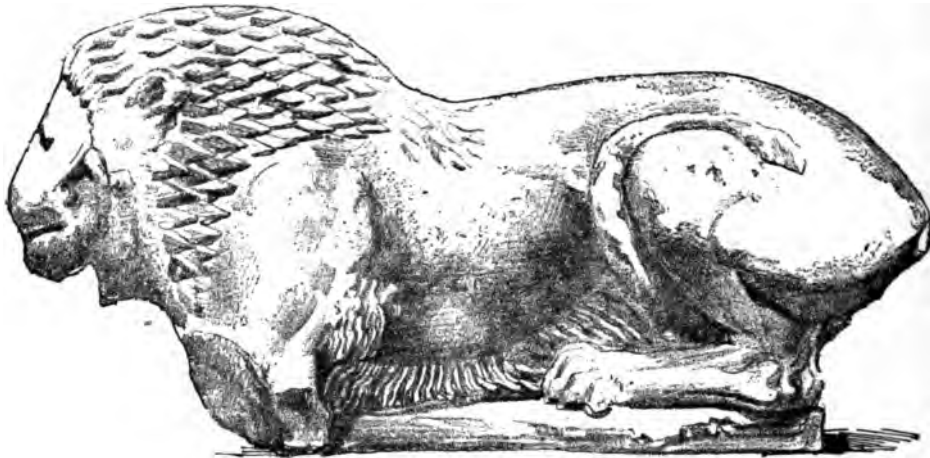
¹ Anterior part of a lion, with open mouth, in rude and archaic style. Reverse: incused square, resulting from the imprint of three dies, as on the coin of Gyges. (Stater of electrum, globulous.) Coin attributed to Sadyattes.

² [“Bright and glorious it is, that soldier's fate who, in armor,
 Stands for his children and home, stands for the wife of his heart,
 Bravely opposed to the foe. So death may come on when he listeth,
 And life's thread's at an end. Then let him on to the field,
 Holding on high the spear, and pressing his heart to the buckler
 Firmly, when Ares first mingles the bold in the fray.
 Think not fate will allow for a man to live always unharmed,
 Great though he be, though he boast sires of the race of the gods.
 What though the coward pass through the battle of lances and arrows,
 Safe to his home he may flee, — death will o'ertake him at home.
 But then, think not he dies lamented, loved by the people,
 While both the high and the low weep by the tomb of the brave.
 Yes, with a nation's tears, where'er he may die, we bewail him;
 And if he live, he is hailed all but a god upon earth.
 Strong as a tower of defence in the fight do we gaze on our hero;
 His are deeds of an host, — aye, and he does them alone.”

English Hexameter Translations, London: John Murray, 1847. — Ed.]

sow and cultivate the ground again another year; and when they had cultivated it, he would have something to ravage when he should come again with his army.

“Thus the Lydians made war upon Miletos for eleven years, and in the twelfth year, after they had set fire to the corn, according to their custom, the flames spread to a temple of Athene; and almost immediately Alyattes fell ill. He sent to consult the Pythia, and received orders to rebuild the temple. Upon this he sought to obtain a truce with the people of Miletos,



MARBLE LION FOUND AT MILETOS.¹

that he might obey the divine command. Thrasyboulos, tyrant of Miletos, hearing that an envoy from the Lydian king was on the way, devised a stratagem to deceive Alyattes as to the condition in which the city was, after the



STATER OF ELECTRUM.²

eleven years' war that the latter had waged with it. He collected in the market-place all the corn that was in the city, both his own and that which belonged to private persons, and made proclamation that at a given signal all the inhabitants should assemble and feast

together in public. Thrasyboulos contrived this to the end that the Sardinian herald, seeing so great profusion of food, and the people merry-making, should report accordingly to Alyattes; and so it came to pass. For Alyattes, expecting that there was great scarcity in Miletos, and that the people

¹ Marble found in the necropolis of Miletos, by O. Rayet; now in the Louvre.

² Bull walking, with lowered head. Reverse, incused square made by the imprint of three dies, as on the coins of Gyges and Sadyattes. (Coin attributed to Alyattes; globulous.)

NOTE. — The map opposite is from G. Weber, *Essai sur la chorographie d'Ephèse*, in the *Μουσείον και Βιβλιοθήκη της Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς*, 1884.



were reduced to extreme distress, received from the herald on his return an account quite contrary to what he had expected. Whereupon he negotiated at once with Thrasyboulos, and a reconciliation took place, on terms of mutual friendship and alliance. And Alyattes built two temples to Athene instead of one, and himself recovered from sickness."

Miletos was saved, but Smyrna and Ephesos were taken, although the Ephesians had consecrated their city to Artemis, by attaching to her temple ropes, of which the other extremity was secured to the city walls, seven stadia distant. The other cities fell, one after another, under the attack of Cræsus, who forced

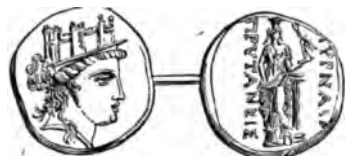
COIN OF MILETOS.¹COIN OF EPHEOS.²

them to destroy a part of their walls, so that his troops could at all times enter freely. He even thought of waging war with the insular Greeks, but was deterred by Bias. "O king!" he said, "it is reported that the islanders are enlisting a large body of cavalry, with intention to make war upon you and Sardis." "May the gods put such a thought into their minds," rejoined the king, "as to attack the Lydians with horses." "Truly it would be madness," replied Bias; "but what can you imagine the islanders more earnestly desire than to catch the Lydians at sea, that they may revenge upon you the suffering of the Greeks who dwell on the continent whom you hold in subjection?" This argument convinced the king; he abandoned his project, and made treaties with the islanders, and used his power so mildly in the case of the Asiatic Greeks that they refused to be persuaded by Cyrus to attack the Lydians.

¹ Lion's head, with open mouth; underneath, a club; in the field MA. initials of a magistrate's name. Reverse: star with four great rays and four lesser ones. (Silver.)

² A bee between the letters ΕΦ ('Εφεσίων). Reverse: anterior portion of a stag running, the head thrown back in alarm; behind, a palm-tree. Legend: ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ, magistrate's name. (Silver.)

Croesus, whose mother was an Ionian, was a powerful and generous king, a lover of the arts, and almost a Greek; he frequently consulted the Pythia, welcomed at his court Bias of Priene, Pittakos of Mytilene, possibly Solon of Athens, and

GOLD COIN OF SMYRNA.¹

acknowledged the supremacy of a higher civilization. He had extended his dominion as far as the river Halys. When the Medes and their king, Astyages, had been conquered by Cyrus, he believed it the moment for him to seize

upon the empire of Asia. Herodotos relates with satisfaction the misfortunes of this king. We listen to the old historian without always believing him; but his stories are a welcome diversion from the abstract ideas of philosophical history. What Joinville is to French history, Herodotos is to Greek; and he is no less pious than the mediæval chronicler. In his lively narrative, we shall find

COIN ATTRIBUTED TO CROESUS.²

the confirmation, and, so to speak, the working out of the religious ideas which we have previously explained. This contemporary of Thucydides is the last representative of the old theology, which the historian of the Peloponnesian War utterly disregards. If truth is not in the details given of the tragic adventures of Croesus and his sons, it certainly is in the spirit of him who narrates them. He makes clear to us what were the ideas current among

¹ Turreted head of Kybele, right profile. Reverse: ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ. Turret-crowned Kybele standing, holding up with her right hand the folds of her peplos, the left arm resting on a low column, and holding in the left hand a small Victory who is about to crown her. At the side, the word ΠΥΤΑΝΕΙΣ (the *pytaneis*).

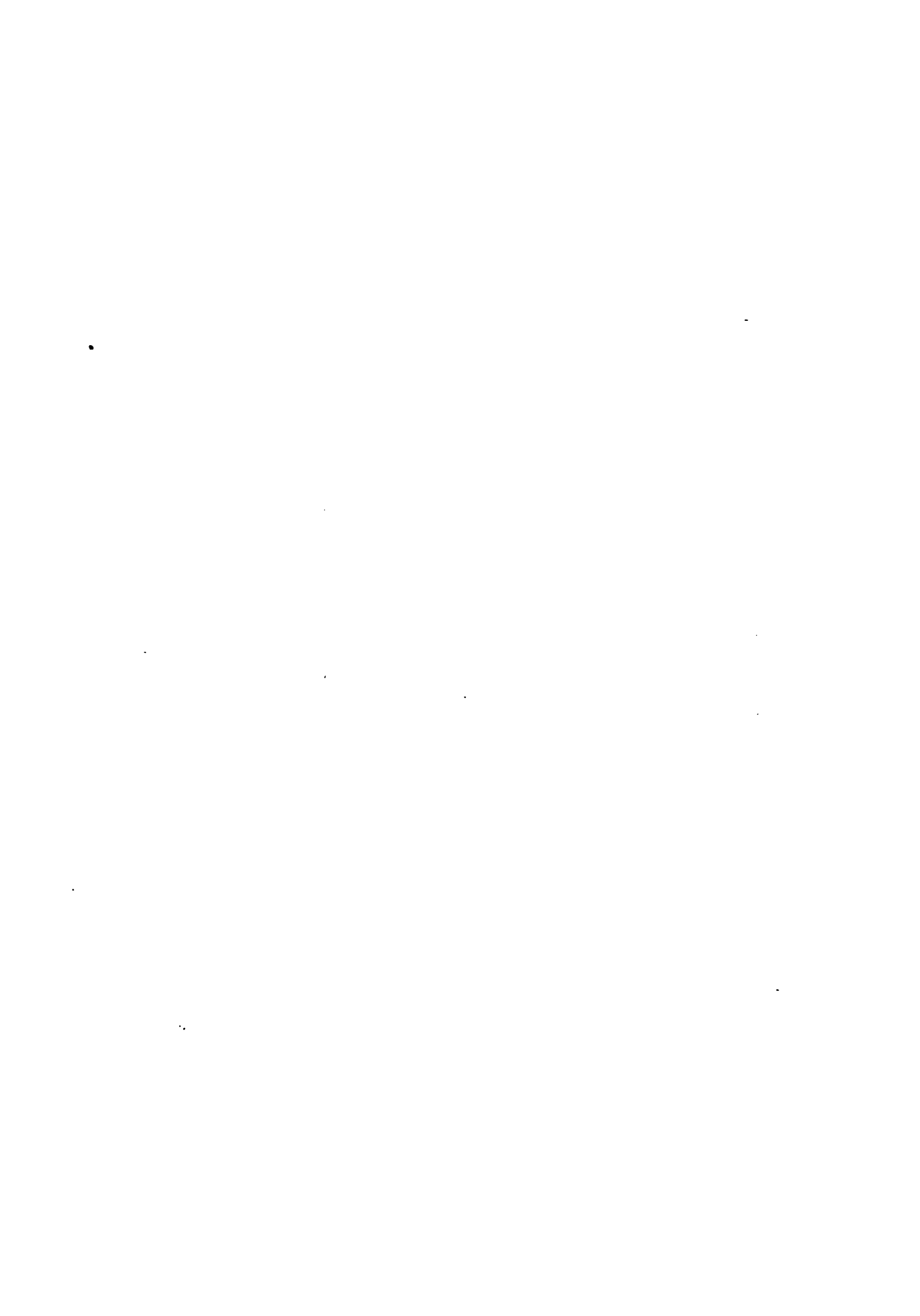
² Two fore-parts of bulls, adossed and bound together. Reverse, incused square, resulting from three punch-marks, as in Lydian coins preceding. (Stater of electrum; globulous.)

NOTE. — Statue of Artemis, of Oriental alabaster, in the Museum of Naples; from a photograph. The goddess wears on her head the polos, to which is attached a circular ornament, covered, like all the other parts of the statue, with symbolical representations. The figure is bare above the waist, showing the many breasts of the Ephesian goddess, and below disappears entirely in a kind of case, ornamented with zones of animals and insects, — rams and winged bulls and bees. The bee is also represented upon Ephesian coins. Lions are carved upon the arms; the open hands are without attribute. The statue at Naples is one of the numerous imitations of the chryselephantine statue, partly wooden, which adorned the temple of Ephesos.

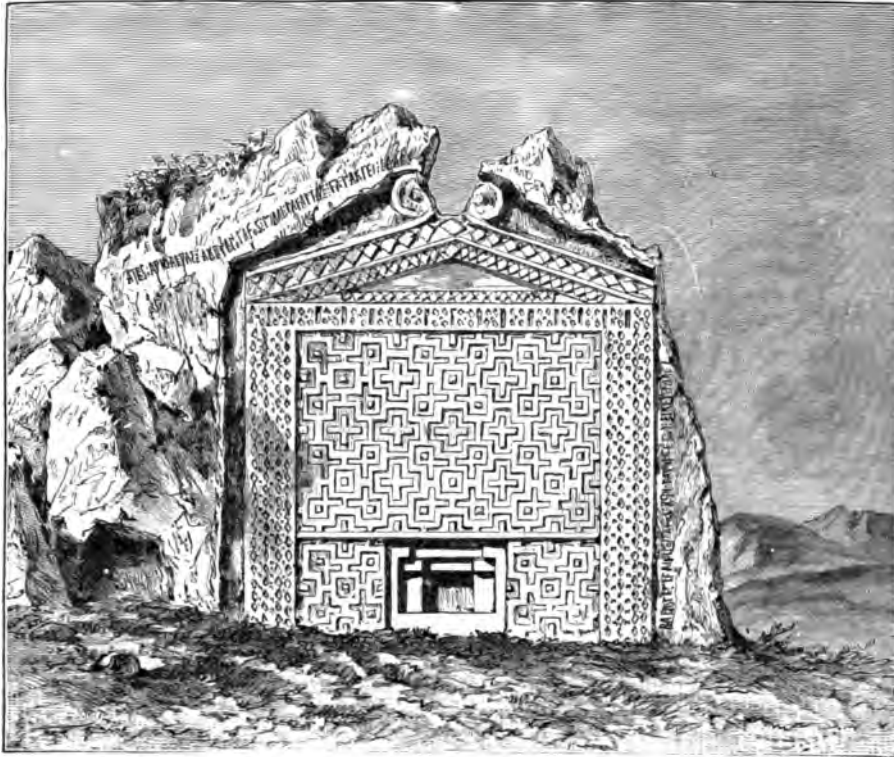


ARTEMIS OF EPHEOS.

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the Greeks as late as the middle of the fifth century B. C., and we shall better understand the important rôle of oracles during



TOMB OF MIDAS.¹

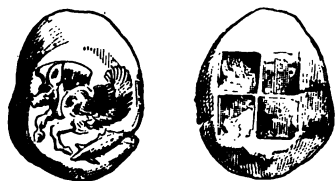
the Median wars when we see the solicitude of a barbarian king in respect to them.

“Now, the indignation of the gods fell heavy upon Crœsus, probably because he thought himself the most fortunate of all men. A dream came to him while he was asleep which showed him the misfortunes that were

¹ Phrygian tomb, hewn in the rock (from L. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, vol. I. p. 154, pl. 56). This monument was discovered by Colonel Leake, and the name of Midas occurs in the inscription, which is forty-two feet long; it is the fourth word. The sixth word is: *FANAKTEI* (*Fίνακτι*). The following, therefore, seems to be the meaning: “So-and-so has consecrated to Midas, king . . .” Who this Midas was we have no means of knowing; the monument is, however, very interesting. The façade, which has in it a shallow niche, is ornamented with Greek figures framed in a frieze. This has incised lozenges and is surmounted by a pediment, on the top of which is a kind of volute. This is the purely geometrical decoration of which archaic art offers us so many examples. (See A. Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, pp. 23, 24 et seq.)

about to fall upon him in the person of one of his sons. For Cræsus had two sons, of whom one was grievously afflicted, for he was dumb; but the other, whose name was Atys, far surpassed all the young men of his age. Now, the dream intimated to Cræsus that he should lose his son Atys by a wound from the point of an iron weapon; and after this Cræsus never again sent him, as heretofore, in command of the Lydian troops, and the king also caused all spears, lances, and weapons of that kind to be removed to a place of safety, lest, remaining suspended as usual, they might fall upon his son, and so bring to pass the dream.

“Shortly after, there came to Sardis a Phrygian of the royal house, oppressed by misfortune, whose hands were polluted with blood. This man,



WINGED WILD BOAR.¹

having come to the palace of Cræsus, sought to obtain purification after the Lydian custom, and received this favor from the king; then when Cræsus had performed the usual ceremonies of expiation, he asked the stranger who he was, and what man or woman he had unwittingly slain. The latter replied that he was Adrastos, the son of Gordius and grand-

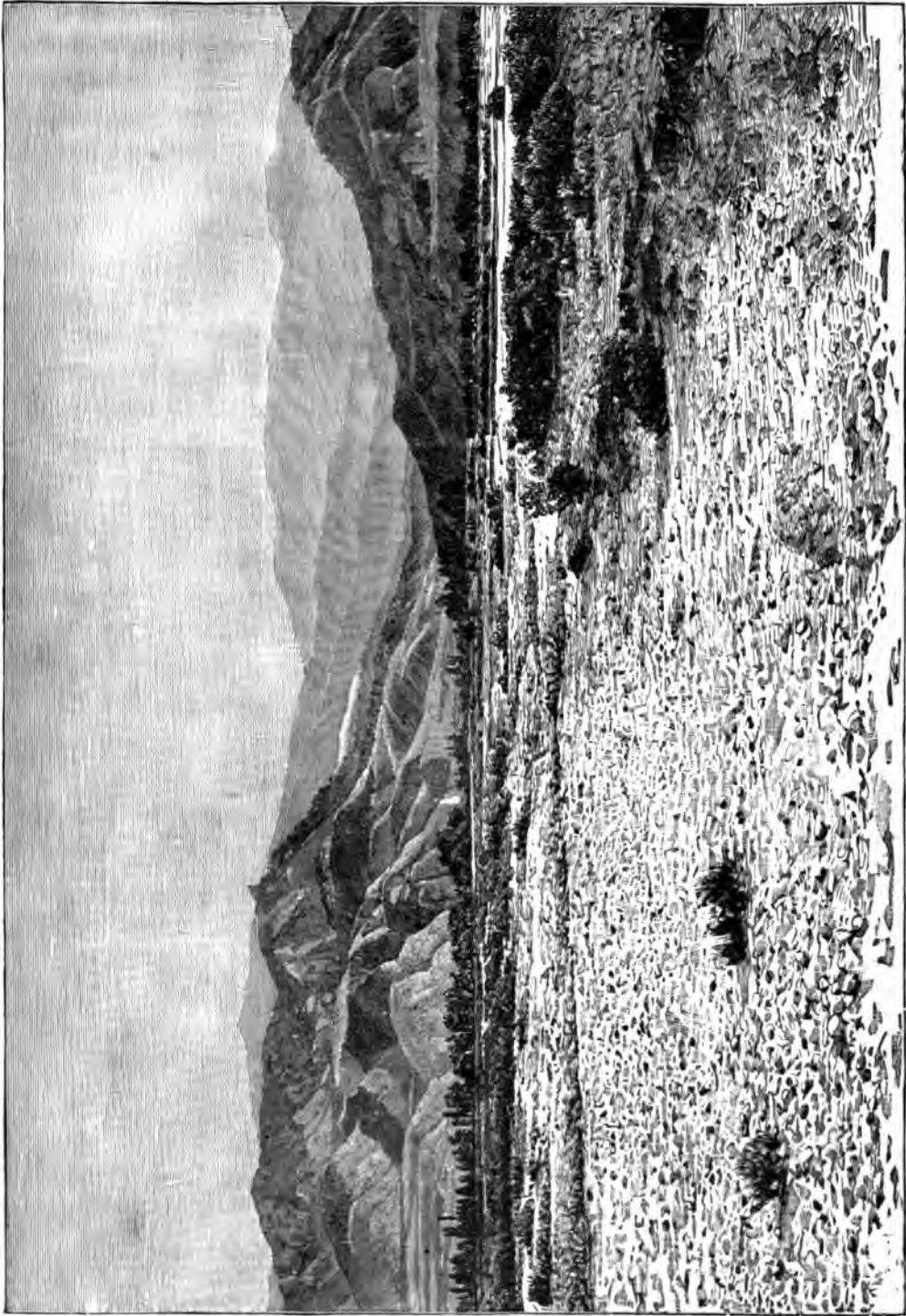
son of Midas; that he had killed his brother, and had been driven away by his father. ‘You were born of parents who are our friends,’ Cræsus said, ‘and you have come to friends, among whom, if you care to stay, you shall want nothing; and by bearing your misfortune as lightly as possible, you will be the greatest gainer.’ So Adrastos took up his abode in the palace of Cræsus.

“About this time a boar of enormous size appeared in Mysia, and, coming down from Olympos, ravaged the fields; the Mysians often went out against him, but could not do him any harm, though he did much injury to them. Then they sent messengers to Cræsus, saying: ‘O king, a boar of enormous size has appeared in our country and ravages our fields; though we have often endeavored to take him, we cannot. We therefore beg that you will send with us your son, and some picked men, with dogs, that we may drive him from the country.’ Such was their entreaty; but Cræsus, remembering the warning of his dream, answered: ‘Make no further mention of my son; but I will send with you chosen Lydians and the whole hunting-train, and will order them to assist you with their best endeavors in driving the monster from your country.’

“Such was his answer; and when the Mysians were content with this, the son of Cræsus, who had heard of their request, came in and thus addressed

¹ Fore-part of a winged boar, leaping to the left. Under it, the tunny-fish, emblem of Kyzikos. Reverse, indented square, divided into four compartments. (Gold stater of Kyzikos.)

NOTE.—The engraving opposite is from É. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie universelle*, ix. 489.



VALLEY OF THE TMOLOS (PLAIN OF SARDIS).





his father: 'Father, in time past I was permitted to distinguish myself in the two most noble and becoming exercises, war and hunting; but now you keep me excluded from both, without having observed in me either cowardice or want of spirit. How will men look at me when I appear in public, and what kind of man shall I seem to my fellow-citizens? Either suffer me then to go to this hunt, or else convince me that it is better to do as you desire.' 'My son,' Cræsus replied, 'I act thus, not because I have seen any cowardice or unbecoming conduct in you, but a vision in a dream warned me that you would be short-lived, and would die by the point of an iron weapon. On account of this vision I now refuse to send you with the Mysians, taking care to preserve you, if by any means I can, so long as I live, for you are my only son, — the other, who is deprived of the power of speech, I consider as lost.' The youth answered: 'You are not to blame, my father, if after such a dream you take so much care of me; but it is right for me to explain that which you do not comprehend in respect to this dream, which signified, you say, that I should die by the point of an iron weapon. But what hand or what pointed iron weapon has a boar, to occasion such fears in you? Had your dream said that I should lose my life by a tusk, or something of like nature, you ought then to have done as you now do; whereas it said, by the point of a weapon: since then we have not to contend against men, let me go.' 'Your interpretation is wiser than mine,' Cræsus replied; 'therefore I change my resolution, and permit you to go to the chase.'

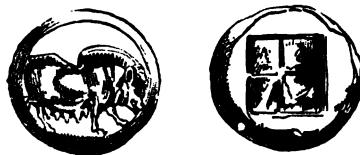
"Then the king sent for the Phrygian Adrastus and addressed him thus: 'Adrastus, I purified you when smitten with a grievous misfortune (which I do not upbraid you with), and have received you into my house, supplying you with all things necessary. Now, therefore, — for it is your



HUNTING SCENE.¹

¹ Blade of a bronze poniard, encrusted with gold, found at Mykenai (from the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.* vol. x. (1886) pl. ii. 3, and p. 341. G. Perrot). Five men are struggling against a lion. "The men wear nothing but short trousers. For weapons, four of them have lances, which

duty to requite me with kindness, since I have done you these favors, — I beg you to be my son's guardian when he goes to the chase, and take care that no robbers on the way may do harm to him. Also, you ought to go for your own sake, that you may signalize yourself by your exploits, for this was the glory of your ancestors, and you are in the full vigor of your strength.' Adrastos replied: 'On no other account, O king, would I have taken part in this enterprise; for it is not fitting that one in my unfortunate

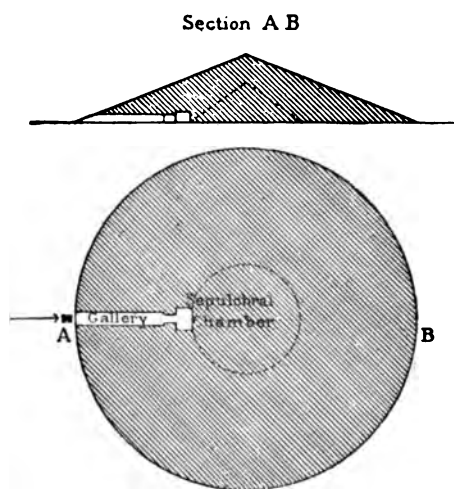


STATER OF ELECTRUM.¹

circumstances should join with his prosperous compeers, nor do I desire to do so; and indeed I have often restrained myself. But since you urge me, and I ought to oblige you, — for I am bound to requite the benefits you have conferred on me, — I am ready to do as you desire; and rest assured that your son, whom you commit to my charge, shall, so far as his guardian can protect him, receive no injury.'

"When Adrastos had made this answer to Cræsus, they went away, well provided with chosen youths and with dogs; having arrived at Mount Olympos, they sought the wild beast, and when they had found and encircled him around, they hurled their javelins at him. Among the rest the stranger Adrastos, the same that had

been purified by Cræsus, throwing his javelin at the boar, missed the animal and struck the son of Cræsus, who, fatally wounded by the point of the lance, thus fulfilled the warning of the dream.



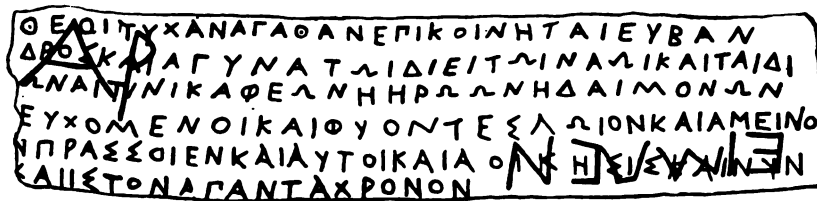
SECTION AND PLAN OF LYDIAN TOMB AT SARDIS.²

they use with both hands, and shields of two different kinds, one quadrangular, the other orbicular, and deeply indented at about the middle. One of the combatants has fallen and lies under the lion's feet. A fifth combatant, without a shield, bends the knee and stretches his bow to send an arrow. The ground is indicated by a band of gold, forming nearly a straight line." (On the technique of these ornamental weapons, see W. Helbig, *Das Homerische Epos*, p. 303.)

¹ A sow, upon a stater of electrum struck in Mysia.

² From the *Revue archéol.*, 1876, vol. ii. p. 76, fig. 12 (A. Choisy). The tombs at Sardis are nearly uniform in type. The sepulchral chamber, situated within the conical hill, is a little low room, on a level with the ground, and in every case of nearly the same dimensions, whether the mound which covers it is large or small. These dimensions are, in round numbers, 11 ft. 6 in. in greatest diameter; 2 ft. 6 in. in least diameter; and 2 ft. 6 in. in height. They lie east and west; a door in the south front opens from the central chamber into a passage-way, which, of longer or shorter extent, ends in the mass of the embankment (*Ibid.*), p. 74. Examining

“Crœsus, exceedingly distressed at his son’s death, lamented it the more bitterly because the youth fell by the hand of one whom he himself had puri-



INQUIRY ADDRESSED TO THE ORACLE OF DODONA.¹

fied from blood ; and, vehemently deploring his misfortune, he invoked Zeus the Expiator, attesting what he had suffered by this stranger. He invoked



FRAGMENT OF AN ANSWER FROM THE ORACLE OF DODONA.²

also the same divinity as the god of hospitality and private friendship, because, by receiving a stranger into his house, he had unawares fostered the murderer of his son, and because, having the stranger as a guardian, he had found him his greatest enemy. After this the Lydians approached, bearing the corpse, and behind it followed Adrastos, who, when he came near to Crœsus,

the sides of a cut made through the layers, we find that the mass of earth composing the mound was applied in regular layers around the axis of the hill, the interior layers sloping steeply, and becoming gradually more nearly horizontal. The sepulchral chamber is never in the centre, but nearer the circumference (*Ibid.*, p. 76).

¹ Inscription engraved on a leaden plaque. (From Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, pl. xxxiv. No. 3.) Θεοί. Τύχαν αγαθάν. These formulas are frequent. Then follows the inquiry : 'Ἐπικουήται Εὐβανδῆος καὶ ἡ γυναῖκα τῷ Διὶ τῷ Νάφ τῇ Διώνῃ. τίνα καὶ φεῶν ἢ ἥρώων, ἢ δαιμόνων εὐχόμενοι καὶ φύοντες, λῶϊον καὶ ἄμεινον πρᾶσσοιεν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ οἴκησις καὶ νῦν καὶ ἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. “Evandros and his wife inquire of Zeus Naios and of Dione, to which of the gods, heroes, or daimons, they should address prayers and offer sacrifices to be happy, themselves and their family, now and forever.” The formula λῶϊον καὶ ἄμεινον εἶναι οἱ πράττειν was consecrated ; we find it in questions addressed to the Pythia (*Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. vi. (1882), pp. 454 *et seq.*, Nos. 87, 88). The series of inquiries made of the oracle of Dodona is specially interesting ; a worshipper inquires if his bed-coverings and pillows, which have disappeared, are lost or stolen ; a husband asks if his wife is untrue, etc. (Carapanos, p. 75. Nos. 10 and 11.) On proceedings of divination employed by the oracle of Dodona, see Carapanos, pp. 164 *et seq.*

² Leaden plaque (from Carapanos, pl. xxxviii. No. 5). It is the god who speaks, and his reply is transcribed in the Ionian dialect : Τ[ό]δε τὸ μαντήϊον ἐγὼ χρῶ καὶ ἀλάες. “This is the oracle which I give.” The remainder is unintelligible. We know that the verb χρῶ is specially used for responses from the god. (See, in inscriptions from Delphi given above, the words : ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν.)

stretched forth his hands and begged the king to kill him, saying that he ought not to live longer. Upon this Crœsus, though his own affliction was so great,



BUST OF ZEUS AMMON.¹

pitied Adrastus, and said to him: 'You have made me full satisfaction by condemning yourself to death. But you are not the author of this misfortune

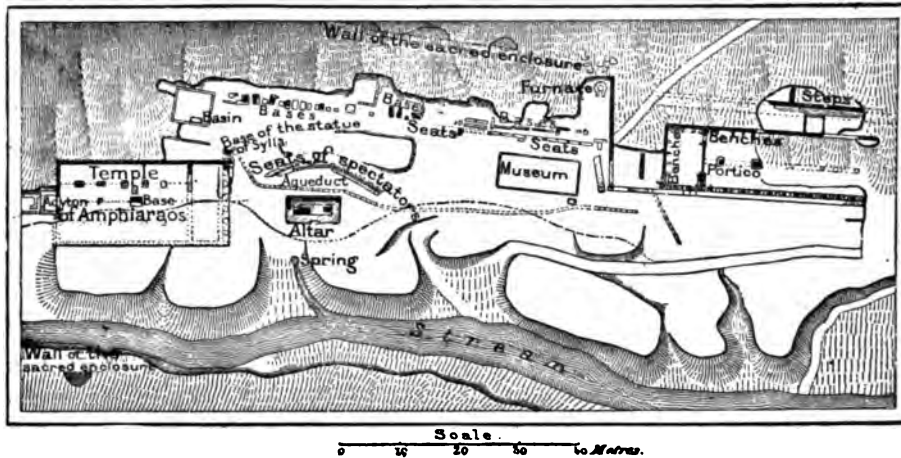
¹ Marble bust from the Museum of Naples; from a photograph. Cf. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, vol. ii. pp. 277 *et seq.*

NOTE. — The illustration facing this page represents a bas-relief on a sarcophagus in the Palazzo Doria Panfili (from Braun, *Antike Marmorwerke*, vol. ii. pl. vi.). Meleagros is attacking the boar, which, half emerging from its den, has already thrown down one of the hunters, Ankaios. Reeds and a tree indicate the place where the scene occurs. The hero, accompanied by a Molossian dog, advances against the animal, holding his lance level; one of the Dioskouroi vainly endeavors to hold him back, grasping him by the arm, while the other appears to urge him on. Meleagros is not alone in attacking the boar: at his left and a little in advance is Atalanta, who has just shot an arrow at the animal; beyond are two peasants, one about to throw a stone, and the other a stake; and at the right are two hunters, one



MELEAGROS HUNTING THE WILD BOAR OF CALYDON.

except so far as you were the involuntary agent, but that god, whoever he was, that long since foreshadowed what would take place.' Cræsus then buried his son with becoming honors; but Adrastos, son of Gordius, son of Midas, when all was silent around the tomb, judging himself the most heavily



PLAN OF THE RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF AMPHIARAOS.¹

afflicted of all men, killed himself on the tomb. But Cræsus, bereaved of his son, continued disconsolate for two years.

“Some time after, the overthrow of the kingdom of Astyages, son of Cyaxares, by Cyrus, son of Cambyses, and the growing power of the Persians, put an end to the grief of Cræsus; and it entered into his thoughts whether he could by any means check this power before it became formidable. After he had formed this purpose, he determined to make trial of Greek oracles as well as of those in Libya; and he sent different persons to different places,

brandishing a lance, the other about to make his escape. — The scene in the left part of the bas-relief is less clear: it represents a time before the attack. At the left is a figure supposed to be the king Oineus; near him is Ankaïos, armed with an axe, and Atalanta. (In respect to sarcophagi with representations of the myth of Meleager, see *Annali dell' Instit. archeol.*, 1863, pp. 81–105, and 1869, pp. 76–103, F. Matz.)

¹ From the *Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας τοῦ ἔτους*, 1884, Πίν. Ε'. The explorations undertaken in 1884 by the Archaeological Society of Athens at Mavrodilesi, between the village of Kalamo and the Skala (wharf) of Oropo, resulted in the discovery of the temple of Amphiaraos, of which only the northern half remains standing. The whole southern half has been carried away by the torrent. The temple stood near a spring, the water of which was used neither for sacrifices nor for purifications. According to Pausanias (i. 34, 4), this was the proceeding in the case of those who came to seek healing or the solution of a difficulty; the worshipper sacrificed a ram and carefully preserved the skin. In the night he entered the temple, stretched the skin upon the floor, and lay down to sleep, awaiting some answer in a dream. In case of cure, the suppliant was required to throw into the spring a piece of gold or silver. (Cf. Hyperides, in the *Oratores Attici* (ed. Didot), vol. ii. p. 377, §§ 14 *et seq.* See also the *Ploutos* of Aristophanes, 620 *et seq.*, and later in this work what is said of the Asklepieion of Athens.)

some to Delphi, some to Abai in Phokis, and some to Dodona,— others were sent to consult Amphiaraios and Trophonios, and others to Branchidai in Milesia; these were the Greek oracles. Also Cræsus sent to Ammon in



ΑΝΕΘΕΑΝ

ΙΟΙΝΕΥΣΙΒΙΟΙ
ΝΤΡΙΟΝ ΜΑΣΤΟΙ

EX-VOTO TO THE ISMENIAN APOLLO.¹

Libya. And he sent them different ways, designing to make trial of what the oracles knew, in order that, if they should be found to know the truth, he might send a second time to inquire whether he should venture to make war upon the Persians; and he gave this order to his messengers, that, computing the time from their departure from Sardis, they should consult the oracles on the hundredth day, by asking what Cræsus, the son of Alyattes and king of the Lydians, was then doing; and that they should bring him the answer of each oracle in writing. Now, what were the answers given by the other oracles is mentioned by none; but no sooner had the Lydians entered the temple of Delphi to consult the god and asked the question enjoined them, than the Pythia thus spoke in hexameter verse: 'I know the number of the sands, and the measure of the sea; I understand the dumb and hear him that does not speak; the savor of the hard-shelled tortoise boiled in brass with the flesh of lamb, strikes on my senses; brass is laid beneath, and brass is put over it.' The Lydians, having written down this answer of the Pythia, returned to Sardis. And when the rest, who had been sent to other places, arrived, bringing the answers, Cræsus, having opened each of them, examined their contents, but none of them were satisfactory to him. When, however, he heard that from the Pythia, he immediately adored it and approved of it, being convinced that this oracle was a true one, because it had discovered what he had done. For when he

¹ Archaic statuette in bronze (from the *Mittheil. d. d. archäolog. Instit. in Athen*, vol. i., 1876, pl. v.). The inscription engraved on the legs is a dedication, Πρωίων . . . μαστός τοί Ἰσμενίου ἀνέθεαν. The dealer asserted that this statuette was found in the ruins of the castle of Chalkis; but Foucart (*Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, 1879, vol. ii. p. 139) believed this statement unfounded, and attributes the figurine to the city of Thebes and the temple of the Ismenian Apollo; this city was the only one in which we are sure that there was a temple of this name. Furthermore, the name Πρωίων is peculiar to Boiotia; it is plainly formed from the epithet of Apollo, Πρωίος. Lastly, the termination οι and the form of the aorist ἀνέθεαν belong to the Boiotian dialect, the termination οι being particularly common in Thebes.

had sent persons to consult the different oracles, watching the appointed day, he had recourse to this contrivance: having thought of what it was impossible to discover or guess at, he cut up a tortoise and a lamb, and boiled them himself together in a brazen caldron, and put over it a brass cover.

“Such then was the oracle given to Cræsus from Delphi. As regards the answer of the oracle of Amphiaraos, I cannot say what reply it made to the Lydians who performed the accustomed rites at the temple; for nothing else is related than that Cræsus considered this also to be a true oracle. He now endeavored to propitiate the god at Delphi by magnificent sacrifices, for he offered three thousand head of cattle of every kind fit for sacrifice, and, having heaped up a great pile, he burned on it beds of gold and silver, vials of gold, and purple robes and garments, hoping by that means more completely to conciliate the god. From the melted gold and silver he cast a hundred and seventeen half-bricks, four of pure gold weighing each two talents¹ and a half, and the rest, of pale gold, weighing two talents each. He also made the figure of a lion of fine gold weighing ten talents. He also sent two large bowls, one of gold, which weighed eight talents and two thirds, and one of silver, which contained six hundred *amphoreis*.² He also sent four silver casks and two lustral vases, one of gold and one of silver, and many other offerings, among them some round silver covers; and a statue of a woman in gold, four and a half feet high; and to all these things he added the necklaces and girdles of his wife.

“These were the offerings he sent to Delphi and to Amphiaraos. Having ascertained his virtue and sufferings, he dedicated a shield all of gold and a lance of solid gold, the shaft as well as the points being of gold; and these are at Thebes, in the temple of Ismenian Apollo. To the Lydians appointed to convey these presents to the temples, Cræsus gave it in charge to inquire of the oracles whether he should make war on the Persians, and if he should unite any other nation as an ally. Accordingly, when the Lydians arrived at the places to which they were sent, and had dedicated the offerings, they consulted the oracles, saying: ‘Cræsus, king of the Lydians and of other nations, esteeming these to be the only oracles among men, sends these presents in acknowledgment of your discoveries; and now asks whether he should lead an army against the Persians, and whether he should join any auxiliary forces with his own.’ Such were their questions, and the opinions of both oracles concurred, foretelling that if Cræsus should make war upon the Persians, he would destroy a mighty empire; and they advised him to engage the most powerful of the Greeks in his alliance. When Cræsus heard the answers that were brought back, he was beyond measure delighted with the oracles, and, fully expecting that he should destroy the kingdom of Cyrus, he

¹ [The talent is a weight of about eighty pounds. — Ed.]

² [The Greek amphoreus was equal to about nine gallons. — Ed.]

again sent to Delphi, and, having ascertained the number of the inhabitants, presented each man with two staters of gold.¹ In return for this the Delphians gave Crœsus and the Lydians the right to consult the oracle before any others, and exemption from tribute, and the first seats in the temple, and the privilege of citizenship to any who should desire it in all future time. A third time Crœsus sent to consult the oracle, for having ascertained its veracity, he had frequent recourse to it. His inquiry now was, whether he should long enjoy the kingdom; to which the Pythia made this reply: ‘When a mule shall become king of the Medes, then, effeminate Lydian, flee over pebbly Hermos, nor tarry, nor blush to be a coward.’ With this answer, when reported to him, Crœsus was more than ever delighted, thinking that a mule

BRONZE COIN.²BRONZE COIN.³

should never be king of the Medes instead of a man, and, consequently, that neither he nor his posterity should ever be deprived of the kingdom. He then began to inquire carefully who were the most powerful of the Greeks whom he might gain over as allies; and on inquiry found that the Spartans and Athenians excelled the rest, the former being of Dorian and the latter of Ionian descent, and that of these, the Athenians were oppressed and distracted by the tyranny of Peisistratos, while the Spartans had been victorious over all their enemies. Whereupon, he sent ambassadors to Sparta with presents, and to request their alliance.”

But, unfortunately for Crœsus, the king who reigned at this time in Susa was of hybrid race, Cyrus, son of the Persian Cambyses and of Mandana, a princess of Media. This was “the mule” of the oracle, and Crœsus incurred his hostility by crossing the Halys, which was the boundary of the two empires. Herodotos narrates the battle, lost by the Lydians, the siege of Sardis, and then its capture (546 B. C.). But the old historian cannot admit that the affair was settled so simply, that this great kingdom was lost in a single battle, and that this king,

¹ [The Lydian stater is believed to be about equal to four dollars. — ED.]

² The Hermos, seated to the left, holding in the right hand a reed, in the left a cornucopia, and leaning upon an urn, whence water is flowing; in the exergue, the name ΕΡΜΟC. Legend: ΚΑΙΤΤΗΝΩΝ. (Reverse of a coin of Saittai in Lydia, with the effigy of Julia Mamaea.)

³ The Halys, seated, leaning with the left hand on an urn whence water is flowing, and holding in the right hand a large sea-plant in flower. Legend: ΑΝΚΥΡΑC ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC. (Reverse of a coin of Ankyra in Galatea, with the effigy of Caracalla.)

so devout towards the gods of Greece, disappeared from the scene without exciting the special interest of heaven, or being in any way rewarded for his offerings to Apollo. Herodotos says:

“Croesus had a son, of whom I have before made mention, admirable in all other respects, but dumb. Now, in the time of his former prosperity



CYRUS.¹

Croesus had done everything he could for the youth, and among other expedients had sent to consult the oracle in his behalf, receiving this answer: ‘O Lydian by birth, king of many, very foolish Croesus, wish not to

¹ Bas-relief of Meched-Mongal. (from Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse*, 1884, pl. xvii.). The king wears a crown adorned with the uræus, and in the right hand holds a statuette, whose head-dress is also surmounted with the uræus. All these attributes are Egyptian, as the great wings displayed are Assyrian.

PILLAR FROM THE PALACE OF CYRUS.¹

hear the longed-for voice of thy son speaking within thy palace; it would be better for thee that this should be far off: for he will first speak on an unhappy day.' Now, when the city was taken, one of the Persians, not recognizing

¹ From the *Tour du Monde*, xlvii. 199 (Mme. Jane Dieulafoy). The pillar is of calcareous stone, and has on the upper part a trilingual inscription in Persian, Median, and Assyrian: "I, Cyrus, Achaimenid king." (See Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse*, pl. xiv.)

Cræsus, was about to kill him. Cræsus, though he saw the soldier coming towards him, yet from his own present misfortunes took no heed, nor cared, indeed, if he should perish by the blow; but this speechless son, when he saw the Persian about to kill his father, through dread and anguish burst into speech, exclaiming, 'Man, kill not Cræsus!' These were the first words he ever uttered; but from that time he continued able to speak during the rest of his life. So the Persians obtained possession of Sardis, and made Cræsus prisoner, after he had reigned fourteen years and been besieged fourteen days, thus losing his great empire, as the oracle predicted. The



EX-VOTO TO THE APOLLO OF PRIENE.¹

Persians, having taken him, conducted him to Cyrus, and he, having heaped up a great pile, placed Cræsus upon it bound with fetters, and with him



GOLD COIN OF CRÆSUS.²

fourteen young Lydians,—designing either to offer this sacrifice to some god as the first-fruits of his victory, or wishing to perform a vow; or perhaps, having heard that Cræsus was a religious person, he placed him on the pile for the purpose of discovering whether any divinity

would save him from being burned alive. And it is related that when Cræsus stood upon the pile, notwithstanding the weight of his misfortunes, the words formerly spoken to him by Solon recurred to his mind as truly inspired; namely, that no living man could justly be called happy. When this occurred to him, it is said that, after long silence, uttering a groan, he three times spoke aloud the name of Solon. He was heard by Cyrus, who sent his interpreters to inquire upon whom he called; but Cræsus was reluctant to answer. At last, being constrained to do so, he said: 'I named a man whose discourse it is more profitable for a king to hear than to be the

¹ A bronze hare, now in the British Museum; from Röhl, *Inscriptiones Gr. antiquissimæ*, No. 385. The hare is represented dead and hung by the two fore-paws. The inscription is as follows: Τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πριηνίτῃ μ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἡφαιστίων. "Hephaestion dedicated me to Apollo of Priene." The engraver has omitted one of the sides of the *nu* in the word Πριηνίτῃ.

² Lion devouring a bull. Only the fore-part of the two animals is represented; the reverse is a punch-mark. Weight $\frac{1}{4}$ oz.

possessor of great riches.' When he had given this obscure answer, they inquired further; and as they persisted and were very importunate, he at length told them that Solon, an Athenian, formerly visited him, and, having viewed all his treasures, made no account of them, and that the things of which the sage had warned him had all in reality taken place, and that what Solon had said concerned not Cræsus only, but all mankind as well, especially those who imagined themselves fortunate. By this time the outer



MEDALLION OF SARDIS.¹

parts of the pile, having been set on fire, had begun to burn; upon which Cyrus, informed by the interpreters of what Cræsus had said, relented, and considering that, being himself but a man, he was yet going to burn another man alive

who had been in no way inferior to himself in prosperity,—fearing retribution, moreover, and reflecting that nothing human is permanent,—ordered the fire to be instantly extinguished, and Cræsus, with the young Lydians, to be taken down. With all their efforts, however, the officers were unable to master the fire. The Lydians relate that upon this, Cræsus, perceiving that Cyrus had altered his intention, and that every one was striving, though vainly, to put out the fire, cried aloud, invoking Apollo, and besought the god, if any offerings he had ever made had been agreeable to the divinity, to protect and deliver him from the present day; and that, as he with tears invoked the god, on a sudden clouds gathered in the sky, which had been serene, and a violent storm burst forth, vehement rain falling and extinguishing the flames;¹ by which Cyrus, perceiving that Cræsus was beloved by the gods, and a good man, when he had had him taken down from the pile, asked him this question: 'Who persuaded you, Cræsus, to invade my territory, and to become my enemy instead of my friend?' To which Cræsus replied: 'O king, what I have done has resulted in your good fortune

¹ Bust of the personified city, right profile, veiled and crowned with towers. Legend: *ΚΑΡΔΙΟΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ* (Sardis, first metropolis of Lydia, of Asia, of Greece). Reverse, the Sun, in a chariot drawn by two dragons, ascending the sky from left to right; near the head of the Sun, the word *ΤΥΛΟΝ*. Underneath, the Earth, lying on wheat-ears, and holding some in her right hand; near her, her name, *ΓΗ*. Legend: *ΕΠΙ ΤΩ ΑΥΡΩ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΙΑΝΟΥ* (Under the strategos Aur. Herakleidianos, coin of the Sardians, twice neokoroi). Bronze medallion.

² This account seems to be invalidated by Herodotos himself when he says that the Persians regarded it as sacrilege to burn a human body.

and my disaster, and the god of the Greeks who encouraged me to make war is the cause of all. For no man would be so foolish as to prefer war rather than peace; for in the latter, sons bury their fathers, and in the former fathers bury their sons. But it appears that the gods are pleased to have these things so.' Then Cyrus, having caused his fetters to be taken off, placed Crœsus beside him, and showed him great respect, presently giving him permission to ask whatever favor he might desire. 'O king,' Crœsus replied, 'the most acceptable favor that you can bestow upon me is to let me send my fetters to the god of the Greeks whom I have honored more than any other divinity, and to ask him if it be his custom to deceive those who deserve well of him.' Cyrus asked him what cause he had to com-

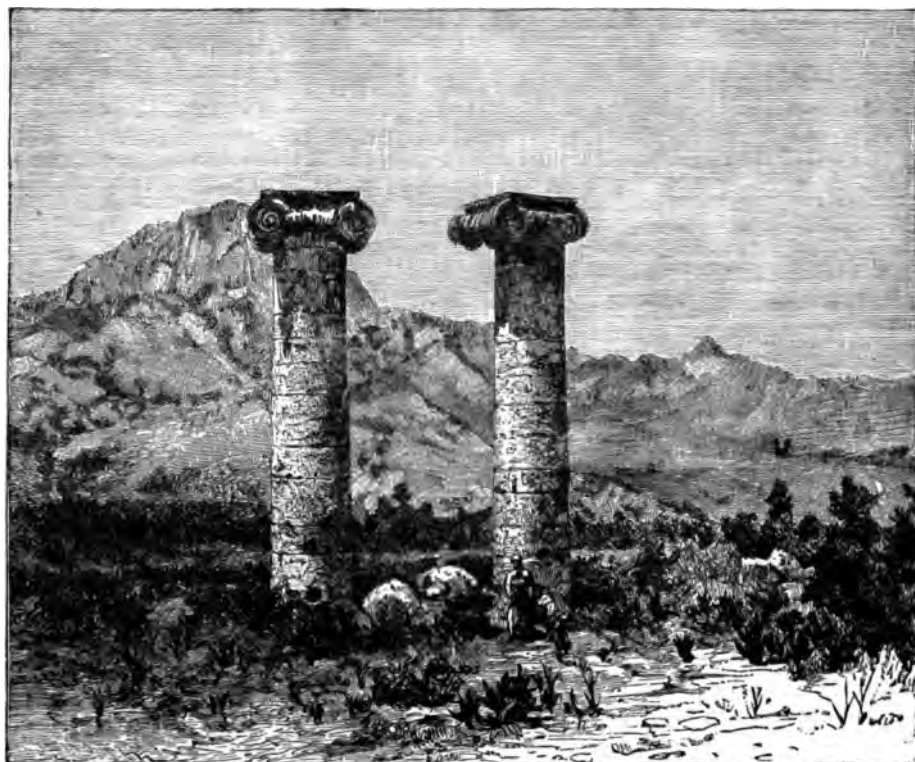


RUINS OF THE THEATRE OF SARDIS.¹

plain that led him to make this request; upon which Crœsus related to him all his projects and the answers of the oracles, and particularly the offerings he had presented, and how he had been incited by the oracle to make war upon the Persians; and having said all this, he again besought Cyrus to give him leave to reproach the god with these things. But Cyrus, smiling, said: 'You shall not only receive this boon from me, but whatever else you may at any time desire.' Upon this, Crœsus sent certain Lydians to Delphi with orders to lay his fetters at the entrance of the temple, and to ask Apollo if he were not ashamed to have encouraged Crœsus to make war upon the Persians, assuring him that he would put an end to the power of Cyrus, — of which war these fetters were the only spoils Crœsus had obtained, — and to ask if it were the custom of the Greek gods to be ungrateful. When the Lydians arrived at Delphi and delivered their message, it is said that the Pythia made answer as follows: 'The god himself is not able to pre-

¹ From the *Tour du Monde*, xi. 253.

vent the fulfilment of the decrees of fate ; Crœsus has suffered for the crime of his ancestor in the fifth generation, who murdered his master and usurped the throne. Apollo desired that the fall of Sardis should happen in the time of the sons of Crœsus rather than in that of the king himself, but it was not in his power to avert the fates ; only so far as they allowed, he conferred a favor on Crœsus, deferring the capture of Sardis for a period of three years. Let the king know, therefore, that his downfall came three years later than

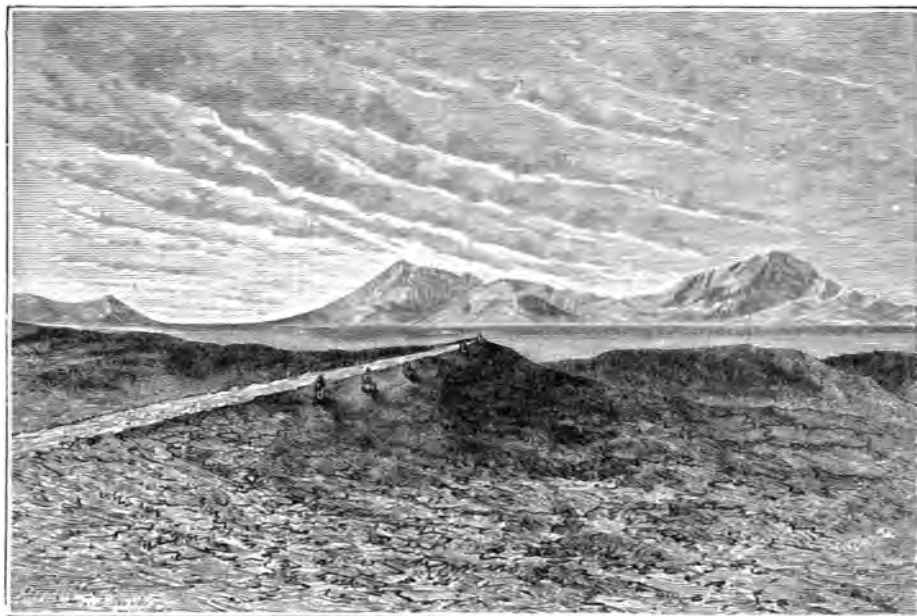


COLUMNS OF THE TEMPLE OF KYBELE AT SARDIS.¹

the fates had intended, and also that Apollo came to his relief when he was about to be burned alive. Concerning the prediction of the oracle, Crœsus has no cause to complain, for Apollo foretold this, that if the king made war on the Persians, he would cause the overthrow of a great nation ; now Crœsus, had he desired to know the truth, should have sent again to inquire which empire was meant, his own or that of Cyrus. Since, however, he neither understood the oracle nor inquired again, let him lay the blame on himself. And, again consulting it, he did not understand the answer concerning the

¹ From É. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie universelle*, ix. 607. The name of this temple is matter of discussion.

mule; for that mule was Cyrus, a man having parents of different nations, the mother superior, and the father inferior. For she was a Mede, the daughter of Astyages, king of Media; but he was a Persian, subject to the Medes.' The Pythia gave this answer to the Lydians, and they carried it to Sardis and reported it to Crœsus, who, when he heard it, acknowledged the fault to be his, and not Apollo's. Such is the account of the kingdom of Crœsus and the first subjection of Ionia.



THE SACRED ROAD OF BRANCHIDAI.¹

“When the Lydians had thus been subdued by the Persians, the Ionians and Aioliens sent ambassadors to Cyrus at Sardis, wishing to become subject to him on the same terms as they had been to Crœsus. But he, when he heard their proposal, told them this story: ‘A piper, seeing some fishes in the sea, began to pipe, expecting that they would come to shore; but finding his hopes disappointed, he took a casting-net, and enclosed a great number of fishes and drew them out. When he saw them leaping about, he said to the fishes, “Cease your dancing, since when I piped you would not come out and dance.”’ Cyrus told this story to the Ionians and Aioliens, because the Ionians, when Cyrus urged them by his ambassadors to revolt from Crœsus, refused to consent, and now, when the business was done, were willing to

¹ From C. T. Newton, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae*, pl. lxxvi. The Sacred Road led from the port of Panormos to the temple of the Didymaean Apollo; it was bordered with statues (see next page).

listen to him. He therefore, under the influence of anger, gave them this answer. But the Ionians, when this message was brought back to them, fortified all their cities and called an assembly at the Panionion, with the excep-



STATUE DISCOVERED ON THE SACRED ROAD OF BRANCHIDAI.¹

tion of the Milesians, for with them only Cyrus made alliance on the same terms as the king of Lydia had done.

“Cyrus made Tabalos, a Persian, governor of Sardis, and appointed Pactyas, a Lydian, to bring away all the gold that was in the city; he then took Cræsus with him and departed to Ecbatana, taking no notice at all of the Ionians. As soon as Cyrus had left Sardis, Pactyas incited the Lydians

¹ From a photograph. (Cf. O. Rayet and A. Thomas, *Milet et le golfe Latmique*, pl. 25.) This statue is one of those which in ancient times adorned the Sacred Road of Branchidai. Ten are now in the British Museum; uniform in style, they represent, not gods or goddesses, but men and women seated in chairs, the hands resting on the knees. The inscription, engraved on the chair, in the one represented here, is this: *Χάρης εἰμί ὁ Κλείσιος, Τειχιούσης ἀρχός. ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.* “I am Chares, son of Kleisos, archon of Teichioussa. An offering to Apollo.” This inscription and others engraved on these marbles enable us to place them in the sixtieth Olympiad, - about the last third of the sixth century B. C.

to revolt, and, going down to the sea-coast with all the gold taken from Sardis in his possession, he hired mercenaries and persuaded the inhabitants of the coast to join him, and then, returning to Sardis, besieged Tarbalos, who was shut up in the citadel. When he heard of this, Cyrus sent Mazares, a Mede, to assist Tarbalos and enslave all who had joined in the attack upon him, and by all means to bring Pactyas to him alive. But Pactyas, hearing of the approach of the army, fled in great consternation to Kyme, whither Mazares despatched messengers requiring that he should be delivered up.

“ But the people of Kyme, before deciding, resolved to refer the matter to the divinity at Branchidai, for there was an oracle there of great antiquity, which all the Ionians and Aiolians were in the habit of consulting. The oracle made answer that Pactyas should be given up; and the men of Kyme were about to do this, when a man of high repute among the citizens, Aristodikos, distrusting the messengers who had been sent to make

TETRADRACHM OF KYME.¹

inquiry, prevented them; and at last went himself, with some companions, to inquire of the god. When they arrived at Branchidai, Aristodikos consulted the oracle in the name of all, inquiring in these words: ‘O Apollo, Pactyas, a Lydian, has come to us as a suppliant to avoid a violent death at the hands of the Persians. They now demand him, and require us to give him up. We, however, though we dread the Persian power, have not yet dared to surrender the suppliant until it be plainly indicated by thee what we ought to do.’ Such was the inquiry of Aristodikos; but the oracle gave the same answer as before, and bade them surrender Pactyas to the Persians. Upon this, Aristodikos deliberately acted as follows: walking round the temple, he took away the sparrows and all other kinds of birds that had built nests in it; upon which, it is said, a voice issued from the sanctuary, and, addressing Aristodikos, spoke thus: ‘O most impious of men, how darest thou do this? Dost thou tear my suppliants from my temple?’ Aristodikos, without hesitation, replied: ‘O king, art thou then so careful to protect thy suppliants, and biddest the people of Kyme to deliver up theirs?’ The oracle rejoined: ‘Yes, I bid you do so that, having acted impiously, ye may the sooner perish, and never more come and consult the oracle about the delivering up

¹ Diademed head of the Kymaian Apollo, right profile. Reverse, KYMAION. Horse, to the left; under his feet, a vase; in the exergue, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ, magistrate’s name; the whole enclosed in a laurel wreath.

of suppliants.' When the people of Kyme heard this answer, not wishing to bring destruction on themselves by surrendering Pactyas, nor to expose themselves to the anger of the Persians by retaining him, they sent him away to Mytilene. But the Mytilenians, when Mazares sent them a message requiring them to deliver up Pactyas, were preparing to do so for some remuneration, when the people of Kyme, hearing what was intended, sent to Lesbos a vessel and carried Pactyas to Chios. Here the Chians tore him from the temple of Athene Poliarchos and delivered him up in exchange



SUPLIANT AT THE ALTAR.¹

for Atarneus, a place in Mysia opposite Lesbos. Thus Pactyas fell into the hands of the Persians, who kept him under guard that they might deliver him up to Cyrus. And for a long time after this none of the Chians would offer barley-meal from Atarneus to any of the gods, or make any cakes of anything that grew there; but all the productions of that country were excluded from the temples. Thus the Chians gave up Pactyas.

“After this, Mazares marched against those who had assisted in besieging Tarbalos; he reduced to slavery the people of Priene, and overran and pillaged the whole plain of the Meander; also he did the same with Magnesia; and shortly after fell ill and died. On his death, Harpagos came down as his successor.”

The Ionians had decided to apply for aid to Sparta; but the Spartans would not listen to them, possibly displeased by the long harangue in which one of the ambassadors addressed them. They, however, despatched emissaries to observe what was the condition of affairs. These Spartans, it is probable, saw that one

¹ Vase-painting, from Gerhard. *Auserl. Vasenbl.*, pl. clxxxv. Polyxene, pursued by Achilles and one of his companions, has taken refuge on the steps of an altar. Achilles is about to strike her.

side was too feeble, and the other too strong, to make intervention safe. The Ionians, left to their fate, succumbed. They



COIN OF ELEA (VELEIA).¹

became tributary to Persia, whose king, the better to keep them in a state of dependence, favored the efforts, in the different cities, of "tyrants," so called not because they were in all cases oppressive and cruel, but because

they exercised an authority not sanctioned by law.

The people of Phokaia set a gallant example. Besieged by Harpagos, and about to be reduced, they obtained a day's truce, ostensibly to deliberate as to the terms of surrender, and launching their fifty-oared galleys, put on board their wives, children, and goods, their images from the temples, and other offerings which could be removed, and sailed away to Chios. Here they endeavored to buy the Oinoussai Islands (so called from their abundant vineyards); but the Chians not consenting, for fear of seeing a rival commerce established at their side, the Phokaians re-embarked



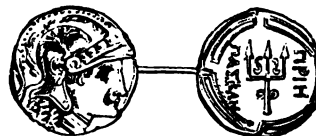
BAS-RELIEF OF ABDERA.²

and sailed for Corsica, where, twenty years earlier, they had founded the colony of Aleria. But before going in that direction they returned to Phokaia, landed there unexpectedly, and massacred the Persian garrison left by Harpagos. After this they

¹ Helmeted head of Pallas, left profile; the helmet ornamented with a griffin. Reverse, VEAHTQN. Lion devouring a ram's head. (Silver.)

² Fragment of a marble stela, from the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. iv. (1880), pl. viii. (E. Pottier). The bas-relief is of Attic style, and perhaps should be ascribed to the first half of the fifth century B. C. Holes in the fillet and at the back of the head mark the place of a metal crown.

pronounced a solemn imprecation against any one who should desert the fleet; and casting into the sea a mass of red-hot iron, swore that they would never return to Phokaia until this iron should re-appear upon the surface of the water.¹ However, as they were on their way towards Corsica, more than half the citizens were seized with regret, and longing for their city and dwellings, and violating their oaths, sailed back to Phokaia. The rest continued their voyage westward, and after various fortunes founded a city on the Italian coast, Elea, whose prosperity was rapid and durable.

COIN OF PRIENE.²BRONZE COIN.³

The inhabitants of Teos imitated the Phokaians and sailed to Thrace, where they founded the city of Abdera. But these were the only Ionians who preferred exile to servitude. The rest, even those islanders who were near the mainland and had territory on it, as Lesbos and Chios, consented to pay tribute.

“I am informed,” says Herodotos, “that at a general assembly of the Ionians, Bias of Priene gave them most salutary advice, which, if they had hearkened to him, would have made them the most flourishing of all the

¹ An inscription has been discovered near Teos which gives an example of solemn imprecation. The following is a fragment from Röhl, *Inscript. Gr. antiquiss.*, No. 497: “Ὅστις φάρμακα δηλητήρια ποιοῖ ἐπὶ Τηίοισιν, τὸ ξυνὸν ἢ ἐπ’ ἰδιώτῃ, κείνον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κείνου. — Ὅστις ἐς γῆν τὴν Τηίην κωλύει σίτον ἐσάγεσθαι, ἢ τέχνη, ἢ μηχανῆ, ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἢ κατ’ ἡπειρον, ἢ ἐσαχθέντα ἀνωθεοίη, κείνον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κείνου. “Let him who would seek to poison the city of Teos, or any citizen, perish with his family. Let him who in any way should hinder the importation of grain into Teos, by sea or land, perish with his family.” The inscription dates from the early part of the fifth century B.C.

² Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile. Reverse, trident; at the right, ΠΡΗ (for Πρωμάθιος) and ΠΑΣΙΚΑΗ[Σ], a magistrate’s name; around the field, the windings of the Meander. (Silver.)

³ Coin of the thirteen cities of the Panionion. Herakles, seated on the lion’s skin, his club on the ground at his side, extends his hand to Iole, who is standing before him, and about to make her escape; at her side is a quiver full of arrows. Legend: ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΓΙ(13) ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΤΩΝ (sic) ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΠΡΟΜ ΚΛ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝ. Coin of the confederacy of thirteen most important cities of Asia, of the Ephesians and Pergamaneans, struck by authority of a magistrate, probably named Promathius Claudianus Fronto. (Medallion with the effigy of the Emperor Antoninus Pius.)

Greeks. He advised that all the Ionians should sail in one common fleet to Sardinia, and there build one city in common for all; thus being freed from servitude, they would flourish, inhabiting the largest of the islands and governing the rest; whereas, if they remained in Ionia, he saw no hope of their recovering their liberty. This was the advice of Bias of Priene after the



THE GREAT KING IN CONTEST WITH A GREEK.¹

Ionians were ruined. But before Ionia was ruined, the advice of Thales the Milesian, who was of Phœnician extraction, was also good. He advised the Ionians to constitute one general council in Teos, which stands in the centre of Ionia, and the cities being governed as independent States in respect to their interior affairs. These were wise counsels, but the Ionians did not profit thereby."²

If they had followed the advice of Bias, the future of the Western world might have been changed.

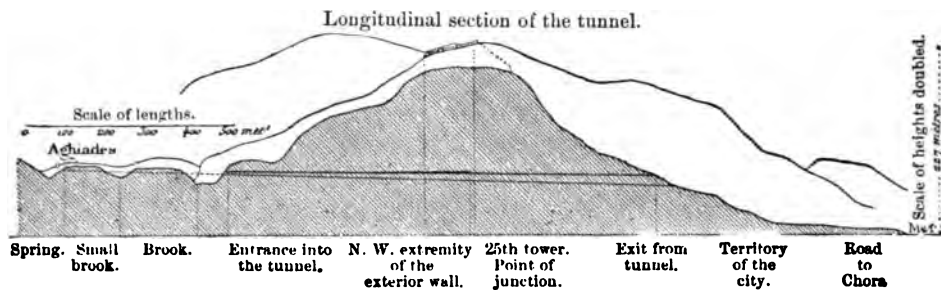
The subjugation of the Asiatic Greeks to the Great King was an event of much importance, for it led their masters to dream of subjugating also European Greece. Here then were the Median wars in the germ, with all their consequences,—the empire of Athens, that of Sparta, that of Alexander, and the diffusion of Greek civilization in western Asia.

¹ A cylinder in calcined chalcedony (from the *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pl. xvi. pp. 2 and 3). The Great King, clad in a long robe, with a radiate tiara on his head, brandishes in his left hand a pike, threatening the Greek, who is recognizable by his helmet. In the right hand the king holds his bow, and seems to be using it to ward off his enemy's attack. A Greek lies upon the ground. Overhead the divine Trio hovers above the scene. (In respect to the helmet of the Greek warrior, see Furtwängler, *Die Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, p. 56, in the *Abhandlungen der königlich. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1879.) Cf. two Babylonian stones published by Raoul-Rochette, *Mém. d'archéol. comp.* vol. i. pl. vi. No. 16; vii. No. 5. This cylinder of the Bosphoros serves as a seal; turning easily upon its axis, it could be rolled against the wax.

² Herodotos, i. 170. Thales counselled the Asiatic Greeks, it appears, to do what Theseus had done in Attika.

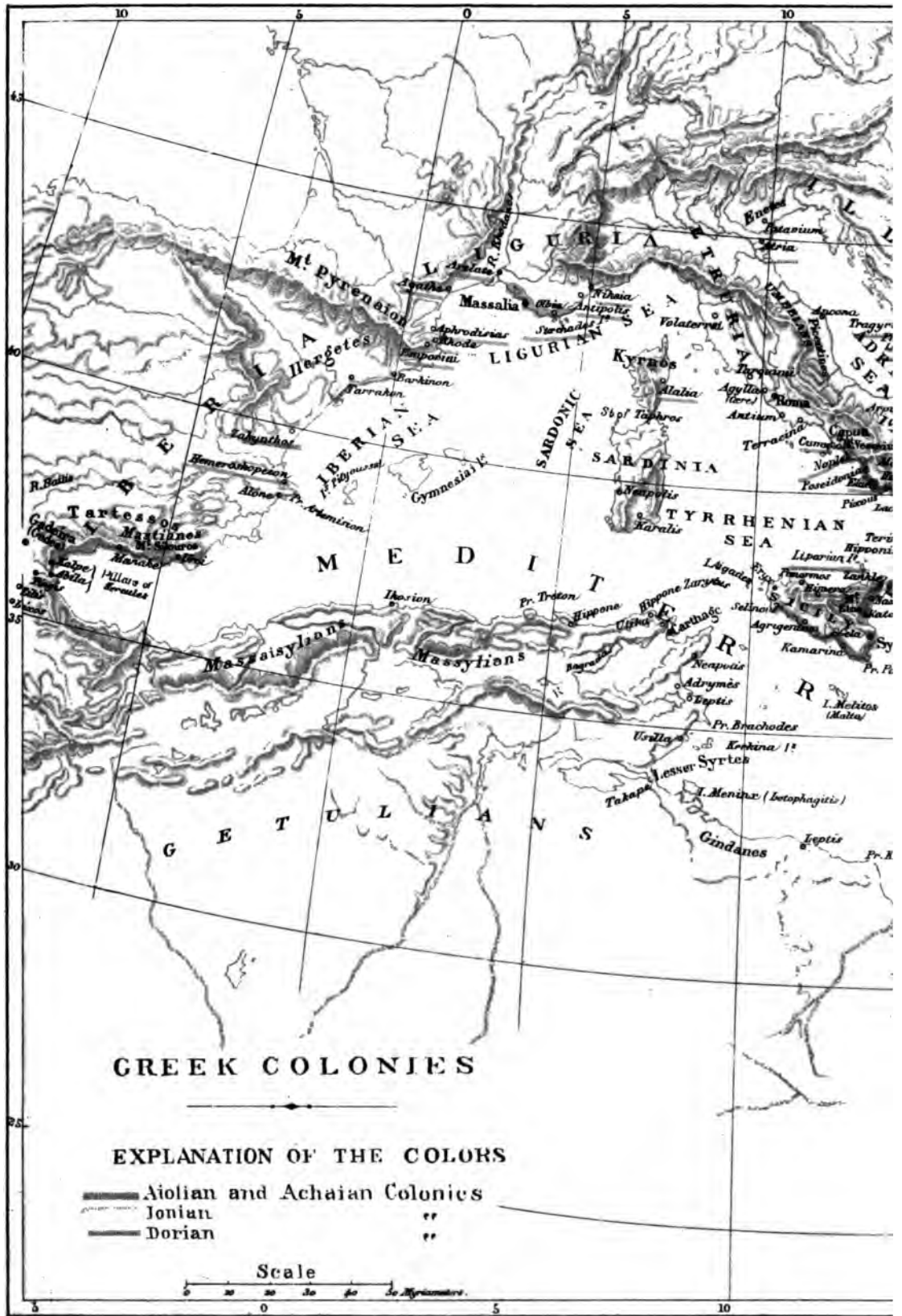
II. — PROSPERITY OF THE ISLANDERS.

THE ruin of the Ionians of the continent occasioned the maritime power to be transferred to a neighboring island, — Samos. Polykrates, with the aid of Lygdamis, tyrant of Naxos, had usurped the supreme power there between the years 536 and 532 B. C., and had at first shared it with his two brothers. But having freed himself from them by murdering one and sending the other into exile, he remained sole master of the country, and had con-

AQUEDUCT AND TUNNEL OF SAMOS.¹

tracted an alliance with Amasis, king of Egypt. His power increased to such a degree that he had a hundred fifty-oared galleys and a thousand archers. With these forces he protected the commerce of the Samians, and enriched himself by expeditions which were rather piratical than princely. He made himself master of a great number of islands, even of many cities on the mainland, and was, says Herodotus, the first of the Greeks of whom we know who formed a design to make himself master of the sea, except Minos the Knossian. Moreover, he employed his wealth in adorning Samos with useful or splendid works, — an aqueduct dug through a mountain; an immense mole to enlarge and secure the harbor; and the Ionic temple of Here, which Herodotus enumerates among the wonders of Greece. These public works were in another respect useful to Polykrates by giving the people occupation and making them forget their lost liberty. He was, besides,

¹ See note, and plan of Samos, p. 274.





a patron of artists and poets: Ibykos and Anakreon were his guests, and the court of the Samian tyrant soon rivalled that of the Peisistratids.

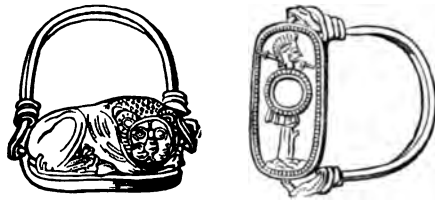
However, at Samos as well as at Athens there were malecontents. When Cambyses invaded Egypt, Polykrates offered him forty galleys; he took care to place on board these vessels all the persons who were opposed to his government, and he desired his ally to cause their death after he had done with them. Between a tyrant and a frenzied king, a bargain like this was only an interchange of services. Unfortunately, the intended victims, suspecting the danger, made themselves masters of the fleet, and returned to Samos, with the intention of inciting an insurrection. Being repulsed, they implored the assistance of the Spartans, who at that time were very willing to take up the cause of the oppressed, especially when it gave them the opportunity of overthrowing some powerful tyrant and establishing an oligarchy. Corinth, which had suffered from the piratical expeditions of Polykrates, gave aid also. The allies remained forty days before Samos; but the tyrant was well secured, they produced no effect upon his stronghold, and were obliged to withdraw. It is said that Polykrates purchased their retreat with a sum of money coined for the purpose in lead and gilt, which the Spartans, in their inex-



ΑΝΑΚΡΕΟΝ.¹

¹ Statue in the Borghese Villa, from the *Archäol. Zeitung* (1881), pl. xi. (The arms and a part of the right leg have been restored.) A bust, discovered at Rome in 1884, bearing the inscription 'Ανακρέων [δ] λυρικός. enabled Wolters to give its true name to the statue of the Borghese Villa. The resemblance between the two heads is striking (see the bust in the *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*, 1884, pl. ii.-iii.). The poet is represented standing, playing the lyre.

anger and jealousy of the gods, it is said that he formed the idea of offering them a gift. Embarking on board a galley, he sailed out to sea, and at a great distance from the shore threw overboard a very precious ring. He then returned to his palace, to indulge in regret for the loss he had just incurred. He believed that he had purchased prosperity for many years to come, and made terms with fate. Three days later a fisherman catches a very large fish: he brings it to the palace; it is opened; and

COIN OF SIPHOS.¹

Convex side.

Plane side.

GREEK RING.²

there, wonderful to tell, is the ring. The gods had rejected the offering of Polykrates. Some time after this the satrap Oroites, whom he had offended, persuaded him, with a pretext of needing his aid, to make an expedition into Asia, where Oroites put him to death by crucifixion (522). Herodotos fully believes this legend, which was agreeable to the Greek mind, and especially conformed to their most intimate religious convictions. They held the gods to be jealous of all prosperity too great for mortals; behind the good fortune they saw Nemesis armed with vengeance and ready

the *Mittheil.*, 1884, pp. 185 *et seq.*). The great spring mentioned by Herodotos is that of Haghiades. From the spring to the tunnel was dug a subterranean passage so broad and high that a man could stand upright in it. Many fragments of clay pipe are found in it. Herodotos distinguishes from the tunnel, properly so called, a canal dug in it, to receive the pipes. This canal, also shaped like a tunnel (for Herodotos uses for both the same word, *δρυγμα*) came out under the tunnel near the northern entrance. The bottom of the canal is more than six feet lower than the bottom of the tunnel, and this distance constantly increases; for the canal runs obliquely, as appears on the plan. The tunnel itself consists of two galleries, northern and southern, which meet at the point of junction indicated on the map. What was the object of this double construction, — canal and tunnel? Must we admit an error on the part of an engineer skilful enough to bring two galleries to meet in the centre of a mountain nine hundred feet high, and believe that, his tunnel not proving to be on a level with the spring, he was obliged to dig a canal on a lower level? This question we cannot answer. We send the reader for fuller details to the article by E. Fabricius; it is not without interest to verify the figures given by Herodotos.

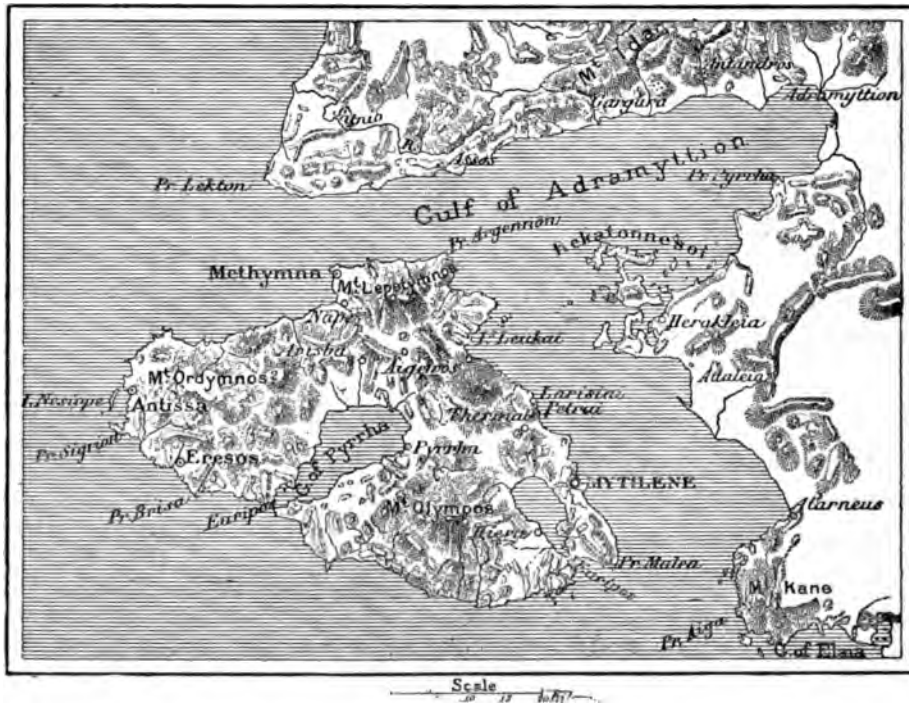
¹ Head of Apollo, right profile. Archaic style. Reverse: ΣΙΦ (Σιφνίων). Dove, with wings displayed; in the field, at the left, a grain of wheat. Indented square. (Silver.)

² Oriental cornelian, cut as a scarabæus, but presenting on its convex side the figure of a couchant lion. On the plane side is a trophæum. (From the *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimm.*, pl. xvi. pp. 11 and 12.)

to strike, to bring down the pride of any man who should forget the infirmity of human nature. Such also is the underlying

COIN OF NAXOS.¹SAPPHO, ON A COIN OF MYTILENE.²

sentiment of the interesting and tragic story of Crœsus, given us by Herodotos, which is more a moral lesson than a historic fact.



MAP OF THE ISLAND OF LESBOS.

With Polykrates fell the power of Samos. Maiandrios, whom he had left guardian of the akropolis and of his treasures,

¹ Head of Dionysos, right profile, crowned with vine-leaves and ivy. Reverse: ΝΑΞΙ. Kantharos and thyrsos ornamented with fillets; in the field ΛΕΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ (for Λεωκράτους), a magistrate's name. (Silver.)

² ΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΚΛΑ ΗΡΩΙΔΑ. Bust of Iou Prokla, an unknown heroine of Lesbos. Reverse: ΕΠΙ ΤΡΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΜΥΤΙ. Sappho, seated, and playing on the lyre. (Bronze coin of the epoch of the Antonines, minted by authority of the strategos Apollonios.)

attempted to relinquish the supreme power. But this disinterested conduct was ill received by the Samians; they reproached him with mismanagement of the wealth of Polykrates, and manifested so much hostility that Maiandrios at once took measures to protect himself. "The Samians, it seems," says Herodotus, "were not willing to be free." Being attacked by a Persian army under the command of Syloson, brother of Polykrates, Maiandrios fled with all his treasures. The Persians massacred the whole population; and Samos was finally re-peopled by Otanes the satrap, and left under the stern rule of Syloson, who became a tributary to the Great King.

HEAD OF CONQUEROR IN OLYMPIC GAMES.¹

Three other islands deserve mention,—Naxos, at this time very powerful, of which the history will be given under the revolt of the Ionians; Lemnos, where the Greeks, to explain its volcanic phenomena, had placed Vulcan's smithy, and where in underground rumblings they heard the sound of Cyclopean hammers forging the thunderbolts of Zeus; and lastly, Lesbos, famous as the birthplace of Pittakos, one of the Seven Sages, Terpandros, Arion, Alkaios, and Sappho. Legend was well able to account for all this vein of poetry: after Orpheus had been torn in pieces by the furious Mænads, his head and his lyre, thrown into the Hebros, still gave forth harmonious sounds, and were borne by the waves to the shores of Methymna. The Lesbians gave burial to the singer's head and hung up his lyre in the temple of Apollo. The god in recompense for this piety bestowed upon them the gift of music

¹ Bronze discovered at Olympia (from *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, vol. v. pl. xxii.). By the swollen ears this would seem to be the portrait of a pugilist or *pankraliastos*. The head wore a wreath of wild olive (*κόρινθος*); on the original, one leaf of this wreath still appears on the right temple. (See above, p. 198.)

and poetry. Also boast was made of the beauty of the Lesbian women, and of their skill in spinning wool.¹

Lesbos, one of the large islands of the Ægæan Sea, was divided among four States. Mytilene² and Methymna held the



MEDALLION OF MYTILENE.³



first rank among these, and made long wars upon each other, in which the former was victorious; but her subjugated rival avenged herself by frequent re-

volts and constant appeals to foreign Powers. Mytilene had two harbors,⁴ a powerful navy, and possessions in the Troad to control the commerce of the Hellespont. This

claim brought her into war with Athens, who seized upon Sigeion, and sought to expel the Mytilenians from the Asiatic coasts. Pittakos, appointed their chief, challenged the hostile general Phrynon to



STATER OF KYRENE.⁵

single combat. These challenges, common in the Middle Ages, are rare in the history of Greece. Phrynon, who had been many

¹ When Agamemnon enumerates the gifts he promises Achilles to appease the latter's anger, he mentions Lesbian slaves, beautiful, and skilled in weaving wool. An ancient tradition avers that Lesbos was separated from the Asiatic mainland at the time when the Euxine, heretofore a lake, broke through into the Mediterranean. Lesbos is, in fact, separated from the Asiatic coast by a channel only seven miles wide, and thickly sown with islands.

² The view of Mytilene on p. 279 is taken from the south. In the background is the peninsula, on which stood part of the ancient city; this peninsula separates the two harbors. On the horizon is seen the Asiatic coast.

³ ZEYC BOYAAIIOC. Bust of Zeus Boulaios, left profile. Reverse: EPII CTP BAA APICTOMAXOY MYTIAHNAION ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ. Kybele, turret-crowned, seated on a throne, holding a patera and a cornucopia; at her right Asklepios, special divinity of Pergamon; at her left the Ephesian Artemis; in the field, OMONOIA. (Bronze medallion minted by authority of the strategos Val. Aristomachos, in the name of the three allied cities, — Mytilene, Pergamon, and Ephesos.)

⁴ The northern harbor is now choked with sand, and that on the south receives only vessels of small tonnage. Steamboats are obliged to anchor outside, and when the sea is rough, dare not linger on this coast, once so animated, and now so inhospitable. (Boutan. *Mém. sur la topog. et l'hist. de Lesbos*, 1855; *Archiv. des missions*, v. 273.)

⁵ Zeus Ammon, standing, with radiate head, holding a sceptre and a little Victory; at



VIEW OF MYTILENE.
From a photograph.

times victorious in the Olympic Games, accepted, but was killed. Pittakos had concealed a net under his shield, and flung it over his antagonist, who thus became an easy prey. The Mytilenians were, however, defeated, and in the flight Alkaios abandoned his shield, which the Athenians made the principal ornament of their trophy. The poet himself was not ashamed to sing of his own disgrace. Horace, in imitating him, had at least the excuse of offering flattery to Augustus. The tyrant of Corinth, Perianther, being requested to arbitrate between the two States, left each in possession of what had originally been its territory (612 B. C.).

COIN OF THE LIBYANS.¹COIN OF KYRENAÏKA.²COIN OF AN UNKNOWN SATRAP.³

This Pittakos, aided by the brothers of Alkaios, had killed the tyrant Melanchros, but had not been able to restore tranquillity and order. The city was desolated by continual hostilities; one party drove out the other, and these exiles held the city as it were besieged. Pittakos was at last chosen *aisymnetes*⁴ for

his left, a ram. Reverse, goddess (probably the nymph Kyrene) driving a quadriga at a trot; KYPANAION. (Gold.)

¹ Beardless head of Herakles, wearing the lion's skin, left profile. Reverse: lion stepping to the right; in the field the Greek letter M, and the Phœnician equivalent, mint-marks; in the exergue, AIBYΩN. (Phœnician didrachm.)

² Beardless and diademed head of the River Latho, with little horns on the forehead, right profile. Legend: ΕΣΠΕΡΙ[ΤΩΝ]. *Evesperis*. Reverse: stag to the right; in the field two stems of silphium and a magistrate's name (ΤΙΜΑΓΟΡΑ[Σ]). (Didrachm.)

³ Satrap in Persian costume, upon a horse galloping to the right. Reverse, warrior, kneeling to the left and fighting, armed with helmet, lance, and shield; in Aramaic, ܛܪܫ, name of the city of Tarsos. (Silver.)

⁴ [This title, meaning "a person who gives every one his just portion," at first was applied to judges in the heroic games, but afterwards indicated an extraordinary magistrate, who in times of public peril was invested with absolute power by his fellow-citizens. Aristotle says of him that his power partook of the nature both of kingly and of tyrannical authority, since he was legally appointed and willingly obeyed, while at the same time he was bound by no laws

ten years with unlimited power. What measures he adopted we know not, but we do know that this friend of Solon was able,



THE NYMPH KYRENE, CROWNED BY LYDIA.¹

like the Athenian legislator, to re-establish order, and like him, also, to resist the temptation of retaining the supreme power. At

in his public administration. The office was not hereditary, although sometimes held for life, but usually it lasted only for a term of years. Pittakos is the only person in history expressly called an *aisymnetes*, but there is reason to believe that many other persons in different States of Greece held this office for a longer or shorter time, and it greatly resembles the position held by eminent legislators of antiquity who were called upon to exercise an absolute power for the purpose of organizing the State. In Kyme and in Chalkedon it was a title borne by the regular magistrate. Dionysius (v. 73) compares it to the dictatorship at Rome. — Ed.]

¹ Bas-relief. from Smith and Porcher's *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene*, pl. 76. The nymph Kyrene, in the attitude of the huntress Artemis, is represented throwing down a

the end of ten years Pittakos resigned office and became a citizen like other men. Much surprise was excited by this unusual disinterestedness. "I was alarmed," he said, "when I saw Periandros of Corinth become the tyrant of his people. It is a hard task to preserve one's integrity." Upon the near approach of the Persian power, Lesbos treated with Cyrus; after the defeat of the Ionians at Lade in 494 the island shared their fate.

Kyrene in Africa also lost its liberty and submitted to the same masters. Composed of contrary elements, the Greek population of Kyrene was agitated by interminable revolutions. The family of Battos continued in power for many generations. In the reign of Battos the Fortunate (574-554), the Pythia encouraged all Greeks to join in colonizing Libya, where they were to be received on equal terms by those already established. This added largely to the population of the city, and rendered it still more heterogeneous; to give the new-comers the lands which had been promised, it became necessary to dispossess the neighboring Libyans, who thereupon applied to Apries, the king of Egypt, for assistance. He sent an army to their aid; but it was defeated, and the Egyptians, laying the blame on Apries, revolted, and dethroned him. His successor, Amasis, made peace with the Greek colony, and married a daughter of their king.

Battos was succeeded by his son, Arkesilaos II. (554-544). In a war with the Libyans he left upon the field of battle seven thousand of his hoplites. No Greek city had ever suffered a similar disaster. Kyrene seemed scarcely to feel it; but the king did not long survive the misfortune. On his return he was assassinated by his brother Learchos, whom later the widow of Arkesilaos caused to be put to death.

lion, her hands clasped around the animal's neck. Libya, at the right, is placing a crown on her head. On the base is the following metric inscription:—

Κυρήνην πόλιων μητρόπολιν, ἣν στέφει αὐτῇ
ἡπίρων Λιβύη τρισσὸν ἔχουσα κλέος,
ἐνθάδ' ὑπὲρ μελάθροιο λεοντοφόνον θέτο Κάρπος,
εὐξήμενος μεγάλης σῆμα φιλοξενίης.

"Karpus, in memory of the generous hospitality [that he has received], places above this architrave Kyrene killing a lion; [Kyrene, metropolis of] so many cities, is crowned by Libya, who herself has the glory of three continents." These last words no doubt allude to the population derived from three continents, — Africans, colonists from Europe, and colonists from Asia.

Under Battos the Lamé, Demonax of Mantinea was invited, by order of the Pythia, to regulate the affairs of the city. This legislator divided the inhabitants into three tribes, — one composed of Theraions, descendants of the original colonists; the second of Peloponnesians and Kretans; the third of insular Greeks. Then, reserving to the king only the priesthood and the consecrated lands, Demonax gave back to the people the rest of the territory

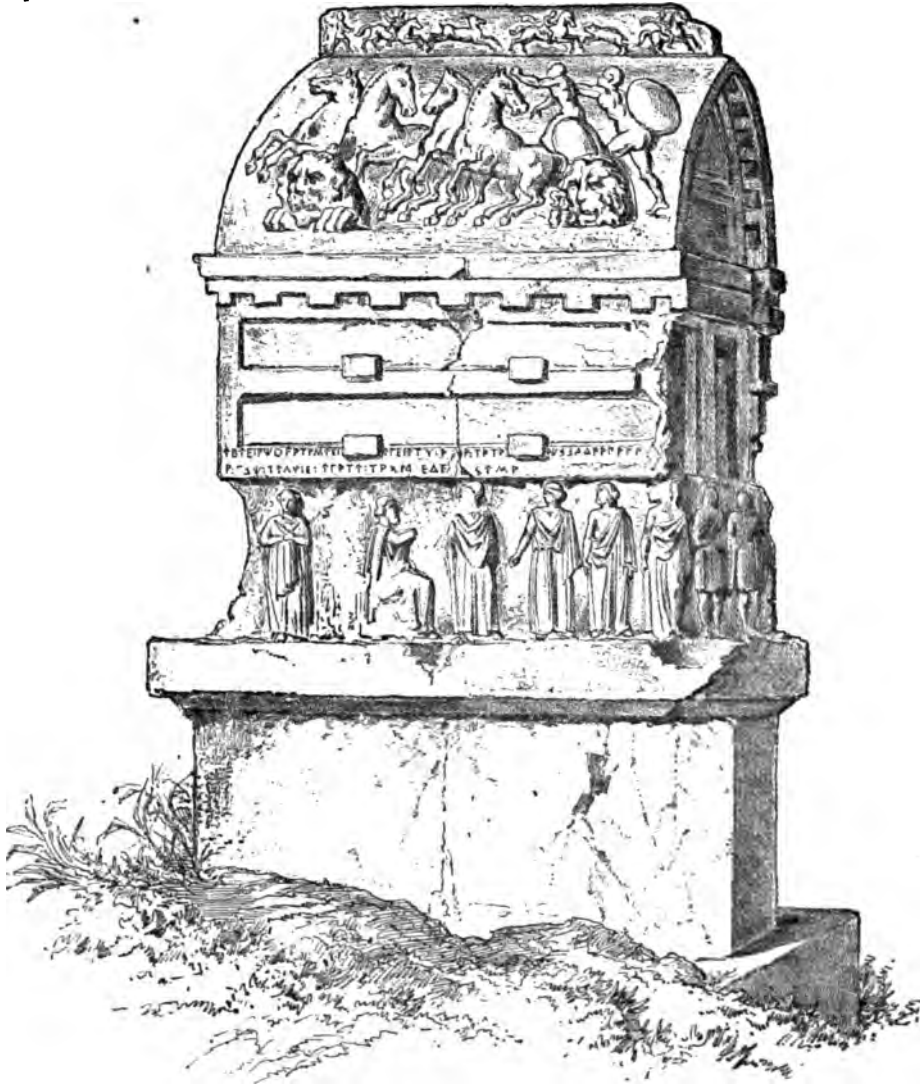
LYKIAN COIN.¹LYKIAN COIN.²

and the offices of state (543). These reforms did not, however, restore tranquillity to Kyrene. Arkesilaos III., son of Battos the Lamé, claimed the restoration of the royal privileges. "Thereupon, having raised a sedition," says Herodotos (iv. 162), "he was defeated, and fled to Samos, where he collected men of all classes, by the promise of a division of lands; and when a large army was collected, Arkesilaos went to Delphi to consult the oracle concerning his return." An enigmatical response was given, which threatened danger; but Arkesilaos, unmindful of it, returned to Kyrene with his army, and having recovered the mastery, conducted himself with great severity; also, to obtain foreign assistance, he became tributary to the king of Persia. Being suddenly made aware that he had incurred the danger of which the Pythia had warned him, he fled from Kyrene and took refuge in Barka, where he was soon after assassinated. His mother, Pheretime, then hastened into Egypt, and presented herself as a suppliant before the Persian governor, Aryandes, entreating him to avenge her son's death, who had perished, she averred, on account

¹ Head of Ddeneveles, wearing the Persian tiara, right profile. Reverse, helmeted head of Pallas, right profile; in Lykian characters, the dynast's name: ΔΔΕΝΕΦΑΕ . . . (Silver.) Ddeneveles seems to have been the dynast of Antiphellos about 395 B. C. (J. P. Six, in the *Revue numismatique*, 1886, p. 185.)

² Fore-part of a wild boar, to the left; on the animal's side a monogram, KYB, first letters of the name Kyberniskos. (Kyberniskos, son of Sikas, was satrap of Lykia in the reign of Xerxes, from 500 to about 480 B. C.) Reverse, indented square. (Globular.)

of his attachment to the Medes. A Persian army was sent to besiege Barka, and after a nine months' siege obtained posses-



LYKIAN TOMB AT XANTHOS.¹

sion of the city by stratagem. The most cruel vengeance was inflicted upon the enemies of Pheretime, — a large number were

¹ From Fellows' *A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor* (1838); frontispiece. The tomb is of marble, and the inscription engraved under the principal bas-relief is in Lykian characters. On tombs in Lykia, see *Reisen in Lykien und Karien*, by O. Benndorf and G. Niemann (1884), chapter iv. ["The site of Xanthos and its magnificent ruins were first

put to death, and the remainder delivered over to the Persians, who carried them away into slavery; the city was then re-constituted



CYPRIOI HEAD.¹

under the power of the Battiadai. The people of Kyrene remained tributary to the Great King, a contingent of African troops serving in the Persian expedition against Greece; nor was

discovered and described by Sir Charles Fellows, in his *Excursion in Asia Minor*, p. 225 foll. (compare his *Lycia*, p. 164 foll.). These ruins stand near the village of Kounik, and consist of temples, tombs, triumphal arches, walls, and a theatre. The site, says Sir Charles, is extremely romantic, upon beautiful hills, some crowned with rocks, others rising perpendicularly from the river. The city does not appear to have been very large, but its remains show that it was highly ornamented, particularly the tombs. The architecture and sculptures of the place, of which many specimens are in an excellent state of preservation, and the inscriptions in a peculiar alphabet, have opened up a page in the history of Asia Minor previously quite unknown. The engravings in Fellows' works furnish a clear idea of the high perfection which the arts must have attained at Xanthos. A large collection of Xanthian marbles, chiefly sepulchral, brought to England in 1842 and 1843, has been arranged in the British Museum. Of these a full account is given in the Supplement to the *Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. ii. p. 713 foll." — Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, ii. 1333. — Ed.]

¹ Head of calcareous stone in the E. Piot collection; from Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. iii. fig. 366, p. 540. Like many other Cypriot works of art, this head indicates in the detail of its execution and the character of the style, the influence of Greek sculptors. See on this subject the very just observations of Heuzey in the *Catalogue des figurines antiques en terre cuite du musée du Louvre*, i. 133.

it until about the year 450 B. C. that this State recovered its republican form of government.

In contrast to these revolutions and disasters, springing from domestic discords, let us notice the wisdom and quiet prosperity of Lykia, — a little nation which early comprehended the advantages of the political system of the modern world; namely, a representative government.

CYPRIOT COIN.¹

Their constitution is thus described by Strabo (III. iii. 3):

“There are three-and-twenty cities in the Lykian body which have votes. The men of each city assemble at a general congress, and select what city they please for their place of meeting. Each of the largest cities commands three votes, those of secondary importance two, and the rest one vote. They contribute in the same proportion to taxes and other public charges. The six largest cities, according to Artemidoros, are Xanthos, Patara, Pinara, Olympos, Myra, Tlos, which is situated at the pass of the mountain leading to Kibyra. At the congress a lykiarch is first elected, then the other officers of the body. Public tribunals are also appointed for the administration of justice. Thus judges and magistrates are elected according to the number of votes belonging to each city.”

SIDONIAN COIN.²

This wise administration was never well understood in Greece, where the Achaian League was its tardy and feeble copy.

KRETAN COIN.³

This little Hellenic people, lost among Barbarians, gave, at the time that Asia Minor was conquered by the Persians, a brilliant example of valor. When Harpagos advanced against Xanthos, their most important city, the inhabitants went out to meet

¹ Coin of Evanthos, king of Salamis from about 440 to 430 B. C. Couchant ram, to the left; Cypriot legend: Εὐφάν[η]θεος. Reverse: ram's head, to the left; Cypriot legend: Βασίλειος. Silver. (See J. P. Six, in the *Rev. num.*, 1883, p. 277.)

² Europa, holding her veil above her head, seated on a bull which is leaping forward. Legend: ΣΙΔΩΝΟΣ, and the date L EOP (the year 165 A. D.). Reverse of a bronze coin of Sidon, with the effigy of Nero.

³ Europa carried off by the bull. Reverse: in an indented square a lion's head, with the two front paws. (Silver coin of Gortyna.)

him. "Engaging with very inferior numbers, they displayed great feats of valor. But being defeated and shut up within their city, they collected their wives, children, property, and servants within the citadel, and then set fire to it and burned it to the ground. When they had done this, and engaged themselves by the strongest oaths, all the Xanthians went out and died fighting."¹ Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans are more celebrated, but were not more heroic.

EX-VOTO.²

More remote than Lykia, Cyprus (Kypros) was successively subjugated by the Phoenicians, Egypt, and the Persians; its population, composed of many foreign races, had but little Greek blood in their veins. Salamis, however, remembered her Hellenic origin, and showed it in her repeated efforts to shake off the Persian yoke.

Krete, in the midst of this sea and of the Greek world, must not be overlooked,—an island whose fruitfulness was noteworthy in ancient times, and whose position was regarded by Aristotle as singularly favorable for the establishment of a great empire.³ On one side it looks towards Asia; on the other, towards the Peloponnesos; and commands the route from Greece to Egypt, and from Thrace to the Phoenician coast. From its high promontories there is a wide outlook over the sea,—it is, in fact, one of the Mediterranean citadels. Vast—it seemed at that time—as a continent, it had the wild beauty of a mountainous region with the fertile valleys of a fruitful country, and on its northern coasts, on the side towards Asia and Greece, numerous and safe harbors; but on the south the coast, like that of Malta, is pre-

KRETAN COIN.⁴

¹ Herodotos, i. 176.

² From the *Mittheil. d. d. archäol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. x. (1885), p. 59, No. 1 (E. Fabricius). This small bronze figure was discovered in the cavern of Zeus on Mount Ida in Krete. It possibly represents Zeus himself.

³ *Polit.*, II. ix.

⁴ Reverse of a silver coin of Aptaera, in Krete. Soldier standing, helmeted, armed with lance and shield, and extending the right hand; in the field, an olive-tree. Legend: ΠΤΟΑΙΟΙ-ΚΟΣ, magistrate's name. On the obverse is the head of Here, with the legend, ΑΙΤΤΑΡΑΙΟΝ. (See Vol. I. p. 576, Kretan archers upon two Kretan coins.)

cipitous. However, except at one epoch—the very earliest—man has been untrue to Nature. The Phœnicians landed in Krete at an early period: Europa, the Sidonian girl whom the bull, type



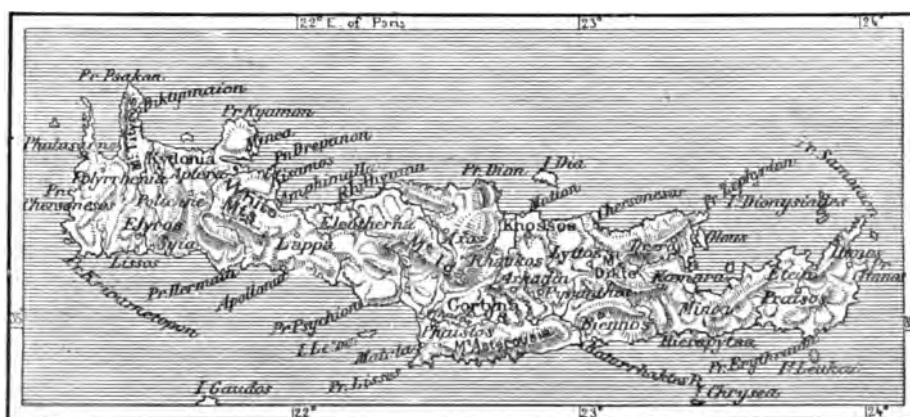
COIN OF ITANOS, IN KRETE.¹



COIN OF PHAISTOS, IN KRETE.²



of the Sun or of Zeus, transports across the sea from Phœnicia into Krete, is the symbol of their early voyages. Here they



Scale 0 10 20 40 60 Miles.

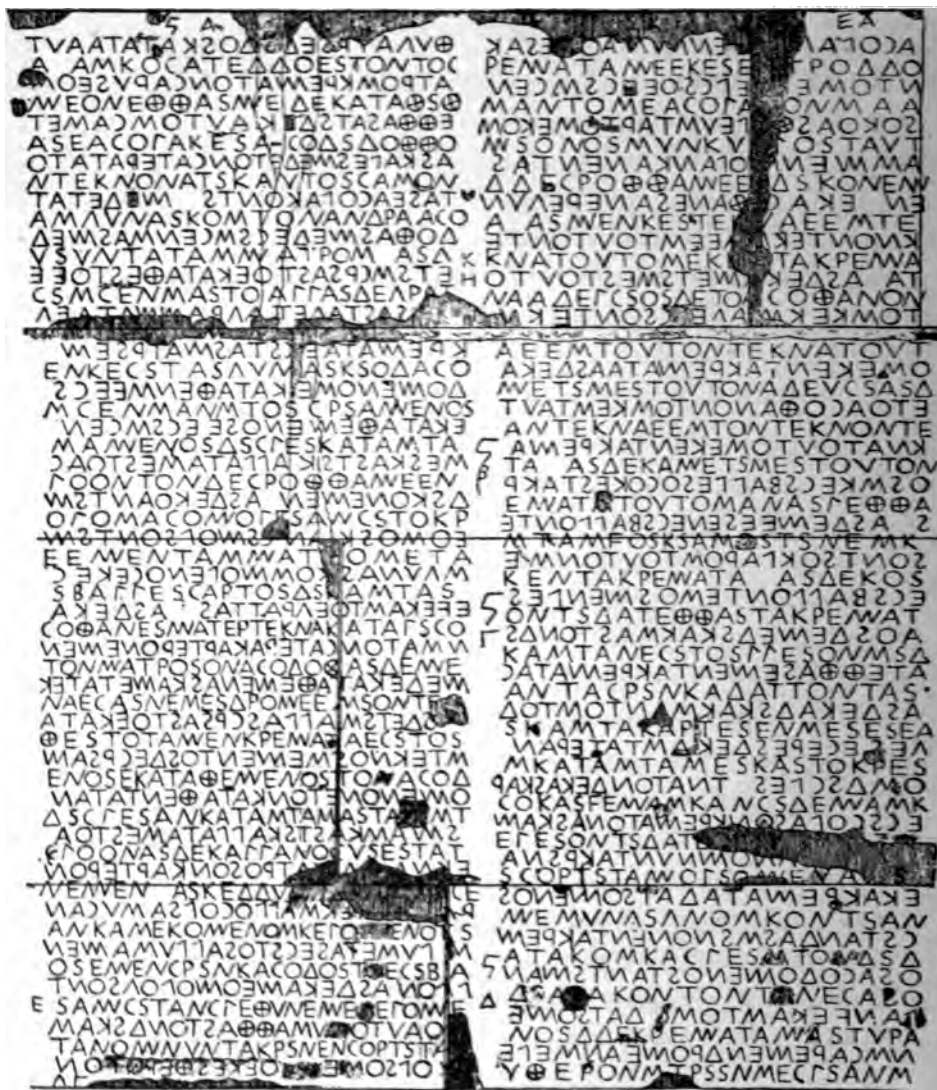
MAP OF THE ISLAND OF KRETE.

founded cities and established the worship of their gods, Astarte or Aphrodite, and the savage Moloch, whose brazen image, reddened by fires within, burned alive the victims whom a cruel

¹ Ichthyomorphic triton, armed with the trident, to the right. Legend: ITANION. Reverse: two dragons, with heads of sea-birds and scorpions' tails, rearing in face of each other. (Silver.)

² The giant Talos, represented as a beardless youth with two great wings; at his feet, his name, TAAQN. [This giant was a man of brass, according to the legend. He watched the Island of Krete, walking round it thrice every day. When he saw stranger vessels approaching, he made himself red-hot in fire, and if the new-comers ventured to land, he grasped them in a fatal embrace. His body was traversed by one vein, closed at his head by a nail. When he attempted to prevent the Argonauts from landing in Krete, Medeia took this nail out, thus causing him to bleed to death.—ED.] Reverse: ΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝ. A bull, threatening with his horns, to the right. (Silver.)

superstition placed within its arms. The Phœnicians, however, could not prevail against the native population, who, reinforced

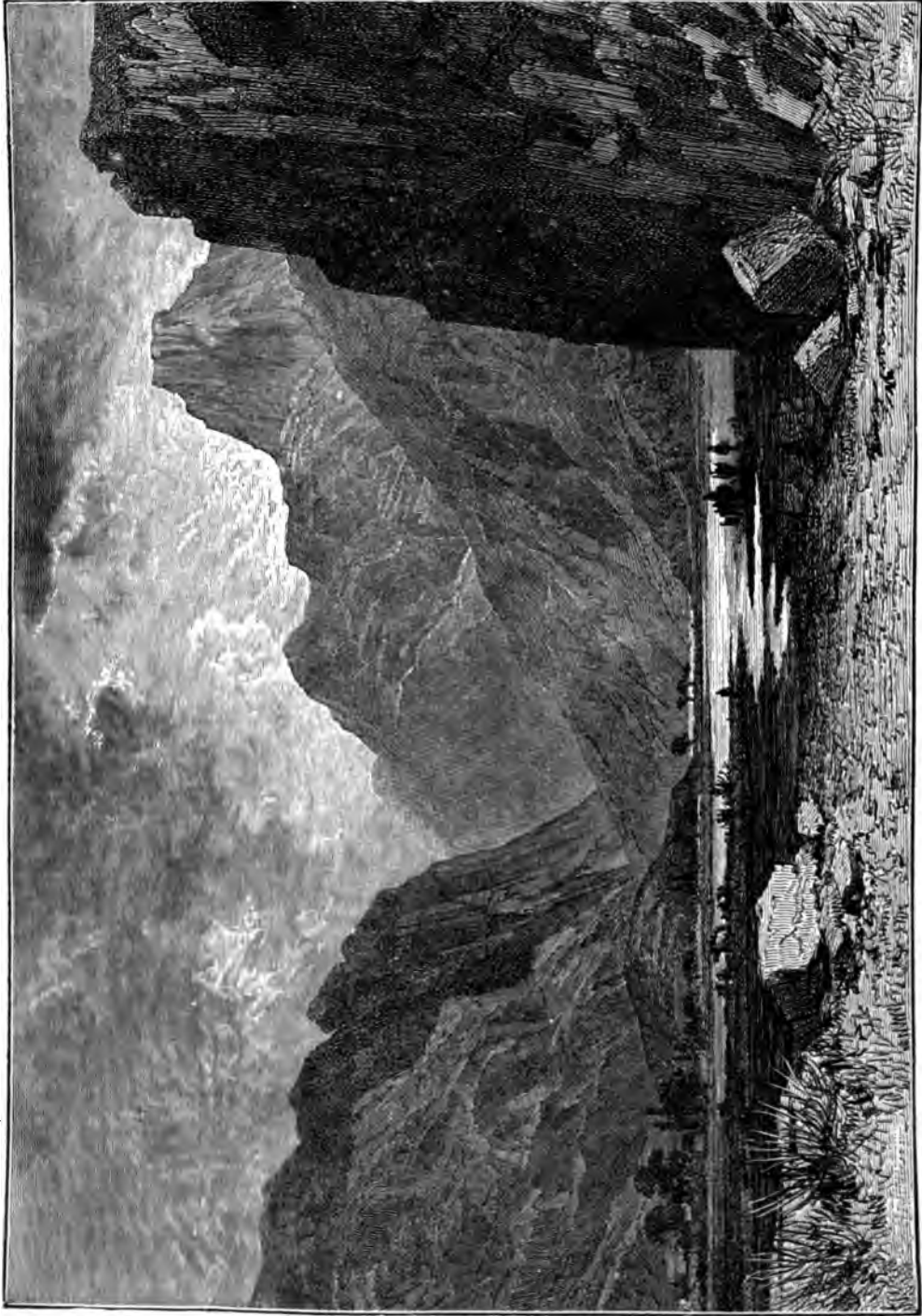


FRAGMENT OF AN INSCRIPTION OF GORTYNA.¹

by new-comers from the coasts of Asia, remained Greek in language, intelligence, and courage. Their great divinity was the

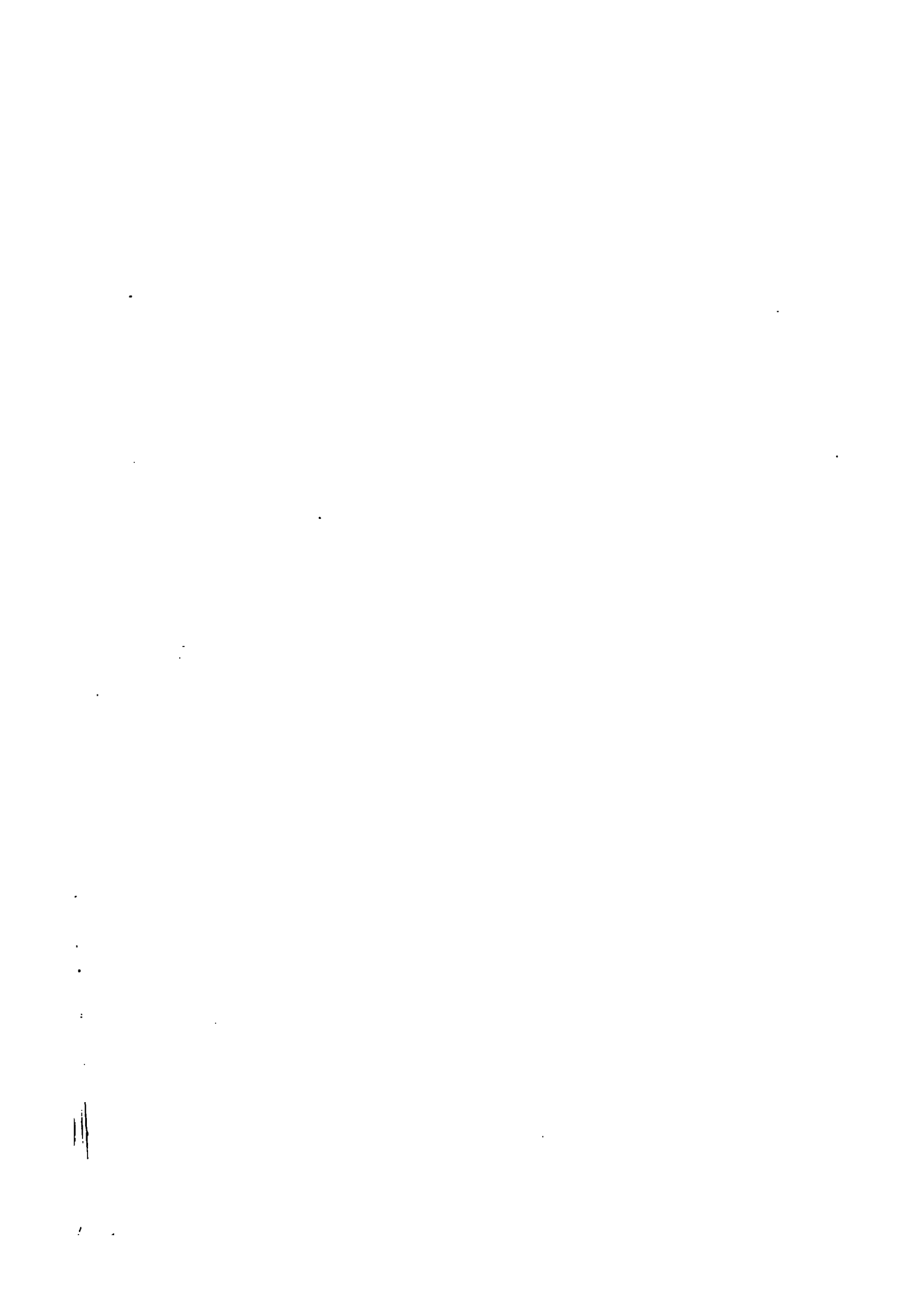
NOTE. — The illustration on the opposite page is from E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géogr. univ.*, i. 187.

¹ From the *Museo italiano di antichità classica*, vol. i. (1885), pl. viii. a, 5th and 6th columns (D. Comparetti). The following is a transcription in Greek letters of the first lines of



ENTRANCE TO THE GORGES OF HAGHIO-ROUMELI, IN KRETE.





god of the Pelasgic Hellenes, he who loves snowy peaks and the pure air of mountain-tops,—the Zeus of Ida.

The most famous region in Europe in ancient days was Krete of the hundred cities. This was, it is true, in the heroic age,—the fabulous period of Minos and Idomeneus. When Greece began to be lighted up to the eye of history, then Krete fell back into darkness and remoteness. Lykourgos visited this island; Epimenides came thence. The Spartan law-giver found old Dorian customs subsisting there. The French National Convention of 1789, which had a taste for antiquity without knowing much about it, doubtless attracted by a Kretan custom as to ridding the State of an unpopular ruler, sent, on one occasion, to the Bibliothèque Nationale for a copy of the laws of Minos. They were not obtained, of course; but at this day we possess a code of Kretan laws. In 1884 there was discovered at Gortyna, in Krete, an inscription, written *boustrophedon*, that is to say, from right to left, and from left to right, alternately. This inscription, which probably dates from the sixth century B. C., is not less than six hundred and fifty lines in length. It deals with the main topics of civil law, protection of person and property, rights of women, marriage, divorce, condition of children, inheritances, contracts, and so on. Unfortunately, we cannot yet affirm that this text, precious to jurists and for the special study of the social condition of Krete, will give much aid as to the general history of Hellas.¹

Montesquieu has said, exaggerating the amount of what Lykourgos borrowed, that the laws of Krete were the original

the right-hand column: . . . ἀπολαν[κά]νεν. Γυνὰ ὠ[ε] κ' ἤι ἂ κρήματα μὴ ἔκηι ἢ [πα]τρὸς δότος ἢ ἀ[δ]ελπιῶ ἢ ἐπισπένσαντος ἢ ἀπολά[κ]ονσα αἰ ὑκ' ὁ Λιθ' α]λεύς τάρτος, ἐκόσμιον οἱ σὺν Κύ[λ]λωι, ταύτας μὲν ἀπ' ολανκίνεν ταῖδ δὲ πρόθθα μὴ ἔ[ν]δικον ἤμεν. The letters whose form is most peculiar are the *pi* (c) and the *iota* (s); the *mu* has four lines instead of three. (Cf. inscription on the coin of Gortyna represented Vol. I. p. 443.) Dareste thus translates this passage (*Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. ix., 1885, p. 307): "If a woman has no property given or promised to her personally by her father or by her brother, or obtained by her in a division of property before the year when [the fourth Aithaleus was in power] and when Kyllos and his colleagues were *kosmetai*, she shall share. If there be those who have received nothing before the said year, there shall be no action against them." We borrow from D. Comparetti the restoration and translation of the passage enclosed in brackets (*Museo*, i. 266).

¹ Dareste has published a translation and a learned commentary on the Inscription of Gortyna. "There is in this text," he says, "material for the labors of a whole generation of philologists and jurists."

from which those of Sparta were copied, and that Plato's laws were their emended form. Among these laws was one which recognized the right of insurrection against magistrates accepting a bribe. Aristotle condemns this law. Montesquieu approves of it, "because," he says, "the Kretans had the most ardent patriotism, the least likely to fail under trial. The love of country corrects all things."¹ Patriotism is indeed a great thing, especially as to foreign relations, for then it is not liable to err. But in domestic affairs, passion or interest may lead it astray, and an insurrection is almost certain to be the wrong way of improving a government. We know nothing as to the long-continued dissensions in Krete, nor as to the rivalry of its two most important cities, Knossos and Gortyna. The loss of this history is scarcely to be regretted; if nothing survives, it is because there was nothing of importance. The Kretans early set the fatal example of furnishing mercenaries. Krete supplied the armies of all the nations of the ancient world with archers and slingers. They had another reputation also,—that of being "great liars." Incapable of making history, they were very skilful at forging fables; among others, says Plato, that of Zeus and Ganymede, to justify their own shameful vices.

III. — MAGNA GRÆCIA, SICILY, AND MASSALIA.

IN the other basin of the Mediterranean were first eminent Sybaris and Krotona. The brilliant period of Sybaris is from 600 to 550 B. C. The extraordinary fertility of her territory, which returned hundred-fold harvests, her commerce with Miletos and Ionia, her liberal policy in regard to foreigners, raised her wealth and power to a great height. The cavalry of Sybaris amounted to five thousand, and it was said, though with evident exaggeration, that the city could bring into the field three hundred thousand men. But the Sybarites early abandoned themselves to the enervating influence of the climate, and their very name

¹ *Polit.*, ii. 8; *Esprit des lois*, VIII. ii.

became in all languages the epithet designating an extreme of luxuriousness and effeminacy. Accordingly, one great disaster sufficed to ruin it,—demoralized States being no more capable of a persevering effort than are enervated individuals. In 510 B. C. Sybaris, until that time governed by a moderate democracy, sent into exile her most powerful citizens. Krotona received the exiles cordially, and refused to surrender them. The armies of the two States marched against each other. At the head of the forces of Krotona was the famous Milo, like Herakles, armed with a club. The Spartan Dorieus, seeking his fortune upon these shores, took part with the people of Krotona, who made a frightful massacre of their adversaries, captured Sybaris, and completed its destruction with all the fury which men's passions acquire in this almost African climate. They razed to the ground the houses and walls, and to destroy even the vestiges of the ruined city they turned the course of a river so that it inundated the site where Sybaris had stood.

COIN OF SYBARIS.¹

This city of Krotona, which we see making such cruel use of victory, was founded, like Sybaris, by the Achæians early in the eighth century B. C. A hundred years later it was said to have an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, though this is matter of doubt. It was unquestionably governed by a democracy in the earliest times. About 540 Pythagoras established there his school. In 510 Kylon, a popular chief, raised an opposition to the Pythagorean organization, and a period of confusion followed until the moment when a certain Klinias made himself tyrant (494 B. C.). After the destruction of Sybaris, Krotona was recognized as the most important city of Magna Græcia; she was the metropolis of several cities, and called together the Italian Greeks to national

COIN OF KROTONA.²

¹ Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile. Reverse: ΣΥΒΑΡΙΣ. Bull stepping to the right and turning the head. (Silver.)

² Head of Lakinian Here, front face, diademed, with waving hair. Reverse: ΚΡΟΤΩΝΙΑΤΑΙ. Herakles seated, sacrificing on a tripod; at his feet, the club and lion's skin. (Silver.) See above. p. 143.

festivals around the temple of Here. But this religious union was not strong enough to bring about political union,—a great need of that time; for in the fifth century B. C. the primitive inhabitants of Italy, emerging from the mountain-fastnesses of the interior, were endeavoring to regain their former possessions. The



COIN OF POSEIDONIA.¹

Sabellians captured Kyme (Cumæ) and Poseidonia; and two new tribes, for the first time appearing in history,—the Lucanians and the Bruttians,—occupied the centre of the country, from Beneventum to Rhegium (Rhegion). The Greeks, crowded outward to the coast,

lived there in continual alarm. Tarentum (Taras) suffered a disastrous defeat in 473 from the Messapians, and was only able to resist them at all by aid of the mother-country.

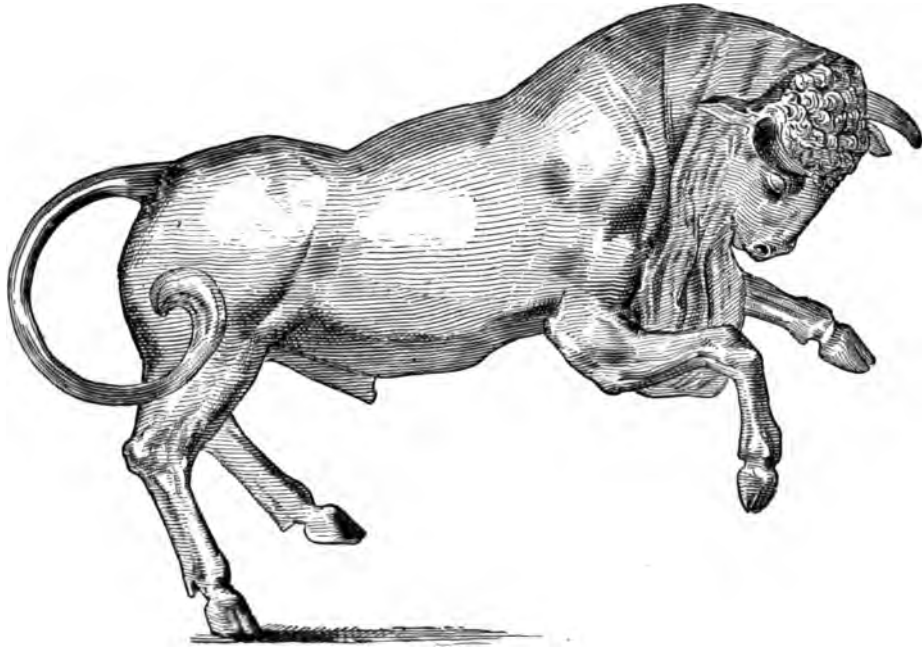
Thus the Greek world was becoming enfeebled at its extremities,—in Asia and Africa, under pressure of the great Persian empire; in Italy, under that of the native races. Two cities, Syracuse and Massalia, are exceptions to the general decline of the colonies.

In Sicily the most important cities were Agrigentum (Akragas) and Gela. Concerning the former we know but little, except as to the cruel tyranny of Phalaris. Under pretence of constructing a temple of Zeus on the akropolis, he erected a temporary citadel; and arming his laborers on the day of the festival of Demeter, he made himself master of the city, retaining this power for sixteen years. The story of the brazen bull in which he burned his victims alive, to hear in their groans the bellowings of the monster, is well known.² He was not the only tyrant

¹ In archaic legend: ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑ[N]. Bull stepping to the left; on the ground, a shell. Reverse: ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑ[N]. Poseidon, stepping to the right, his peplos on his shoulder, and fighting with his trident. (Silver.)

² ["In the later ages of Greek literature there has existed or arisen a totally different tradition concerning Phalaris, which represented him as a man of a naturally mild and humane disposition, and only forced into acts of severity or cruelty by the pressure of circumstances and the machinations of his enemies. Still more strange is it that he appears at the same time as an admirer of literature and philosophy, and the patron of men of letters" (Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog. and Mythol.*, iii. 235). The chief interest attached to the name of Phalaris is on account of letters attributed to him, which at one time were widely believed genuine, and excited great interest among literary men in England and on the Continent. Many editions of them were published from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, and many

in the island; almost every city had its own, for their interior condition favored usurpations. Four classes were, in fact, mutually confronted in these cities,—the families of the original founders, who had great estates, which were cultivated by native laborers; foreigners (Greeks and others) established in the city, but not



SPRINGING BULL.¹

eligible to office; the colonists, by degrees reduced to a state of serfdom; and, in the interior of the island, the Sikeloi, always ready to avenge their wrongs upon those who had dispossessed them, and ready to accept mercenary service under any standard. An ambitious and able man could easily, in the midst of so many contradictory elements, rise with the aid of some against others, and in the end be master of them all.

translations made. In England a very violent controversy raged on the subject of the genuineness of these letters, in which Boyle, Sir William Temple, Swift, Atterbury, and other famous men, about the close of the seventeenth century, were finally defeated and silenced by the eminent classical scholar Richard Bentley, who demonstrated them to be forgeries, probably composed by some sophist in the later ages of the Roman Empire. — ED.]

¹ Bronze from the Gréau collection, which now makes one of the collections of the Louvre. "It was found," says the *Catalogue*, "at Vitry-le-Français."

Thus did, at Gela, first Kleandros, and later Hippokrates (498 B. C.); both surrounded themselves with a numerous band of native mercenaries. Hippokrates for a short time was master of half the island; he fell in battle with the Sikeloi, and Gelon, one of his officers, succeeded him, in 491, with even more ambitious designs.



SCENE OF DEPARTURE, ON A VASE OF KAMARINA.¹

In Sicily, where the central mountain-mass descends by successive terraces to three seas, all life is on the coast. He who seeks to extend his power beyond the narrow valley in which each city is situated, must possess a fleet. Gelon recognized this necessity; but for vessels of war a harbor is needful, and on all the southeastern coast there was but one which offered good anchorage, — namely, that of Syracuse (Syrakousai). In this city, torn with class-rivalries, Gelon easily gained a footing. The rich — the descendants

¹ From O. Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*, pl. xxxix., No. 1. The central figure is a young warrior taking leave of his family. While his comrade, at the right, notifies him that the time for departure has come, the warrior has his head turned towards his wife, who, weeping, holds out to him his sword. His young son, with bent head, clings to the father's arm. Though the drawing is hasty and incorrect, the picture is nevertheless full of charm and expression. Cf. a scene of departure on a Sicilian vase, p. 166.

of the early Dorian colonists—were kept in perpetual uneasiness by the numerous foreigners who flocked into a place so favorable for traffic, and by the former population, of whom they had made serfs, like the Lakonian Helots and the Thessalian *penestai*. The two classes, thus oppressed or despised, had common interests and common hatreds; and the rich, enfeebled by a defeat which Hippokrates inflicted upon them, were at last driven from the city. They took refuge with Gelon, who had the address to make himself accepted by all parties as a mediator of peaceful intentions. Becoming master of Syracuse, he transported thither all the inhabitants of Kamarina, half of the population of Gela, and all the rich from Megara and Euboa. The lower classes in these last two cities he sold as slaves, on the express condition that they should be carried out of the islands. "He did this," says Herodotos, "thinking that a populace is a most disagreeable neighbor." This was the pure Dorian spirit.

COIN OF KAMARINA.¹

The new-comers, beginning on the Island of Ortygia, soon established themselves in the larger island, and Gelon placed there his own abode on the Achradina, an elevated plateau which he carefully fortified. Except Messina (which was obedient to the tyrant of Rhegion) and the great cities Agrigentum, Himera, and Selinous, all Greek Sicily, with a part of the Sikelian tribes, was under his sway, and Agrigentum went so far as to make a close alliance with him. His army was increased by numerous mercenaries, and according to Herodotos he promised

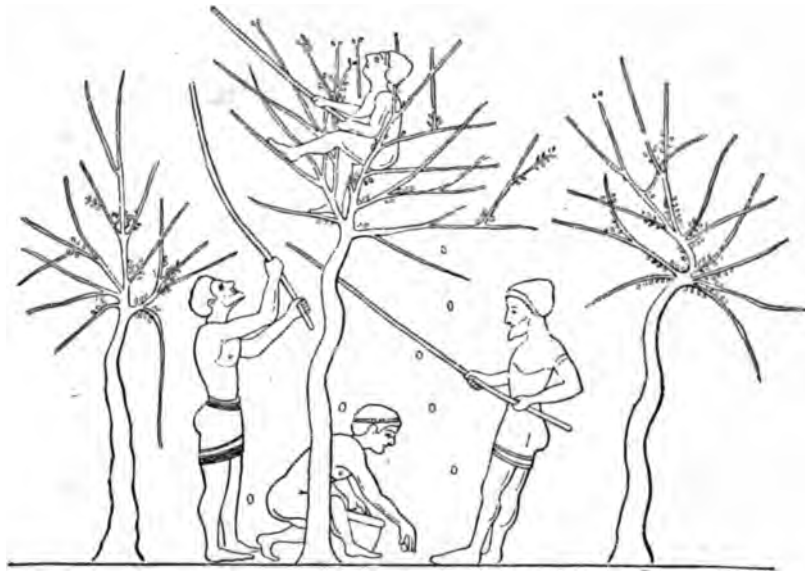
COIN OF GELON, TYRANT OF SYRACUSE.²

¹ Bearded head of Herakles, left profile, wearing the lion's skin; legend: KAMAPINA (ΙΩΝ). The nymph Kamarina, crowned by a Victory in a quadriga with horses galloping to the left; in the exergue, a swan flying to the left.

² Diademed head of Gelon, left profile. Reverse: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ. Victory in a biga, the horses galloping to the right. (Silver.) It is not known whether the head on this coin is that of Gelon I. or II.

to the Greeks threatened by Xerxes, 20,000 hoplites, 200 triremes, 2,000 horse, 2,000 archers, as many more slingers and light horse, and corn for the whole duration of the war.

These offers could not have been made with sincerity, for Gelon was engaged in war with the Carthaginians, whom he wished to expel from Sicily, and who at that moment were preparing against him a formidable armament. While Xerxes was invading



OLIVE-HARVEST.¹

Greece, the Carthaginians, his allies, to the number of 300,000, it is said, besieged Himera, on the southern coast of the island, near the present city of Termini. Gelon could bring against them only 50,000 infantry and 5,000 horse. Nevertheless, he gained a battle which ended in the destruction of the whole Carthaginian army; 150,000 Africans perished, and the number of captives was so large that private citizens in Agrigentum had as many as five hundred for an individual share. Extravagant as are these figures, like all which are given us in respect to Sicily,

¹ Vase-painting from O. Jahn, *Ueber Darstellung des Handwerks und Handelsverkehrs auf Vasenbildern*, in the *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königl. sachs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig* (1867), pl. ii. Four peasants are gathering olives; three strike the tree with long poles, the fourth gathers up the fruit.

Magna Græcia, and Carthage, the victory was certainly important, for Pindar celebrates Gelon as the peer of those who conquered at Salamis and at Plataia, "where perished the Median archers;" and to mark that it was indeed divine justice—the avenging Nemesis—that brought low the barbarian nations before the Hellenic race, the two victories, the one at Salamis and the other in Sicily, were said to have occurred on the same day. The Carthaginians were not driven from the island, but they bought peace by the payment of two thousand talents, and Syracuse, under the illustrious and benevolent tyranny of Gelon, became the first Greek city of the West.

There was still another famous Greek city in this western world of ancient history. It never attained so great power, but neither did it suffer the reverses which befell so many colonies, and even Syracuse itself. Massalia, notwithstanding the turbulence usually attributed to the Ionian character, was very different from the tumultuous Dorian cities. The tranquility of this Ionian colony and the gentleness of its manners have always been extolled. The executioner's sword grew rusty in Massalia, so seldom was it brought into use. A moderate aristocracy ruled the city: this was a council of six hundred members, appointed for life, selected only from married citizens, fathers, and having three generations of citizen-ancestors. A committee of fifteen members were at the head of this assembly; the executive power was intrusted to three magistrates. The domestic peace which Massalia knew how to preserve was imperatively commanded by the city's position in the midst of hostile tribes. It is known, though vaguely, that the colony carried on long maritime wars with the Carthaginians and the Etruscans. Notwithstanding its small territory, Massalia exported much wine and oil. Of its colonies mention has already been made.



MASSALIAN COIN.¹

From this general sketch of the Greek colonies two facts are established,—their prosperity and splendor in the seventh and sixth centuries, when the mother-country was still obscure; their decline in the fifth,—Syracuse and Massalia excepted,—when the Greeks

¹ Young head of the Lakydon (the old harbor), right profile, with horns on the forehead. Legend: ΔΑΚΥΔΩΝ. Reverse, a wheel with four spokes. (Silver.)

of Asia and Africa fell under Persian rule, while those of Italy with difficulty defended themselves against the Sabellian tribes who came down from the Apennines. In that fifth century the mother-country gained in importance, and life developed there with exuberant fruitfulness. A short time ago there had been light only at the extremities of the Greek world. Now it was condensed at the centre, and would soon shine with incomparable splendor.

¹ Vase in shape of a helmeted head. Small vase obtained from Corinth, now in the Louvre. (Cf. L. Heuzey, *Gaz. archéol.*, vol. vi., 1880, pl. xxviii., No. 2, and p. 147.) It is of Egyptian pottery, and is marked with hieroglyphics which have been interpreted to be the name of King Ouhabra, the Apries of the Greeks (599-569 B. C.). This helmeted head may perhaps be that of a Greek mercenary who sought fortune in Egypt; the helmet is clearly of Greek form.



VASE.¹





